S. A. GOUT & POLITICS

1992

November
ANC document supports power sharing with Nats

THE ANC is considering a power-sharing deal with the National Party after the next general election.

The suggestion is contained in a draft policy document which was circulated in secrecy among delegates at the Patriotic Front Conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

The ANC plan also suggests that it would be prepared to cut private deals with the National Party on critical issues such as regional powers and the future of the white-dominated civil and security services.

Although the plan is likely to encounter fierce resistance from other political groups, it is being offered by the ANC as a way to break out of the present political deadlock.

ANC sources revealed that the document had been drawn up at an ANC lekgotla (meeting) on October 14 and 15.

It will be discussed with ANC allies and sent to ANC regions next week.

The document identifies two main areas which could be subject to bilateral agreements between the ANC and NP: the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa and the future of the security services and the civil service — elements which the document suggests could be severely destabilising after a non-racial government is installed.

"It may therefore become imperative to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement."

The basis for the new thinking was set at a late-night meeting on October 9 in Cape Town between government negotiators and ANC members. The next week the ANC lekgotla endorsed SACP leader Joe Slovo's document on negotiations which envisages power sharing.

A senior ANC official said the document had no status as an official ANC document yet but was meant to stimulate debate and "allow for different possibilities with regard to transformation."

• ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in Spain yesterday that negotiations between the government and the ANC on an interim government would commence on November 22.
Warlords, like jackals, fight over a carcass

I N THE killing fields of Natal almost as many people have been dying as in Bosnia, and there is precious little that the lame-duck government of President de Klerk can do to stop the bloodletting.

The ferocity of the conflict has been obscured by the fog of the accompanying propaganda battle, a nauseating affair in which both sides try — often through white mercenaries — to fix the blame on each other.

This week’s assassination of Reggie Hadebe, the ANC’s second-in-command in Natal, was a turning-point. It somehow seemed that dirty little war beyond the ability of mere propaganda to conceal its true nature: it is a struggle for power between factions of the black community.

White South Africa stands on the sidelines, impotently wringing its hands, or serving black masters as gun-runners, or moneybags, or professional liars. The white community, still viewed as a ruling class, is too weak to make peace and too broken in confidence to put responsibility where it belongs — on the warring parties.

President de Klerk’s government, making a show of governing, has doubled the number of troops in Natal. They will have no greater effect on the struggle than the long-suffering British Army has on the warfare of Protestant and Catholic in Ulster, or the United Nations on the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia.

Gone forever are the days when the viceroy of the great white queen across the sea could send a district commissioner with a handful of sepoys, or askaris, to clear up a bit of trouble in the bush. Gone are the days when Oliver of India could tie rebellious subjects in front of his cannon and blow them to smithereens.

The process of change in South Africa, as in India in 1947, is entirely, irretrievably out of hand.

That’s not necessarily a bad thing, for India or for us. The Natal war only makes explicit what most South Africans, in the backs of their anxious minds, already know: the Struggle (if I may revert to the quaint terminology of yesteryear) has altogether bypassed the System.

Apartheid died more or less bloodlessly. The future, thanks to demography and economic growth over the past half-century, has passed into the hands of the majority. The minority is . . . well, a minority.

The only important political question that remains is whether the majority will organise itself as a democracy or whether, like a pack of jackals, it will simply rip the carcass of the apartheid state to pieces. Like Yugoslavia, black South Africa has come to a hinge of history; like Bosnia, it falls victim to the worst of human nature.

Political attitudes, as usual, lag behind reality. Abroad, the anti-apartheid movement, given a whiff of a chance, works itself into a comical fury over the rugby tour. Tut, tut. We whites can’t play rugby any better than we govern, and for the same reasons: there are not very many of us, and we have wallowed too long in self-indulgence.

If the rugby tours were called off, what would it matter? We rank behind Australia, New Zealand, France and probably the English, but ahead of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Yet if we thumped the entire world, what would it prove? That the aged Danie Craven is still a national hero? Frankly, I don’t give a damn.

At home the PAC, nicely positioned on the crazy wing of the ANC, is said to be planning a campaign of terror against synagogues and churches. I am not alone in perceiving a new, rather nasty, tide of anti-white racism in the country. Alan Paton’s worst fear — that when “we” turned to loving, “they” would have turned to hating — begins to look prescient.

IT’S nasty, but it’s also ludicrous. Much as the PAC likes to blame everything from drought to Halley’s Comet on apartheid, the real threat to black aspirations lies not with the dwindling white population but with the power-hungry leaders who feed the war in Natal, and feed off it.

Whites merely hold the ring. The essential difference between South Africa and Yugoslavia is that, thanks to a community of more-or-less apolitical and benign managers, South Africa still functions. The telephones work, the water is drinkable and comes, very often, by pipes; hospital interims labour 100 hours a week to stitch up AK-47 wounds, and white missionary ladies, aglow with virtue, hand out AIDS pamphlets.

The war swirls around the farms and villages, but the irrelevant whites are remarkably untouched, except by common gangsters. In the serious business of carving up the future, whites may sometimes be helpful, sometimes a hindrance, but usually they don’t really matter. Everybody senses that the civil war is serious business; the Struggle against the System is a game, a posture, a charade for ageing anti-apartheid groupies.

N OBODY, neither white nor black, thinks that white rule can be repaired, or that white racism will again dictate the course of South African life. But everybody wonders which faction, which system, which black ruler, will seize the sceptre that threatens to drop from the weakening hands of the whites.

History is not deified but confirmed: the shape of the future South Africa will be determined absolutely by the manner of its birth. War throws up its own tyrants and revolutions consume their children; democracies are born of negotiations and peaceful transition. Unless Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi and Mr Slovo and the other warrior leaders can bring this conflict to an end, it will cost them their dreams, their hopes, and their lives.

On the other hand, if the new South Africa is created by negotiation among the many tribes and factions of this land, the result may well be the world’s newest and most modern democracy, with the rule of law, and freedom even for marketers, and an independent central bank, and a rugby team as multi-coloured as Joseph’s coat that will strike terror into the heart of France.

All it needs is for black men to make peace with each other.

KEN OWEN
THE SHADOWY MAN THEY CALLED

The Ratcatcher

STATE President PW Botha and his circle of hawks relentlessly conspired with American conservatives to entrap the architect of "constructive engagement," Dr Chester Crocker, in the belief that without him, President Ronald Reagan would enter a de facto alliance with Pretoria.

Crocker's forthcoming memoirs, High Noon in Southern Africa, recount a constant attempt to "nuke" US policy in the 80s by military intelligence chief Pieter van der Westhuizen—"the ratcatcher" by Crocker's team—and others in Botha's security establishment.

Maligned

Their strategies included issuing information to rightwing Senators in North Carolina like Jesse Helms to send embassies to the Foreign Service—sometimes even using false passports—to open back channels with Reagan, CIA director Bill Casey, UN Ambassador Jean Kirkpatrick and other senior officials, hiring lobbies with close ties to the President and planting and forwarding information to willing US intelligence agencies.

The "ratcatcher" was regarded by Crocker and his Senate circle as so maligned that they would no longer discuss anything of substance in his hearing.

The campaign began soon after Botha took office, when a team of South African military officers, in Washington, obtained declassified documents and was regularly sabotaged by Simon Barber in Washington discloses further intrigues from the controversial memoirs of Dr Chester Crocker... (311a)

PW Botha refused to see Crocker on his first official visit to Pretoria to discuss the downfall of Crocker's security establishment.

PW's MI chief was regarded as so maligned that Crocker's team never discussed anything of substance in his hearing.

Washington to back a military victory by units in conjunction with an internal settlement in Namibia. Until 1982, Botha's government pushed a policy of "cold war" in Namibia, but with the fall of Reagan administration, the US shifted to a more flexible approach, encouraging a political settlement.

Lever

The US public relations offensive, according to Crocker, was "directed by American working for the military intelligence directorate of the SADF." Among them was Stuart Spencer, one of Reagan's 1986 campaign managers.

Croker supported lifting the Clark Amendment, which, until its repeal in 1989, blocked US aid to UNITA, but he wanted to use the aid as a lever to get the MPLA to make concessions on Cuban troop withdrawal—what would be a failed effort nambia to negotiate with the rebels.

Look in Business Week (8 Nov.; special wine of you by the Winch Business

IDEAL CH

CORPORA

An unobtainable A sold-out A superb A maiden release

DON'T
NP man in Bill protest

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

A MEMBER of the National Party walked out of the President's Council on Friday in protest against the way the Further Indemnity Bill has been "steamrollered" through.

Mr Russell Crystal, director of the South African branch of the conservative International Freedom Forum and an NP member since 1977, abstained from voting on the Bill "because I don't believe it meets the stated objectives of achieving peace and reconciliation".

Mr Crystal said yesterday that it was "a political necessity to interfere with the legal process for the sake of reconciliation - but indemnity will not work unless there is absolute consensus".

"In order to be truly effective, the various political players must feel morally obliged to adhere to the provisions."

He said there was no question about his support for President FW de Klerk, or party principles but he believed the Bill required further amendments so that consensus could be achieved.

It is expected that a statement on the Bill will be issued by the Department of Justice welcoming the approval of the Bill by the President's Council in spite of unprincipled objection and unsubstantiated opposition.

"These deaths are... "

Joint action

NAMIBIA and South Africa's agreement on joint administration of Walvis Bay comes into effect today.

A spokesman for Joint Administrative Authority said several issues - like identification, citizenship, defence, education - were to be sorted out in the first week when the management committee met.

Jockey hurt

REIGNING South African champion jockey Lloyd escaped serious injury yesterday.

Lloyd's rein snapped, causing him to fall off Matched Mates, the second race at Turffontein yesterday.

Near the homestretch, the rein snapped, causing Lloyd to fall toward the running rail. He was trampled by the field and lay unconscious until assistance arrived.

WEATHER

TRANSVAAL: Partly cloudy with scattered showers but isolated thundershowers. Thunderstorms possible in the northern areas. Highs in the mid-30s.

ORANGE FREE STATE: Partly cloudy with scattered showers and thunderstorms. Highs in the mid-30s.

NATAL: Partly cloudy with isolated thundershowers. Highs in the mid-30s.

CAPETOWN: Cloudy and cooler with general thundershowers. Highs in the mid-30s.

WESTERN CAPE: Cloudy and cooler with isolated thundershowers. Highs in the mid-30s.
To Nowhere
Train Ride
With Ahnul Syipa
MY WAY

I'm going to fly my plane, and I'm going to fly it at 500 miles per hour. I'm going to fly it into the sky, and I'm going to fly it higher than anybody else. I'm going to fly it over the clouds, and I'm going to fly it over the mountains. I'm going to fly it around the world, and I'm going to fly it to the moon. I'm going to fly it to the sun, and I'm going to fly it to the stars. I'm going to fly it to the edge of the universe, and I'm going to fly it to the very end of the world.
State claims amnesty was for the ANC

THE ANC effectively denied yesterday that it had made a secret deal with the government on amnesty.

The organisation was reacting to a report quoting NP official Johan Steyns as saying it had backed the Further Indemnity Bill by calling for the suspension of a murder trial against ANC members on the grounds that indemnity legislation was underway.

"This is an unscrupulous distortion of the court record and the Record of Understanding," said ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa.

"We want to reiterate our position that only an interim government can grant amnesty and this we made clear to the judge in the matter referred to," Phosa said.

The Further Indemnity Bill was rammed through on Friday by the President's Council after its passage was blocked in parliament a few weeks ago.

The NP outvoted the united opposition of the other parties by 38 votes to 14 endorsing the Council's Constitutional Affairs Committee recommendation that the State President sign the legislation.

Condemned

The recommendation also proposed the early amendment of the Act in terms of amendments put to the Parliamentary Joint Committee and amendments of its own aimed at reducing secrecy surrounding the granting of indemnity.

It makes provision for the indemnification of persons who committed crimes with a political motive before October 6 1990; the creation of an Indemnity Council whose members are to be appointed under the State President; functioning under chairmanship of a judge; and advising the State President on applications made for indemnity.

It also provides for the privileged hearing of evidence presented by an applicant, confidentiality of the proceedings and the publication of the names of successful applicants without being linked to specific crimes.

The Labour Party has condemned the Bill, saying it only served to protect the government and confirmed that senior cabinet ministers may be implicated in "dirty tricks".

Labour Party justice spokesman Llewellyn Landers said that the question of amnesty and indemnity should be left to an interim government of national unity which would give the process its legitimacy - "something which it lacks at present". - Sapa
He said violence was pushing IFP and ANC leaders apart, but local leaders should meet to discuss peace.

*Current in Natal and at the weekend near KwaMakhulu, where a man was killed and another wounded when shots were fired at a funeral. Al Shagger, a man was killed and another wounded when shots were fired with the incident.

**Expected**
A week ago the Pan Africanist Congress and South African Government agreed in Botswana that a new and more representative negotiations forum was essential. Political Reporter Themba Molefe details various views:

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha (left) and PAC's deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke led their respective delegations in their Botswana safari.
SA Leaders Get Spanish Nobel Prize
ANC, govt moving closer to compromise

ANC and government negotiators are to meet later this month amid increasing signs that deadlocks between them are being resolved in compromise agreements on power sharing in a government of national unity.

The ANC also appears to have backed off from its demand that violence be ended before democratic elections are held.

Indications that points of dispute were being resolved emerged at the weekend in a speech by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Oviedo, Spain, a secret ANC discussion document and a speech by ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan in Cape Town.

Mandela said government-ANC talks would resume on November 22. This was confirmed by NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe.

Mandela said the talks would focus on establishing an international government of national unity and "a wide variety of topics which we think it is urgent and important to resolve".

The ANC discussion document was circulated privately at the patriotic front conference in Port Elizabeth last week and suggests joint rule with the NP after a general election under a new constitution.

Jordan, opening the ANC's western Cape conference in Cape Town, appeared to confirm this when he said it was important for the organisation to campaign hard "until we replace the present regime with a government of national unity".

The document, which still has to be approved officially, sets out a proposal for government and the ANC to share power after an interim government phase. "Even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players," the document reads.

The change in approach to the question

Differences

of violence being ended before elections were held was underlined by Jordan. He said it was clear the violence and conflict would continue until there was a government of national unity.

"It also appears that elections will be waged in the context of violence. The violence will get worse and worse as the day of the election gets closer and closer."

ADRIAN HADLAND reports Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate reacted to news of the planned talks by saying government would implement any decisions from bilateral talks "at its own risk".

"Government and the ANC can talk all day about their affairs but if they make decisions that apply to the rest of the country, we will defy them every time."

He said if a new bilateral agreement was reached on 22 November its contents should be ratified by a multiparty conference. If this did not occur, he said, "God only knows what will happen".

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Caution on early meeting with ANC

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff
GOVERNMENT leaders were cautious today about an early meeting with the ANC, unless Inkatha could be drawn back to multilateral talks.

They said talks with the ANC on issues such as arrangements for an interim government could also not be held until issues left over from previous talks had been dealt with.

These were mass action and violence.

The government sources were reacting to a weekend statement in Spain by Mr. Nelson Mandela that talks with the government about an interim government of national unity could begin on November 22.

They said the government would not risk antagonising Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi further by finalising terms for a political settlement with the ANC.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr. Roelf Meyer, said earlier that agreement on an interim government could be reached only in multilateral negotiations.
ANC Prepares Partners for Power-Sharing
From Reconstruction to Revolution

Singapore Style — Lee Kuan Yew
MPs on visit to Zambia

LUSAKA - A seven-man South African parliamentary delegation is in Zambia for a three-day familiarisation tour.

The delegation from the Parliamentary Association of South Africa include three National Party members, two members of the Democratic Party and one each from the Solidarity and Conservative parties.
February 2, 1990 was a day of hope for most South Africans, a day that promised a more peaceful and democratic future. Yet more than two years later, little has changed for those who suffered and continue to suffer. Ismail Lagardien reports:

It is ironic, almost, that India imposed sanctions against South Africa in 1948, when the National Party came to power.

India’s official cricket team is in South Africa, entertaining mostly white people in the country and the white-led cricket team has accepted an invitation to play a series of games in India next year. The reality is that the ruling National Party is still in power.

The reality is that the ruling National Party is still pushing legislation through Parliament which impacts on black people - who are denied a role in central government.

The sinister silence from the African National Congress (in particular), the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Azanian People’s Organisation and all the other “black liberation movements”, after the Further Indemnity Bill was rushed through Parliament last week is cause for great concern to ordinary black South Africans - civilians.

The ANC, PAC, SAPC and Azapo have never needed an excuse to march, picket, petition, stage a sit-in, call for a boycott or strike for issues from the opening of Parliament to a newspaper report. Their sinister silence was as heavy as it was light.

But, and one is loathe to say it, the two groups, the Government and its extra-parliamentary opposition, probably need to indemnify each other for the deeds they committed (to each other) so as to facilitate negotiations. It must be borne in mind that these two factions were involved in a war with each other. And because of the nature of this “war” and the objectives of the anti-apartheid movements, this war was legitimised (if one is allowed to say that) by the international community.

The irony is that the implications of the Further Indemnity Bill, which was rushed through Parliament by the National Party last week, will cover crimes that were committed against the people of South Africa - civilians.

Maybe it’s safe to say then, that nothing has changed.

It is safe to say, too, that after almost two years of negotiations, the iniminent restart of negotiations means a lot less to people, civilians, than it did two years ago.
BUSY YEAR IN RUN-UP TO POLL — FW

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has predicted that next year will be an eventful one with preparations being made for a transitional government.

The African National Congress, meanwhile, has released a discussion document which deals with the need for a government of national unity even after an interim stage.

It says that without cooperation between the National Party and the ANC it would not be possible to move the peace process forward.

In a television interview Mr De Klerk rejected suggestions that there would be a political vacuum during the course of the year resulting from the fact that an election for an interim constituent assembly was likely to be held only in the last quarter.

He said a lot of preparation had to be done.

Codesa would be recalled for multilateral talks. There would be a transitional executive council, the rules of an election would have to be worked out and a decision would have to be taken whether there would be registration for such an election.

There would have to be an independent election committee. Two-thirds of the population would be voting for the first time.

Attention would have to be given to all the "building blocks" for a democratic constitutional system, among them a charter of fundamental human rights and measures against intimidation.

Discussions taking place were aimed at reopening multilateral talks.

Setting out his vision for the future, Mr De Klerk said he foresaw peace in the country, a government of national unity with the accompanying co-responsibility to get the economy going and in the end a co-operation agreement in Southern Africa similar to that of the European Community.

He said that since the referen-
US voters of power have stripped uneducated partisans
AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT WOULD BE NEEDED, GRIFF REILLY

Interim Rule

An interim government would be needed, Griff Reilly

Adams claims a pack of lies

BUSINESS TRIBUNE, November 3, 1955
Abundant hope, humour and love

Janet Connor looks critically at SA:

I am ready to leave behind the meanness and distrust. Not that America has beautiful harmony - it has bitterness and self-destruction. I guess you learn to adjust to what you call home.

sharing is the South African way of life. My first week here I lived in Soweto with a family who gave me their bed while they slept on the floor in freezing temperatures. They had never had a white person in their house before. In Ivory Park I fell asleep to the sound of rats scampering across the roof but my host family served me tea in the only china teacup they owned.

Protective and cautious

Americans are much more protective and cautious. They'll take a stranger into their home but only after checking him out.

What I'll remember most from this roller coaster experience is peoples' resilience and determination. The many I met who spent years in jail, were exiled or lost family members in the struggle are not bitter, just eager to move forward.

So I left South Africa mentally and physically exhausted and as perplexed by the culture as ever. There are no answers or solutions. I throw up my hands in amazement at the contradiction - how people so giving and irrepressible can live with such abuse and still be hopeful.
The African National Congress and its allies are discussing a possible power-sharing formula with the National Party. The details are contained in a discussion paper which is being circulated among ANC members in the various regions. This is an extract from the document:

PHASE 1: The period leading up to the election of the Constituent Assembly and the establishment of an elected Interim Government of National Unity.

PHASE 2: The period of the drafting and the adoption of the new constitution by the Constituent Assembly.

PHASE 3: The period of the phasing in of the new Constitution, which will include the restructuring of the State machinery and the general dismantling of the system of apartheid.

PHASE 4: The period of the consolidation of this process of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

At all stages, we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in the position in which we can determine the correct path to follow to further the process of democratic change, including the compromises that are necessary and the alliances to be formed to protect and advance this process.

Goals of the national liberation struggle and our immediate objectives: The long-term goals of the National Liberation Struggle should not be confused with the immediate objectives we set for ourselves in each phase of the transition.

The objectives we set depend on the balance of forces at each stage.

By entering a new phase (e.g. the establishment of an interim government) the balance of forces themselves transform qualitatively in favour of the Democratic Movement.

Negotiations, therefore, can result in the possibility of bringing about a radically transformed political framework in the struggle for the achievement of the main goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

In setting objectives today, our strategy should not focus narrowly on only the initial establishment of democracy, but also (and perhaps more importantly) on how to nurture, develop and consolidate that democracy. Our strategy must at once also focus on ensuring that new democracy is not undermined.

Our broad objectives for the current phase (as distinct from longer-term goals) should therefore be:

The establishment of a democratic constitution-making process.

Ending the National Party's monopoly of political power.

Ensuring a continuing link between democracy and economic empowerment.
Second hand culture from USA

Third World society masked by First World exterior disturbs Janet Connor, who feels her country is mostly to blame for stripping South Africa of its identity:

WHEN travelling abroad as an American, you assume you'll pine for the amenities of home.

But not so in South Africa. The world gets smaller as American culture gets bigger.

Arriving in South Africa, I had the misconception the country was African. True, I've seen traditional dancing, cows standing on the road and mud huts but what I've seen more is the infiltration of American culture.

Often I shake my head over the ironies and contradictions of this Third World society masked by a First World exterior. First World translates to Western and I can see the British influence fading in this country and American taking over.

Signs of economic and cultural sanctions are scarce. I am amused to watch Beverly Hills 90210, a television programme about the shallowness of rich American teens, dubbed into Afrikaans.

I saw children walking down dirt roads in remote rural areas carrying Coca-Cola bottles. A domestic worker wearing a Guns 'n Roses T-shirt. A university student with a shirt with Pistons basketball star Isiah Thomas on it.

Being a cinema huff, I was eager to watch South African films but there

While British influence is fading the American flavour becomes stronger isn't much. But I had the chance to see every bad Hollywood flick I passed over at home.

Riding in a black taxi, I noticed an American bandanna dangling from the mirror. I kept up-to-date on the political cartoon strip Doonesbury and had no trouble tuning into my favourite broadcasters on CNN.

It is disturbing to see the influence America has here. Part of my experience going abroad was to be in societies that think the United States is not the promised land we're made to believe. But the propaganda has spread here. It is discouraging to see a culture being stripped of its identity and to realise that my country is mostly to blame.
'Little effect on US-SA relations'

Political Staff and Sapa
MR COLIN Eglin MP, the Democratic Party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, said that Mr Clinton’s victory was not likely to lead to any fundamental shift in the United States government's attitude to South Africa.

With Mr Clinton's commitment to African Americans, he was bound to take an interest in South Africa, but this interest was likely to be in development in the country.

With most of apartheid gone the interest would be a constructive one.

South African ambassador in the US Mr Harry Schwarz said that Mr Clinton’s victory should have little effect on US-South African relations.

He said that the relationship between the two counties was defined by events in South Africa, rather than by the ruling party in the US.

The lifting of US sanctions against South Africa was largely dependent on the establishment of an interim government and the ending of violence in South Africa, he said.

Stellenbosch University economist and political analyst Professor Sampie Terreblanche said Mr Clinton's victory was a serious blow to the De Klerk administration — but was probably good news for gold and the SA economy.

The ANC today congratulated Mr Clinton and Mr Gore. Mr Nelson Mandela was due to send them a message.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC hoped that the good relations that existed between it and the US government would continue and even improve.
FW's fall 'his own fault'

BILLY PADDOCK

President F W de Klerk was responsible 'all by himself' for any damage to his popularity, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He was responding to De Klerk's complaint on TV1's Agenda programme on Monday night that the ANC had embarked on a 'negative' campaign against him after the referendum because he was becoming too popular.

De Klerk said his growing popularity had been perceived by the ANC as a threat and this had led the organisation to embark on the campaign.

Niehaus said De Klerk and government's lack of movement towards democracy, and its lack of commitment to this ideal and clearly addressing the violence was the major reason for people losing faith in De Klerk.

The President should look to himself and others to blame for his political misfortunes, he said.

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Report inconclusive on Boipatong tape erasure

The Goldstone commission had found no conclusive evidence that the Boipatong tapes may have been deliberately erased as suggested by British experts. Judge R Goldstone said in Johannesburg yesterday.

British government experts found the tapes had been recorded over and said the technical evidence "suggests that this may have been done deliberately and hurriedly in order to obscure the contents".

Their report was received by the commission on October 29.

After portions of the tapes were replayed on Monday, the commission found that "no conclusions can fairly be drawn on the strength of the tentative suggestion made by the British experts", Goldstone said in a statement issued yesterday.

"The important information ascertained by the British experts is that what was over-recorded is not retrievable," Goldstone said.

The technical experts had offered a further clarification of their findings on Monday, he said.

They said some of the material superimposed on the tapes, which recorded police communications on the night of the June 17 Boipatong massacre, was recorded at a non-standard speed equivalent to between a third or a quarter of the normal recording speed.

In addition, some of the superimposed material had been recorded backwards, they found.

Goldstone said: The commission would like to emphasise that in its opinion it would be speculative to draw any inferences or conclusions on the information which has thus far been received with regard to the circumstances in which the original information on the tape came to be erased.

Police told the Goldstone inquiry on August 11 the tapes had been accidentally erased, which was supported by the preliminary findings of a local firm, Grinaker Electronics.

But when it emerged that the company had links with the security forces, the Goldstone commission withdrew the tapes from Grinaker and the British government agreed to have the tapes analyzed by its own technical experts.

Goldstone said yesterday that if any party wished to have further witnesses called or if the tapes were required for further technical analysis, the commission would decide on such requests after consultations with the legal representatives of all interested parties.

-- Sapa.
Federalism 'a likely outcome'

POWER-sharing negotiations would lead to a federal system of government for SA, the HSRC's Bertrán-de Villiers predicted yesterday.

"It can be concluded from the negotiation process that a new constitution will be a federal type, providing for regional government and a justiciable bill of rights," De Villiers, head of the council's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, told delegates to a symposium on the federalist principle in Johannesburg.

He said government and the ANC had shown pragmatism in the debate on federalism and regional government, as well as on the protection of minorities.

While there was disagreement on whether regional authority should be provided for by a unitary or federal structure, it had been agreed that regional government should be able to delegate its (adequate...
Leaders urged to halt ‘political power play’

UPINGTON. — Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer has called on the country’s leaders to halt their “political power play”.

Speaking here yesterday, he said their ideological differences should not enjoy priority.

He said economic growth and political stability were inextricably linked. It was important to combat violence and achieve success in the constitutional negotiations.

He felt the government’s package for a solution, which included the protection of individual and group rights, language and culture as well as devolution of power, was a winning constitutional recipe. — Sapa (20450) ET 41/1192.
Consensus on regionalism

Representatives of seven of the country's main political groupings had agreed on the need for decentralisation of power in SA, Frances Kendall, of the Groundswell movement, said yesterday.

On the last day of a symposium on federalism in Johannesburg, Kendall said all delegates to the conference bar the PAC's agreed that regional powers should be entrenched. "It has become strikingly clear that although Codsta has broken down, the debate concerning constitutional mechanisms for the future is nevertheless continuing apace," she said. Kendall said.

Three arguments had been raised against federalism: it might not be able to address redistribution between rich and poor regions; numerous regional and local governments would mean a larger bureaucracy; and regionalism might prevent a common sense of national unity. Other principles which were supported included proportional representation and an independent judiciary.

By the time a constituent assembly was ready to begin its deliberations, agreement would have been reached on many more issues, allowing the assembly to focus its energies on thrashing out details, Kendall said.
ANC influence on US

Clinton may lean to ANC

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The ANC's influence in Washington may have been significantly increased by Mr Bill Clinton's victory.

Africa specialists and sources in the Clinton campaign base their assessment on one of the strongest foreign policy signals to have come from the Clinton camp in 12 months of electioneering — that a Clinton White House will work far more closely with the Democratic majority in both houses of Congress on many major foreign policy issues.

A unilateral decision like the lifting of sanctions by President Bush last year is described as "an unlikely event" under a Clinton administration.

The bigger and stronger congressional black caucus is widely expected to follow the lead of the previous caucus to let the ANC call the shots on many important decisions.

Since all caucus members

Continued on page 2
Schwarz expecting few changes to policy on SA

THE attitude of the US Democratic administration to SA in the short term would be conditioned by the extent to which violence was brought under control and progress made towards an interim government.

That is the view of SA ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz, who said in an interview no dramatic changes in policy towards SA could be expected when Bill Clinton was sworn in as US president on January 20.

The Democrats had inherited huge domestic problems from the previous administration, and easing them would be the major preoccupation of the new one. Significant volumes of US investment and the lifting of state and local government trade sanctions would also depend on progress towards social and political stability in SA.

Schwarz said the influence of African Americans would become more potent in a Democratic administration. In the past this influence had been directed at anti-apartheid pressure and calls for sanctions.

The emphasis now was likely to shift to benefit the ANC.

Schwarz said in strategic terms Africa had been marginalised. The
Federal attributes in govt's proposals

GOVERNMENT'S proposed regional government system would not be a continuation of the homestead system and would have federal attributes, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer said strong regional government did not mean weak central government. "Both can be strong. But the closer strong government is brought to the people, the more sensitive it will be to needs."

Meyer welcomed a recent ANC document on regionalism, saying it showed the organisation had realised the importance of regional government.

However, there were basic differences between ANC and government policy.

"The ANC would not want the regions to have autonomous powers - this means an all-powerful central government that could override regional decisions even on issues falling within the legislative authority.

"Our approach is that regions should have autonomous jurisdiction over functions entrusted to them in the constitution, and that it should not be possible for those functions to be taken away from them without their consent," Meyer said.

The ANC would want to give only limited residual taxing powers to regions, on the basis of "one country, one tax base".

Government believed that without a proper tax base and without autonomy regional government would become an extension of an overriding and all-powerful central government.

This did not mean that regions should have full autonomy over all functions of government, but over those allocated to them.

"Regional boundaries can only be finally drawn once there is clear clarity on function. Those boundaries will not be those of self-governing and TBVC territories." Meyer denied government had converted to federalism to protect minorities to the detriment of possible redistribution and empowerment programmes.

Education on mortgages

WILSON ZWANE

The circular says builders should be approached with a view to getting them to agree to the establishment of a building industry code of conduct.

"It is anticipated that in order to facilitate the implementation of the code of conduct, association members will provide finance only to builders who agree to be bound by it," it says.

In a brief joint statement this week, the association and Sanco said they had endorsed the proposal and would refer it to their decision-making structures.

It is believed that Sanco's executive, which meets at the weekend, will ratify the proposal. The association's council will discuss the matter next Tuesday.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said earlier the agreement between his organisation and the association was a "positive move", which could pave the way for other agreements on housing issues.
SPECIAL POWERS President FW de Klerk signs controversial Further Indemnity Bill into law:

MEMBERS of the security forces who may have assassinated “opponents” of the State may now be pardoned.

This follows the signing of the controversial Further Indemnity Bill into law by President FW de Klerk this week. It is expected to be published in the Government Gazette soon, Mr Dave Steward, Director-General in the State’s President’s Office, said yesterday.

The Government had used its special powers in the President’s Council to push the Bill through in spite of strenuous opposition from Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups.

Story on page 2
Softly, softly

Mindful of Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s fury at its alleged “bilateral deals” with the ANC, government moved swiftly to put into perspective Nelson Mandela’s statement last weekend that ANC-government talks on an interim government would start on November 22.

The urgency attached to setting up an interim government was reflected in a speech by former Anglo American chairman Gavin Rely in Canada this week. Rely said an interim government would have to be put in place without delay to restore authority and control the violence.

Responding to Mandela’s statement, Con-stitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer let it be known that “government had no intention of signing bilateral agreements pertaining to constitutional negotiations with any single party or organisation.” It is only by means of multiparty negotiations that agreements can be reached regarding an interim government of national unity, he explained.

“The government’s aim is for multiparty negotiations to start as soon as possible. In view of that, bilateral negotiations with various political role players continues regularly.” Meyer added that peace and stability could be attained only if all the main political players were included in the process “to their satisfaction.”

Meyer’s statement noted that government and the ANC had agreed on September 26 to have intensive discussions on the continuation of multiparty negotiations. But there were no final arrangements. Similar discussions with Inkatha and other role players had also been mooted and exploratory talks were taking place.

All this is fascinating in relation to the ANC discussion document entitled Strategy Perspective and dated October 1992, which outlines compromises on various issues in a clear attempt at quickly reaching agreements with government to have an interim government set up as soon as possible. The document appears to have been adopted at a meeting of the Patriotic Front in Port Elizabeth last week.

Originally marked confidential, it was made public after it was leaked to the press and was this week being sent to all ANC branches. So it should have been. For, in stark contradiction to at least one resolution adopted by the ANC’s western Cape region at the weekend, the strategy document prepares members for a significant dose of power-sharing. ANC western Cape chair- man Allan Boesak had not seen the document.

Among its proposals is one advocating bilateral deals with government on the powers, functions and boundaries of regional government. It also says that a general amnesty for the security forces is necessary, as is the question of civil servants’ pensions and job security since these branches have enormous potential to delay the transition to democracy.

“We have already accepted the desirability of an interim government of national unity — in which, of course, the ANC and the NP would be the major components,” says the document. “However, we also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players.”

The organisation notes, however, that its long-term goals should not be confused with immediate objectives set for each phase of the transition — from constituent assembly elections and the establishment of an interim government, to the drafting and adopting of a new constitution, to be phased in with a restructuring of the State machinery, consolidation and reconstruction.

“At all stages we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in a position in which we can determine the correct path to follow to further the process of democratic change.” Necessary compromises and alliance formations are seen as part of this process.

In the present round of talks: “We must bear in mind that, in the main, one would not achieve at the negotiating table that which one could not achieve on the ground.

“That simply means that neither the ANC nor the regime can enforce complete surrender of either party at the negotiating table.” Whatever the ANC’s long-term strategic objectives are, urgency in reaching agreements with government, as a prelude to forming an interim government, is uppermost. Government and business also think so. Yet government won't be wrapping anything with the ANC until it has calmed Buthelezi and brought him into the talks.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, a member of the “Concerned Citizens” grouping formed with Buthelezi and other homeland leaders in rejection of the government-ANC Record of Understanding, has welcomed Meyer’s assurance on no bilateral deals. Mollifying Buthelezi will be harder.
The US elections: What’s in it for us?

Not only the United States waited with bated breath for the outcome of the presidential elections. The Clinton presidency was already under increasing pressure — and for understandable reasons. It was time to come clean. The US government would have more profound influence on events in South Africa than at first predicted, argues GAVIN EVANS.

In a short space of time, the question of whether South Africans would accept Bill Clinton as their president had become a matter for debate. It was obvious that both parties in the US were far from being happy with the result. But Clinton was surely the better choice of the two. His experience in the US Senate, his interest in foreign policy and his practical approach to problems made him a suitable candidate for the US presidency.

The election campaign was predictable. The Republicans were聲 of optimism, while the Democrats were clearly not. The Republicans promised a robust foreign policy, while the Democrats promised a more positive approach to international relations. The US presidential election was a matter of choices, and the choices were clear.

The choice of Bill Clinton was not without its problems. The US government had already made several mistakes in its policy towards South Africa, and the US government was not prepared to admit its mistakes. The US government was also not prepared to accept responsibility for its mistakes. The US government was not prepared to accept responsibility for its mistakes.

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PRETORIA: State President De Klerk says he is confident multiparty talks would resume soon — and he expected a breakthrough.

Mr De Klerk was speaking yesterday at a news briefing at the Union Buildings after talks with former prime minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew.

"We are ready to proceed with negotiations and I'm confident we will get multiparty negotiations on track again relatively soon, some say before the end of the year, it might be early next year.

"We believe we will make the breakthrough for the sort of understanding and accord between the leaders of this country so that we can create, not just a win, but an outcome where there will be a winner. According to his strength and influence, knowledge and experience can together play a constructive role in rebuilding South Africa."

Mr Lee said a one-man one-vote election had to come to South Africa, but he rejected a winner-take-all system.

South Africa had a "very difficult settlement" to reach and needed some system where, although the winner had the majority, the runners-up would not be losers.

Sapa.
Improved lifestyle in site

CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

A SERVICED land project, aimed at providing serviced sites for thousands of squatters now living in overcrowded conditions without the basics, faces twin challenges of resolving questions over what is to be provided — and finding R500 million.

The project is not meant to solve the Western Cape’s staggering problems of homelessness and urbanisation, but if implemented will mean a significant boost to the quality of life for 36 000 squatter families.

And, it is hoped the project will fit into an eventual metropolitan solution to historic problems.

Once the project is underway, plans are to create employment by using labour-based methods of installing services and building roads.

Its bold aim is to find land for people now living in jam-packed, unserviced squatter in Old Crossroads, Farm 692 in Phillipi East, Miller’s Camp, KTC, Black City, Mpinga Square, Mpetha Square, Mhonto Square, Mahobe Drive, Brown’s Farm, Driftsands and in the

Funds for a serviced land project will mean a new quality of life for thousands of Western Cape squatters — and a boost to stability in the region.

backyards and hostels of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga.

The Development Bank, Independent Development Trust, Department of State Expenditure and Regional Services Council are to be approached to commit themselves to funding the project and following it through its five-year lifespan.

The three proposed phases of the project are, firstly, upgrading Black City, Miller’s Camp, Mpinga Square, KTC and parts of Crossroads, the second, further upgrading of Crossroads and land in Phillipi East, and then the development of southern Delft.

The project will not mean wall-to-wall shacks — draft plans include space for educational, commercial and industrial development to build healthier and more viable communities.

Among those taking part in the project are the Provincial Administration, Cape Town City Council, civics, the town councils of Crossroads and Ikapa, Umzamo Development Project and Western Cape Regional Services Coun-

At present, the African National Congress and Western Cape United Squatters’ Association (Wecusa) are not attending policy committee meetings, but hopes were expressed this week that they would be involved again at a later stage.

Land will be pegged out and serviced to prevent a repeat of present overcrowding.

A key principle is that communities will be offered sites close to where they are at present.

Land targeted for the project stretches from parcels near Guguletu north next to the N2, land near Nyanga in Lansdowne Road, and in Phillipi East and Driftsands.

Sites on land inside Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu will be offered first to people living in backyards and in hostels. Hostel-dwellers also will be offered first choice in hostel upgrading projects.

Other land marked for possible use is at southern Delft.
**Clinton has talk with Mandela**

US President-elect Bill Clinton spoke to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Thursday and said his administration would try to ensure progress to democracy as quickly as possible.

This was confirmed yesterday by ANC spokesman Mr Gill Marcus.

Mr Clinton and Mr Mandela met each other during the ANC leader's last visit to the US, but the Arkansas governor has not yet met President F W de Klerk.

Through the US embassy in Pretoria yesterday the US State Department urged South African political leaders to resume constitutional negotiations, saying a prompt settlement was essential towards ending political violence and restoring a climate for economic growth.

The State Department also urged political leaders to get the negotiating process back on track "to facilitate a rapid, peaceful transition to non-racial democracy".

Government officials and representatives of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) met here yesterday and discussed the necessity for a multi-party conference to review the negotiation process.

A joint statement by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Freedom Party official and Cosag steering committee chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, said further meetings were envisaged.
PENDULUM SWINGS

ANG back in moderation mode

Weekend Argus, Saturday, December 7, 1992
The ANC wants your vote. But how does it intend to get it? Rehana Rossouw reports on the organisation’s regional conference held last weekend:

The Organisation’s Western Cape conference held last weekend.

Delegates were reminded that a key sector which had to be persuaded to vote for the ANC was the coloured community whose members formed the majority of potential voters in the region.

According to one recent survey, 70 percent of coloureds in the Cape support the National Party while only 10 percent support the ANC.

Yet in the past 12 months, ANC activists in the coloured community have become increasingly demoralised at the emphasis placed by ANC leadership on organising in African areas while support in the coloured areas has dwindled.

Keynote speaker Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC head of information, told the conference to take into account the “specific problems” of the Western Cape when mapping out an election strategy.

“We are aware of the hopes the National Party entertains. Because of the racial makeup of the region they believe they will be able to make headway among some of the oppressed communities.”

Jordan asked ANC members to begin to work collectively to build the image of the organisation as a home for all South Africans.

Political work should show potential voters that the ANC was not racially exclusive.

“We have a tradition and a culture to draw on. In the seventies and eighties we saw in this region magnificent demonstrations of unity among the oppressed,” Jordan said.

The ANC should remind coloureds that the NP was responsible for District Six, the dumping of people on the Cape Flats, removing coloureds from the voters roll and for the system of coloured education.

“If we remind people of these things, I don’t think anyone will be confused about what to do on election day,” Jordan said.

Regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak said the NP’s strategy for holding on to power involved using apartheid differences and describing them as group rights. But no one else was interested in ethnic politics. There was little talk of coloured nationalism.

Boesak said the ANC had to take into account the fact that 37 percent of the population in the region were women and work for equality between the sexes, he said.

Also colouring the debate was the admission that the ANC’s mass action campaign had failed to draw significant support from the coloured and Indian communities.

Branches in coloured areas were small and weak and since the last regional conference, few new coloured leadership figures — especially women — had emerged with support in all communities.

The violence in the country has also influenced coloured perceptions of the ANC. The SABC’s biased reporting of “black-on-black violence” could have played a major role in deepening the rift between coloureds and Africans.

The worsening economic situation in the Cape and the drop in living standards could also have contributed to the fear that an ANC government, committed to affirmative action to improve living conditions in African communities, could ignore needs in coloured communities.

Key issues identified for campaign work in the next 12 months were the restructuring of coloured education and the sale of land the state acquired through dispossessing people under the Group Areas Act.

The organisation will also sharpen its focus on bread-and-butter issues which affect the standard of life of people in the region.

But the composition of the 25-person regional executive committee (REC) elected on Sunday fails to convince that the ANC is taking these realities into account.

The gender and community makeup of the new REC does not reflect the majority of voters in the region.

Some coloured delegates left the conference bitterly disappointed by the decrease in the number of coloured members on the REC, but they acknowledged that the elections had been democratic.

What they need to be convinced of is that the elections were strategic, that the people chosen are best placed to convince voters that the ANC is the party to vote for.

Although it will not be the responsibility of the REC alone to muster support for the ANC in an election, REC members will have a higher profile than rank and file members and people’s impressions of the ANC will be influenced by the character of its leadership.

There is already talk among members of how to correct the imbalances on the REC. One suggestion is that the REC should use its authority to co-opt additional members.

Another suggestion is that the ANC use full-time organisers to rebuild branches in coloured areas.

This will not be achieved by only reminding the electorate of the sins of the NP. Hard work and crafted strategy is required.
Federal or Unitary Constitution?
### The Federal Model

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### The Indian Model

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Each had their own idea about the same thing

Deputy editor ZB MOLEFE continues the series on federalism in SA.

THE federalism debate rolled like a giant wave in Johannesburg this week.

For three days participants at a seminar organised by the German Konrad-Adenauer Foundation and Groundswell, an educational movement which promotes participative democracy for a post-apartheid SA, had a good go at the topic.

The seminar was addressed by key political players – the ANC, PAC, SACP, Inkatha, NP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

They were able to make use of the expertise of local and overseas political scientists.

The debate became more urgent this week after the powerful SA Chamber of Business (Sacomb) unanimously endorsed a proposal that federalism is the only viable option for a future prosperous SA.

Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager was at pains to explain his party's stand. The former Conservative Party MP made every word count.

"Let us not give a name to the child before it is born. When it is born, let the academics give it a proper name," de Jager said after he had told the seminar that any constitutional model must be free of racial discrimination and built on democratic principles.

If this could be achieved, promised de Jager, "my people could become the co-defenders of that new SA".

He continued, "This concept can resolve round the European Economic Community model. This may sound an easy solution, but there are no easy solutions in SA."

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ibrahim warned a few words in reminding the seminar that his liberation movement could not pronounce on federalism in SA, except in a constituent assembly forum.

"Federalism, as propounded in our country now, is linked to apartheid, which we are fighting to eradicate and not reform. Whether we believe in a unitary or federal SA, the correct forum to discuss this will be the constituent assembly on one-person, one-vote basis," said Ibrahim.

Ibrahim warned of the Yugoslavia tragedy "where they had a federal system and created a nationality of Moksha".

We said: "Islam is not a national state concept. To me it is a religious concept. This has led to what we have today (in Yugoslavia)."

A former exile, Ibrahim was one of the moving forces behind the expulsion in 1964 of the whites-only Olympic Committee from the Olympic movement.

DP leader Zach de Beer did not mince his words. "I'm a federalist," he proclaimed, going on to speak of its benefits.

He said federalism increased the sites of (political) power "and it has the advantage of increasing liberty".

"We are federalists because we are liberals. Federalism brings government nearer physically to the people," said De Beer.

He cited how in the health, education and police administrations "people's power" could be entrenched.

Inkatha central committee member and KwaZulu health minister Baldwin Ngubane came charging like a wounded elephant when he reminded the seminar that his party had suffered "so much distortion that people have been forced to believe that we are surrogates of apartheid and that we want to preserve it".

Ngubane also said: "There is no party in SA which can claim purity in the liberal-democratic tradition. Perhaps the DP can. That is why we are for federalism through the German model. The proposed constituent assembly is already the route to a unitary state. We will be doomed to a future like that of what is happening in Mozambique and Angola."

The SACP's Esso Pahad warned that the international experience with federalism had to be debated.

However, he said: "Our struggle against apartheid will be the determining factor."

Pahad, who read for his masters degree at the UK's Sussex University, did not pull his punches: "It would seem to me the unitary State-federalism debate (in SA) is sterile. We need to shift the parameters of the debate."

He said the SACP/ANC alliance had first called for a Bill of Rights in a future SA. This, he emphasised Pahad, proved beyond doubt that his groups were "taking power closer to the people".

He said political and labour formations like the United Democratic Front (UDF), Cosatu and the civics were in favour of "people's power".

Giving federalism the kiss of death, Pahad said: "Let us throw federalism out of the window. We must move away from this propagandist (federalism) approach."

ANC constitutional development committee head Zola Skewyiya said of federalism: "It is a question that is sensitive within the broader perspective in SA and within the ANC."

Skewyiya said the ANC's national conference in May had not resolved the issue and a conference later this month or early next month would discuss it.

However, he warned: "No movement would agree in dividing the African people."

New Local Government Minister Tertius Deport, who came into prominence during Codesa 2, said it was not true that "federalism would prevent the central government from uplifting citizens, particularly blacks".

He said federalism should not be approached from a theoretical view, "but at the grassroots level, the South African level." Free-market author Frances Kendall said SA was likely to get a federal system, even if scholars and scientists did not label it as such.
Chikane calls for urgent conference

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE high level of violence has prompted SACC head Rev Frank Chikane to write open letters to the country's political leaders asking them to hasten the convening of a multi-party conference which would culminate in a constitution-making body.

Chikane, an outspoken apartheid critic, appealed to leaders, among them State President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the PAC's Clarence Makweni, to act boldly by convening the much-awaited conference as a possible solution to end violence.

He said: "The situation in our hands at this juncture is most disturbing. The current wave of violence in Natal, with an added potential of a civil war, as well as the lack of public vision regarding the direction of negotiations on a new constitution, combine to create a scenario which calls for urgent action by all the leaders in the country."

He said while the politicians differed on complicated details on the nature of the promised post-apartheid settlement, ordinary people who did not fully understand these complications were paying with their lives.

He said the SACC was extremely concerned with the direction the situation was taking.

"We ask that you work for the speedy convening of a multi-party conference, which should conclude with the announcement of a date for a constitution-making body.

"The conference must be held before the end of December this year, and the date for the election should be fixed no later than the end of 1993," Chikane said.

He said he believed the announcement of an election date would mark a significant watershed in the negotiations process.

His initiative follows that taken by the Anglican head Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who met KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.
Govt accused of double dealing

THE government launched a covert international campaign to discredit the ANC months after President FW de Klerk began negotiating with the movement, the Weekly Mail claimed on Friday.

But government spokesman Dave Steward denied the charge, saying "there was certainly not any agenda of any kind . . . it is not conscious policy to undermine the ANC." (B24-A1)

The Mail said Pretoria businessman Abel Rudman headed the international disinformation campaign. C Press 8/11/92

According to documents provided by Rudman, some R12-million was spent on the campaign, but government funding was cut back following last year's Inkathagate scandal and De Klerk's promise to end secret projects.

The project was finally closed down on August 26 last year.

A newspaper at the centre of the campaign, the Gaborone-based Newslink, was launched on August 31 1990, months after the government first began negotiations with the ANC.
ANC spells out transition plans

By Peter Denny

The ANC is preparing to spell out its transition plans, and the question of whether the ANC will have a powerful role in post-apartheid South Africa is the subject of much speculation. The ANC has been in power since 1994, and its leadership is facing increasing pressure to ensure that the transition is peaceful and democratic.

The ANC has a strong base in the black and coloured communities, and it has been able to maintain its power by accommodating the interests of these groups. However, the ANC's power base is becoming smaller as the white population becomes more integrated into South African society.

The ANC's leadership is facing a dilemma: how to maintain its power while also accommodating the interests of the white community. The ANC has been criticized for its failure to address the economic disparities that exist between the white and black communities.

The ANC's leadership is also facing pressure from within the ANC itself. Some members of the ANC are calling for a more radical approach to the transition. They argue that the ANC should be more aggressive in its efforts to challenge the existing power structures.

The ANC's leadership is facing a difficult decision: whether to continue to accommodate the interests of the white community, or to take a more radical approach to the transition. The ANC's decision will have significant implications for the future of South Africa.
DP moots amnesty proposal

Political Staff

A PROPOSAL for a conference of all political parties and organisations to adopt guidelines and principles for a general amnesty is to be made at the Democratic Party's national conference in Johannesburg next month.

It will also discuss a call for all private armies to be disbanded and an independent commission to be appointed as a matter of urgency to investigate the integration of all armed forces inside and outside South Africa.

The party will also discuss a call, made in a draft resolution by the DP's Bloemfontein West constituency, for the abolition of all laws discriminating against the gay community.

Much of the congress agenda, which was released yesterday, deals with already published, but not yet formally adopted, policy proposals on a new constitution, an electoral system, transition, local government, status of women, violence, empowerment, rural development, the aged, economic growth and price stability.
Angolan ban on Pik 'laughable'

Political Staff

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha has dismissed his ban from Angola as 'laughable' and the claim that South Africa is giving UNita military assistance as 'preposterous'.

Mr Botha was reacting to reports on the BBC originating from Radio Angola, which said that Luanda had declared Mr Botha persona non grata.

Government spokesmen yesterday confirmed that no formal notice had been received by South Africa.

According to the Angolans, Pretoria is supporting Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Mr Botha and his counterpart, Mr Pedro de Castro van Dunem Loy are expected to speak by telephone today in an effort to clarify the situation.

Foreign affairs sources obtained under embargo from Angolan diplomats at the weekend that such a link-up could be established.

Foreign affairs sources were unwilling to comment on the snub to Mr Botha until they had official confirmation from the Angolans.

Press spokesman Mr Awie Marais said South Africa was still willing to play a role in support of peace and the democratic process in Angola.

“We are still very clear that we are not willing to support any activity that uses force,” he said, denying allegations of military support to Unita.

Foreign affairs sources seemed deeply upset by Mr Van Dunem Loy's attack on Mr Botha, saying that he had “gone out of his way to be objective”.

They acknowledged, however, that there was a frail and sensitive relationship between the two countries in the light of the hostile history and the residual suspicions that persist.

Meanwhile, UN efforts to get Dr Savimbi and Mr Jos Santos together seem to have stalled. The BBC reported today that UN peacekeeping envoy Murray Golding was not traveling, as planned, to Huambo where Dr Savimbi was held up.

A ceasefire is largely holding across Angola but tension is acute and at the weekend shooting broke out in Viana, southeast of Luanda, and in central Malanje province, international aid officials said.

De Klerk in ‘deal’ to gag the CCB?

Johannesburg — Suspicions are growing in some quarters that the government is going to extraordinary lengths to prevent the Civil Co-operation Bureau from making embarrassing disclosures.

It was reported in a Sunday newspaper that the government struck a secret deal with the CCB six weeks ago involving massive pay-offs to former CCB members in exchange for the return of state assets.

‘Charge Webb with perjury’

Johannesburg — Former Civil Co-operation Bureau chairman, Major-General Edie Webb, should be charged with perjury following his confession last week at the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster that he had lied to the Harms Commission.

Democratic Party spokesman on Justice, Mr Douglas Gibson, yesterday challenged the_filled in by reporter_

Mr Gibson said: “General Webb has confessed to perjury and he must now be brought before a court and given a fair trial. (This would) show the public that the rule of law would be upheld.” — Sapa.

Hostel security puts agreement in jeopardy

The Argus Correspondent

Johannesburg — The government/ANC Record of Understanding is in danger of collapsing over the issue of hostel security.

Resistance by Transvaal Inkatha hostel-dwellers to the erection of fences around hostels has become a major stumbling block in the success of the agreement.

The ANC has accused the government of reneging on its agreement in the Record to fence hostels and ban the public display of weapons. The agreement was that violent hostel would be fenced by next Sunday.

The government has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the effectiveness of the hostel clauses in the Record of Understanding.

Spokesman for the Department of Local Government and Housing Mr Francois Jacobs said yesterday that Mr Justice Goldstone had instructed one of his committees to look into the matter, and a response was being awaited.

He said the government was committed to striving to attain the goals set out in the Record of Understanding, but that it had met with huge resistance when it came to carrying out the fencing-off of hostels.

Even ANC-leaning hostel-dwellers in a Transvaal hostel had threatened violent retribution if a fence was erected, Mr Jacobs said.
Democratic delays are not in the interests of the masses

We must therefore contest the notion that negotiations represent a failure for the democratic movement and a victory for the forces of apartheid and therefore that the more difficult we make negotiation, the more revolutionary we are.

Delays in peaceful transformation are not in the interests of the masses, who seek liberation now, and do not enhance our chances of effecting this transformation as well as we should.

Our strategic perspective should take into account that the democratic movement will proceed in various phases, each one of which has its regularities and objective and subjective demands.

Phase 1: The period leading up to the election of a constituent assembly and the establishment of an elected interim government of national unity.

Phase 2: The period of the drafting and the adoption of the new constitution by that assembly.

Phase 3: The period of the phasing-in of the new constitution which will include restructuring of state machinery and the general dismantling of apartheid.

Phase 4: The period of consolidation of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

At all stages, we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in a position to determine the correct path toward further democratic change, including the compromises that are necessary and the alliances to be formed to protect and advance this process.

The long-term goals of the national liberation struggle should not be confused with the immediate objectives we set for ourselves in each phase of the transition.

The objectives we set depend on the balance of forces at each stage.

In setting objectives for the present round of negotiations we must be clear that neither the ANC nor the regime can enforce a complete surrender of either party at the negotiating table.

In setting objectives today, our strategy should not focus narrowly on only the initial establishment of democracy, but also (and perhaps more importantly) on how to nurture, develop and consolidate that democracy. Our strategy must also focus on ensuring that new democracy is not undermined.

Strategic

Our broad objectives for the current phase (as distinct from longer-term goals) should therefore be:

- The establishment of a democratic constitution-making process.
- Ending the National Party’s monopoly of political power.
- Ensuring a meaningful link between democracy and economic empowerment.
- Minimising the threat to stability and democracy.

We have already accepted the desirability of an interim government — in which, of course, the ANC and the NP would be the major components.

Strategic: We need to consider right now are the SADF, SAP and the civil service in general.

It may become necessary to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement.

Some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of a multilateral (Cohesa type) agreements. Other elements of the settlement package would take the form of bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP — such agreements would end the two parties.

The thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa may be an issue on which we would enter into a bilateral agreement with the NP.

The question of a government of national unity after adoption of a new constitution, and the future of members of the security forces and the civil service, could be dealt with either as part of a bilateral agreement or as part of a multi-lateral agreement.
Non-racial election 'priority'

ALICE — Setting a date for the country's first non-racial elections is a top priority, the national vice-chairman of the SA Communist Party, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, said.

Opening the party's Border regional congress at the weekend, Mr Mhlaba said: "We need to agree on a date for elections with the government in our bilateral meetings and then continue negotiating other aspects."

Mr Mhlaba said it was important to secure some major agreements with the government before going into multilateral talks.

The congress, which was attended by 500 delegates, was told that the SACP needed its own programme of action so as not to duplicate what its alliance partners were doing.

The party noted with concern "concerned efforts to discredit it" by the Democratic Party, National Party, "liberal media" and SABC.

Mr Mhlaba told the delegates that the party has grown from a membership of 27 000 to 40 000.

"Next year must be the year for democratic elections. To win the elections gives us the right to govern, but not political and economical power," he said. — Ecna.
Mr. Leon Weesels

Dr. Shirley M. Mooring

Wessels a front-runner
Political Staff

LEADING Western Cape Democratic Party member Mr Norman Daniels has resigned from the party because of its decision to admit MPs from the House of Representatives to its ranks.

A former Cape Town City Councillor and well-known trade unionist, Mr Daniels was a member of the party's regional executive and its national executive.

He joined the DP last year together with the former rector of the University of Western Cape, Dr Richard van der Ross.

Mr Daniels said the DP's Kensington branch had been disbanded after all its members resigned.

The DP's decision to admit serving members of the House of Representatives into its membership was interpreted as being highly insensitive to what the so-called coloureds had suffered at the hands of the Nationalist government.

The DP had three MPs in the House of Delegates when Mr Daniels joined the party.
Clinton ‘good’ for SA

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Former South African ambassador to Washington Dr Piet Koornhof believes that the Clinton administration will be better, politically, for South Africa than the Bush one, provided the pace of political reform is speeded up.

Speaking at a Selwyn Segal lunch here in aid of a Jewish-run home for handicapped children, Dr Koornhof said he had received more co-operation from the Democrats than the Republicans when he was South African ambassador to the United States.

He said the Democrats were anxious to see a multi-party government set up in South Africa as soon as possible.

Dr Koornhof said he firmly believed President F W de Klerk and his government were intent on a speedy transition to democracy, and was confident they would succeed.

He conceded that many wrongs had been done in South Africa in the past. (Soul) CT 11/11/92
FW speaks to Bill
WASHINGTON - President FW de Klerk had his first direct conversation with President-elect Bill Clinton on Monday in a congratulatory telephone call from South Africa.

A spokesman for Clinton's office in Little Rock, Arkansas, said the two men had a "general discussion". De Klerk is the second South African leader to have spoken to Clinton in recent days.

The first was ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who telephoned Little Rock the day after the US election but found an exhausted Clinton asleep. Clinton called him back the next day.

11 die at concert
DAKAR - The death toll from a crush at a Senegalese pop concert has risen to 11, it was reported yesterday.

State radio had earlier said eight people were trampled to death and 31 injured on Sunday when crowds started jostling at a concert outside Dakar.

Aussie drinking ban
SYDNEY - Drinkers in Australia's booziest town have been banned from buying wine casks for 22 hours a day.

Liquor outlets in the west Australian Outback town of Halls Creek are also limiting sales to one wine box a customer in a bid to stem the rising tide of alcoholism.

Halls Creek, which boasts the Australian record for deaths, illness, violence and child neglect through alcohol, is already feeling the benefit of the later opening times.

"People are eating food for breakfast instead of lining up at the liquor store at 8.30 in the morning," a resident said.

25 die in collision
CAIRO - Eighteen children and seven teachers died when a school bus collided with a trailer truck on a highway near the Red Sea port of Safaga.

Police said yesterday 13 children, teachers and the bus driver were seriously injured and taken to hospital. The accident occurred on Monday night. Fifteen children and teachers with minor injuries were treated and discharged.

Anti-racist rally
BONN - More than 100,000 people took part in anti-racist rallies across Germany on Monday night to mark the 58th anniversary of a Nazi pogrom.

Police said yesterday the biggest rally was in Cologne, where tens of thousands attended a big rock concert, but there were also big gatherings in Munich, Dresden, Bielefeld, Wuppertal and Freiburg.

In Rostock, the east German port city that was troubled by a wave of far-right violence in August, marchers were harassed by a gang of slogan-chanting young neo-Nazis. Six were detained but released yesterday.

- Sapa-Reuters-AFP
democracy in SA will not secure a mass movement
Van der Merwe blames ANC power grab

Political Staff

NATIONAL Party secretary-general Dr Steffel van der Merwe is leaving active politics disillusioned with the way the transition is going and what he sees as the ANC's insistence on grasping power for itself, regardless of the country's interests.

Dr Van der Merwe, 52, said this yesterday after announcing on Monday he was retiring from the National Party job and from his parliamentary seat of Helderkruin at the end of the year.

He had been secretary-general for only a year, after being transferred there from the Cabinet, after being Minister of Education and Training, of Development Aid and of Information successively.

He emphasised that he was not unhappy with the NP, but agreed he was disillusioned with the way the politics of transition were going.

It was a pity that things were not developing faster and better, he said, putting the blame largely on the ANC.

The ANC was interested only in achieving power.

"...politics is about power. But it is still a pity they could not have taken a more rational and patriotic approach for the sake of the country."

Dr Van der Merwe said he believed he had become "stale" in politics. He had worked too many hours and the physical toll had been high. Setting up the new job had been tough and had "over-stressed personal relations in the process."

Dr Van der Merwe dismissed suggestions that his departure had anything to do with the simultaneous release of the De Meyer Commission report on incompetence and corruption in the Lebowa government.

Dr Van der Merwe said he had no firm plans, but intended setting up a political consultancy in Pretoria — "to see if I can't work less for more money."
Reform is alive and well, says FW

PRETORIA — Reform was alive and well and SA was on its way to a fully democratic constitution, President F W de Klerk told the Foreign Correspondents Association last night.

Speaking before leaving for London, De Klerk said the perception that government had lost its commitment to reform and was intent on clinging to power was based on groundless propaganda.

Negotiations and discussions on a bi-lateral and multilateral basis were taking place almost daily, he said.

In the case of Inkatha, significant differ-
NP MP to benefit first from law abolishing by-elections

AN NP member of the House of Representatives will be the first MP to get a seat in Parliament under the new law — pushed through by President F W de Klerk in the short session last month — abolishing by-elections.

The nomination will take place next month as De Klerk has 15 days from November 8, when the Bill became law, to invite the nominating party to exercise its' right. The party has 21 days from November 21 to nominate the new member.

Britstown MP Louis Hollande, who vacated his seat recently, is to be replaced and as he was an NP member on his last day as an MP, the NP has the right to nominate his successor. No election will be held and the party hierarchy will decide who replaces him in Parliament.

Should any of the nominal members who sit in Parliament as independents resign or die then the party with which they won their seats will nominate new members. In the case of ANC-aligned members it will revert to the DP.

The law gives the majority party in any of the houses of Parliament a distinct advantage as it is the majority party that will decide who gets the seat should a person be elected as an independent in the last election and then resign or die.

Should any MP cross the floor the party which he represented immediately prior to leaving is the "competent party".

The cleverly designed law appears to have been drafted with the precise intention of giving the NP the advantage as the majority party in both the House of Assembly and the House of Representatives.

The NP also appears to have known that State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe planned to resign. Both of them tendered their resignations within three weeks of the Bill being passed. Viljoen's resignation takes effect from December 1 and Van der Merwe's from December 31.

WHICH ARE THE AIRLINES BUSINESSMEN CHOOSE?
ANC back on track, says FW

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THERE was every reason to hope that the ANC was now back on the negotiation track, but significant difficulties existed with the In-
katsha Freedom Party, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Convergence in the views of some of the major parties on important as-
pects of constitutional reform had also taken place, he said in a speech to
the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg.

Mr De Klerk, who spoke before his departure last night for London for
talks with British Prime Minister Mr John Major and the Commonwealth,
said he was confident that progress was being made on the negotiations
front.

He said the government had held “fruitful” discussions with the PAC
and “negotiations and discussions on a bilateral and multilateral basis with
groupings across the political spectrum take place almost daily”.

Although there were significant diffi-
culties with the IFP, the government
was confident that “with the patience
and goodwill generated by the present
discussions, all parties will soon re-
turn to multi-party talks”.

Mr De Klerk said all parties now
accepted that the transition process
had to be structured in such a way that
a constitutional hiatus be avoided.

“A transitional (or interim or first)
constitution must therefore be agreed
upon and enacted by the present Par-
lament before elections leading to an
interim or transitional government
can take place.”

The ANC and other parties also ac-
ccepted the necessity for power-sharing
during the transitional period.

“Serious consideration is also being
given to a much longer term accep-
tance of this principle.

“All this because there is a growing
awareness that, despite our differ-
ences, it will be difficult for any one
party to govern South Africa alone.

“A government of national unity is
becoming a key concept.”

Mr De Klerk said there was also a
growing realisation that South Africa
could not be ruled on a monolithic
centralised basis and that meaningful
power to the regions was essential.

Sapa reports that Mr De Klerk said
that without the Further Indemnity
Act the government would not have
been able to honour its undertaking to
the ANC to release its political pris-
oners by November 15.

Nor would the government have
been able to indemnify many ANC
members who were “chargeable”. 
For hire

The sudden resignation was linked to a relationship with an attractive blonde personal assistant, Dr Van der Merwe, who declined to comment.

While sources in the NP claim that a romantic relationship in the office led to "dissatisfaction" among staff, personal assistant Miss Cathy McDonald yesterday refused to comment on the allegations.

"The poor guy - all the girls have been linked to him. It is really getting a bit much! I'm not going to say a word. It really is beneath me," she said.

Implications

Dr Van der Merwe said that he was not expediting any revelations surrounding his involvement as head of the Development Aid Department. "I am not aware of anything that could implicate me," he said.

The De Meyer Commission into the Development Aid scandal had begun before he joined the department and for the 14 months he was responsible, "there were no irregularities," he knew about, he said.

Dr Van der Merwe said he had just not felt the strength to continue in the run-up to the election.

Despite the retirement package he confirmed he would be receiving, Dr Van der Merwe said he would be forced to lead a "spartan life" unless he made money.

Dreaming

ANC negotiating committee spokesman, Mr Matthew Plessis, said yesterday that the organisation had no intention of hiring Dr Van der Merwe.

"He must be dreaming if he thinks we are going to hire him," he said.

To page 3
appeared in the credits as Rozanne Both, together with that of senior SABC director Hennie Human (the screenplay writer) who was identified by the pseudonym Henry Hyman.

As the responsible Minister, Van der Merwe—most probably on instructions from Tuyshuys—appointed Trotsky chairman of a task force dealing with films. SABC chairman Christo Viljoen, another Botha associate, who succeeded former ambassador Brand Fourie in this position, was also appointed to the task force.

One of the most dramatic developments under Van der Merwe was the sacking of former SABC DG Riaan Eksteen by Botha. Van der Merwe told a Nat meeting in Hennie's Helderberg constituency that the SABC would not have succeeded financially under the leadership of Eksteen. Yet the SABC a year later showed an approximate R20m profit— but only after it had adhered to generally accepted accounting procedures. In Eksteen's time the board did not approve of these procedures.

Next step for Van der Merwe was his move to Minister of Education & Development Aid in 1989, and a year later to Minister of Education & Training. In both departments Van der Merwe succeeded Gerrit Viljoen, who recently resigned as Minister of State in President F W de Klerk's office. Before that Viljoen spearheaded government's constitutional negotiations as the responsible Minister of the department.

During Viljoen's tenure at the department of Education & Training the FM uncovered a network of scandal and corruption which cost the taxpayer millions and which eventually led to the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry under Justice Leo van den Heever. (Current Affairs June 7 1988).

As a result some DET officials and the son of a former deputy DG were found guilty of charges ranging from theft and fraud to corruption and bribery. Similar corruption charges were later levelled against the Department of Development Aid. The De Meyer Commission, whose report on irregularities in Lebowa was released this week, was also appointed during Viljoen's tenure.

Van der Merwe's sudden resignation this week followed a telephone call by an anonymous female to the offices of an Afrikaans newspaper on Sunday. She claimed that he would resign because of personal reasons. But the FM was also told that there has been an administrative backlog in the offices of the NP's secretary-general. Van der Merwe, who is married and has three daughters, has indicated that he still supports De Klerk's initiatives.

Many political commentators feel that Van der Merwe's resignation is linked to the scandal that rocked the DET and Department of Development Aid. But this seems unlikely. Viljoen, during whose tenure the irregularities took place, had in effect been promoted to Constitutional Affairs; his deputy at the time, Sam de Beer, has since been given the DET.
Botha goes for sauvignon to dinner
Arms and the Manne

By JAN TALJAARD

FAR rightwingers across the country have been urged to join South African Defence Force commandos in rural areas in order to arm themselves.

The move appears to be a precautionary one, rather than part of a definite plan for armed subversion. But it indicates that, although the current strategy of the right is non-violent resistance, other options are being kept open.

The source of the call is unclear, but it has been surveyed through a range of far right structures over the past month. It is too widespread and emanates from too many quarters to have been orchestrated.

At the same time, influential rightwing groupings with links to the Conservative Party, are seriously courting former and serving South African Police and SADF officers with rightist sympathies.

One such officer is former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, who has been approached by EK/Vekom, an influential umbrella grouping headed by former chief of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald, to assist them in an advisory capacity.

A known far rightist, Viljoen is known to command considerable support among former SADF colleagues and troops.

Also being targeted for approach, The Weekly Mail has learnt, are the 18 police generals pensioned off in August. It was widely believed that the generals were the casualties of a restructuring programme aimed at bringing the force in line with political reforms.
The CP Ponders Passive Protest

BY JAN TAUVARD

strategic passive resistance

The CP has been trying to build a broader base for its passive resistance campaign, which has so far only been limited to the African National Congress (ANC). A public meeting later this week will discuss the strategy. The CP has already begun to organize more widespread protests in various regions.
Treurnicht calls for white election

PRETORIA. — The government owes whites an election, possibly in March next year, says Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

At a news conference in Pretoria, Dr Treurnicht accused the government of withholding reports on massive mismanagement in two self-governing territories to get legislation suspending by-elections passed.

He said the reports on Lebowa and KwaNdebele were released only six months after they were completed to save the government embarrassment.

Dr Treurnicht linked the timing of the release of the reports with the fact that certain cabinet ministers had resigned after legislation scrapping by-elections had been passed.

"It is not acceptable that reports already signed before May this year were released only after six months to avoid embarrassment for the government."

He said if the same measures had been applied as in the case of former cabinet minister Dr Connie Mulder, who was forced to resign because of "so-called" irregularities in his department, several ministers would have had to step down after the reports on Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

It would be totally unacceptable if the government simply proceeded with the creation of an interim government and a one-man, one-vote election without first giving voters who had put them in power the opportunity to judge them at the ballot box, said Dr Treurnicht.

Since the March 17 1992 referendum, in which white voters endorsed the government's reforms with an almost 70 per-

Dr Andries Treurnicht

cent majority, the government's support among whites had decreased "substantially", said Dr Treurnicht.

"I am convinced that the government owes whites an election."

He suggested March next year as an election date.

Any steps by the government amounting to the installation of an interim government or the establishment of a Constituent Assembly to write a new constitution would be "irresponsible and in conflict with the mood of whites as well as that of black peoples (volk)," he said.

Asked about Brigadier Hertzog Lerm, a key figure in the KwaNdebele report and now said to be a CP town councillor, Dr Treurnicht said thorough investigation had to be conducted.

"This is not the occasion to announce steps," he said. — Sapa.
US example shows way to democracy

FOUNDING FATHERS: A portrait of the Philadelphia Convention

WE THE PEOPLE: The text of the original copy of the US Constitution

Viewed such proposals from the perspective of regional rather than national interests.

Regarding this threat of dissolution of the union, the state of Virginia took the initiative.

It proposed a general trade convention to discuss the trade of the union.

It was from this trade convention, that the proposal for a general convention "to take into consideration the situation of the United States to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union".

An appeal was made to the 13 states to appoint commissioners who would form part of the constitution-making process.

The first obstacle was that one state, Rhode Island, refused to participate.

However, a letter signed by 64 New England slave holders and a Rhode Island was sent to Philadelphia pledging that they would use their influence to ensure that the matter was resolved.

The convention then began on May 25, 1787.

Its first task was to elect a presiding officer. George Washington was unanimously elected because of the popularity he had gained as a result of his role in the war of independence.

A committee of 13 was elected to prepare standing orders and rules governing the proceedings.

The following procedures were agreed on and adopted:

- that representation at the convention was on the basis of states, rather than individual opinion;
- that each state had one vote;
- that seven states made a quorum;
- that although a majority of states could decide a question, the delegates of any state could postpone the vote on a question until the following day.

It was decided that delegates should be protected from criticism and their discussion should take place free of public opinion.

The sessions were therefore to be strictly confidential. Nothing was to be recorded unless the consent of the House and delegates to the convention could inspect the journal in which deliberations were entered.

The main business of the convention - drafting what came to be known as the 1789 Constitution of the United States of America - began in earnest on May 25, 1787.

The convention remained in session until 17 September 1789.

Although the convention originated among an elite white, largely property owning, men, the relatively democratic character of its birth meant that the same basic document today has great popular legitimacy and it gives every American citizen the right to vote.

(Adapted from "The Making of the Constitution of the United States" by Max Farrand — New Haven and London Yale University Press)
Full negotiations by year-end.
in new initiatives
100 constitutional changes

wanted and more
Broederbond divided over pact with Mandela

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The discord came when the adviser of the Broederbond and the writer of an article on the Broederbond's relations with the National Party were involved in a dispute. The adviser of the Broederbond, who is also a member of the National Party, accused the writer of being biased and inaccurate in his article. The writer, on the other hand, defended his article, accusing the adviser of being偏见. The two parties are in disagreement and the issue is unresolved.

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The issue at hand is the Broederbond's relationship with the National Party, which is a conservative political party in South Africa. The Broederbond is a historical and political organization that has been controversial due to its involvement in politics and its links to apartheid. The Broederbond's members are divided on the issue of whether to remain neutral or to support the National Party, which is seen as a more conservative option.

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The Broederbond's leader, Mr. De Lange, expressed two views on the issue. On one hand, he believes that the Broederbond should remain neutral and not become involved in politics. On the other hand, he believes that the Broederbond should support the National Party, which he sees as the more viable option for preserving the Broederbond's interests.

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The issue of the Broederbond's relationship with the National Party is not just a matter of ideological differences, but also a matter of political strategy. The Broederbond's leader, Mr. De Lange, is under pressure to make a decision that will benefit the Broederbond in the long run. The decision will have implications for the Broederbond's future and its ability to remain relevant in South African politics.
SA could be like Angola — Meyer
DP unveils assembly plan

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has unveiled the first detailed proposals for a National Assembly elected by proportional representation.

It envisages a lower House of Parliament with 400 members, 300 to be elected by a country divided into 100 constituencies.

The other 100 would come from “national lists” compiled by parties and would be used to ensure that the composition of the National Assembly reflects the actual preference of voters: “So that if a party gets 40% of the vote it gets 40% of the seats,” DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew explained at the party’s national congress here.

The crucial congress effectively amounts to the launch of a “new look” Democratic Party, which is making a bid to shake off its predominantly white, middle-class image.

Yesterday about one-third of the delegates were other than whites.
Multi-party talks soon?

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Full multi-party negotiations could restart by February next year if government attempts to woo Inkatha back to the talks table are successful.

It is understood that a major thrust of the government's initiative is a "special deal" for Natal in negotiations and a joint legislature for the province is even being considered. This follows a fresh round of bilateral meetings between the government on the one hand and the IFP, the ANC and the PAC on the other.

A potential stumbling block — the government's failure to meet the November 15 deadline for fencing off certain hostels — has apparently been resolved with the ANC accepting that the government is committed to the action. CT 14/11/92
New centre-right party formed in view of change

JOHANNESBURG. — A new addition to the South African political arena, the United Federal Party, has been launched here.

Born out of severe discontent with "the pandemonium and insecurity prevailing in the country ... the UPP is a multiracial centrist multipurpose type organisation," its executive council spokesman, Mr Barry Nilsson, told a news conference yesterday.

Chaired by former SABC television presenter Justice Tsangani — who did not attend the conference — the nine-member executive council includes several businessmen, a veterinarian surgeon, a manpower consultant and a retired couple.

"Our backbone is made up of members of the business sector who will join forces with innovative political architects to promote pragmatic ideologies. Some verge on the unconventional, but are yet highly workable," Mr Nilsson said.

Asked if the party had a financial support base, Mr Nilsson replied they had approached Texas billionaire and once US presidential candidate Mr Ross Perot, for assistance.

The party would give priority to pragmatic ideas, which included:

■ The restoration of business confidence and a favourable climate for international trade through incentives, concessions and tax rebates.

■ The establishment of a disinformation or propaganda neutralising centre. "The best political psychologists and public strategists will publicly ensure the annihilation of the evil communist fables and doctrines."

■ Mobilising security forces to "clean up the country, apprehending as many criminals as possible."

The security forces would also apply strict influx control to prevent foreigners from entering the country and would also set up work colonies where "criminal elements from society can make a positive contribution to society."

"Roman military pattern control would also be applied to townships and, in fact, to all voting wards throughout the country." Other ideas were:

■ Revising labour practices and conduct codes with built-in guarantees for employers and investors.

■ The initiation of a comprehensive Aids programme which would include legalising prostitution and twice-yearly health examinations for all South Africans. — Sapa.
Democracy on way in SA, says De Klerk

GARNER THOMSON
Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. — President De Klerk has warned that the "gratification of some demands" by South Africa's newly enfranchised voters would have to be deferred until economic growth had generated the wealth to meet them.

But "moderate South Africans" would play a crucial role in meeting such challenges and help to ensure that the country did not slide into the Third World decline that had characterised so much of the rest of the continent.

In an essentially optimistic speech delivered last night at the South Africa Club's annual banquet at London's Savoy Hotel, Mr. De Klerk promised his country "substantial change" within "essential continuity".

There had been convergence in the views of some of the major parties on issues such as the need to avoid a constitutional hiatus, the principle of power-sharing and the devolution of power.

"For these reasons I say that constitutional reform is alive and well," he said. "South Africa is well on its way to a new and fully democratic constitution which will have the support of the majority of all our people."

South Africa still had serious and unacceptable violence, and serious economic problems to contend with. But, "three and a half years ago, we were heading nowhere," he said.

"We were isolated. The prospects for our economy were disastrous. We were locked into an accelerating downward spiral of revolutionary uprisings and states of emergency.

"Today we are well on the way to a negotiated settlement with decent prospects for all."

Mr. De Klerk acknowledged that in February 1990 too many observers had been over-optimistic.

"Now, too many are over-pessimistic."

"The reality is that we are involved in a lengthy, delicate and difficult process which does not lend itself to simplistic analyses or rigid timetables. But we know where we are going. That is forward, towards a new and truly just dispensation."

Mr De Klerk also welcomed the encouragement South Africa received from abroad. But, he cautioned, the situation in South Africa was more complicated than it might appear at first sight.

"If foreign involvement is not handled carefully, if it is not administered in the correct dosage and at the right time, it could become part of the problem instead of part of the cure."

Earlier, Mr De Klerk met leader of the Labour Party Mr. John Smith and the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

A spokesman for Mr Smith's office said the talks were "wide-ranging and constructive". Covering in detail obstacles still in the way of formal resumption of negotiations on a new, democratic and nonracial constitution for South Africa, particularly the continuing problems of violence.

Mr Smith stressed the need for progress toward an interim government of national unity and for an election for a constituent assembly.

Chief Emeka's office said the meeting was private and no statement would be issued.
'Let’s grasp future hands-on Broederbond'

MR Pieter de Lange, chairman of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, loves to work with his hands. His garage at home in Linden, Johannesburg, is filled with carpentry tools, hanging neatly from racks.

Mr De Lange, who took over as Broederbond chairman in 1963, uses his hands to explain his conception of South Africa today and its role in the rapidly changing society.

The fingers and thumb represent the separate cultural and language components which make up South Africa, the palm represents the inseparable nature of the different parts.

For the hand to be strong, all the fingers must be healthy, says Mr De Lange, holding up his hand to illustrate the point.

"If I eliminate the pinkie, the grasp is fairly weak. With a healthy pinkie, I have a strong grasp. We, as a nation, want to reach out and grasp the future strongly."

A former professor of didactic education and a man with an inclination to philosophise, Mr De Lange, 62, concedes that the problem facing South Africans goes beyond recognising that the cultural groups, like the different parts of the hand, are interdependent.

"The exact balance between diversity and community is a pragmatic question," he remarks in an interview in his book-lined study. "There will be times when we will over-emphasise diversity. But, there also will be times when community will be over-emphasised."

His analogy between South Africa and the hand helps him define the 50 000-member Broederbond, which is seen by its political enemies as an arcane, racially exclusive and manipulative organisation.

"It is an organisation of Afrikaner males," he states. "Its mission, as defined again recently, is to promote Afrikaner interests in such a manner that it promotes everyone’s interests."

The bespectacled Mr De Lange does not elaborate, but it is common cause that the Broederbond played a critical role in pressuring the case for power-sharing in South Africa, having circulated a "discussion document" among its members advocating an end to white rule as early as 1966.

Enlightened self-interest — the negotiated end to exclusive white rule — serves the interests of South Africa as a whole as well as the Afrikaners in particular, posits Mr De Lange.

Elected Broederbond chairman in mid-1963 in place of Professor Carel Bossert, the son-in-law of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, unbending apostle of apartheid, Mr De Lange summarises the differences between conservative and modernising factions of the Broederbond at the time.

"He represented the section within the Broederbond who were of the opinion that you could promote Afrikaner interests in isolation, whereas the opposing group — of which I became the leader — were of the conviction that the interests of South Africa had become so interdependent that the only way to promote Afrikaner interests was to promote everybody’s interests."

The South African Communist Party, confronted with accusations from the ruling National Party (all of whose top leaders are Broeders) that it is manipulating Mr Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress, counters by depicting the Broederbond as a manipulative cabal within the NP.

The charge is put to Mr De Lange, who was among the group of avant garde Afrikaners who pioneered contacts with the ANC in the 1980s, when it was still an outlawed organisation.

"They are comparing two situations which are not readily comparable," he replies quietly but adamantly.

"They are a political movement (which aspires to power). We don’t want to become a ruling political party."

"Our relationship with members of the NP within our ranks or the NP as a formal organisation is completely different from the relationship of the SACP with the ANC."

The SACP notes that its decision to become a secret organisation was forced upon it by a decree outlawing it in 1950 and that within two years of the banning order being lifted it resurfaced as an open organisation.

The Broederbond, the SACP observes further, did not have a similar excuse for its secrecy and yet its membership is still secret.

These points are relayed to Mr De Lange. He deflects the criticism with a barely suppressed chuckle: "In our case, secrecy became a habit," he states.

Then he responds seriously: "If I may express a personal opinion, I don’t think secrecy is really necessary. There is nothing that we do that can’t stand the light of day... I have come into the open. I speak openly on these matters."

The decision by the Broederbond to become a secret organisation a few years after its formation in 1918 was, Mr De Lange recalls, prompted by fear that Broeders would be discriminated against in an economy largely controlled by...
English-speakers.

But, Mr De Lange discloses, the Broederbond is reassessing many of its long-standing traditions, including its covert membership and modus operandi and its racially and sexually restrictive composition (membership is limited to carefully selected white Protestant Afrikaner men).

"All these issues are under discussion at the moment," says Mr De Lange. "We are focussing on ourselves, assessing the effectiveness of the organisation. The popular issues of the day come to the fore."

One of the issues which is being debated by Broeders is the need - as Mr De Lange puts it - "to get beyond race and gender", to open the ranks of the Broederbond to Afrikaners who are not white and to Afrikaans women.

A questionnaire is being prepared and will be put to members early next year, meaning that a decision on these central issues could be made in 1993, the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Broederbond.

Mr De Lange believes gender may prove to be a trickier question than race, that it will be easier to admit coloured Afrikaans-speaking men than white Afrikaans women.

He admits to espousing an "anthropological view of man", saying it is normal for men to congregate among themselves, just as it is normal to women to get together as women and, in a different context, for men and women to enjoy one another's company.

"The insistence that every male organisation should be open is not recognising the nature of man, of male man," says Mr De Lange.

He denies, however, that he is prejudiced against women. "I have three daughters and I don't think there should be any restrictions on a female realising her full capabilities."

Of the Broederbond's role in the future South Africa, Mr De Lange says: "I hope the Broederbond will reposition itself in such a manner that it can play a constructive role in helping to create our common future."
Coloureds, see ANC as black group

By Amos Masina
People are the power behind a constitution

SOMETHING the participants in Codesa are correctly making the point that Codesa is not a proper forum to draft and adopt a constitution for South Africa.

But there seems to inexplicable resistance to doing something about democratising the process from other quarters.

This re-affirms the view that political parties which played a decisive role in the authoritarian apartheid policies of the past, can in no way stand up and claim to be disciples of democracy.

The most fundamental thing that confers legitimacy on the constitution of a country, is the extent to which its people recognise the constitution as being legitimate.

And it is only to the extent that they regard it as being legitimate, that they will feel themselves bound by the provisions of that constitution.

People will only regard a future constitution as legally and morally binding if they are satisfied that they were somehow involved in its formulation and adoption.
Time running out for SA says ambassador

PRINCETON LYMANY, the US's new ambassador to South Africa, believes the country is reaching the end of the period of hope created by President FW de Klerk's reform speech in February 1990.

Unless there was an interim government by early next year and elections for a non-racial government within a year, he warned, the country could reach a point of no return.

Disillusionment would set in among the public and the flight of skilled people abroad could become unstoppable.

The US envoy gave this sombre assessment during a wide-ranging interview this week, the first formal one since his arrival in the country two months ago.

Although optimistic about the quality of political leadership in the country and long-term prospects once stability returned, he repeatedly emphasised the importance of halting the drift to violence which in some parts of the country could be compared with what had happened in Yugoslavia and Somalia.

"If people do not see results from negotiations, they will become discouraged. That does not make it impossible to turn the situation around, but it will make it all the more difficult to bring people back."

**Investment**

"If you have been out of a job for two years and are told that in a year's time there might be an election and at least another year is needed before bringing back investment, you are going to say: 'What's in it for me?'"

At that point people would be tempted to search for alternatives to negotiations.

"I have a great sense of the need for urgency," he said.

The arrival of the veteran diplomat — he has been in the country's foreign service for 31 years — just preceded the change in administration in his own country.

On the immediate future, he foresaw both change and continuity in Africa policy following Mr Bill Clinton's victory.

The continuity would be the promotion of democracy and development in Africa and the support for UN peacekeeping efforts in the country.

Change would be found in the way the US sought to encourage progress in negotiations. There were three distinct stages. In the first, the negotiating phase, the US would continue providing support through non-governmental agencies, but the country could not expect significant development aid.

Stage two was an interim government. During this stage the US would be guided by the internal parties as to what sort of assistance should be offered.

If there was a clear signal for assistance, the Clinton administration would be "very supportive". If there were mixed signals, the administration would most likely hold back.

**Economy**

The last stage, when an elected new government was in place, involved major changes to the South African economy and that of the region.

The South African economy, he said, would have to change.

"It has become very capital intensive recently. Jobs have not been created and the economy will have to change internally as well as regionally. If that does not take place, nothing will happen regionally."

Mr Lyman said he believed the needs of the region were so enormous that he did not expect to see an early dividend, even if there was political stability. But if looked at over the longer term, up to 20 years, the potential advantages were enormous.

"There has been so much famine and war in Africa that there is danger that Americans may become dispirited about Africa. But there is a different view about South Africa: a belief that it has the potential to become a democratic government and an economic powerhouse," he said.

The role of the US in the region with the end of the Cold War has also changed.

Under the Clinton administration, greater reliance on multilateral forces could be expected. There would thus be strong support for the United Nations' presence in South Africa aimed at preventing violence.

**War**

"The problem about violence is that once it gets beyond a certain point, there is very little outsiders can do about it. The trick is to avoid it happening. Once it happens, one is stuck with trying to contain the situation, but peace-making in the middle of a civil war is very difficult," he said.

Is the region inherently unstable?

"There is no reason why it should be, but a low-level civil war can be carried out for a long time without any major outside interference."

"If the war is being fought at the level of AK-47s it can go on for a long time and the outside world cannot do much about it. The lessons of Yugoslavia and Somalia are that once you cross a certain line, you cannot come back. That is the concern about Natal," he said.

But, says Mr Lyman, one thing is clear: to say negotiations cannot continue until there is an end to violence is to make negotiations hostage to violence.

"It puts the perpetrators of violence in control of the process."

Report: BRIAN POTTINGER

Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN
A revolution is under way in Africa. From South Africa to Ethiopia, from Kenya to Zaire, Africans are struggling to achieve political and economic freedoms that we Americans often take for granted.

If we are to lead a global alliance for democracy, we must be willing to work as hard in Africa as we are working in other parts of the world. That means putting the same kind of energy into helping South Africans overcome the legacy of apartheid as we do into helping the peoples of the former Soviet Union overcome the legacy of communism. It means opposing political oppression across Africa as firmly as we oppose political oppression in Asia and the Middle East. Over the past three years, Africans have made great strides towards democracy. But we must not allow this progress to lull us into complacency.

As recent events in Ethiopia and South Africa have reminded us, the road to democracy in Africa, as in other parts of the world, will be long and difficult.

Africans must take the lead in addressing the underlying causes of the continent's failure to develop stable democratic governments and prosperous economies. Among those causes are failed statist economic policies, bureaucratic corruption and one-party rule. A growing number of African leaders are beginning to take up these challenges and they deserve our strong support.

Our top priority must be to foster democracy. We cannot guarantee the success of the democratic experiments, but there are several actions we could take that would improve the chances that those experiments will succeed.

First, we must reform our aid programmes to ensure that the assistance we provide truly benefits Africans and encourages the development of democratic institutions and free-market economies.

In the '80s the Reagan and Bush administrations provided record amounts of aid to Africa. But much of that aid was used to support corrupt, dictatorial regimes. I am confident that Americans will support generous assistance to Africa if they believe that it will be used effectively to assist those struggling for democracy and economic opportunity — and not to curry favour with their oppressors.

We must also reform the way we deliver aid to Africa. The existing structure is too large and cumbersome and too much money is spent on bureaucracy and consultants.

A second step we should take to encourage progress in Africa is to support measures to strengthen UN peacekeeping capabilities.

War is the enemy of democracy. Unless we are willing to commit ourselves to creating international mechanisms that preserve the peace, we are likely to witness an unending series of humanitarian crises.

Finally, we need to devote special attention to the struggle for democracy in South Africa. The stakes there are very high and what happens in South Africa will inevitably affect the prospects for democracy and economic growth in the rest of the continent.

We need to do three things to encourage the transition to democracy in South Africa.

First, we must work to help end the violence that has ravaged black townships and threatened the Codesa process.

Second, we should maintain all remaining state and local sanctions, as well as diplomatic pressure, until there is an irreversible, full, and fair accommodation with the black majority to create a democratic government with full rights for all its citizens.

We should also continue the current restrictions on South Africa's access to international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, until this goal is reached.

Finally, when the transition to democracy is assured, a Clinton administration will begin to develop a programme of aid and investment incentives that can be used to help a democratically elected government overcome the bitter legacy of apartheid.

*This is an edited version of an article which first appeared in Africa Report. Copyright to the African-American Institute.*
Fired-up DP aims high

THE Democratic Party emerged from a two-day national congress yesterday aiming at a new image as a political party for all South Africans — and believing it could one day come to power.

"No other party has proven as we did today that the DP is a party for all South Africans," DP leader Zach de Beer told about 300 delegates in his closing address.

The congress resolved to take wide-ranging steps to ensure its growing membership among all population groups is more represented in party structures — including the top echelons.

"Call it affirmative action, call it what you like, but it is necessary," DP member and former University of the Western Cape rector Richard van der Ross told congress.

But already the party, which Dr de Beer dubbed "the new DP for the new South Africa", presented a changed face. Delegates from traditional DP powerbases like Houghton and Wynberg sat next to delegates from newly-established branches in Alexandra, Tembisa and Soweto.
Unpopular, but Nats still supported by most whites

MOST whites think the government is making a mess of running the country, but are prepared to continue supporting the National Party.

The reason, it would appear, is that they are even less impressed with the performance of its chief rival and only serious contender for power - the ANC.

A survey conducted among 1,000 whites by Market and Opinion Surveys for the Sunday Times in October this year shows whites think the government has handled most issues poorly.

Crime
The running of the economy received the worst rating, with 69 percent of respondents believing it was being handled poorly or very poorly.

The surveyors ranked respondents' opinions on an index of 0 to 100. The government's handling of the economy received an index rating of 25, its handling of negotiations with the ANC 41, its response to ANC demands 31 and the manner in which it dealt with the controversy surrounding the national anthem and flag 29.

The only two issues perceived as being reasonably handled by the government were crime prevention by police (55) and relations between the Ciskei and South Africa (31).

Despite this vote of no-confidence in the government's performance, 51 percent of the respondents said they would vote for the National Party if a parliamentary election was held today - a growth of five percent in support since March this year.

Voter support for the DP increased by three percent to 13 percent, while support for the Conservative Party dropped nine percent to 21 percent. The ANC would receive a margin of 44 percent support among whites in an election, the survey shows.

Most of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents said they would vote for the NP (58 percent) or the CP (29 percent) while most of the English-speaking respondents said they would vote for the NP (47 percent) or the DP (30 percent).

The survey shows a sharp downward rating of the ANC and its president Nelson Mandela.

Blow
Over 80 percent of the respondents held a poor opinion of the ANC while over 70 percent held the same opinion of Mr Mandela and the organisation's chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa.

Over 65 percent of the respondents said their opinion of Mr Mandela had worsened and, 70 percent indicated their opinion of the organisation had also changed for the worse over the past eight months.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi emerged as the political leader that 56 percent of respondents held in high esteem, second only to President de Klerk, who was favourably rated by 86 percent.
STATE President FW de Klerk said on Friday that constitutional reform was alive and well in SA and a negotiated settlement was in sight.

"SA is well on its way to a new fully democratic constitution which will have the support of the majority of all our people," he said.

"Constitutional reform is alive and well," he added in a speech prepared for delivery to the SA Club, which groups British businessmen and politicians with South Africans living in Britain.

De Klerk, who arrived in Britain earlier for a three-day private visit, said he believed the ANC was "back on the negotiation track" to carry forward the reform process he launched in February 1990.
ANC and government in talks

Representatives of the government and the ANC on Friday held talks as a follow-up to bilateral meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa.

"Progress in the implementation of the Record of Understanding of 26 September 1992, was noted. It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon to ensure further implementation," said a terse statement issued by both parties. It is believed the meeting was held to discuss the agenda of a proposed meeting between the two parties later this month.
Mr Pheko, you do yourself a disfavour

By GORDON FREER

INTERNATIONAL law is not a fixed, stable feature of the international system.

It is often contradictory and fluctuates wildly as the international system changes.

Events happen around the globe, not according to set patterns, but rather as people make them happen.

International law has to catch up. It changes as people and events force change upon it.

On occasions something happens beyond these guidelines and international law has to include these events.

There is an debate that argues that SA is not a legitimate country because the government Acts that gave the territory self-government and independence never took the indigenous people into consideration.

This argument is put forward by M Pheko in his recently-published book South Africa: The betrayal of a colonised people.

Pheko goes further in his argument stating that SA is still a colony for this reason, and that the government of SA has no right to negotiate because it is not a government of a country but rather of an "alien people".

His primary fault is that he does not take the ever-changing nature of international law into consideration.

What is regarded as correct today was not necessarily regarded as correct 200 or even 50 or 10 years ago. This is what happened in the colonial debate.

The definition of a colony is "a collection of people whose origin is in some other country, and who retain the languages, customs and allegiances of that country, but whose social and economic life is sustained by the place to which they have moved."

In other words a colony consists of people who move from 'home' and maintain all their ties to 'home' while governing in another country.

SA clearly does not fall into this definition. The people who regard themselves as South Africans are duplicated nowhere else in the world.

While the system of government in SA may be illegitimate, the people in government are not ruled to favour any outside powers but rather to favour themselves. They serve no interests other than their own in controlling their 'home'. The government may be illegitimate but the nation is not.

Pheko argues that SA is a colony not only because its government is made up of 'alien' people, but also because the State has not been recognised as an independent entity in the international system.

There are two primary ways of granting a state international legitimacy.

Firstly, a state has to fulfil three qualifications: it has to have territory, a stable population and a government to rule over the population and territory and which can engage with other governments.

Secondly, the international community must recognise and enter into relations with the state.

In both cases SA qualifies as a state. It fulfils the three qualifications in the first case and in the second it has been given international status by other states entering into negotiations with it.

By entering into relations with SA, states do not necessarily agree with Pretoria's policies.

They recognise the state as independent however, because they did not first ask Britain's permission.

Even the OAU and other African states have recognised the State of SA while obviously not necessarily agreeing with the government's policies.

The OAU has recently visited SA on a fact-finding mission.

Pheko falls into the trap of equating recognition of the state with recognition of the government and approval of its policies.

One of Pheko's main contentions is that the 'alien settlers' were allowed to vote on the issue of SA independence to the exclusion of the indigenous people of SA.

The injustice of this act is not denied, but, once again, it is the legitimacy of government not of the state which is affected.

He further implies that the 'alien settlers' should not be allowed to vote at all because it is not their country.

However, former colonial settlers in other colonies in Africa were granted the right to vote on the coming of independence. Yet Pheko argues that SA should follow the same rules in the transition to independence.

The definition of a settler has become too elastic to be applied to a population which has lived in a territory for over 100 years. Taking the argument to the extreme: Should white Americans return to their European 'home'?

Americans of Hispanic origin in Latin America would have to return to the Iberian Peninsula and those of Arabian descent would remove themselves from North Africa, the greater Middle East and the Arabian peninsula.

Pheko's argument falters on a number of misinterpretations and contradictions.

Historical injustices can be corrected in the present, but it will require taking all present factors into consideration.

The clock of time cannot be turned back.

To concentrate on and grumble about the recognized injustices of the past while the future is being moulded, is to weaken your position in the present and to undermine your role in the future.

The writer is a staff member in the Department of International Relations, University of the Witwatersrand.
British govt denies Major snubbed FW

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement's claim that UK Prime Minister John Major "snubbed" President FW de Klerk by not joining him to watch the historic rugby test between SA and England was denounced strongly by a spokesman at No 10 Downing Street yesterday.

"It simply is not true," she said. "The Prime Minister made a special effort to drive to London from his constituency in Huntingdon to meet De Klerk, in spite of a heavy . . . schedule over the weekend.

"He also especially asked Peter Brooke, who as Heritage Secretary is responsible for sport, to come in at noon on Saturday and escort De Klerk to Twickenham."

And, it was pointed out, De Klerk was Major's guest at Twickenham for the England-Australia final of the World Cup.

According to the schedule issued by the SA embassy, De Klerk and Major were due to leave from Downing Street for Twickenham after their 11am meeting on Saturday. But no official announcement was made by Downing Street.

Snubbed 8/11/92

Saturday was the 21st birthday of Major's daughter — and the celebration was "only one of the reasons why he could not join De Klerk."

Asked if the South Africans had felt angry — as reported in one newspaper — about the alleged snub, SA team manager Abie Malan said: "It's mad to even suggest such a thing."

Sapa-AP reports that De Klerk and Major discussed progress in SA's constitutional talks at their meeting.

"The prime minister renewed his encouragement for talks on the constitutional process in SA, said the spokesman. He described the mood of the 70-minute meeting as "constructive"."

On Friday, De Klerk told the SA Club that constitutional reform was "alive and well" in SA.

"Three-and-a-half years ago we were heading nowhere," he said. "We were isolated. We are now swimming with the tide of world history. We are in step with the free world in every sense."
De Klerk warns ANC

LONDON - President FW de Klerk has vowed to continue white minority rule indefinitely unless the African National Congress agrees to his demands for power sharing, according to the London Sunday Times.

De Klerk is said to have taken "a hardline stance" to head off National Party MPs who accuse him of giving too much away in talks with the ANC.

woos blacks

The Democratic Party is to take far-reaching measures, including the promotion of blacks to leadership positions, to broaden its image and attract black supporters.

The decision was taken at the DP's national congress in Johannesburg at the weekend.

Black delegates told the congress of intimidation by members of rival organisations, especially the African National Congress.

DP's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said the party aimed to win between 10 and 12 percent of the vote in the country's first democratic elections.

in brief

The newspaper quotes De Klerk as saying no deal will be made unless the ANC fully accepts NP's "fundamental requirements".

These, the paper reports, include the installation of a government of national unity, the introduction of a Bill of Rights to protect minorities and individuals and provision for strong regional government.

Savonian Foreign News Service.
Govt hopeful

Outcome of meeting with ANC could pave way to full-blown negotiations.

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE South African Government's hopes that full-blown negotiations will resume before the end of the year rest on talks-about-talks which get underway with the African National Congress next week.

There were other signs following a series of meetings between Government negotiators and various organisations.

During his visit to London at the weekend State President F W de Klerk told the British media he hoped all parties would meet before the end of 1992.

The PAC's chief negotiator, Mr Goly Ibrahim, who met the NP's Roelf Meyer last Wednesday, yesterday said his organisation and the Government would meet on December 9 to finalise a new and inclusive negotiations forum.

Soweto also learned Mr Meyer met IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.

The government and ANC are scheduled to hold a top-level 'bush summit' on November 29.
DP ends congress with plan to change image

THE Democratic Party (DP) emerged from a two-day national congress on Saturday aiming at a new image as a political party for all South Africans and believing it could one day come to power.

"No other party has proven as we did today that the DP is a party for all South Africans," DP leader Zach de Beer told some 350 delegates in his closing address.

The congress resolved to take wide-ranging steps to ensure that its growing membership among all population groups become represented more in its party structures - including in the DP's top echelons.

"Call it affirmative action, call it what you like but it is necessary," DP member and former University of the Western Cape rector Richard van der Ross told the congress.

Our Political Staff reports that the DP unveiled the first detailed proposals for a national assembly elected by proportional representation.

It envisages a lower house of parliament with 400 members, 400 of whom would be elected by a country divided into 100 constituencies.

The other 100 would come from "national lists" compiled by parties and would be used to ensure that the composition of the national assembly reflected the actual preference of voters.

"So that if a party gets 40% of the vote it gets 40% of the seats," DP national chairman Ken Andrew explained.

The crucial congress effectively amounts to the launch of a "new look" DP, which is bidding to shake off its predominantly white, middle-class image.

Yesterday about one-third of the delegates were other than whites.

They heard party leader Zach de Beer say the party had the potential "to rule the country one day".

De Beer said new branches were being opened across the country with new members and people being drawn to the DP because it was not tainted by corruption or violence.

Andrew, explaining the DP's plan for a new electoral system, said a senate was also envisaged and each federal state would be allowed to elect a minimum of four and a maximum of nine senators.

Berea MP Dennis Worrall, explained that the national assembly and the senate would have "co-equal" powers, except in respect of appropriation and other money powers, where the national assembly would be able to override the objection of the senate.

There would also be state assemblies, Worrall said. - Sapa.

Govt, CCB keep talking

STEPHANE BOTHMA

NEGOTIATIONS between former CCB members and government in a bid to reach an out-of-court settlement for improved retirement packages could result in the postponement of Transvaal Supreme Court hearings due to start today.

The CCB and government have asked Judge President C F Elloff to postpone two civil hearings set down for today.

Another 21 similar hearings were scheduled for February, amid continuing mediation in the presence of the Ombudsman, Judge P J van der Walt, over government's contractual obligations to the former unit.

ROBIN HOO

Income statement

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Talks to continue, says joint statement

ANC and government negotiators are pressing ahead with bilateral talks despite government's alleged refusal to fully implement undertakings given in the record of understanding and new disclosures of alleged corruption and dirty tricks.

While no date has been set for a formal boxenraad between the ANC and government, neither party appeared concerned at the weekend that progress had not been fenced by the November 15 deadline.

A statement issued by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at the weekend made no reference to hostels. "Progress in the implementation of the record of understanding was noted. It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon to ensure further implementation," the statement said.

Some progress towards implementation of the record was achieved at the weekend when 42 political prisoners were released.

A senior ANC source said government's refusal to fence hostels by yesterday's deadline would not affect talks. The ANC was aware of the difficulties and was itself meeting hostel dweller organisations to "try and work something out".

Ramaphosa and Meyer agreed at the weekend to hold several meetings to deal with the record's implementation.

At a weekend meeting of the Campaign for Open Media in Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said the ANC regarded itself as "well within the transition process".

"We see the next phase being the period from the establishment of the transitional executive council leading up to the election of the constituent assembly and the establishment of an elected interim government of national unity," he said. After this, a new constitution would be drafted.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said disclosures that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer "out of political necessity" had authorised the covert Operation Echoes, aimed at undermining the ANC, would not affect bilateral talks.

Macozoma said "the purity of a particular individual" would not affect the ANC's decision to forge ahead with talks.

The ANC source said President F W de Klerk's announcement last week that government would stand by agreements reached during Codesa II would boost the negotiation process.

Government is believed to be trying to bring Inkatha back into negotiations before it continues with a second high-profile bilateral meeting with the ANC.

However, Macozoma said army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring was becoming a serious stumbling block in the way of fresh talks between the ANC and government.

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Legal challenge to Bop death penalty

LAWYERS for Human Rights (LHR) would institute legal action challenging the constitutionality of the death penalty in Bophuthatswana, a spokesman for LHR said at the weekend.

The move followed a successful urgent application by LHR in the Mmabatho Supreme Court on Friday for the stay of execution of three death row prisoners. Bophuthatswana Chief Justice Theal Stewart granted a 90-day stay of execution, LHR's Andries Nel said.

The three convicted murderers, Jonathan Molema, Stephen Mshstini and Joseph Msisi, were to be executed in Bophuthatswana tomorrow. 16/11/92

Nel said the 90 days would allow the three men time to seek legal remedies - petitions to the State President and further psychiatric observation - denied to them previously. In addition, LHR would institute legal action to challenge Bophuthatswana's constitutional right to execute death row prisoners, he said.

Molema was given the death sentence in 1987, Mshstini in 1988 and Msisi in 1989, but on November 5 the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court handed down execution orders for the three.

Sun International, whose MD Ken Rosevear last week agreed to assist LHR to appeal to Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope for clemency for the three, welcomed the court decision, which was "in the interest of everybody".
Bilateral talks: ANC, govt press on
FW to stay in power in 1995?

Own Correspondent
LONDON — President FW de Klerk will stay in power after March 1996 — the constitutional date for elections — and rule with "moderate blacks" in his cabinet if there is no agreement on power sharing, says a report in yesterday's London Sunday Times.

According to National Party sources Mr De Klerk has indicated he will use recent legislation to stay in office rather than hold a whites-only general election.

In this event Mr De Klerk "would appoint a number of moderate blacks to his cabinet, in an attempt to deflect criticism that he was continuing white rule."

The report, however, adds that during an exclusive interview, Mr De Klerk refused to be drawn on the subject.

No Hitler

Mr De Klerk said he saw a convergence of views and predicted 1996 would be the "crucial" year.

He told the Sunday Times there would be no deal with the ANC unless it totally accepted his "fundamental requirements".

"I am flexible on details but I will not say "yes" to a winner-takes-all constitution.

"The new constitution must effectively prevent an Adolf Hitler or Idi Amin from gaining power in South Africa."
DP plans big drive for black members

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party is to take far-reaching measures to attract black supporters.

But at the party's national congress in Johannesburg at the weekend, many delegates from new black branches told of intimidation by rival parties, especially the ANC.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer said the party aimed to govern the country. National chairman Mr Ken Andrew said the DP aimed for 10 to 12 percent of the vote in the first democratic elections.

The congress passed a resolution to embark on an urgent expansion programme and membership drive.

The programme includes voter education programmes, registration drives and the establishment of a trust fund into which local and international contributions would fund the expansion programme.

The DP's drive to attract black members was already apparent at the congress, where about a third of delegates were black.

Delegates from traditional DP power bases in Johannesburg, like Houghton and Sandton, but besides delegates from new branches in Alexandra, Tembisa and Soweto.

In the Western Cape DP branches have more than doubled since the start of the year and party workers were processing some 400 new membership applications every month, delegates said.

Eight of the 10 members of the new national council are black.

"No other party has proven, as we did today, that it is a party for all South Africans," Dr De Beer told the 400 delegates in his closing address.

But former University of the Western Cape rector Professor Richard van der Ross lambasted the party for its all-white leadership and the congress accepted his resolution that blacks should be co-opted into leadership positions.

"Call it affirmative action, call it what you like, but it is necessary," said Professor Van der Ross.

He suggested that the new legislation allowing parties themselves to fill vacant seats should be used to send more black members into parliament.

Black members said the way to win black voters was to get involved in community problems such as housing and health and to help residents with official problems such as obtaining identity documents.

It was clear at the congress that the DP will face enormous intimidation from rival parties, especially the ANC, in trying to woo black voters.

Chairman of the new 450-member Soweto branch Mr Andile Mazdume said all the executive members of the DP's branch had received visits from strange people who won't tell us who they are.

Their message is that by starting a Soweto branch we are going against the struggle.

The congress also passed resolutions calling for an independent commission to probe control of state expenditure, a federal system of government with a president elected by all the people; the disbanding of private armies; a national lottery to finance assistance to the aged; and a national compulsory pension scheme.
Letters

Barry Swartz

Much to look forward to beyond transition

30th
SA corruption dwarfs African states — DP

THE scale of corruption in South Africa dwarfs Uganda and Zambia combined yet no minister or department head has been sacked, Democratic Party MP for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle said last night.

He told a public meeting in Wittebome the extent of corruption in South Africa was "horrendous".

Mr Carlisle also demanded the resignation of Mr Adriaan Vlok, who was the responsible minister when flagrant abuses by the security forces were committed in KwaNdebele.

Abuses in the KwaNdebele security forces were detailed in the Parsons Commission report last week and have not been denied or questioned by the authorities, Mr Carlisle noted.

He said the National Party ignored at its peril the public outrage at ongoing revelations of vast corruption in government and its homeland satellites.

"This is corruption on a scale that dwarfs Uganda and Zambia combined", Mr Carlisle said.
Meeting between Govt, ANC is on

Policing of 18 hostels on the agenda. A judicial inquiry was closed to the public.
FW denies bid to undermine ANC

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk denied yesterday that government organs were being used to undermine the ANC, but hinted there could be members of the security forces with a hidden agenda.

In a BBC World Service interview just hours before Judge R Goldstone's disclosures on a military intelligence project regarding Umkhonto we Sizwe, De Klerk said: "Obviously there might be individuals who have their own agenda. We have nothing to hide. There is no third force. There is no sinister cabal within the security forces working against government. The government is in firm control of the security forces." [01/01/92]

De Klerk said he could not comment on disclosures last week that SA agents had been sent to Britain to smear the ANC by linking it to the IRA and PLO because the matter was under "judicial review".

There was no plan to split the ANC and he continued to "get along well" with its president Nelson Mandela, he said.

"In the party political sense, we are definitely opponents because we will be vying for support and we will be fighting an election against each other. But I regard him as a very important interlocutor in the negotiation process."

De Klerk said multiparty talks could resume "in a month or so". There was convergence between negotiating parties on a government of national unity, regional government and increased majorities in a constitution-writing body.
Malaysian-SA meeting

ACTING President Pik Botha and ANC president Nelson Mandela held talks with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Botha and Mandela met Mahathir together to discuss constitutional affairs and economic matters, before meeting him separately.

Between their meetings with Mahathir, Botha and Mandela held talks.

Mahathir, en route to Namibia for a four-day visit, left later for Windhoek, where he was met by Prime Minister Hage Geingob and Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab. Mahathir is leading a delegation that includes senior government officials and businessmen connected with mining, agriculture, trade, banking and shipping. — Sapa.

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Mahatir is leading a delegation that includes senior government officials and businessmen connected with mining, agriculture, trade, banking and shipping - Saps.

INTERNATIONAL
Hope for resumed talks revived

OWN CORRESPONDENT
DURBAN. — Hopes for resumed constitutional talks were raised yesterday by President F W de Klerk who said they could resume within a month and by ANC predictions that its "bush summit" with the government was imminent.

Mr De Klerk predicted before leaving London for South Africa that within two years he would be part of a government of national unity with Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"It is not impossible that within a month or so a multiparty conference will reconvene where all the relevant parties are present," he said.

Yesterday ANC official Mr Saki Macozoma said the "bush summit" might be held by year's end.

The government is trying to arrange a similar "bosberaad" between itself and Inkatha.

The IFP's boycott of negotiations is the biggest obstacle to the resumption of multiparty talks. The IFP suspended talks with the government on September 27 after the ANC and government signed their Record of Understanding.

The Record of Understanding said political prisoners should be released and hostels fenced by November 15.

Sapa reports that 193 prisoners from the ANC list have been released, but the government has not yet fenced all hostels because of hostel-dwellers' hostility.
De Klerk rule after '95 denied

Political Staff

DURBAN.— President F.W. de Klerk's office yesterday denied reports that he has contingency plans to stay in power after March, 1996 — the constitutional date for the next elections — as an "incorrect interpretation" of the government's intentions.

The London Sunday Times quoted National Party sources saying Mr De Klerk was prepared to continue ruling after that date with "moderate blacks" co-opted to his cabinet if there was no deal on power sharing.

But Mr Dave Steward, government spokesman and director-general of the president's office, said Mr de Klerk had no such plans.

The ANC issued a statement yesterday saying it "totally rejects the notion" that the NP could stay in power beyond March, 1996.
300 families left homeless

More than 300 families at Brookside in Bophuthatswana have been left homeless following severe thunderstorms that have raged in the area for the past two weeks. The defence force has supplied them with tents as temporary accommodation.

Eight on fact-finding tour

Eight South Africans will undertake a two-week fact-finding tour of East Africa from tomorrow, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said yesterday.

Mrs Shelagh Gastrow, head of Idasa's Africa Programme, will lead the tour, which will include a visit to Kenya as observers to the first multiparty elections. The tour will also include a visit to Eritrea and Ethiopia. The tour party comprises Gastrow, Mr Cas Coovadia, general secretary of the Civic Association of Johannesburg, Mr Jerome Ngwemuya of the Independent Mediation Service of SA, Ms Ilse Olckers of Lawyers for Human Rights, journalists Barney Mthombathi and Thonaya Pundy and Idasa staffers Henning Myburgh and Simon Nombela.

5 charged for 24 murders

Five men appeared in Durban's Regional Court yesterday in connection with last month's massacre at Folweni in which 24 people were killed. They are Mr Lucas Ngubane (19), Mr Mlungisi Nzema (21), both of Umbumbulu, Mthuduzi Ncobe (18), Mr Bongani Hlatshwayo (19), both of Folweni, and Mr Siso Mthambeni (22), of Chesterville. They are charged with 24 counts of murder, 24 of attempted murder and several of the illegal possession of explosives, firearms and ammunition.

April is DP's vice-chairman

The Democratic Party has re-elected Mr David Gant as chairman of its national council while former Labour Party parliamentarian Mr Chris April was elected as vice-chairman of the council.

The DP announced the elections yesterday. The party's two-day national congress, which ended on Saturday, resolved that party structures at all levels should reflect the nonracial nature of the DP's current membership and support base.
KENYA'S VOTING UNDER SPOTLIGHT

INTO AFRICA GO

SA FACTS GROUP

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

EIGHT South Africans leave for
Kenya, Eritrea and Ethiopia to-
day on a two-week fact-finding
mission organised by the Institute
for a Democratic Alternative for
South Africa (Idasa).

The group will visit Kenya as ob-
servers of the first multi-party elec-
tions there, and they will be the first
South Africans to visit Eritrea since
World War 2.

The leader of the group, the head of
Idasa’s African Programme, Mrs She-
lagh Gastrow, said the aim of the visit
was to help South African decision-
makers learn from exposure to post-
colonial countries.

"The idea is to examine problems
those countries share with South
Africa, such as ethnicity, discrimina-
tion against women, underdevelop-
ment and violence.

"The aim is to break down barriers
between South Africa and the rest of
Africa. South Africa needs to move
away from a Eurocentric point of
view to an understanding that we are
not isolated."

"Many of Africa’s problems have
become our problems and this is all
part of South Africa’s reintegration
into Africa," she said.

Idasa’s Africa Programme, imple-
mented about 18 months ago, is in-
tended to build partnerships with oth-
ner pro-democracy and human rights
organisations on the continent.

The delegation will meet govern-
ment representatives, opposition lead-
ers, women’s rights activists, media
people, lawyers, academics and offi-
cials from the diplomatic corps.

Other members of the group are Mr
Cases Coovadia, general secretary of
the Civic Association of Johannesburg,
Mr Jerome Nganya of the Inde-
pendent Mediation Service of South
Africa, Ms Ilse Olckers from Lawyers
for Human Rights, journalists Mr
Barney Mthombathi and Ms Thoraya
Pandy and Idasa staffs Mr Hen-
nning Myburgh from Bloemfontein and
Mr Simon Ntombela from Durban.
Meyer talks with Inkatha chairman

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose had held a series of meetings, sources said yesterday.

It is understood the meetings, which are an attempt to draw Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi back into negotiations, are on the same lines as those between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Meyer in the past few months.

It is hoped that at a meeting of the peace committee executive next week, a meeting of national peace accord signatories will be arranged at which Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela will have a chance to speak to each other.

A senior government negotiator indicated yesterday there was little hope that multiparty talks would get off the ground this year.

The creation of a national multiparty conference of review is emerging as a central demand for Inkatha's return to national negotiations.

Speaking in Canada this week, Buthelezi urged "the establishment of a national multiparty conference of review" to re-evaluate the entire peace process and the process of renewed negotiations.

The creation of such a conference could "effectively deal with the inherent shortfalls of Codesa", he said.

He argued for formal statutory powers to be given to the conference to oversee the process and guarantee the continuation of negotiations.

Of particular interest to Buthelezi would be the conference's examination of government and the ANC's record of understanding.

"If President (F W) de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are genuinely convinced that their bilateral agreement is good for SA, they would have no hesitation in putting themselves, and their agreement, to review and debate," Buthelezi said.

While government and the ANC have been lukewarm at best regarding the proposal, Inkatha spokesmen insist it is critical to the resumption of national negotiations.

Sapa reports Buthelezi told Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall in Ottawa yesterday the West appeared more eager to end apartheid than to establish a multiparty democracy.

McDougall said earlier she would use the meeting to urge Buthelezi to return to constitutional talks.

Buthelezi also told a Canadian parliamentary foreign affairs committee he was prepared to talk to Mandela to try to stop violence.

Meanwhile, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini told the BBC yesterday that Zulus would resist rather than be ruled by what he called the communist followers of Mandela.
ANC, DP call for tolerance

THE ANC yesterday called for political tolerance in the run-up to South Africa's first free elections.

The call was made by the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Memberg, at an ANC meeting in Kyaosa last night.

He said if it was true that DP members were being intimidated by ANC supporters in Western Cape townships, this was being done without the knowledge or consent of the movement's leaders in the region.

He also said the call by the DP MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, on the ANC leadership to stop the intimidation was the first indication he had had that the DP was being prevented from operating normally in the townships.
1994 elections likely

Indications were that democratic elections would be held in SA at the beginning of 1994. Home Affairs Minister Louis Plenaar said yesterday morning after a meeting in KwaNdebele with Chief Minister Prince James Mahlangu and his cabinet.
ANC says yes to 'sunset clause'

Sowetan Correspondent 11/11/92

THE ANC's national working committee yesterday adopted a strategy document which proposes power sharing with the National Party during the transition.

The document, entitled "A Strategic Perspective", contains most of the proposals made previously in a paper by SACP chairman and ANC executive member Mr Joe Slovo.

The document notes that the ANC and the NP occupy a central role in the transition and that their relationship is marked by conflict arising from attempts by the Government to block the transition, and by constructive interaction in pursuing agreements.

"We also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity - provided that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government," the document said.

Discussing the basis for minimising the threat to stability and democracy during the transition, the ANC recognised that the SANDF, SAP, other armed formations and the civil service had the capacity to disrupt and delay the transition if the transition to democracy affected them wholly negatively.

"In this process it may be necessary to address the question of job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement. These measures will need to apply to all armed formations and sections of civil service," the ANC said.

The document said some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of multi-lateral agreements while other elements of the settlement package would involve "binding" bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP.
Cabinet in all-day deliberations

Govt thrashes out response to Goldstone

CABINET met behind closed doors all day yesterday but by last night it still could not state what its course of action would be in the light of the Goldstone commission disclosures.

For two days government has failed to respond comprehensively on how it intends to deal with the disclosure of a dirty tricks operation within the SA Defence Force.

On Tuesday President F W de Klerk said he was treating Judge Richard Goldstone's disclosures very seriously and would issue a statement after the Cabinet meeting. But in a brief statement just before 8pm, his office said that Cabinet, which began its meeting at 10am, would probably not announce its decision before midnight.

One source said: "All the big boys were closeted in an office with their heads together trying to work out the statement." There were, the source said, "logistical problems".

Cabinet spent the day considering how best to limit the damage of the disclosures that dirty tricks were continuing within its security establishment — despite assurances from De Klerk to the contrary.

Goldstone found that former CCH operative and convicted murderer Ferdi Barnard was employed as a senior agent in intelligence. His tasks were to undermine government's chief negotiating partner and political opponent, the ANC.

It was expected that Cabinet would accede to Goldstone's plea to give his commission wider powers and more cooperation. Cabinet would also give goldstone protection from prosecution.

This plea was made in terms of the UN Security Council resolution that Goldstone spearhead an investigation into the SADF, SAP, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla, the KwaZulu Police and homeland security forces.

It was also expected that at least certain lower-level officials within the security establishment would face disciplinary action, if not dismissal.

Constitutional Minister and former Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said on Tuesday that he had issued strict instructions to all the heads of the military establishment to ensure political impartiality. Disobedience would result in strong action.

With local and international pressure mounting on government, Cabinet would be seeking the best way to act while keeping the political heads out of the fray.

Even within government's ranks there was protest at the Goldstone findings. SA ambassador to Washington Harry Schwarz said he was "furious and outraged" because the disclosures had undermined all his embassy's hard work.

The US administration also called for the prosecution of those involved in the covert operations.

Yesterday the ANC welcomed the plea. But it said the Goldstone commission's powers and said it would co-operate with the commission and allow it to investigate Umkhonto fully. But the KwaZulu government said it would refuse Goldstone the right to investigate its police force.

See Page 2

Comment: Page 2
Rebuilding SA
‘is a burden that must be shared’

KATHRYN STRACHAN

IT WAS unreasonable to expect political leaders to shoulder the total load of placing SA on a successful course of reconstruction, Urban Foundation CEO Sam van Coller said last night.

In his address to the Urban Foundation’s AGM Van Coller said individuals and organisations outside the political arena had to share the responsibility for moving SA forward. There were many avenues through which organisations could complement the work of politicians and help create a society that was “shaking off its past”.

“There is at present a very disturbing trend in SA — it is a belief that the future of our country lies almost totally in the hands of the political leaders. Our history has also generated high levels of dependency, a fact epitomised in the statement: ‘Once there is a new government, I am going to get a house.’

He said that if development continued to be seen as primarily that of physical provision by government, SA would fail.

Many organisations were involved already in development programmes, although the extent to which these were both strategic and effective in terms of the country’s needs was difficult to assess, he said.

If there was to be a return to stability, Van Coller said, SA had to meet three challenges concurrently — that of becoming a democracy, of returning to economic growth and of achieving rapid socio-economic development.

“Yet there is a natural tendency for many leaders to see these challenges in sequence — to say that we need a political settlement to stop the violence, that this will generate business confidence and economic growth, and that these factors in turn generate funding for socio-economic development,” he said.

But to achieve stability, these fac-
French minister to visit

French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman will arrive in SA on Sunday on a three-day official visit - the first to SA by a French foreign minister in two decades. Kiejman would meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha, ANC President Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Finance Minister Derek Keys, a French embassy official said.

It is understood that meetings with President F W de Klerk and Judge Richard Goldstone have been requested.
right-wingers meet Mandela

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The Afrikaner Volksunie (AV), which recently broke away from the Conservative Party, has met African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and top officials here.

Unlike the pro-negotiation AV, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht refuses to negotiate with Mr Mandela or the ANC.

After a two-hour meeting yesterday the two groups released a joint statement acknowledging the significance of the meeting and said they would hold further talks.

AV leader Dr Andries Beyers said he had expressed to the ANC the AV's perception of the concern of the Afrikaner community, their hopes and visions.

Mr Mandela said the presentation by Dr Beyers had been "frank" and he had made it clear he was not speaking on behalf of all white South Africans, but for the Afrikaner.

The ANC expressed its appreciation for an opportunity to hear, for the first time, Afrikaner nationalist views.
Afrikaner Volksunie meets ANC leaders

The Afrikaner Volksunie presented its ideal of self-determination to the ANC yesterday and in turn listened to the organisation’s stand on regionalism.

Headed by Volksunie leader Andries Beyers and ANC president Nelson Mandela, the two organisations said they would be considering the possibility of establishing a joint committee to discuss detailed constitutional questions.

A joint statement issued after the meeting at the ANC’s Johannesburg headquarters said: “The parties agreed on the need for negotiations between all parties to resume as soon as possible.”

Reading the statement, Beyers said both organisations had acknowledged the significance of the meeting. “The Afrikaner Volksunie expressed its perception of the concerns of the Afrikaner community, their hopes and visions,” he said.

Mandela said earlier that by sitting down with each other, the two organisations had “already cut down our problems by 50%.” — Sapa.

Negative poll expected

MARKINOR’s latest political survey should be free of the “referendum halo” which characterised results produced in May, Markinor senior research executive Mari Harris said yesterday.

The latest poll, which measured popular support or lack thereof of the country’s political bodies and their leaders, was conducted shortly after the referendum when the general mood throughout SA had been positive, said Harris.

She said the latest survey, to be released next month, would probably show that people of all races who had lost some of the high expectations that followed the “yes” vote.

Continued violence and the recent corruption scandals would have a strong impact on how the public viewed politicians and their organisations.

She said support for the NP might have dropped while the ANC would have reached its plateau.

Although corruption in the homelands had been no secret, official confirmation of its scope would have influenced people, she said.

“The latest poll was conducted among 800 whites, both rural and urban, and more than 1 500 metropolitan blacks. Rural blacks were excluded because of financial restraints,” she said.

Harris said the results would be an accurate reflection of the prevailing political climate.

Harris said polls were already a recognised political planning tool in SA.

“The big danger for politicians is to lose touch with the electorate,” she said.

Polls provided a voice for the populace and gave political leadership a barometer of their followers’ feelings at a specific time.”
Negotiations

President F W de Klerk's prediction this week that multiparty talks might resume within a month or two is in line with government's general view that negotiations could be under way again by February — barring any new obstacles that could arise before then.

But, considering government's mounting credibility crisis in the face of financial and political scandals, resignations of "burnt out" senior party lieutenants, continuing violence in Natal and the Inkatha Freedom Party's intransigence, this outlook may be hopelessly optimistic.

Another possible obstacle is the entry of at least two new negotiating partners — the Pan African Congress and the conservative Afrikaner Volksunie, both of which may demand backtracking on issues already covered by Codesa. Government would, however, oppose such demands.

It was significant that De Klerk predicted the formation of a government of national unity "within the next two years," indicating the likelihood of a lengthy period of multiparty talks — possibly the whole of next year and even beyond.

Intensive preparations for the resumption of multiparty talks are already under way and have included bilateral meetings over the past few weeks between government and...

Current Affairs

A range of other groups aimed mainly at removing "obstacles" to full-blown negotiations.

It is likely that government and the ANC will meet secretly for a "bush summit" before the end of the year. A similar meeting with Inkatha is also being planned.

The two main obstacles to restarting multilateral talks are the violence in Natal and the IFP's attitude, though it is not clear what conditions Inkatha is setting for the resumption of talks.

Government wants the negotiations to be as inclusive as possible. It does not envisage pushing ahead without one or more of the main players. Every effort will be made to bring them all on board.

It is understood that government is prepared to be flexible on the structure of resumed talks to make it as easy as possible for all parties to join.
March on Rosslyn factories

SCORES of Congress of SA Trade Unions members are expected to march on three factories at Rosslyn near Pretoria on Monday to press home certain demands.

Cosatu's Mr Jerry Moropa said at a Press conference yesterday the workers would demand a settlement for a labour dispute at the local August Laapple factory and the reinstatement of colleagues at the Wubbling and Apache engineering works.

1 164 Natal dead

UNREST in Natal has now claimed the lives of 1 164 since the beginning of the year, according to a report by the Human Rights Commission.

The HRC says 19 people were killed in Natal since last Wednesday. Six of the deaths were in the Natal Midlands, another six at Umgababa on the South Coast and the remaining four on the Natal North Coast.

Offensive names changed

THE Government has taken the first step to remove offensive words from the names of places in South Africa.

This could mean that places like Kafferdrift and Kafferiver could disappear from the map to be replaced by more acceptable names.

It is not known at this stage how far the Government plans to go and if it will change the names of places like the Hendrik Verwoerd Airport and P W Botha Airport, or leave this to any incoming government.

The announcement about renaming places was made by Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Mr Johan Schepers.

AVU and ANC frank talks

THE Afrikander Volksunie presented its ideal of self-determination to the ANC and listened in turn to the organisation's stand on regionalism, in a historic meeting yesterday.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela left the meeting early but said the presentation by AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers had been "very frank".

Beyers had suggested that an ANC-AVU committee be established "to look into areas of common interest". The meeting was held at the ANC's headquarters.

- Sowetan Reporters and Sapa
Call to boycott Mandela calls Steyn appointment a good encouraging step

Political row to erupt

NEWS

Friday November 20 1992 SOWEAN
De Klerk’s acid test

Lord Moran, Churchill’s personal physician, liked to say that each man who went into battle had within him a stock of courage. When it was used up, he needed to be withdrawn from the danger zone in order that the stock might be replenished through rest and recreation.

Extending the image into politics, it was clear from the opening weeks of his presidency that F W de Klerk had great courage — and so far there has been no sign that it is diminished. He has evidently been sustained by his integrity, his determination to do what is right — and by his sheer stamina, even when senior lieutenants are falling all around him and losing heart.

But when it comes to credibility — without which stamina and integrity are useless in politics — De Klerk and his government have been running on empty since the beginning of the week. It is the biggest crisis of his presidency.

The shock of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone’s disclosures on Monday does not lie in what Military Intelligence has been up to; or the unsavoury characters it chose to employ; or even in the fact that MI has recently been trying to undermine the ANC. These things are deeply disturbing, to be sure. But, sadly, we have become used to such scandals — with all their attendant corruption, flaky characters and weird political fantasies — and have almost come to expect them. The only comfort is that news of the latest round of revelations at least indicates that there are still men of honour who are prepared to dig out the dirt.

The real shock is that, for the first time, we have heard unambiguous evidence that De Klerk was not in control. His previous assurances some offered as late as last weekend) about secret agendas and dirty tricks have been made to sound pathetic — and, at worst, like downright lies. Thanks to that great NP tradition of accountability, which De Klerk has so far done little to change, he has been made to look a fool by his own Cabinet.

Whatever strange tricks of logic are employed by the Nats, we know as a matter of political record that three Cabinet Ministers have held the Defence portfolio since De Klerk took office: Magnus Malan, Roelf Meyer and Gene Louw. It follows that at least one of them can be held politically responsible for MI’s most recent antics.

By an astounding and merciful coincidence, all three of them are still serving in De Klerk’s Cabinet. Unlike some of their colleagues, they have not yet achieved that state of indemnified grace which retirement or ill health bestows upon former Nat Ministers who have erred.

At least one of the three can and must be held politically accountable for what MI was planning and carrying out in direct contradiction of De Klerk’s statements. Whether the sin was of omission or commission, it remains a sin: in democratic countries, Ministers have paid with their careers for lesser negligence.

But it must not stop there. Judge Goldstone’s statement is unequivocal that the SADF lied when it denied that agent Ferdi Barnard was employed by the army in 1991. The generals have a lot of explaining to do.

This is a familiar tale in a country that now takes for granted amazing levels of corruption in so many areas of national life. It is surely time for De Klerk, at last, to set a few hard examples.

Those who have failed or betrayed him must not be allowed to retreat into obscurity and propper on superannuation. That would be the easy way out. It would also be the cowardly way. It would undermine the integrity of the democratic institutions we already enjoy — institutions that, almost alone in Africa, have proven their democratic utility, even though they have not been open to all races.

The script is familiar: the Minister (usually in a new portfolio by the time the scandal breaks) denies knowledge and responsibility; senior civil servants do the same; junior civil servants are not identified or claim they were following instructions; and everyone sits tight until the media attention switches to yet another scandal.

The Nat tradition of rewarding incompetence with early retirement on full pension is immoral. Every time it occurs it compromises the many thousands of honourable soldiers, policemen and civil servants who have been honest and loyal and who deserve better from their leaders.

Judge Goldstone does not operate alone. He depends on other men and women of integrity, often working against obstructive officials and with scant resources, to produce the evidence on which his conclusions are based. If De Klerk refuses to respond adequately to Goldstone’s endeavours, he will undermine their initiative, create widespread despondency and entrench corruption.

For when corruption flourishes, nothing else does. There can be no democracy, no justice, no equity or honour in public life.

And, as corruption inevitably overwhelms the efficient allocation of resources by market forces, it makes sustainable economic growth impossible.

No embezzlement in the private sector here has ever reached the collective levels now being revealed in government and the satellite states, which it cannot control.

If no one can be found to be responsible, and the word of so many generals is suspect, and government does nothing, then its stock of courage has indeed run out.
UNBUNDLING

Picking up the gauntlet

Big business isn’t always bad business

Summarising his impressions of the annual FM Investment Conference, the ANC’s Albie Sachs told a luncheon audience he thought some important issues had either been ignored or dealt with inadequately.

In a speech notable for its solicitude, Sachs, probably the ANC’s best propagandist, told mesmerised businessmen he thought a number of issues needed to be debated fully and publicly. He was, he added, throwing down the gauntlet to the business community. And first on his list for airing was the matter of “unbundling.”

The word itself has taken on pejorative intonations since Finance Minister Derek Keys placed it in the spotlight when, as chairman of Gencor, he hinted that it could unlock added value. Since then the perception seems to be that that which is “bundled” is bad and needs, therefore, to be undone.

Unbundling has subsequently taken on a political dimension. It is a word which is being used with such abandon in that respect that it threatens to become dispossessed.

When Keys first made use of it, he meant that value in certain assets was not being credited to shareholders, because the market was either ill-informed or did not know how to place that value.

A single case illustrates the point. Dabi is an investment company in the JCI group which held a wide spread of interest in many quoted companies, largely in the mining sector.

The market consistently refused to value the company on the basis of its underlying investments, even though these were well known and publicised in its annual reports, preferring instead to apply a discount.

So substantial did this discount become, on occasion as much as 35%, that JCI decided to sell the underlying shares and distribute the capital profits to Dabi shareholders. The market reacted, adversely and typically, by revaluing Dabi’s shares at a level which now closely approximated the market value of its underlying assets.

Some other SA groups certainly are giving serious consideration to how they realise underlying wealth in this way. They will need also to consider the tax implications that could flow from a new regime.

However, the Keys definition of unbundling is clearly not what is meant by those who call for it to become a national policy in the new political dispensation. The puzzle is to tease out precisely what it is they wish to unbundling.

The issues in SA most often linked by the term unbundling are: first, pyramids, whether they are good or bad and whether they should be collapsed. Second is conglomerates and whether they should be broken up. Finally, and to confuse the first two, comes the enforcement of a competitions or anti-trust policy.

The purpose of a pyramid is to enable an entrepreneur to retain control of his company and to raise capital for development by issuing what are, in effect, non-voting shares, even though he holds only a minority shareholding.

And non-voting shares are anathema to the British-North American system of corporate governance because of the element of protection they provide to voting shareholders and, through them, the managers. In an article published in the Financial Times in August, Sir Alan Walters and George Guise argue that SA’s pyramid structure puts feather beds in SA board rooms and protects the managements of SA’s conglomerates “from any true accountability to their shareholders.”

The answer to this country’s problem of simultaneously awakening sleeping assets which form SA’s wealth and promoting growth, suggest Walters and Guise, lies in sending for Hanson and Goldsmith. And to give them greater effect, SA’s tradition of permitting pyramid structures of control must be swept away.

Well, it sounds simple enough and it must be of great attraction to those in the ANC seeking economic dominance. But it hides a fallacy. Britain has expounded shareholder democracy since the last century. It has no pyramids and few non-voting shares to protect entrepreneurs. It does have Hanson and Goldsmith. But it has not necessarily stimulated economic growth.

The Walters/Guise thesis ignores the transparent success of the Alpine system of corporate governance which prevails in much of Europe. Dual-class shares and pyramids are pervasive in Scandinavia and Switzerland.

In Germany, the banks have long played powerful roles in controlling the major corporations (frowned on across the water). Much the same applies in Japan. Only the most perverse will deny the successes of those countries.

Economics consultant Jo S Gerson argues that mass unbundling by disallowing pyramids may help shareholders at the level of the holding company, but it is likely to destroy value at the operating company level as their ability to raise capital cheaply is weakened. Gerson predicts that, on balance, shareholders will lose.

SA’s system is one which evolved over decades with the consent and blessing of government and the investment community. No-one has ever been forced to invest in companies in which the controlling shareholder, often the founding family, retains control. Investors did so because they believed their own interests would be served best. And that lesson shouldn’t be ignored.

ANC trade and industrial policy co-ordinator Tito Mboweni has some fairly clear ideas of his own on the subject. “Pyramid holding companies are particularly powerful,” he says, “because they are able either to facilitate or constrain the rate of investment being contemplated by a subsidiary. A study we conducted recently revealed a specific example in which the desire for growth in a particular direction by a subsidiary ran counter to the policies of the holding company. Our view is that the whole system of pyramids in SA needs to be re-examined: we have to produce a policy (on pyramids) which will be part of the much wider issue dealing with monopolies and cartels.”

The second issue is that of the conglomerates. These are, broadly speaking, enterprising in several diverse or unrelated fields of activity, very often having been formed through buccaneering acquisition rather than organic growth. In SA, conglomerates generally have interlinking holding companies with many diverse sets of shareholders. For example, the shareholders of SA Breweries are not identical with those of OK Bazaars or JCI, yet the linkage between the three companies is considerable.

By and large, however, they do not possess a common body of shareholders. In the strict
Perspective

Joe Thilloys

EV's Nighmare as Ship Sinks

More and more people will jump off and tell the world the real story.

PEOPLE'S LIVES
DET to help in squatter school plan

THE Western Cape United Squatter Association and the Department of Education and Training have reached consensus on the appointment of teachers in squatter areas, the DET said yesterday.

Teachers in squatter areas will enjoy the same conditions as public school teachers.

The department already subsidises teachers' salaries and operational expenses at private squatter schools.

- Over five million DET matric exam papers estimated to weigh over 330 tons are being moved to various centres to be marked.

Sapa
Slovo slams Congress hardliners

The ANC would undoubtedly win a free and fair election but most of the other main levers of power, including the economy, would be maintained by the present power bloc, according to SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

"The army, police, civil service, judiciary and so on, will, broadly speaking, be the same," he said in an interview in yesterday's issue of New Nation.

Mr Slovo also lashed out at the "triumphalists" in ANC ranks who wanted to scuttle negotiations until a complete surrender could be forced.

This, he said, involved a risk, ignored by the "triumphalists", and there was "no guarantee, however hard we work, that the balance of forces will be more favourable to us in say two years time".

He also rejected the argument by the ANC's head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, that in the context of the liberation struggle negotiations did not allow for power-sharing.

"This is an unsustainable proposition, more worth of people who have a talent to fight struggles in their heads rather than on the ground," he said.

Mr Slovo said the ANC alliance would immediately take affirmative action to transform the army, police, civil service and judiciary.

CT 21/11/92
Set interim date or else, says Mandela

Grahamstown. — Unless a date for an elected interim government is set, bilateral talks with the government will be stopped, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has warned.

Addressing a rally in Jozini township, Grahamstown, yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC and the government would have a bilateral meeting "very shortly".

He did not give a date, but said it would be before the end of the year. The central issue at the meeting would be the announcement of a date for the installation of an elected interim government.

"If that is not resolved, there will be no further bilateral talks with the government.

"We want to stop talking. We want the people of South Africa to have an effective vote on the planning of the future of the country.

"He also renewed his appeal to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, "who does not seem to realise the role to play as a traditional leader," to help bring peace to Natal.

He appealed to the king to "come forward and identify with us in the search for peace". "The king should not make statements which lessen the respect due to him as a traditional leader," added Mr Mandela.

In a generally conciliatory speech, he appealed to Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to "work with us towards the creation of a peaceful South Africa where organisations will be able to operate democratically."

He also referred to the appointment of SADF chief of staff, General Pierre Steyn, to investigate revelations by the Goldstone Commission of an alleged military intelligence plan to discredit the ANC. He said he would withhold comment until General Steyn made his findings.

"It is possible that General Steyn will behave as a man of integrity and come out with actions which will expose the activities of MI and it would be unwise for me to say anything that may destroy his credibility.

"If he makes findings which protects or covers their crimes, it would be time for me to comment," said Mr Mandela.

He said the ANC wanted the present civil service, police force and army to remain in a future South Africa, but changes would have to be made.

These "would have to be made in a sensitive manner and taken into consideration the service rendered under apartheid."

Mr Mandela said senior civil servants, police officers and members of the army "would have to go", but added that they would not go "without their pensions and what is due to them".
Move to change offensive names

STEPS are being taken to remove offensive words from the names of places.

This could mean that places like Kaffirsdrift and Kaffirriver could disappear from the map to be replaced by more acceptable names.

It is not known at this stage how far the government plans to go and if it will change the names of Hendrik Verwoerd Airport or PW Botha Airport.

Mr Johan Scheepers, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, said at Lydenberg this week that because of the abolition of racial discrimination he had asked the Department of Land Affairs "to prepare legislation to enable the Registrar of Deeds to alter the name of immovable property in a registered deed, if the minister is satisfied that such a name is offensive because of any racial discrimination therein."
Warning for
govt over
election date

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Mr. Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the government and the ANC he would cut all bilateral links.

Mr. Mandela said there would be a top-level meeting between the ANC and the government "before the end of the year" which would focus on setting a date for an interim government.

"If that is not resolved there will be no further bilateral talks with the government," he said at a rally in Jozini township near here.

"We want to stop talking. We want the people of South Africa to have an effective voice on the planning of the future of the country," he said.

There was no immediate comment from the government, but on Thursday government spokesman Mr. Dave Steward said Pretoria would like to move towards a shared interim government as quickly as possible.

Democracy talks have been directionless since the ANC quit Coesa in May and cut ties with the government in June over continuing violence.

Mr. Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk met on September 28 to discuss violence and to pave the way back to democracy talks.

On a less critical note, Mr. Mandela said the ANC wanted the present civil service and the security forces to remain, but not without "certain changes."

These "would have to be made in a sensitive manner and would take into consideration the service rendered under apartheid."

Senior civil servants, police and army officers would be given their marching orders, but Mr. Mandela added they would not go "without their pensions and what is due to them." — Sapa-AFP.
FW’s image eroded

THE political costs of waging a low intensity war against the democratic movement is starting to escalate, said Mr Chris Hani.

At a conference yesterday, the SACP secretary-general charged that the government had a two-fold strategy of drawing the ANC into co-responsibility for the transitional process through negotiations, while simultaneously disorganising and disrupting the movement through a strategy of low intensity warfare.

Sapa 04/01/92
Socialists sound off over a sunset settlement

INCE the demise of Copesa, political groupings have been sharpening their game-planes in preparation for another outbreak of full-blown negotiations. Within the ANC camp, a plethora of position papers has emerged for internal discussion.

The negotiation debate has so far been dominated by socialists in the movement. It was sparked by SACP national chairperson Mr Joe Slovo in his contribution “Negotiation: What room for compromise?”

His thoughts were challenged by a range of left-wing leaders including Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Blade Nzimande. They argued against Slovo’s push for far-reaching concessions.

SACP politburo member Mr Jeremy Cronin sprung to Slovo’s defence, arguing that Slovo’s detractors were unrealistic and vague in their uncompromising aims.

More recently, Mr Raymond Suttner, ANC political education officer, tried to synthesise the debate.

Discussion has centred on the extent to which the ANC should bend to government demands without upsetting the movement’s long-term goal of participatory democracy.

Slovo, perturbed by the tedious pace of transition, prioritises the need for a constituent assembly where all adult South Africans will vote in their representatives who would thump out a new constitution.

Another election would follow where parties would be chosen to rule in terms of the new laws of the land.

Slovo proposes to reach this goal by wooing the NP with a far-reaching concession package. These compromises include joint-rule between the winners and losers of a democratic election for a limited “sunset” period, plus a degree of job protection for civil servants and the top brass in the security forces.

Slovo’s critics, within a socialist framework, interpret these concessions as a deviation from the goals of national democratic revolution and social transformation.

Nzimande, in his paper entitled “Let us take the people with us: a reply to Slovo”, says: “The types of compromises he proposes and the manner in which he proposes that these should be made are premised on the assumption that the regime will appreciate a gesture on our part, seeing it as a gesture of goodwill.”

Slovo believes that his sunset clauses will create the possibility of a major positive breakthrough in the negotiating process, says Nzimande.

“Maybe so, but this has to be demonstrated rather than merely hoped for,” he argues. “We have already learnt some bitter lessons about compromises. Our suspension of armed struggle must already have taught us some lessons about the type of enemy we are dealing with.”

“Although the same time as we suspended armed action, the regime intensified the brutal slaying of our people in the townships, rural areas and on trains.”

Nzimande talks instead of a “total defeat of the NP” through a “mass-driven process”.

Natal midlands leader Gwala, labelled a crazy Stalinist by some of his critics, discarded Slovo’s vision as “an aborted democracy built on expediency”.

Says Gwala: “Comrade Slovo goes on to show how much he is worried about reconciliation and allaying the fears of the civil service, but is silent on the fears of the majority in this country.”

“Negotiations must not reconcile the oppressed to neo-apartheid dressed in the robes of a new constitution.”

Instead of working from a co-opted position to affect meaningful change for the oppressed, as Slovo suggests, Gwala and other critics insist that this change would never materialise under these stifling conditions.

“They see it as an immediate priority to further weaken — and preferably destroy — the apartheid state before being in a position to govern effectively.”

They also charge, citing examples from countries such as Chile, that placating the civil service and security forces of an old regime only serves to strengthen their capacity for counter-revolution in a new system.

Cronin defends Slovo, and vilifies his critics, by accusing them of being too simplistic in their revolutionary approach. He interprets their notions, particularly those of Jordan and Nzimande, as being geared towards a single moment when power is seized completely from the NP and its supporting structures.

“I am not arguing that there are never all-or-nothing moments in political struggle,” says Cronin, “but if you are not in a final showdown, it is absolutely unhelpful to strategise as if you were.”

“Above all, you leave the door wide open to the very opportunism you are trying to counter.”

“Why? Because you are unable to chart a concrete, specific course between the here-and-now and your ultimate objective. The all-or-nothing approach, when it is not an all-or-nothing moment, means that all you can offer is next to nothing,” Cronin writes.

Suttner, in his paper, praises Slovo for “taking some of the compromises that are being suggested within our ranks and limiting them in a way that would not or is unlikely to frustrate democratic objectives.”

But at the same time, he criticises Slovo for the manner in which these concessions should be given.

Said Suttner: “In regard to the question of whom a deal should be struck, it is not obvious that the NP should be offered guarantees to civil servants. If we consider this a necessary measure, should we ourselves not offer it directly to such civil servants and not allow the NP to continue to be the dispenser of patronage to whites?”

Turning to the contributions of Slovo’s critics, Suttner, while acknowledging the importance of “mass-driven struggle”, reiterates the view that their “final showdown” approach is out of step with the ANC’s capacity.

One can bet confidently that it will be a long while before the sun sets on the debate.

QUENTIN WILSON
Clinton strategist may aid Mandela

THE POLITICAL pulse-taker and strategist who orchestrated President-elect Bill Clinton's march to power may soon be doing the same for ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Stanley Greenberg, a 47-year-old Yale professor turned pollster, has been in contact with the ANC about helping the movement prepare for the constituent assembly elections it hopes will take place late next year.

A spokesman for his Washington-based consulting firm, Greenberg-Lake, confirmed this week that "Stan has talked with people about the possibility of working for the ANC... it's under discussion".

She said he was "out of the country" on a post-election holiday and would be considering his next moves after talking to Mr Clinton and the transition team when he returned.

UCP professor Herman Hillerman, who has co-authored research with him

From:
Simon Barber
in Washington

and is currently working at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington, said there had been talk for some time in ANC circles about signing him.

Marcel Golding of the National Union of Mineworkers went to see him at Clinton's Little Rock, Arkansas, headquarters two months ago to discuss the ANC's election plans.

Books

A Marxist political scientist while at Yale, Mr Greenberg has written two books dealing with South Africa, Race and State in Capitalist Development, a comparative study dealing with South Africa, Israel, Northern Ireland and Alabama, and Legitimizing the Illegitimate, a 1986 treatise on the pass laws and influx control.

Although this was not advertised by the Clinton campaign, he also advised the Marxist Sandinista movement in Nicaragua's 1990 elections. The Sandinistas lost.

Despite his leftwing credentials, Mr Greenberg is credited with developing Clinton's centrist strategy to break the Republican lock on the presidency.

"Even though I come from the left", he told the New York Times recently, "I have always been uncomfortable with elitist liberalism, which I think is disdainful of the values of working-class Americans."

His polling in blue-collar areas like Michigan's Macomb County had convinced him this would help the candidate in the eyes of so-called Reagan Democrats alienated by Jackson's apparent hold over the party and its agenda.

He was also the principal author of the minutely detailed battle plan that took Clinton from third place in the polls to decisive victory in November.

The plan scripted a complete image makeover for Clinton and his wife Hillary to convert the candidate from the slick, untrustworthy philanderer of popular imagination to a warm, caring, man-of-the-people with a bright adoring wife at his side.

Greenberg's services don't come cheap. According to one report, he stands to take in $760,000 (R2.2 million) when the campaign finally settles its accounts. This should give him leeway to offer the ANC a steep discount if he decides to lend it his wizadry.

If the movement does retain him, it will be following in the steps of the government it hopes to replace. After Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980, Pretoria hired as lobbyists two of his closest advisers, John Sears and Stuart Speusser.
NEWS ROUND-UP

Meyer hits out at Mandela threat

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer accused ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through unilateral threats.

Mr Meyer said in a statement the government had taken note of Mr Mandela's statement on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the two sides the ANC would cut all bilateral links.

"The agenda for the expected bilateral discussions with the ANC has not been determined. It is therefore a pity Mr Mandela is creating the impression that he wants to determine the agenda and dictate discussions by unilateral threats," Mr Meyer said.

He added the ANC had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected interim government.

Top ANC man is suspended

THE secretary-general of the ANC in the Eastern Transvaal, Mr Joe Nkuna, has been suspended by the organisation for negligence of his duties, pending confirmation by a regional conference to be held on December 12.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the decision followed a meeting by the organisation on Friday in Nelspruit to consider a commission of inquiry into allegations of duty and corruption by Mr Nkuna.

Another NAT MP resigns

THE National Party member of Parliament for Umfolozi, Mr James Schmoller, announced his resignation from the House "for health reasons" yesterday, 22/11/92.

He is the fourth NP MP to resign in the space of a month, 5/11/92.

UN envoy on way to SA

THE United Nations is sending an envoy to South Africa on a two-week mission, according to the UN Observer Mission in Johannesburg.

Mission leader Angela King said in a statement: "The United Nations would arrive in South Africa today, however, his mandate was unclear.

Woman finds body in yard

A MURDERED Gordon's Bay pensioner was found by his ex-wife tied up in his garden.

Mr Ronald Darke, 80, who lived alone, was found on Friday by his ex-wife, Ruth, underneath some shrubbery. His hands and feet had been bound and he had been gagged.

Police said Mr Darke's house had been ransacked.
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City Press Reports

THE government, stung by a series of damaging scandals, is under increasing pressure to make way for an elected interim government.

The latest scandal prompted ANC president Nelson Mandela to warn on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the government and his organisation, he would cut all bilateral links.

Mandela said in Joza, near Grahamstown, that there would be a top-level meeting between the ANC and the government “before the end of the year” to focus on a date for an interim government.

“If that is not resolved there will be no further bilateral talks with the government.”

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday accused Mandela of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through threats. He said the government had already committed itself to an elected interim government.

Mandela’s warning came in the wake of an expose this week by Judge Richard Goldstone that a branch of Military Intelligence, the Directorate of Covert Collection, was planning on discreetly recording activists of the State while the government was busy negotiating with them.

The Goldstone Commission confiscated files from a MI building in Pretoria earlier in the week, which revealed that Ferdi Barnard, a convicted murderer with a prison sentence of 20 years, was employed by MI to discredit Umkhonto weSizwe.

Barnard planned to subvert MK by linking it to criminal acts, using a network of prostitutes, homosexuals and drug dealers, Goldstone found.

The judge called on the government to extend the commission’s powers and terms of reference in order to pick up the pace of investigations into “dirty tricks”.

However, at a meeting between Goldstone and De Klerk on Friday night, De Klerk refused to increase the commission’s powers, describing them as adequate.

The ANC said in a statement it was “deeply disappointed” at De Klerk’s refusal. “The denial seriously hampers the ability of the commission to get to the heart of the problem and it remains an internal investigation into the security forces,” it said.

The appointment of an SADF insider, Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, chief of SADF staff, to lead an investigation into the defence force’s intelligence activities has led to fears the “self investigation” could turn into a cover-up.

This was especially fueled by the appointment of former security police colonel and later CID chief Maj Gen Alwyn Conradie to assist Steyn.

Conradie co-headed and served as chief investigator for the McNally Commission into SAP hit squad allegations by Death Row prisoner Almond Nofomela and former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee.

The investigation cleared the police of all charges and discredited Coetzee. Coetzee was later vindicated by Supreme Court Judge Johan Kriegler in the Lothar Neethling “poison” defamation case.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Curran said there have been sufficient crises for the government to lose their status as a credible negotiating partner. It now had to make way for an elected interim government with joint control over the security forces.
ANC sticks a spanner in the works

Go on to call for the complete and unaltered version of the ANC's resolutions and transformed political economy. The ANC's resolutions mandate the government to implement its transformation agenda. The transformation agenda is a comprehensive programme aimed at addressing the legacy of apartheid. It includes the following key components:

1. Land reform:
   - The ANC supports the expropriation of land without compensation, as a means to address the legacy of apartheid and to redistribute land to black farmers.

2. Economic transformation:
   - The ANC advocates for the development of a mixed economy, characterized by a combination of state and private ownership, with a focus on promoting black economic empowerment.

3. Education reform:
   - The ANC supports the implementation of a comprehensive education reform programme, aimed at improving the quality of education and addressing the educational disparities that exist between black and white learners.

4. Social transformation:
   - The ANC supports initiatives aimed at transforming society, such as the establishment of a National Development Corporation and the implementation of affirmative action policies.

5. Governance:
   - The ANC advocates for the strengthening of democratic institutions, including the establishment of an Independent State Security Audit Authority and the implementation of an anti-corruption strategy.

These resolutions have far-reaching implications for the future of South Africa. They represent a call for a fundamental transformation of the country, one that is driven by the needs and aspirations of the majority of South Africans. The ANC's commitment to these resolutions is clear, and it is evident that the party is committed to leading a country that is transformed and more equitable.
ANC meets on interim plans

By BARRY STREEK, Political Staff

THE ANC's national executive committee is to discuss its contentious plans for transition and a period of power-sharing in a three-day meeting which begins in Durban today.

Although its strategy document has been adapted and approved unanimously by its national working committee, there is open division in the ranks about the proposals, which have been cautiously welcomed by the government.

Its head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, who was not present at the meeting of the national working committee where the revised document was approved, has publicly criticised the proposals.

On the other hand, the chairman of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, who first initiated the move for limited power-sharing and proposed sunset clauses to limit white fears — particularly in the civil service and the security forces — has criticised Dr Jordan, suggesting he was fighting struggles in his head rather than on the ground.

Mr Slovo also lashed out at "triumphalists" who wanted to drag matters out until the government was forced to a complete surrender.

A member of the national executive and a member of the SACP's central committee, Mr Jeremy Cronin, admitted there were differences about the document and said some people felt the regime was nearer collapse than others.

No one disagreed about the need to fight the counter-revolution, but there were differences of emphasis about how to deal with this.

The position of limited, principled concessions was clearly the unanimous consensus of the national working committee, "but I have no doubt that on the ground the majority lies in the other direction."

"People understandably dislike any idea of power-sharing," he added.

It is understood that some of the strongest opposition to the strategic document emanates from the Western Cape region.

But a Western Cape member of the national executive, Mr Reggie September, said in a message from the movement to the SACP's regional congress that it was "very serious to spell out and talk about power-sharing."

In the same way that the MPLA in Angola and SWAPO in Namibia had been forced to negotiate with the forces they were fighting and share power with them, the liberation movement had to realise that they had to think about these issues, Mr September said.
CP calls for govt to quit

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party — citing alleged capitulation to the ANC as well as rampant corruption — has called for the government to resign. The Transvaal CP council said it had discussed the CP's "detailed plan for mobilisation against a government handover to the ANC".

"The council unanimously carried a motion demanding the resignation of the National Party government because of its involvement in massive corruption, its mismanagement of the economy and its capitulation to the ANC and its inability to maintain law and order in South Africa."

Six members were elected to the CP's Transvaal Executive Council, bringing to 10 the number of members on the council. — Sapa
Treurnicht hits at Volksunie

PRETORIA — The Conservative Party has lashed out at the Afrikaner Volksunie for meeting the ANC and has questioned its role in the Concerned South Africans Group (COSA).

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday the AVU had long had an "obsession" with negotiating with the ANC and had now given substance to it.
Pressure mounts on FW

The Government, under fire over damning accusations about security force dirty tricks, is facing increased pressure to make way for an interim elected administration, political leaders and analysts say.

"There have now been sufficient crises for the Government to lose status as a credible negotiating partner. It now has to make way for an elected interim government with joint control over security forces," Mr Brian Currin, director of Lawyers for Human Rights, said yesterday.

Dealing the latest blow to State President FW de Klerk, the chief of the Civil Cooperation Bureau, Mr Joe Verster, said he was told by De Klerk there would be no witch-hunt over security force dirty tricks.

Verster told a closed inquest into the murder of anti-apartheid activist David Webster that a former head of the SADF told him the Government accepted everything the CCB did "was in good faith", according to newspaper reports.

The allegations follow disclosures by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that there was evidence senior military intelligence officers hired a twice-convicted murderer to discredit the ANC.

A Government spokesman said yesterday that De Klerk, as Commander-in-Chief, had a special duty to protect the SADF from "orchestrated attempts to undermine its legitimate functions and...good reputation..."

He said the State President's approach to the CCB and "similar questions," was "a matter of record".

"It has been his (De Klerk's) position that allegations of wrong doing should be established and that anybody guilty of offences should be charged and punished," the Government spokesman said.

The Democratic Party spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, said there was circumstantial evidence that De Klerk was hostile to the military.

Acting in concert

"Elements within the security forces are either undermining the Government or acting in concert with the Government according to a hidden agenda. Either option is dangerous. There is now an urgent need for a deal on an interim government," Leon said.

Mr Rocky Williams, a military analyst, said "security" were holding a gun to De Klerk's apartheid reforms.

"The problem is that he (De Klerk) is in a process of transition and you do not cut off options when negotiating. "He may need to fall back on their assistance and therefore has no alternatives but to live with them," Williams said.

Goldstone asked for more powers and...
New govt, ANC talks soon

Political Staff
Johannesburg. — Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa will meet this week to finalise the agenda and arrangements for a bilateral meeting lasting several days later this year.

Mr. Meyer said he was hopeful that dates could be set this week as the Peace Committee executive would decide tomorrow whether to call a peace conference of all parties and set the dates for this.

He said the ANC government meeting cannot be finalised until the peace committee has had a chance to thrash out some way of holding its conference.

The ANC has seized the initiative from the government which is reeling under Goldstone Commission disclosures of a third force operating within the military establishment and criticism domestically and internationally over President PW de Klerk's choice of action — appointing the military to investigate itself.

Decision

At the weekend Mr. Nelson Mandela quickened the pace of negotiations by demanding a decision on a date for an interim government at the next round of talks between itself and the government.

This was rejected outright at the weekend by Mr. Meyer, who insisted that only a multi-party forum could make such a decision.

SAPA reports that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will disregard a date set for the establishment of an interim government if that date is decided bilaterally between the ANC and the government.

"Anything done behind our backs won't apply to us," he told a media conference on his return from Canada yesterday.

He said he was awaiting a reaction from Mr. Meyer on his proposal for a Multi-Party Conference of Review.

ANC meets on plans —

Page 6
Demand for elections

By Ismaill Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE national executive committee of the ANC, which meets in Durban this week, will formally adopt a resolution that a date must be set for a general election.

According to the resolution, this demand will be a condition for multi-party negotiations and the ANC will deliver the "message" to the Government at a "bokbok" between the two parties early next month.

But the Government, the Democratic Party (DP), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) were unanimous yesterday that the decision on the date of an election would have to be made at multi-party level.

The DP's national chairman, Mr. Ken Andrew, said this while it was important that elections be held soon to create stability, it was absolutely necessary for the decision to be made at multi-party level.

The Government, the PAC and IFP also said that a multi-party forum had to take the decision.

The ANC executive committee meeting will formally adopt a resolution that a date must be set:

Africa's first non-racial democratic election was raised by ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa at the organisation's Natal congress on Saturday.

Ramaphosa said the first item on the agenda for the "bokbok" was "the question of setting a date for the elections for a constituent assembly."

"If they do not agree to setting a date, then we might just as well put aside the idea of continuing to talk to them."

"We believe that the date for elections must be set without any further delay and we go to the negotiation table to say: Put everything aside, let's settle a date. We will settle that first. Everything else will be settled later," Ramaphosa said.

He said the focus of the national executive committee meeting, which started yesterday and ends tomorrow, "will be the forthcoming bilateral negotiations."

The demand for the setting of a date for elections is also backed by the IFP.
Poll date 'should be set by all parties'

PRETORIA. — A date for the election of an interim government should be determined by discussions between all parties, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

He was addressing the press after two hours of talks with French deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Georges Kiejman at the Union Buildings.

Mr Botha said Mr Kiejman informed him that all parties should 'hurry up' to get negotiations underway.

Mr Kiejman also told him the perception was growing in the international community that South Africans could not come to peace with one another.

The Democratic Party yesterday backed calls for an early election, agreeing that this could only be brought about on the basis of multilateral agreements. — Sapa, Political Staff
posal might avert Angolan-type election disaster

More UN troops

APUTO - France, one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, will back the deployment of enough UN troops in Mozambique to implement the peace accord.

This was said by French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman, who has also suggested that the Zimbabwean troops guarding the transport corridors through Mozambique might be allowed to remain under UN supervision.

Sufficient number

Kiejman said that France "will express the need to send a sufficient number of UN personnel to Mozambique to implement the peace accord".

So far only 20 UN monitors have been sent to supervise the gathering of Frelimo government and Renamo rebel troops at 49 assembly points in preparation for their demobilisation and for an election.

The head of the UN military team, Lieutenant Colonel G P Sinha, said he needed five observers at each assembly point - a total of 245 in addition to headquarters staff. The UN is struggling to respond to growing pressure to provide peacekeeping forces in various parts of the world. Inadequate UN monitoring of the election in Angola has been partly blamed for irregularities which have enabled Unita to reject its defeat at the polls.

Fears have been expressed that a similar situation might develop in Mozambique unless an adequate UN presence is established.

Mr Kiejman said he did not know whether the UN would send troops to protect the Beira, Limpopo and Nacala corridors, which link landlocked Zimbabwe and Malawi to Mozambique's ports.

Under the Rome peace accord the Zimbabweans were to have pulled out by November 15 but have remained, with the Harare government saying they were asked to stay by the UN and the UN denying having made such a request.

3 die as radicals firebomb flats

BERLIN - Radicals firebombed two west German flat buildings early yesterday, killing two Turkish women and a 10-year-old girl.

This was the worst neo-Nazi hate crime since Germany reunited and a wave of xenophobic violence spread over the land.

The attack in the village of Kursadt near the North Sea, which has a population of 18,000, followed perhaps the worst weekend of racist violence.

Authorities said that shortly after midnight somebody set fire to two flat buildings about 500 metres apart. Three people were killed and nine injured.


The buildings have been home to Turkish families for years.

Moeller said the victims had lived in Germany for years. Sapa-AP

'Change or disorder'

LONDON - South Africa would get it "more or less right" in the end, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, predicted yesterday.

In a speech to the Association of West European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid in the British House of Commons, he said there might be some progress to democratic elections or a slide into anarchy.

There would not be a return to white domination. Overwhelming opposition ruled that out. - Sapa
Mandela outlines terms for IFP meeting

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he will meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss political violence but only if the KwaZulu leader meets a set of ANC demands.

Last night Chief Buthelezi accused Mr Mandela of wasting time by "trotting out conditions while our people are dying on both sides."

Mr Mandela's conditions for meeting Chief Buthelezi are:

- That the ANC is allowed free political activity in KwaZulu;
- That Chief Buthelezi agrees to "disarm his men," and;
- That the IFP agrees to the securing of hostels and a ban on traditional weapons.

Speaking after meeting French deputy Foreign Minister Mr Georges Kiejian here, Mr Mandela said a meeting of the two leaders will not itself resolve violence.

Camps

Mr Mandela, who is also attending an ANC national executive committee meeting here, said the ANC wants a meeting with "political leaders across the spectrum" — including Chief Buthelezi — where they can apply "collective wisdom" to violence.

But Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela is commander of umkhonto we Sizwe and charged that MK has killed IFP members.

He said he supports the right of hostel residents not to "live in ANC-propoeed concentration camps."

Mr Kiejian will meet Chief Buthelezi today.

Gwana attacks Slovo strategy — Page 5
G7 leaders for SA meeting

From CHRIS BATEMAN
LONDON. — The former heads of government of the Group of Seven, the world's most powerful industrial countries, will meet in Johannesburg in January in an attempt to 'redress the "marginalisation" of South Africa'.

This was revealed yesterday by former British premier Lord James Callaghan, who will chair the conference, to be addressed by both President F W De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

Lord Callaghan said the meeting was in response to charges that the G7 countries "really hadn't done enough for South Africa".

Lord Callaghan took time out of the House of Lords to hear European parliamentarians, British MPs and some key South Africans speaking at a conference organised by the Association of Western European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid.
Beyers asked to resign

AFRIKANER Voortrekker leader Andries Beyers was yesterday asked to resign his Potchefstroom parliamentary seat, which he won on a CP ticket, by the management committee of the CP's Potchefstroom constituency council.

The council accused Beyers of spending funds he had received from government on promoting his new party instead of spending it in the interests of Potchefstroom voters. (Boon)
Strong govt vital, says FW

THE absence of good government in a stable system would hamper growth and foreign investment in SA, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Presenting the State President’s Award for Export Achievement, he said the attitudes of the international business community and foreign governments towards SA were determined not only by technical capabilities, quality and reliability in the economic field, but also by government backing for these.

SA’s image had suffered a great blow recently in the field of confidence.

“The cumulative effect of the continuing violence, delays in the negotiating process, the reports of commissions on maladministration and disclosures about real or imagined malpractices in the area of security intelligence has done us much damage,” De Klerk said.

Strong action was being taken by government to rectify the situation. With regard to violence, though, police action alone was not enough. The leaders of the ANC and Inkatha held the key to the solution in their hands; they had to make peace with one another through direct negotiation and by disciplining their followers.

De Klerk, criticising parties for negotiating by ultimatum. Boycotts and fresh demands were delaying the return to multi-party talks. Government had been patient, “but we will not be blackmailed”.

“If progress in negotiations is undermined by unreasonable actions, we shall not hesitate to take reasonable and well-considered initiatives,” De Klerk said, indicating that government could be considering pressing ahead with some form of transitional structures.

He said government took maladministration seriously and was determined to “root it out completely”. Various steps had already been taken towards this end, including the appointment of an advocate-general and ombudsman; extending the authority of the auditor-general and appointing commissions of inquiry “without hesitation”. There was “no question of any cover-ups”, strong action had resulted from these inquiries.

“I, like the public, am shocked and deeply unhappy about the extent of the maladministration that has been exposed. Everything we are doing is aimed at preventing a repetition.”

Most of the problems had arisen within the complex plethora of separate structures for blacks. “The whole process of reform is to wind up these structures altogether. They will be replaced by a simpler, more manageable, nonracial system.”

With regard to malpractices in the security and intelligence forces, De Klerk said the past period of conflict had resulted in extraordinary measures. It was clear that improper actions and even crimes were committed and that the bounds of moral justifiability were exceeded.

“Strong action will be taken against crime or unacceptable behaviour.”

He was determined to ensure—by reorganisation and restructuring on the one hand, and by disciplinary action and prosecutions on the other—that good government prevailed.

De Klerk
FW vows to clean up

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

RESPONDING to the recent spate of scandals, President De Klerk said South Africa could not afford to become "a prisoner of the struggle and the mistakes of the past". He promised to "completely root out malpractices and maladministration."

Mr. De Klerk conceded crimes had been committed "on all sides" and "exceeded the bounds of moral justifiability."

The government was serious about taking "strong remedial action in this sphere."

"We are cutting deeply," he vowed that "good government, now and in the future" was the "highest priority," Mr. De Klerk said South Africa's prospects were bright.

Addressing a function in Sandton to mark this year's State President's Awards for Export Achievement, the president said, government action since 1989 had been directed at creating a better South Africa.

"We are succeeding," he said; "I ask for your support," he told businessmen.

Disclosing personal "shock and deep unhappiness" about recent exposures of maladmin-
istration, Mr. De Klerk referred specifically to corruption scandals following the reports of the Van den Heever, Pickard, Parsons and De Meyer reports, as well as "disclosures and allegations of serious malpractices in the field of security and intelligence."

The government was not involved in "cover-ups," he said.

Regarding alleged political crimes, the government has:

- Disbanded the Civil Co-operation Bureau - "the few aspects of its liquidation are still outstanding because of legal disputes."

- With the assistance of the Kahn Committee, revised and terminated all special secret projects, subject to contractual obligations.

- Adopted stronger legislation concerning control of secret funds.

- Ordered crimes such as the murder of activist Dr. David Webster and UDF official Matthew Comise be investigated by judges.

- Put SADF's Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn head of investigations into Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collections.

"Strong action will be taken against crime or unacceptable behaviour, regardless of who may be involved, but according to legal prescription."
Buthelezi rejects terms by Mandela

ULUNDI. — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the conditions laid down by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for a meeting.

Reacting to the demands made on Monday, Chief Buthelezi said: “I am quite appalled at the conditions that Dr Mandela has imposed on a possible meeting between himself and myself.” He said Mr Mandela should stop “politicking around the issue”.

Among the conditions are that Chief Buthelezi allow free political activity in his KwaZulu homeland and that he accept certain terms of the Record of Understanding between the government and ANC.

In Johannesburg, French Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Georges Kiezman yesterday said he was convinced there would soon be reconciliation between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

Speaking at the end of a three-day visit, he also said the government had not taken the decisions necessary to uplift impoverished black communities. The immense poverty in these communities proved that apartheid was still much in evidence and had to be destroyed, he said.

Mr Kiezman said Mr Justice Richard Goldstone had told him he “has no reason to believe that anything will hinder the continuation of his investigation” into “real or alleged scandals that will cast an unfavourable light on the government”. — Sapa
Buthelezi, Mandela for Natal date?

Political Staff

A MANDELA-BUTHELEZI meeting is on the cards in Durban next month.

This was hammered out at a meeting in Sandton last night by all parties to the National Peace Accord.

"As a positive strategy was agreed, applause broke out," the NPC said.

The ANC and IFP presidents would lead respective delegations to the December summit.

Delegates at last night's meeting were tight-lipped except to say they were jubilant.

There was a spirit of general goodwill.

But the meeting did not begin well, as delegates could not find common ground.

When delegates went into recess a small group of ANC and IFP representatives spontaneously remained and after chatting for 30 minutes were able to work out a mutually acceptable way forward.

Mr. Nelson Mandela will probably lead the ANC's national executive committee in a meeting with the IFP central committee led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Such a meeting would signal major compromises.

Each had dropped preconditions for a meeting — Mr. Mandela that peace accord signatories meet first and Chief Buthelezi that Mr. Mandela apologise for remarks about the IFP at the UN.
Let's forget the past, pleads FW

South Africa could not afford to become "a prisoner of the struggle and the mistakes of the past", State President FW de Klerk said last night.

Responding to the recent spate of scandals, De Klerk told a function in Sandton to mark this year's State President's Awards for Export Achievement that he would "completely root out malpractices and maladministration".

He conceded that in the past, crimes had been committed "on all sides" and that this "exceeded the bounds of moral justifiability".

"The Government was serious about taking "strong remedial action in this sphere", he said. "We are cutting deeply."

Vowing that "good government, now and in the future" was the "highest priority", De Klerk said South Africa's prospects looked bright in spite of the rash of scandals in recent weeks.

He said all the National Party Government's actions since 1989 had been directed at creating a better South Africa.

"We are succeeding," he said, "and it is not forced off course by new shocks about old things."

"I am continuing and, for that, I ask your support," he told the businessmen.

"I am continuing and, for that, I ask your support," he told the businessmen.

Revealing that he felt personal "shock and deep unhap-

PAST CRIMES

De Klerk is committed to rooting out malpractices in Government:

Prof Nkuhlu to take over IDT's reins

Black economist to succeed Mr Justice Jan Steyn:

By Mzimuku Malunga

Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu

steps down.

He is one of the most respected economists in Africa and has written several papers on development issues.

The 48-year-old chartered accountant has turned down offers from big international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Nkuhlu is a former rector of the University of Transkei and serves on a number of boards in the private sector.
Johannesburg. —

Economic growth in the country and investment by international businessmen and governments would be strongly hampered if there was not good government in a reliable and stable system, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Presenting the State President's award for export achievement, he said the attitudes of the international business community were determined not only by technical capabilities, quality and reliability in the economic field but also by government backing.

The country's image had been dealt a great blow.

"The effect of the continuing violence, delays in the negotiating process, the reports of commissions on maladministration and disclosures about real or imagined malpractices in security intelligence, have done us much damage," he said.
The Government, with the National Party behind it for the past 44 years, has been revealed as a poor administrator, arbiter and corrupt repository of state power and symbols, writes Political Correspondent Ismail Kagardien:

State President F W de Klerk leads a Government that is disintegrating.

The Development Aid scandal earlier this year stands out like tens of tin toilets in a field as a testimony to a failed ideology.

The massacres at Boipatong and Bisho have revealed festering gashes in the Government and its security establishment and allies.

The recent findings of the De Meyer and Parsons reports of corruption in Lebowa and KwaNdebele similarly represent the fruits of a failed ideology.

Absolutely everything that the National Party has over the years stood for, so resolutely and self-righteously, has either failed horribly or has been discredited by its own being.

How much more than is known already could be revealed if the powers of the Goldstone Commission were widened, and if the Government actually opened its cupboards to scrutiny - before they actually split open themselves now that the National Party's immune system has collapsed.
FOCUS The NP is rapidly disintegrating as its ideology dies

SURELY THIS MACHINERY SHOULD BE REDESIGNED TO AVOID POSSIBLE MISUSE BY FARMERS

INDEPENDENT DEVELOPMENT TRUST FOR RURAL RELIEF
Negotiations process and drive for peace converge

EVERY time innocent people have been killed in political violence on the Reef or in Natal, renewed calls have been made for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet. Until this week, these calls have amounted to nothing.

The reasons advanced by the IFP and ANC on why their leaders should or should not meet have been expanded or changed almost regularly after each massacre.

This has led a source to comment: “Nero is fiddling while Rome burns.”

The planned Mandela-Buthelezi summit may or may not lead directly to a lessening of fighting between adherents, real or supposed, of the two major factions.

But increasingly such a meeting, or a multiparty meeting, is being seen by political commentators as the key to progress in the stop-start negotiations process.

Commentators point out that the negotiations process is now undeniably being linked to the peace process.

Previously the Government and ANC argued that it was impossible to proceed with negotiations if the level of violence remained unacceptable.

Some observers argue that the violence could not be resolved until an interim government has been installed. On the other hand, because of the violence, negotiations for a transitional government cannot proceed.

It took persistent efforts by National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Ball to break the logjam. On Tuesday night the breakthrough came after ANC and IFP representatives to the NPC agreed that their leaders should meet.

Earlier this month NPC sources complained bitterly that the ANC, and in particular the IFP, were “shifting the goalposts” of their conditions for a meeting of all signatories. Until this week the meeting of all signatories could still not be nailed down, largely because Buthelezi insisted on meeting Mandela first.

An all-signatory meeting will bring Mandela and Buthelezi together with leaders of the main parties and organisations to find a joint strategy for solving the Natal violence.

Politicians are regarding such a meeting as the likely route to bring Buthelezi back into multiparty negotiations. He suspended talks with the Government after it reached a bilateral agreement with the ANC in the Record of Understanding on September 26.

At the crux of the stalemate was Buthelezi’s insistence to meet Mandela before a multiparty meeting, while Mandela did not want to meet Buthelezi before the signatories met.

The dispute about such a meeting began when Buthelezi formally objected to the NPC about Mandela’s statement to the UN that the IFP was no more than a “surrogate” of the Government.

However, tensions began to simmer at the Codesa working group meetings where the IFP had problems accepting that sufficient consensus — the way agreements were reached at Codesa — meant in practice that the ANC and Government had to agree on a matter.

The tension between the IFP and some of the other negotiating parties finally bubbled to the surface when the Government and ANC reached an agreement in the Record of Understanding.

This prompted Buthelezi to suspend talks with the Government and to form a lobby, the Conference of Conscernd South Africans.

Reacting to the calls for a meeting of the two leaders, the ANC has repeatedly said such a meeting would have to succeed because two earlier meetings had produced no results.

At a Patriotic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth last month, Mandela said: “The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the PF, is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum, who should come together to address the matter. I should also point out that I have gone out of my way over the last two years to sort out the question of violence with Chief Buthelezi, and there has been no progress.”

In the latest volley of “Tell me you but ...,” Mandela said this week he was prepared to meet Buthelezi if he fulfilled four conditions, but Buthelezi rejected these preconditions, adding that he had only one: the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

Unexpectedly, the deadlock was broken this week, but ANC sources have warned that preparations for the meeting would take some time.

The value of the meeting will be more than a symbolic get-together of two leaders — it could be one of the first steps to get multiparty negotiations back on track.
ANC-IFP meeting hammers out way forward

Hopes for talks

By Esther Waugh
and Helen Grange

A flurry of bilateral meetings are set to move the country closer to a renewed round of multiparty negotiations.

A mood of optimism swept political circles yesterday after agreement in principle on the long-awaited face-to-face talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was unexpectedly secured at a National Peace Committee (NPC) meeting.

Power-sharing endorsed by NEC

The breakthrough — Mandela and Buthelezi have not met for more than a year — has raised hopes that a "Co-desa" multiparty gathering might now be possible sooner rather than later.

In addition, negotiators believe a planned meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord (NPA) and a Government-ANC "bosberaad" scheduled for next month will give impetus to stalled negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee yesterday formally adopted an amended version of its "Strategic Perspective" policy document — endorsing power-sharing as an option during SA's transition, and even after the first democratic elections have been held.

Government sources have welcomed the ANC approach, raising hopes for significant progress in the "bosberaad".

A joint Government-ANC announcement on the crucial bilateral meeting is expected this week. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet tomorrow.

At a media conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said delegates were aware of the urgent need to get multiparty talks under way.

A summit of NPA signatories to address the issue of violence — expected to take place before the year-end — would hopefully facilitate the climate for a multiparty conference, Hall said.

Although no date has been set for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, it is understood that both leaders have agreed to it in principle.

The breakthrough came at Tuesday night's NPC meeting in Johannesburg.

At the first recess, the ANC and IFP delegations spontaneously stayed behind and spoke for 30 minutes.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose then announced that they had agreed on a way forward.

Mbeki said: "We — the ANC and IFP — will have a bilateral meeting as soon as possible, attended by leaders of both organisations."

The preparatory meeting would be attended by delegations of the two organisations and the summit would be preceded by in-depth preparations, he said.

Mbeki added that the issue of a multiparty conference will be one of the items on the agenda.

Mdlalose said: "We are in agreement with the position as outlined by the ANC and would add that discussions ... were thorough, practical and without rancour."
US envoy in 'political vision' call

LLOYD COUTTS

SA's political leaders had to begin articulating a new vision of negotiations to allow the first stages of transition to a new government to begin in the near future, US ambassador Princeton Lyman said last night.

Addressing a Thanksgiving dinner hosted by Amcham in Johannesburg, Lyman said that if the negotiating parties stuck on individual issues, there would be no political agreement in the near future.

"And if there is not a political agreement soon, further disillusionment will set in. Violence will remain largely out of control and the economy will sink further into decline, making a recovery all the more difficult.

"The political leadership of the country must begin to articulate a new vision of the negotiations to its constituencies; one which foresees a continuing and dynamic process, rather than a final product to be agreed fully in advance," Lyman said.

Lyman said US President-elect Bill Clinton had indicated continued support for a negotiated transition to a nonracial democracy. Without that, there would be no support for the removal of remaining state and local sanctions against SA.
From saviour to old villain

The spirit of co-operation which South Africans, until recently enjoyed in Angola has changed overnight as old enmities are dragged out of the closet.

Only a few weeks ago, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other South Africans were warmly welcomed in the one-time Marxist capital city.

Many South Africans told of their surprise at the lack of recrimination and the apparent desire of Angolans to forge links with their former enemy. South Africa had pulled its army out of southern Angola, given Namibia its independence and played a significant part in getting the Angolan peace process off the ground.

South African businessmen were a dime a dozen in Luanda — all trying to break into the lucrative Angolan markets.

The South African representative office, although not a fully-fledged embassy, was given a special status and its head afforded many of the privileges normally reserved for Ambassadors.

Then two things happened. First, South Africa's former ally, Unita, outraged international opinion by rejecting the United Nations-sanctioned election as fraudulent and mobilising its South African-trained army. Then allegations suddenly surfaced that South Africa was fanning the flames of war by sending arms to Unita and by deploying the much-feared 32-Battalion in Angola.

Overnight being a South African in Luanda become a lot less comfortable. Businessmen waiting to close deals in Luanda hotels suddenly found their once-friendly contacts less friendly. The South African representative office found formerly easy arrangements with government departments suddenly going sour.

Botha was made to feel distinctly unwelcome despite the fact that only weeks before he had been given a rousing welcome.

And when the fierce fighting erupted in Luanda three weeks ago a group of the notorious riot police went in search of two Namibian journalists who they thought were South Africans. Fortunately both the Namibians and this (South African) journalist had left the country.

Last week police randomly stopped disembarking passengers at Luanda's international airport, demanding proof that there were no South Africans on board.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has strenuously denied the charges that South Africa has resumed military support for Unita.

The questions remain: If the accusations are true, why is South Africa doing it? And if they are not true, why is the Angolan government making such dangerous claims?

Propponents of the theory of South African guilt vary from those who believe South African military Intelligence was still playing its old games to those who say Pretoria seeks to focus world attention on Angola to divert the spotlight from South Africa. Proponents of its innocence say Portuguese masterminded the whole thing to get control of the markets which it was steadily losing to South Africa and because its leaders were upset by Botha upstaging them all in mediating the conflict.

Some in the MPLA government are angered by what they believe to have been an attempt by Botha to force a power-sharing option on Angola.

Others in Luanda felt that the South African Foreign Minister had suddenly abandoned Angolans after steering the opposing sides close to a resolution.

Conversations with a variety of people in Luanda leave the firm impression that unless South Africa publicly denounces Unita for what is seen as its role in jeopardising the Angola peace process, Pretoria will continue to be seen as the only country supporting the actions of the rebel movement. And South Africans in Angola will continue to be treated with suspicion, if not worse.
US aid ‘if transition on course’

By Michael Sparks

The United States would encourage and mobilise resources for South Africa once an interim government was in place, the new United States Ambassador, Princeton Lyman, said last night.

Speaking to the Institute of International Affairs, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Lyman said President-elect Bill Clinton had already stated his support for assistance to South Africa once the transition process was irreversible.

He said bilateral aid from the United States to South Africa was unlikely to increase, though America would play a leading role in mobilising multilateral assistance.

But he emphasised the importance of returning to negotiations and an speedy transition, not only because the international community would otherwise become frustrated, but because the same would also happen to South Africans.

Lyman said the status of negotiations at the time of Clinton's inauguration on January 20 was significant. If things were going well then, the new administration would offer immediate support.

But if negotiations were stagnant, the reasons for that would need to be analysed and a response formulated, which would all take time and detract from the real issues.
Calls for a Multi-party Forum

elections says a senior leader of the Pan Africanist Congress
Ebrahim, PAC secretary for Foreign Affairs:

WHERE ARE WE GOING?

Ebrahim

To no consequence to him. He is not a local and therefore the issue of high and kin is not in the player. The callousness knows the fact that indiscriminatory. How does he know that his relative or friend

NEWS

Inter-party rivalry would end with the announcement of voter registrations and

Somewat

Remember 21st November 2022
Govt denies plan to continue white rule

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government has denied that it has a secret plan to continue white minority rule indefinitely unless the ANC agrees to power-sharing.

A spokesman said yesterday the Government would do "everything in its power" during negotiations to ensure that its basic goals would be included in the interim and ultimate constitutions — and that it had no reason to suppose it would be unable to achieve its goals through negotiations.

"However, should it not be successful in this regard, the Government would certainly not 'continue white rule indefinitely'. Such an approach would be untenable and would be a negation of everything the Government has tried to achieve since 1990."

The Government denial followed an interview in the London Sunday Times in which the newspaper's reporter interpreted President de Klerk as saying the Government would stay in power until the ANC met its requirements. Yesterday the Government spokesman said: "President de Klerk did not say or imply this."
ANC's new conciliatory strategy revives hopes for multiparty talks

DURBAN - The ANC has adopted a conciliatory strategy for talks, announcing at the end of a special session of its national executive committee that the 'crisis in our country' has reached a point which demands 'the biggest breakthrough'.

Preparatory discussions with Inkatha begin next week and at the same time it is expected to meet government for bilateral talks - developments that give rise to new optimism that multiparty talks - if only, be revived soon.

At the end of its three-day NEC talks, the ANC said:

☑ It had adopted an amended position paper on negotiations strategy that contemplated power-sharing even after a new constitution was adopted. It was stressed that this differed from the NP's proposed veto powers for minority parties;
☑ It would be pushing for an agreement from government that elections for an interim government of national unity be held within a year - but ANC president Nelson Mandela stressed this would have to be endorsed by all parties in the negotiation process;
☐ It would ‘take all practical measures to curb the violence’;
☑ It had established an independent commission to probe the treatment of former detainees in ANC detention camps.

Highly significant in yesterday’s developments was the adoption of the document titled “Negotiations: A strategic perspective”, which says: “We also need to accept that the fact that even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces and the interests in the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity.”

There had been reservations about the proposal from some within the ANC hierarchy, but amendments made by the NEC appear to have won them over.

One of the amendments says the proposal should be considered only “provided that it does not delay or obstruct the process of an orderly transition to majority rule and that all the parties which have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the new government.”

“This is fundamentally different from an approach to power-sharing which trenches veto powers for minority parties,” it adds.

ANC member Mac Maharaj told a news briefing: “We are saying that all parties that win more than five seats in the interim parliament will be able to have seats in the (interim) cabinet.”

This could include all parties from across the spectrum, including the likes of the CP and the AWB.

After a new constitution had been adopted, we are saying the same principles would apply, but the question of whether or not there should be a government of national unity (at that stage) will be examined on the conditions at that time.”

The document also proposes that the ANC consider ways of minimising the threat to a fledgling democracy from the SAP, SAPF and public service, suggesting that job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty based on disclosure might need to form part of a negotiated settlement.

Mandela said the ANC would insist that government agree to a date for elections for an interim government of national unity during its bilateral meeting next week: “What we have in mind is possible installation within the next nine to 12 months.”

While the ANC was seeking common ground with government on this issue, under no circumstances can we accept that a decision taken by government and the ANC will automatically bind others … whatever decision we take will be put to the other parties as a recommendation.”

☐ If yes, how many

☐ If no

☑ Yes

☐ Yes

☐ No

☐ If yes, looking for work but not contributing to the household.

☐ (2) Yes

3 = No

1 = Yes
Talks flurry signals new move towards 'Codesa 3'

Political Staff

A FLURRY of bilateral meetings — including long-awaited face-to-face talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are set to move the country closer to a renewed round of multiparty negotiations.

A mood of optimism swept political circles yesterday after agreement in principle on the Mandela-Buthelezi talks was unexpectedly secured at a National Peace Conference meeting.

The breakthrough — Mandela and Buthelezi have not met for more than a year — has raised hopes that a "Codesa 3" multiparty gathering might now be possible sooner rather than later.

In addition, negotiators believe that a planned meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord and a government/ANC "bosheraad" scheduled for next month, will give impetus to stalled negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee yesterday formally adopted an amended version of its "Strategic Perspective" policy document — endorsing power-sharing as an option during South Africa's transition, and even after the first democratic elections have been held.

Government sources have welcomed the ANC approach, thus raising hopes for significant progress in the "bosheraad". It is understood that the Cabinet discussed the upcoming talks at its regular weekly meeting yesterday.

A joint government-ANC announcement on the crucial bilateral meeting is expected this week.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet tomorrow.

At a media conference yesterday NPC chairman John Hail said delegates were aware of the urgent need to get multiparty talks under way.

A summit of NPA signatories to address the issue of violence — expected to take place before the end of the year — would hopefully facilitate the climate for a multiparty conference, Hall said.

Although no date has been set for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, it is understood that both leaders have agreed to it in principle.

The breakthrough came at Tuesday night's NPC meeting in Johannesburg. Delegates said the meeting did not start off promisingly, but that at the first recess, the ANC and IFP delegations spontaneously stayed behind in the conference room. They spoke for 30 minutes.

To the obvious delight of other delegates, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose then announced that they had agreed a way forward.

When the meeting reconvened, Mbeki said: "We — the ANC and IFP — will have a bilateral meeting as soon as possible, attended by leaders of both organisations."
Ex-CP man won't resign

AFRIKANER Volkswaard (AVU) leader Mr. Andries Beyers yesterday said he would not resign his Potchefstroom parliamentary seat.

Beyers was reacting to renewed requests from members of the Conservative Party's Potchefstroom Constituency Council that he should resign his seat, as he had won it on a CP ticket before breaking away to form the AVU.

The AVU leader said in Pretoria allegations by the CP council that he was spending funds he had received from the State to promote his party 'countrywide' instead of in the interests of Potchefstroom bordered on libel.
DP MP quits to join the Nats

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mr Michael Abraham, the MP for Tongaat, has quit the Democratic Party and joined the National Party.

Yesterday morning DP Natal coastal region chairman Mr Mike Ellis handed a letter to Mr Abraham informing the Tongaat MP that he would be suspended from the DP. Mr Abraham handed Mr Ellis, the MP for Durban North, a letter of resignation.

Last night Mr Abraham said he had been surprised by Mr Ellis’ letter because he had informed DP leader Dr Zach de Beer by telephone on Friday last week that he was quitting.

In the letter to Mr Abraham, Mr Ellis said the party was concerned that he may not have been utilising his parliamentary constituency allowance correctly.

Mr Abraham dismissed the allegations as a “schoolboy prank” and said he was not even paid a constituency allowance because he operated from his home.
to bilateral talks
ANC, IFP agree
Boost for peace
By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

WHEN the National Party embarked on the redevelopment of South Africa's political landscape, it embraced policies which the Democratic Party and its predecessors had stood for since the early 1960s.

That was in the summer of 1989/90, and at the time, every political analyst in the country said that the fat lady had sung for the DP.

In March 1990, less than two months after the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, and shortly before the start of the now almost passe process of negotiations, obituaries for the DP started filling newspaper columns.

One political analyst was crisp and curt: "The Democratic Party is irrelevant".

Another asked if the music had not died for the DP, suggesting, too, that the liberals had become insignificant in the then nascent political process leading to the next South Africa.

A forlorn leader of the DP (the Progressive Federal Party at the time), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, was similarly sceptical about the continued role of his old party at the time, but stopped short of pronouncing it dead.

Speaking, then from All Souls College, Oxford in England, Slabbert made a remarkably prescient comment, which, while directed at the question of the DP's continued existence, subsequently became true, too, of all other political parties in the country.

"The kind of transitional politics we are moving into inevitably must affect the role, composition and style of established parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties. That alone has far reaching implications for the redundancy of the current constitution."

"It is true that the National Party under De Klerk has moved into the space previously occupied by the DP," Slabbert said.

But, the DP leadership of the time was not prepared to lie down just yet, and the party's role has become increasingly significant, as mediators in conflicts between Government and the ANC in the negotiation process. The DP also launched itself into the black community with newfound enthusiasm.

At a recent public meeting in Eldorado Park the DP attracted a few hundred people only, but refused to be deterred.

Branches and members are proliferating in the black townships across the Reef and in the Cape.

But, the DP has learnt: Canvassing support in the black community, for years so loyalty divided between the traditional liberation movements, is not an easy task.

A member of the DP's National Council, Mr Tsepo Phofofolo, a member of the DP's National Council explains.

Phofofolo, who heads the East Rand recruitment drive and Katlehong Branch of the DP, is not quite running for his life, but details sometimes gruesome incidents of intimidation and violence against people attending public meetings of his party.

"People join the DP, but are scared away from public meetings by the grassroots supporters of the ANC, PAC and even the Inkatha Freedom Party," Phofofolo says.

He blames the (low) level of political education and intolerance, perhaps even racism, for the violent opposition to black people joining the DP.

Black people have for many years, prior to the passing into law of the Prohibition of Interference Act of 1968, been members of the liberal opposition, which the DP now represents.

Phofofolo, and people such as the now deceased Percy Qoboza and the incumbent mayor of Soweto, Mr David Thebehali, joined the Progressive Party, from which the DP ultimately emerged in the early sixties.

The DP believes that it can be a valuable asset, as a coalition partner for an ANC majority party.

Phofofolo explains: "The mission of the Democratic Party is to convince the majority of South Africans that a multi-party liberal democracy and a social market economy must form the basis of the new South Africa."

"The DP will ensure that South Africa is governed according to liberal democratic principles, by becoming the government, or by being part of government, or by helping to bring about a realignment of political parties and thereby forming a government committed to principles of a liberal democracy."

For the DP, the route to the election starting blocks for the next South Africa is treacherous.

To borrow, and twist, an adage from ice hockey, the most dangerous team sport in the world: If you can't beat them in the alleys, you'll never beat them in public.
Reform must continue 'without delay'.

FW wants a new govt in place by 1994

GOVERNMENT wanted a fully representative government of national unity in place no later than the first half of 1994, President F W de Klerk said last night.

This statement was in apparent response to the ANC's call for a clear timetable for elections.

De Klerk said should the major parties not cooperate in realising this goal, government would find other means to ensure that constitutional reform continued without delay. The President would not speculate on what those might be, as government had not yet laid plans.

"But if the process gets bogged down, we will not sit on our hands. We will negotiate with whoever is prepared to do this... so that reform continues to roll," De Klerk said.

De Klerk set out eight steps to achieving this goal. As a prelude to the election of a representative government:

- Bilateral discussions with political parties for the resumption of multilateral negotiations should be completed before the end of February;
- A multilateral negotiating forum should be convened before the end of March;
- Multilateral agreements on a transitional constitution (including constitutional-making procedures, constitutional principles and regional government), a transitional executive council and an election commission should be concluded before the end of May;
- Legislation for these bodies should be adopted in May/June;
- A transitional executive council and election commission should be instituted in June;
- A transitional constitution (also providing for a constitution-making body) should be enacted before the end of September;
- Election rules and regulations should be formulated and promulgated before the end of October; and
- The playing field should be levelled (free political participation should be ensured, violence contained, political campaigns concluded, logistical preparations for elections and voter information campaigns conducted) so that elections could be held "no later than March/April 1994."

"Naturally our ability to meet these target dates will depend on the co-operation of the other major parties and their commitment to the process. However, if we are able to make rapid progress in dealing with these steps it may be possible to establish the government of national unity earlier than envisaged," De Klerk said.

The most difficult objective would be to "agree on the negotiating forum and then to reach agreement on the transitional constitution, which is the heart of what has to be agreed upon before the transitional executive council can operate on all cylinders," De Klerk said.

De Klerk was confident that the multiparty forum would be established ahead of schedule as a result of the progress being made in bilateral talks. But he said it would be unrealistic to reach the stage of

New govt 27/11/92

instituting the transitional executive council and election commission in less than nine months.

One of the main reasons for releasing the timetable was to rebut allegations that government wanted to hold on to power, "we wanted to inject some realism into the process and get parties to focus on negotiations, to get them going again on a realistic basis," De Klerk said.

De Klerk said the ANC policy announcements on Wednesday showed a growing convergence on power sharing. Such forms of co-operation could be needed after the adoption of a new constitution. "This drift is promising," he said.

He said the timetable had not been discussed with other parties, but government was willing to negotiate these dates.

While free and fair elections would hard-
PAC to meet Govt in Pretoria

By Montshiwa Moroke

Negotiation teams of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government are set to meet in Pretoria on December 9, PAC president Clarence Makwetu announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

Makwetu, who returned from the United Nations and Norway on Wednesday, said the bilateral talks would deal with the establishment of a more representative multilateral forum.

He said the talks would be positive only if they did not lead to bilateral deals, which would prove catastrophic for the country.

In New York, Makwetu met UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

His address to the UN General Assembly had covered violence and bilateral talks.

Makwetu kicked off a press conference yesterday by saying the PAC welcomed the proposed meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said the PAC had been the first to call for international intervention in transitional talks and had insisted on a neutral venue and neutral chairman from the outset.

"We have twice since met the regime at a neutral venue and under a neutral independent chairman in Abuja, Nigeria, and Gaborone, Botswana. We spearheaded the demand to take the issue of violence to the UN Security Council, and succeeded.

"We have been tirelessly working to establish a more representative multilateral forum to discuss the date for voter registration on a common voters roll and the modalities of setting up an elected constituent assembly.

The PAC leader said the organisation had also been consulting with delegations from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa and QwaQwa."
De Klerk proposes transition timetable

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk last night for the first time set out the Government's detailed timetable for transition, targeting March or April 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in democratic elections for a government of national unity.

He said the 15-month timetable would reach its first major milestone by the end of next March with the assumption of full multiparty negotiations either in a new forum or in a more representative and restructured Codesa. The Cabinet had decided to release the envisaged timetable to play down unrealistic expectations— which were being created in some quarters of a government of national unity in five or six months.

It also intended answering criticism that it was clinging to power. As shown by the timetable, the Government was in a hurry and had set itself certain goals.

He stressed the timetable was envisaged only by the Government and had not been discussed with, or agreed to, by any other organisation. Some of the target periods were "too short" and "rather ambitious" but could be met even exceeded if all parties co-operated, and were fully committed.

The ANC, rejected De Klerk's timetable as unacceptable, the PAC said it wanted a democratic government installed by early 1994 and the Democratic Party said there was no reason why elections for a constitution-making body could not be held before the end of next year.

The Government's target dates were:
1. A new multiparty negotiating forum or restructured Codesa convened before the end of March 1993.
2. Agreement on a transition constitution, a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and an election commission to be concluded before the end of May 1993.
3. Legislation for the TEC and the election commission to be adopted by Parliament in May or June 1993.
4. The TEC and the election commission to begin work in June 1993.
5. A transitional constitution—also providing for a constitution-making body—to be enacted before the end of September 1993.
6. Election rules to be promulgated before the end of October 1993.
7. First elections for a democratic government of national unity not later than March or April 1994. De Klerk said he was confident the multiparty negotiations could resume.

De Klerk’s timetable proposal

- From Page 1

by the March 1993 target date, but that the most difficult target to reach would be agreement on a transitional constitution by May 1993.

He also welcomed the ANC's recently adopted "Strategic Perspectives", which endorsed power-sharing even beyond the transitional period, and said it showed growing convergence.

The Government's understanding of power-sharing was that the party that gained 51 percent of the vote should not command 100 percent of power and that all parties with significant support should take part in a government of national unity.

The Government's proposed constitution would include measures to place the armed forces under "neutral, non-partisan control to ensure they cannot be abused for party-political ends".

 Asked whether the Government was ready to relinquish some control of the security forces beforehand, De Klerk said: "We do not envisage handing over the Government piece by piece."

He noted it was agreed at Codesa that before a government of national unity, there would be a TEC—one of which would deal with security forces. He said that for these elections to be free and fair, it was inconceivable that political parties could have private armies. The position of these were still under negotiation but all signatories of the National Peace Accord had agreed that no political party should have a private army.

The release of the timetable has further boosted confidence in a resumption of negotiations with the announcement that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet face-to-face to address political violence.

The ANC said last night that De Klerk's timetable was "totally unacceptable", and demanded elections during 1993—a year earlier than suggested by the Government.

In a statement the organisation said: "South Africa cannot afford any delay in the process. The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement; the people will not longer tolerate lack of governance or the increasing uncertainty that will clearly be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deterioration of socio-economic conditions."

The ANC said it would be holding an extensive bilateral meeting with the National Party soon, "where all these issues are to be discussed". It was "unfortunate that President de Klerk has seen fit to make pronouncements on issues that are the very subject for discussion at a meeting that has taken months to prepare for".

- PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the movement wanted a democratic government installed by early 1994. It also wants Codesa to be replaced by a multilateral forum early next year and an elected constituent assembly in place by November 1993.

- Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew said today there was no reason why elections for a constitution-making body could not be held before the end of next year.

"Elections are necessary and urgent if we are to introduce a greater degree of certainty in economic and constitutional affairs ...", he said.
Indignant Schwarz hailed

By Hugh Robertson

WASHINGTON — The Washington Post has complimented South African ambassador Harry Schwarz for his angry outburst at disclosures of evidence pointing to dirty tricks against the ANC by Military Intelligence.

The outburst was made in an interview with The Star and widely quoted in leading American newspapers, including The New York Times, and on national television.

"In an editorial yesterday, The Washington Post said: "President de Klerk, walking a tightrope between his military and angry anti-apartheid groups, has appointed a new military intelligence chief to conduct an internal probe of this latest scandal."

"But he continues to deny the existence of a 'third force' — a cabal within the security forces."

"That stance contrasts sharply with the 'anger and outrage' that South Africa's ambassador to the US, Mr Harry Schwarz, expressed at the Goldstone Commission disclosures. 27/11/92."

"Ambassador Schwarz reacted as one would expect of an official concerned that his government's credibility could go down in flames.""

"In discussing the relationship between De Klerk and ANC president Mandela, the editorial added: "Remarkably, Mr Mandela and other key ANC leaders have refused to allow this news to divert them from preparing to open constitutional bargaining with the Government."

"It is significant that yesterday the ANC formally accepted the idea of sharing power with Mr de Klerk's National Party, and announced talks with Inkatha, its black rival. This does not mean that mistrust and anger have run their course. But in Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk, South Africa has two leaders who know, despite the unrelenting past that constantly intrudes upon them, that their war is over.""
Afrikaans will lose its status

**Prominent educationist explores language policy in the new SA:**

By Mzimasi Ngudie 27/11/92

AFRIKAANS will rapidly lose its most favoured status while English, as the lingua franca, will become the most rational policy option.

Prominent educationist Mr Neville Alexander explores national language policy and the status of all languages in one of his essays on the language question.

The following is an abridged version of his digression on language policy extracted from the book *Critical Choices for South Africa* by R Schriner. Alexander says that there is a general agreement that English should and will remain an official language in a post-apartheid South Africa-Azania.

"In South African society as constituted at present, racial, class and gender aspects of language policy sustain and reinforce inherited social inequalities and national divisions.

"In order, for instance, to acquire well-remunerated employment in any sphere it is essential that the prospective employee should be fluent in English and/or Afrikaans.

"This means that for the vast majority of people officially classified black, such employment is simply unattainable.

"Their home language is neither English nor Afrikaans and in most cases their schooling does not help them acquire the necessary proficiency in either or both of these languages," he says.

"There is no doubt that English will increasingly play a pivotal role in a South Africa released from the mortgage of apartheid language policy."Little opposition will be forthcoming from this component, except from the inevitable band of irredentist Afrikaner bittereinders," he says. Alexander concludes that the first component of the national language policy should be the promotion of English as a lingua franca.

The second component, he says, is to encourage the growth of all the languages spoken.

Here cultural-political, rather than economic dimensions of language policy, are paramount.
Slabbert outlines basics of democracy

ONE of the basics of democracy was the ability of the individual to frustrate the will of the political majority in certain instances, Van Zyl Slabbert said at a forum on local democracy in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said there were "certain critical issues" which formed the principle of bounded uncertainty that had to be removed from being politically contested.

These included basic elements usually found entrenched in a constitution, such as a bill of human rights, which included freedom of association, adult suffrage and so on, Slabbert said.

Another basic element was what he called "contingent consent" in which a party winning an election did not deny its opponents the right to win the next ballot.

The ruling party could not assume that its mandate gave it a right to rule in perpetuity, and abolish the opposition in favour of a hegemony.

By the same token, a losing party should not deny the victor the right to rule.

"You have to accept losing, and when you lose, accept that the stronger party has a right to govern," said Slabbert.

Substantial or participative democracy could be measured in the way people were allowed to exercise their rights, he said.

They should be able to express their points of view through protest and mass action, and be able to call for referendums and challenge the rulers in votes of no confidence. However, mass action could never be a substitute for democracy. While people would mobilise when they felt strongly about an issue, they soon reached a "rally fatigue" and mass action would fizzle out.

Slabbert said there was place for a minority veto, but not along the lines of ethnicity, or where a minority group, which had governed undemocratically, sought to preserve some of its power.

A minority veto should only be used to protect issues such as religious freedom and cultural expression.

He added that it would be difficult for democracy to exist without economic growth and redistribution.

Numsa wins appeal over strike ruling

BLOEMFONTEIN — An appeal by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) to set aside an order of the Labour Appeal Court was allowed by the Appeal Court yesterday.

The case was remitted to the Labour Appeal Court to reconsider whether the proved facts constituted unfair labour practice.

The Labour Appeal Court had dismissed with costs an appeal by Numsa against an industrial court refusal to reinstate employees dismissed by Vetsak Co-operative, Isando Industries and Turin Pressings.

The case arose from a nationwide strike by 31,000 workers in the iron and steel industry on August 3, 1988. Among the strikers were 600 workers employed by Vetsak, Isando Industries, Turin and an associate company LM Nywerhede. There were 309 strikers at Isando and 400 at Bothaville.

On August 5, the group announced that the Bothaville strikers were dismissed, but no effect was given to the announcement. On August 8, 1988 the strikers at Isando were dismissed. Despite requests they were never reinstated.

The appeal was allowed by Judge Botha and acting Judges of Appeal Kriegler and Harms. — Sapa.
SA on standby for all-race election

Major political parties continue talks

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA is on standby for its first all-race election as major political parties continue bilateral talks to remove obstacles to the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

After President De Klerk's announcement of a timetable for transition, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa were meeting today for preliminary talks on the resumption of bilateral discussions between the government and the ANC.

The government is also having preliminary talks with Inkatha. Mr Meyer and Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of Inkatha, have been talking and discussing with the PAC and the Democratic Party.

A tough preparatory meeting between the ANC and Inkatha, aimed at thrashing out arrangements for a summit between their leaders, is due to take place.

Indications were that the gap among the various parties was narrowing amid a growing feeling that multilateral negotiations must be resumed soon.

The ANC has rejected Mr De Klerk's timetable, but top government sources dismissed this reaction as "playing politics." At most, the difference between the two parties was one of a few months.

Mr De Klerk targeted March or April 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in democratic elections for a government of national unity.

The 15-month timetable would reach its first major milestone by the end of March next year with the resumption of full multiparty negotiations either in a new forum or in a more representative and restructured Codesa. Mr De Klerk announced at a Press conference in Pretoria.

The government's target dates were:

- Bilateral discussions completed before the end of February 1993;
- A new multiparty negotiating forum or a restructured Codesa convened before the end of March 1993;
- Agreement on a transitional constitution, a transitional executive council (TEC) and an election commission to be concluded before the end of May 1993;
- Legislation for the TEC and the election commission to be adopted by parliament in May or June 1993;
- The TEC and the election commission to begin work in June 1993;
- A transitional constitution — also providing for a constitution-making body — to be enacted before the end of September 1993;
- Election rules to be promulgated before the end of October 1993; and
- First elections for a democratic government of national unity not later than March or April 1994.
Open vote in 1994 - FW

ANC raps De Klerk over the knuckles:

THE African National Congress has rejected as "totally unacceptable" President Mr FW de Klerk's proposed timetable for elections leading to a constituent assembly.

The organisation's reaction came soon after De Klerk announced the Government's time-table for the constitutional reform process, targeting the first open elections for an interim government and constituent assembly for early 1994.

De Klerk said in making the Government's schedule public, he hoped to instil a sense of realism concerning constitutional reform.

"We are presenting it because we feel it is necessary to introduce a note of realism and get the public and parties focussed on the process itself and to realise that time is of the essence," he said.

He stressed the dates were not rigid and inflexible.

But the ANC immediately dismissed the Government's announcement.

"South Africa cannot afford any delay in the process. "The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement. The people will no longer tolerate lack of governance or the increasing uncertainty that will clearly be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deteriorating of socio-economic conditions," a statement released by the ANC said.

An election during 1993 would be attainable under the circumstances, the organisation said. Supa.
NEGOTIATIONS

Kissing and making up

Though soured by the continuing rancour between the ANC and Inkatha, plans for the resumption of full-scale negotiations in February, according to government, are on track.

In recent weeks there has been a series of preparatory discussions between government and various parties, including Inkatha, the PAC and the white Right; as well as between the ANC and certain homelands, notably Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

More important is that the crucial bosberaad between government and the ANC is set to take place early next month, according to the ANC’s Cari Niehaus, which should facilitate the convening of the vital multiparty conference.

Any decisions taken at the bosberaad would have to be ratified by an all-party indaba, Niehaus indicated. This is critical to the process, considering the opposition — chiefly from Inkatha’s Mangosuthu Buthelezi — to bilateral agreements between government and the ANC being presented as afait accompli by other parties.

Buthelezi reiterated his rejection of such deals, in response to the ANC’s announcement that, before the year’s end, it wants a date set for elections to a constituent assembly-cum-interim government. The ANC appeared to threaten another suspension of talks with government if a date were not forthcoming. But the demand seems to be more of a pressure tactic to get the ball rolling. It may be unwise to set a rigid deadline for interim government elections, which the ANC would like as “soon as is practicable” — meaning by the end of 1993.

Yet how — if Buthelezi is not to be further alienated — can an election date be agreed upon prior to December 31 this year, unless the multilateral conference is held before then?

An ANC spokesman explains that the organisation is “expressing serious concern that if a date is not set we may face further delays, which are counterproductive. There needs to be a target. There can be further discussions (on setting a date) in a multilateral forum.”

Much will depend on the attitude and atmosphere at the ANC-government summit due within weeks. If the two teams agree on a date, it would be wise to try to keep this a secret until all parties have been consulted — but leaks on such an important matter appear inevitable.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this week that the date should be determined by discussions between all the parties, lest some feel excluded, as was the case with the Record of Understanding signed by government and the ANC in September. “We want a multiparty conference off the ground as soon as possible,” Botha added.

As the ANC sees it, the first phase of interim government would begin soon after the setting of a target date for the start of the second phase, an elected interim government.

Phase one — likely to be introduced “quite early next year” — would be a limited, transitional arrangement under which there would be joint control over areas such as the security forces, the SABC and the Budget. Parties other than the Nats would have significant influence on decision-making in these areas for a short term (about six months). The aim would be to level the playing field for free and fair elections.

It is during this phase that the ANC envisages the beginnings of an integrated security/defence force, based in part on the recommendations made in one of the Codess working groups, which were never ratified. This, perhaps more than any other factor, will be crucial for the process to succeed.

Record of Understanding

Meanwhile, the ANC’s national executive committee was meeting in Durban this week, partly to finalise its interim government policy. There was heavy emphasis on setting up in early next year, chief Harry Gwala — to aspects of proposals put forward by Joe Slovo. These include “sunset” clauses, aimed essentially at making the transition smoother by not alienating the existing public service corps.

Also to be ratified is a proposal aimed at forming an ANC transitional government of national unity, in terms of which any party with at least 5% of the vote would be represented in such a government.

While the ANC has had constructive meetings with the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, accord with Buthelezi seemed as elusive as ever. Even if the ANC succeeds in neutralising the first two — who sit in alliance with Buthelezi (and the white Right) in the “concerned citizens” grouping formed after the Record of Understanding — isolating Buthelezi could be shortsighted.

After meeting French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kerjman this week, ANC president Nelson Mandela said he was willing to grant Buthelezi his wish of a face-to-face meeting — provided Buthelezi accepted certain conditions (which he probably knew would not be acceptable). These were that he should, allow the ANC free political activity in KwaZulu; disarm Inkatha members; abide by the ban on traditional weapons in public; and agree to the fencing of hostels.

Mandela said the ANC had done everything in its power to plan for ending the violence, but that Buthelezi had failed to attend important multiparty meetings of leaders on the issue.

In response, Buthelezi told the FM: “I can no longer take seriously anything that the president of the ANC says because he chops and changes at every turn.” He said Mandelal had reneged on undertakings to meet him that Mandela had given to Kenneth Kaunda and Peace Committee chairman John Hall. “He must have been bluffing the French Deputy Foreign Minister just to gain the false high moral ground on the issue,” said Buthelezi.

Neither he nor the KwaZulu Cabinet had ever disallowed any political activity in KwaZulu by the ANC or any other party and Mandela knew that “our members have been killed in their thousands” in KwaZulu. “The problem we face is that of political intolerance that is designed to deal jointly with the cult of violence among members of our organisations,” said Buthelezi.

The KwaZulu chief again said that he “cannot accept any decisions made behind our backs without being given a chance to debate and understand them.” Inkatha would not accept the banning of “Zulu cultural accoutrements in all circumstances” as this could not be implemented. “The residents of hostels have rejected the fencing of their hostels. I respect their democratic right to refuse to be forced to live in the ANC-sponsored concentration camps.”

According to Buthelezi, the (proposed) meeting of the Peace Accord signatories (which Mandela favours as the forum for meeting Buthelezi) “cannot be compared with joint rallies addressed by leaders of both
Guilty until proved innocent

Despite his commitment to reform, De Klerk risks becoming SA’s Nixon

The MI files indicated that Ferdi Barnard, a former agent in the notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau and a convicted murderer, was employed by the Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) from May 1991 until December 1991. Apparently he had been recommended to the DCC by the SADF intelligence chief, Lt-General Witkop Badenhorst.

Barnard drew up a detailed plan to undermine the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, using an underworld network. The plan, says the Goldstone statement, “was submitted to senior members of MI and thereafter he was employed as a chief agent.” Though the plan may not in fact have been implemented, or not fully so, MI evidently thought Barnard worth keeping on.

In July 1991, during the period that Barnard was employed, the government was shaken by the revelation (after earlier denials) that the SA Police had funded the IFP. De Klerk gave the assurance that secret activities of this nature had been suspended and appointed a committee to evaluate all secret operations. In August 1991, Ministers Adriaan Vlok (police) and Magnus Malan (SADF) were relieved of their portfolios after sustained pressure from the ANC, amid allegations of secret agendas and a “third force.”

In December 1991, a Beeld report carried an allegation that Barnard’s employment by the military was denied by an army spokesman, but, says Goldstone, “that denial was false.” Ten days later, Barnard’s employment with MI was terminated, according to the classified files, “upon instructions from the Minister.” In January 1992, Barnard’s MI handler also wrote that Barnard was sacked “on instructions of the Minister of Defence.”

The Minister of Defence at the time was Roelf Meyer, now in charge of constitutional negotiations. He has denied that he knew anything about Barnard.

It is hardly likely that the MI files — seized in a surprise raid — are part of an elaborate forgery. We must assume they are genuine. Yet even if one accepts that the SADF hired Barnard for the kind of black diplomacy most military elites engage in from time to time, the country is still entitled to know:

- Why Barnard was encouraged to draw up plans to undermine the ANC — particularly at a time of extreme political sensitivity and in the face of apparently misleading assurances by De Klerk;
- How Meyer can claim ignorance if Barnard was dismissed “on instructions from the Minister”;
- Why, if Meyer knew nothing, did he not make it his business to ensure that such covert programmes were halted; and
- Whether the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, and any other senior officers outside MI, knew what was going on.

De Klerk’s response to Judge Goldstone’s remarks was grudging and enigmatic: they were “issued in the form of a press statement, and did not constitute an official report … many of the aspects contained in the statement have thus far not been tested within the framework of the normal procedures applied by a judicial commission.”

Yet Judge Goldstone made no untested conclusions. He merely raised questions, while noting the evidence that MI had employed “a person with a serious criminal record involving crimes of violence and dishonesty,” that the SADF had lied about Barnard’s employment, that a senior officer had recommended the illegal arming of Barnard with an SADF weapon, and that 48 DCC members operated credit cards and had spent hundreds of thousands of rand.

There are no military secrets here: the security of the State is not remotely at stake. The obvious and natural response from De Klerk would have been to instruct the Goldstone Commission to investigate the other MI files and report to him in due course. Instead, De Klerk has ordered an in-house investigation — which makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that government itself has something to hide.

The former Leader of the Opposition Frederik van Zyl Slabbert believes that De Klerk’s response is consistent in that his government “has always thought that it can maintain stability with a highly controversial security establishment. The Nats think, ‘It is our system.’”

For the first time, perhaps, De Klerk has realised that it is not “his” system any more — and Slabbert detects panic in his reaction. “De Klerk is on the back foot. When he took office he distanced himself from the tricameral system — and then used its most disreputable feature, P W Botha’s worst weapon, the President’s Council, to force through the Indemnity Bill. He has been a bit shaky.”

De Klerk would be well advised to take note of recent political history. We have the example of Watergate in the US as well as our own Info scandal. In both cases, the discovery of corruption happened almost by chance. In both cases, after months of tenacious judicial work in the face of executive lies and stonewalling, the rot was revealed to go right to the top — President Richard Nixon and Prime Minister John Vorster.

De Klerk has asked L-G-General Pierre Steyn, appointed earlier this year as Chief of Defence Force Staff, to take command of all intelligence functions of the SADF. He is to provide De Klerk with “a complete and comprehensive analysis of all of the SADF’s intelligence activities … and to report to me as soon as possible on the advisability of restructuring these functions.”

Steyn will be helped by Police General Albert Conradie in analysing the files of the DCC “to ascertain whether any activities have taken place which might be in contravention of the law.”

**Time May 14 1973 ... Nixon's point of no return**
Afrikaner homeland takes shape after talks with ANC

Inside their Pretoria offices, Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) leaders are poring over maps with felt-tipped pens, drawing and demographic statistics at hand.

It appears that last week's surprise discussions between the AVU and the African National Congress have provided some sort of impetus to the AVU's plans of regional self-determination. "Fruitful" is how AVU leader Andries Beyers this week described the outcome of the bilateral talks.

Carefully cloaking his replies in the words of a man who does not want to disclose the full extent of his future strategies in a time of negotiation, Beyers nevertheless admits to feeling good about the attitude of the ANC towards regional self-determination.

No, this was not just a getting-to-know-you exercise, he says. The success of the meeting was largely based on the fact that the real issues were immediately addressed by both parties.

"After this meeting, I have faith that there is a definite willingness on the side of the ANC to accommodate reasonable aspirations," he says.

Does this include a fully autonomous Volksstaat? Not at this stage, Beyers admits. Although a Volksstaat may be the ideal, any direct claims for a Volksstaat would be premature. But the ANC indicated it was not averse to a regional dispensation with "reasonable powers of self-determination".

"We are moving in a direction where we want the maximum amount of self-determination in any future political dispensation. What we are asking at the moment is to be given a small area in the northern part of the country with Pretoria as a focal point, and that the borders be drawn in such a way that the Afrikaner people will at least be in the majority."

Members of other races will be accorded full citizenship but, in order to uphold Afrikaner values, the Afrikaner will have to be the majority in such a dispensation.

He is adamant that such a region is practically feasible. The demarcation of borders need not be more artificial than the ANC's own plans for a regional dispensation, Beyers says.

"The National Party has embarked on a multi-ethnic and multi-nationalist road where it can no longer give voice to the exclusive interests of the Afrikaner. "As for the CP, unrealistic expectations and old-fashioned politics are also in the process of sidelining them. It is into this vacuum that we have stepped."
Goldstone and the Sort-of Solution
e and the sort-of solution

Satisfied with the out-meeting with De Klerk, Judge Goldstone and Goldstone revealed that the State's grubby little tricksters have been exposed.

BEELD's columnist Lood will be disappointed to hear that 'talk of a cover-up' has not ended, and will not end until there is proof that the State's grubby little tricksters have been exposed.

DE KLERK: Unmistakably admonished the judge.

Events.

As a footnote to posterity, let us run quickly through the Goldstone revelations saga. After the judge's press conference, President de Klerk released a statement in which he unmistakably admonished Goldstone for going public with his discoveries, rather than whispering them to officials in private. This admonition was greeted with hoots and hoots of media quarters. It was an unedifying spectacle to see some newspapers complaining that a source was too forthcoming. But leave that aside.

Then the President and the judge held their meeting (last Friday) and issued a brief statement afterwards. No further comment could be elicited from either of them, and responsible newspapers set about speaking to a range of politicians and diplomats to hear their analyses.

After this report was published, The Star again sought comment from the President and the judge, but they chose to say nothing at all. And the politicians and diplomats: they were still not happy, and this was reported. Finally The Star was able to glean from Goldstone Commission sources that the judge was satisfied with the outcome of his meeting with De Klerk, and this was reported too. (It is important to note here that in politics, just because two protagonists say everything is hunky dory, that is not necessarily the whole story — and it most definitely does not mean that everyone else is happy about their deliberations.)

The fact is that as the story unfolded, The Star reported on both sides of the best of its undoubtedly flawed abilities of the various interested parties who were prepared to say what they thought at the time. That is what appeared variously in print, accurate reflections of the debate as it was known at the time.

The Star sources said that the statement was contained in the Government's press statement, because we are not in the habit of accepting the blandishments of political parties as gospel — be they the NP or the ANC — and we do our best to get as close as possible to the truth.

In my own view, the most interesting, worth is, that there has been a degree of intentional ambiguity about the De Klerk-Goldstone saga. That is the reason why neither was prepared to give a full and frank statement after their meeting, and that this resulted in necessarily ambiguous reporting. I believe the Government was angry with Goldstone for going public on his own and Goldstone was angry about the bilious responses from the SADF and SAP. I believe feathers were smoothed by both sides for the truth of the matter rather than the Star's easy-answer version, which allows no room for nuance.

As for Lood's comment that we were still "breathless" about the scandal a full week after its exposure — well, that says more about his tolerance levels for graft and dirty tricks than it does about our news values. But then this Government is used to simply brazening out scandals and, goodness knows, they are embroiled in enough of them. Why should this particular piece of disgusting deceit be of interest for more than a week?

Next, ou Lood, the time has passed when embarrassment could be cast aside in a cloud of chest-thumping and protestations about "boerhaaters" and "Gaullism". We're past the petty, just concerned South Africans who believe that washing out dirt now makes a cleaner future possible. We make mistakes, sure. But we do not intentionally distort in the service of political masters. When we do attack the Government (or the ANC), it is because we believe they deserve it.

It may relieve some of Lood's tension to put the boot into The Star. Might I humbly suggest, however, that it would be of greater benefit if he were a little more concerned about the real issue — that a murderous former CCB agent has been caught red-handed in his Master's House.
Talks wagon creaks on to the road again

THE cumbersome and long-dormant negotiation machine began to creak into action this week as parties were announced for the long-awaited Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and an intensive "bosberaad" between the Government and the ANC.

The negotiation barometer moved to "cautious optimism" as it emerged that a team of Cabinet ministers under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and top ANC officials under secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would retreat into a secret bush venue from Wednesday to Friday to thrash out the remaining obstacles to resuming Codesa-style multilateral negotiations.

The two sides moved closer together earlier this week when the ANC's national executive committee endorsed a strategy option of sharing power with the National Party even after losing government.

Programme for transition

Giving an overview of the week's positive development, one key player remarked that all parties had finally realised they could not destroy each other, and were at last resorting to real negotiations.

President de Klerk sounded an optimistic note - and tried to seize the initiative from the ANC - when he announced that Codesa could start in March, leading to a negotiation process leading to the country's first democratic elections in March or April 1994 for a government of national unity.

The ANC officially spurned De Klerk's timetable as too long, but ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said that at last the Government had committed itself to a definite programme for transition.

The most troubling problem still outstanding is the position of Chief Buthelezi and the IFP, who still remain officially outside the negotiation process.

Although the planned Buthelezi/Mandela meeting is seen as an encouraging sign that the IFP leader is thawing, the Government is fearful that its "bosberaad" with the ANC may once again infuriate Buthelezi and drive him further away - as did the ANC/Government summit of September 26.

In an interview yesterday, Meyer was at pains to point out that the bosberaad would not be a summit, as De Klerk and Mandela would not attend.

He said that the Government was currently meeting all major players, including the IFP. It would meet the PAC on December 9, and Buthelezi and other exiled leaders the following month.

He and Ramaphosa yesterday announced a second phase of this week's bosberaad in January.

The meetings would deal with multilateral negotiations, the transition process, the problem of violence, transitional/intern-government, a constituent-making body, a transitional executive council, a climate for free political activity and participation, and unilateral restructuring. Another topic is likely to be the ANC's power-sharing strategic perspective.

No date has been set for the Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and the agenda is still to be discussed.
Preparing for first phase of new talks

JOHANNESBURG.—The government and the African National Congress met yesterday to prepare for a "first phase" of the three-day bilateral meeting starting next Wednesday.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Reuel Meyer and ANC Secretary General Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa led delegations at the meeting.

It was agreed the bilateral meeting would take place in two phases: A three-day meeting on December 2 to 4 to be followed by another meeting.

The agenda:
- Multilateral negotiations;
- The transition process;
- The problem of violence;
- Transitional interim government;
- Constitutional-making body;
- Transitional executive council;
- Climate for free political activity and participation; and
- Unilateral restructuring.

It was announced that preparatory meetings between Mr. Ramaphosa and Mr. Meyer would be held on a continuing basis.

Earlier yesterday, the ANC said the agenda would be topped by President de Klerk's timetable leading to democratic elections.

Mr. Ramaphosa said a second bilateral meeting would take place in early January.

SAPA
The maps show some of the choices for changing the face of South Africa. When multi-party negotiations are resumed, many prefer a new constitution with power divided between the executive, the legislature, and the judiciary. The most popular view is for a strong presidency, with a weakened legislature and a moderate judiciary. However, the options are not clear, and the process will be complex. It is uncertain how much control the president will have over the legislature and judiciary. There is no clear path forward.
For membership

NPS seeks seeds

Consensusforma NP program over NP programme

IN Veneerstrike, farmers have
ANC, govt prepare for talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the African National Congress met yesterday to prepare for a "first phase" three-day bilateral meeting starting next Wednesday.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa led delegations at yesterday's meeting.

The two said in a statement it was agreed the meeting would take place in two phases, firstly a three-day meeting on December 2-4, to be followed by a further meeting.

Earlier yesterday, the ANC said the agenda at next week's bilateral meeting would be topped by President F W de Klerk's proposal for a timetable leading to democratic elections which it rejected.

Mr De Klerk's proposals met with criticism yesterday from the HNP, the CP and the Boere Weerstands Beweging which all expressed concern that Mr De Klerk was allowing himself to be dictated to and would "lose control".

The SA Council of Churches criticised Mr De Klerk's proposal for pre-empting multi-party discussions on the matter. — Sapa
Rightwingers reject FW's unity plan

PRETORIA.—A government of national unity will "never succeed" and President de Klerk will have to "capitulate totally" to the African National Congress’s demands to form such a government by 1994, says Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He said last night that the goals of Mr de Klerk announced at a news conference in Pretoria on Tuesday were unattainable.

"He knows from experience gained during the past year how dangerous it is for him to negotiate successfully within specific time-scales," said Dr Treurnicht.

The ANC’s intended "socialist and communist straight-jacket" for the country was a nightmare and could not be made acceptable through negotiations.

"One democracy for the voters of 13 nations and groups on a single voter’s roll is no democracy, but constitutes a serious disregard of nations’ right to freedom," said Dr Treurnicht.

"Therefore, a single constitution can never be acceptable for the self-determination of different nations."

The CP was in favour of an alternative forum where points of departure should be the acceptance of Christian values, the rejection of communism and any form of ANC domination, as well as the recognition of nations’ full freedom and right to self-determination.

The CP considered it presumptuous to accept a single government of so-called national unity, one election for all nations’ voters and one constitution for different nations as a point of departure for a time-scale, even before these principles had been cleared in any way with those concerned.

Mr de Klerk’s intention to have a constituent assembly by 1994 was "a declaration of war", the Boer Weerstands beweging and the Wit Wolwe said in a joint statement yesterday.

Mr de Klerk and the National Party had forced down an armed struggle, "and will have to accept all responsibility for what will happen in this fatherland of ours."

Mr de Klerk had no mandate from the "Boer" nation or any white for the constitutional timetable he outlined.

"The BWB and the Boer nation consider this government illegal and all its laws will be rejected by the Boer nation," said the statement. — Sapa.
Rule now — and get rich later
have best of two worlds

Hybrid system of rule can
Codessa by Christmas?
They'll have to get it right first time

SHIVER of excitement ran through the country's business elite this week on the rumour that talks about talks were going well, and that a transitional executive council — in effect, an unelected multinational government — might be only months away.

But still people asked each other, as South Africans tend to do wherever they meet these days: Are you optimistic? Pessimistic? Do you have hope?

President de Klerk tried to restore some perspective by offering a timetable, if all goes well, for a transitional executive council to start work in June, and for national elections nine months later.

The ANC, which had been nagging him for a timetable, and which had promised to call off sanctions as soon as it had a date for transitional government, flew into a tantrum. The country, it said sanctimoniously, could not endure an extra year of corruption and mismanagement; elections had to be held, in 1983 not 1984.

As usual, the ANC's middle-class and foreign-funded apparatchiks were being both cheap and shallow: the country has been sliding into poverty since 1981 or so, and living standards have only got as far down as 1965. There's a long, long way to fall yet.

Not all the news is bad — inflation is falling at last, and even government spending is coming down a bit, and one of these days, mark my words, we shall see somebody in government prosecuted for corruption, or perjury, or fraud.

Anyway, there's no guarantee that we should be better off under the ANC, which on its good days can barely manage Shell House and which has been feckless in preserving for its own future use the National Party's machinery of patronage, the centralised spending, the huge bureaucracies, the para- statals, the interfering and overweening government that breeds both corruption and mismanagement.

Nevertheless, businessmen and foreign ambassadors have been trying to force the pace of negotiations, and the ANC itself has decided to "turn on the tap". Its motives are a matter for speculation, but it's fair to suggest that Finance Minister Derek Keys may have secured the attention of the ANC's limousine revolutionaries with his charts showing how we are hurtling towards the end of the world.

The attempt to hustle President de Klerk quickly offshore, even if it means offering him "sunset clauses" and other bribes, may not be unconnected with the ideological dispute between Joe Slovo and Pallo Jordan, the left-of-SACP intellectual who seems to think negotiation is a form of consorting with the enemy.

Suddenly the ANC is impatient for power, and the reason hardly matters. What does matter is that nobody seems to be asking the critical question: will the main parties agree — can they agree? — on the substance of a democratic constitution in time to meet the ANC's timetable, or even President de Klerk's?

Put the question a bit differently: what powers will the Nationalists allow the ANC to wield over Nationalists? Or what powers will the ANC permit Chief Buthelezi to wield over ANC members? Which of them will control the armed forces of the state, if any of them, then who?

OUR very recent history has shown us that the Nationalists cannot be trusted with money, the armed forces cannot be trusted with power, and neither the ANC nor the Inkatha Freedom Party can be trusted to keep the peace. So what rules will they make for each other? What restrictions on power? What checks and balances?

What power to the people?

John Maynard Keynes, I think, once said that no meeting of business competitors did not end in a conspiracy against consumers; similarly, no meeting of politicians does not end in a conspiracy against the people. So what are the chances that the tax-funded Nationalist WaBenzi from Bryntorion and the ANC's nouveau riche WaBenzi from Houghton will not, if they agree at all, conspire against the rest of us?

And what's the rush? They have all the time in the world. The pressure is off. One cannot find a local businessman, nor a German banker, nor a diplomat, nor a government official, who thinks a government of national unity will bring us investment, or restore overseas faith in our blood-soaked economy.

A cabinet minister remarked this week in private conversation that South Africa was drenched in goodwill; the whole world seemed to be holding its breath, praying for us to make a successful transition before the entire subcontinent slips irretrievably into the abyss. To which a prominent Afrikaans capitalist retorted that, yes, they wish us well, but they turn away at the very mention of risking their precious cash here.

THE stark reality is that we are, for the time being, on our own. If our survival depends on foreign investment, we won't survive. If we hope to restore economic growth, we shall have to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps. A few years of disciplined behaviour, of tight monetary policy, of frugal government, of low inflation and rising productivity, of lawful behaviour in the streets and civilised discourse among politicians — and then we shall be able to talk again of foreign investment.

To achieve any of this we shall need agreements, and conventions, and forums, and the Nats and the ANC and the IFP will have to talk to each other. If, in doing so, they reach agreement on a constitution under which each of them is willing to trust the other with the possession of power, well and good. If not, they must carry on talking, because constitution-making is arduous, painstaking work, and if we do not get it right we shall simply have to do it all again, after another round of violence and destruction.

KEN OWEN
Restitution is not just about money.
Friends become enemies and enemies become frie...

THE BIG E

While revelations about security force meddling in SA political life — very much a part of the old pattern of violent SA conflict — may hold the public's attention, ANC and NP negotiators are bearing away at shaping an unseen, but potentially momentous, long-term power-sharing deal. Africa Confidential, an influential British-based newsletter, renders some sharp observations about their dramatic behind-the-scenes maneuverings, and the handy stakes involved.

Bill Clinton... trying more... negotiations.

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Committee's... proposals... by hawk... loby... csethick.

Further disclosures of massive corruption... KwaNdebele.

Further loss of economic confidence, deteriorating growth, mounting unemployment and capital flight.

Abusive efforts by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, first to hijack the peace talks in Mogambique (to break a power-sharing deal and pack the October 1993 elections), and his unsuccessful intervention in, and subsequent banning from, Angola.

The likelihood of the US President-elect...
ies and enemies become friends in...

BIG DEAL

While revelations about security force meddling in SA political life - very much a part of the old pattern of violent SA conflict - may hold the public’s attention, ANC and NP negotiators are bending away at shaping an unheard-of, but potentially momentum-building, long-term power-sharing deal. Africa Confidential, an influential British-based newsletter, renders some sharp observations about their dramatic behind-the-scenes manoeuvres, and the heavy stakes involved.

The balance of forces at the NP’s declaration-making level is swinging towards a resolution of a crisis with the ANC, rather than plunging all efforts towards weakening and discredit the ANC before an election. The departure of NP secretary-general Athol Trollip and one of those who believed the ANC could be politically defeated, has strengthened the pro-coalition camp.

Africa Confidential claims that De Klerk has already begun to search for allies outside the NP who could come into the transitional executive authority as honest brokers between NP liberals (Ludwig van der Post, Roelf Meyer, Dewie de Villiers, Sam de Beer) and the ANC. Some of the main factors pressuring De Klerk to strike a power-sharing deal are:

- Internal problems in the NP parliament, where Cabinet has increased. These began with the decision to release ANC prisoner Robert McBride and other prisoners. De Klerk’s Cabinet has since been seen as the most visible leader of the hardline faction.
- Despite defences of De Klerk’s authority from within the security establishment, more particularly the increasingly vociferous and virulent speeches by Chief of Army Staff Gen George Magnus. His comments are already the subject of an inquiry by the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry and a libel action to be brought by Bhekizizwe Nyembe, head of the ANC’s military wing. Under threat of assault, close protection, and a possible debit order, De Klerk is putting a brave face as elements of the security establishment arrogantly go their own way.
- Apart from Goldstone’s November 16 report, two other plans to discredit the ANC have been exposed by Mr. Fawcett, the NP’s former personal assistant. The ANC has damaged British-SA relations.

Further disclosures of massive corruption and mismanagement in the department of Defence have also been ignored by the ANC. The ANC has failed to address the issue, leading to a loss of public confidence in its ability to govern effectively.

De Klerk’s efforts to resolve the conflict have been met with resistance from the ANC. The ANC has rejected the proposals put forward by De Klerk, including the idea of a power-sharing deal.

Bill Clinton’s Democratic government putting more pressure on Pretoria to speed up negotiations.
- The possibility of escalating civil war in Natal and spreading violence nationwide.
- The ANC is losing much of its liberation gains and is seen by township residents as increasingly isolated.
- MK is splitting out of control, weakening the ANC’s negotiating position.

There are clear signs that ANC pragmatism is trying to help the NP liberals who favor a power-sharing coalition, for example, a conciliatory approach towards the government. The ANC’s future depends on its ability to implement the September 26 Record of Understanding, particularly the funding of hospitals and outlawed weapons.

Stiwer’s proposals have met sharp opposition from within the SACP and ANC. The counter-attack is led by the ANC’s radical wing, led by Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, and others.

Common ground

Jordan says the Stiwer paper is a fundamental departure because it elevates negotiations to a primary strategy and has the “unfortunate effect” of re-orienting the ANC away from confrontation with the enemy to a search for common ground. Ronke Kauril, a member of the Jordaan camp, argues that the ANC is going to fight an election when its opponents know the outcome of a power-sharing deal with the NP is not in their favor.

The United States and Western Cape region, under Allan Boesak, has rejected the Stiwer proposals, while the majority region has not taken a position. But the commission’s pragmatists argue that to go for “the immediate and total defeat of the apartheid regime is to choose the heat option.”
Flying into a fiery furnace
Refreshing breezes blow through SA politics
Codesa still best forum for settlement – Mandela

By Montshwa Morake

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is still the best forum for achieving a negotiated settlement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela appealed to all political organisations — including those on the far Left and far Right — to come forward and present their plans in the Codesa forum.

The ANC leader was addressing more than 10,000 ANC supporters at a rally in the H M Piltia Stadium.

He said he would not call for the reconstruction of Codesa because he believed it was "adequate" as a forum where the country's problems could be addressed.

Mandela said the ANC believed no one, including homeland leaders, should be sidelined.

"President de Klerk tried to persuade me to agree on the formation of a trilateral between his party, the ANC and the IFP, but I rejected that," Mandela said. "I could not abandon my colleagues."

Mandela told the crowd: "We have chosen negotiations because we believe it is the only way to end the violence and put the country's ailing economy back on track."

He cautioned De Klerk against attacking the ANC, as he had done on a number of occasions. The ANC president said he had not responded to the persistent attacks because he had the interests of the country's people at heart.

Mandela said he was prepared to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — but only after thorough preparations had been made.
Right-wing forces won't topple deKlerk

FW-Slovo

NEW YORK -- President deKlerk's probably will not be toppled by right-wing forces because "there is no viable alternative" to him, ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said in an interview yesterday.

He told NewswEEK magazine that despite deKlerk's recent political problems, "there were not "strong enough forces to bring about some kind of coup".

He said the election of an interim government of national unity should take place before the end of 1993, not by April 1994 as proposed by deKlerk.

Sapa-Reuter.
Training of MK abroad ‘not secret’

Political Staff
PRETORIA — ANC president Nelson Mandela said he had told the government last year the liberation movement would continue to train members of Umkhonto weSizwe outside the country.

"We want to have an army of our own which protects the gains we have made," he said during his address to a mass rally in Mamelodi outside Pretoria.

Mr Mandela’s comments were in reaction to a report in a Sunday newspaper, which stated that the ANC had "secretly" sent more than 1,000 recruits to Uganda for military training.

The training of MK soldiers in several countries outside South Africa was anything but secret, the ANC president said. If the media had approached the ANC, they would have been told the real position.

He argued that the ANC wanted all South Africans to be equipped to serve in all sections of the state service — the army, police force and civil service.

The press report which provoked Mr Mandela’s explanation stated that the recruits had left South Africa in possession of lawful travel documents on six chartered flights in September and October.

The report made the point that earlier some 14,000 exiles — many of them MK members — had been brought back into South Africa from abroad at a cost of some R100 million to the United Nations.

Addressing the question of why the ANC had not simply kept MK members in readiness abroad, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC wanted “to see as many people as possible upgraded to a standard where they could function in a new South African defence force”.

● The Inkatha Youth Brigade and Conservative Party have once more called for the banning or disbandment of MK as a result of the training drive.

"We demand the immediate banning of MK and the detention of its members in South Africa," CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said.

In reaction to the MK training report, the Transvaal council of Inkatha Youth Brigade announced it was to meet on Wednesday to decide whether to recommend to its membership the establishing of “community protection units and train protection units”.

Focus on ethnic conflict is wrong

"Democracy Dies in the Womb" proclaimed The Independent on Sunday, London, in a headline over a survey of the current situation in Africa by Richard Dowden.

The headline over-dramatises Dowden's conclusions; unfortunately, the impression gained by most readers usually comes from headlines rather than from a careful reading of an article.

What Dowden actually wrote was that "democracy in Africa, a candle of hope which flickered briefly, is guttering" — it is, not yet stillborn. He continued: "Ethnic conflict and an increasingly harsh economic climate are driving more and more African countries into intolerance and strife."

It is unarguably true that economic conditions account for many of the major difficulties of African countries, but to single out "ethnic conflict" as the other major cause of "intolerance and strife" is misleading. What is fundamentally wrong with the kind of analysis offered by Dowden is its failure to describe the dynamics of change in societies at a stage of transition as a process.

There are certain political phenomena that are universal to all societies undergoing fundamental change. The collapse of strongly-centralised regimes inevitably ushers in a period of disintegration: new competing forces emerge, and long-repressed grievances come to the surface. The ensuing power struggle over the shape of a new political system is conducted at a time of a weak and crumbing central authority.

The inevitable result is turbulence and conflict.

This is what is happening not only in Africa. In what was the Soviet Union there are currently 32 major ethnic and regional conflicts, and a weak divided centre. Yugoslavia is an extreme example of what happens when an authoritarian system collapses.

In situations such as these, the crumbling old regimes, or their immediate, usually temporary, successors use whatever means they still command to retain as much of their power as possible, while their challengers employ whatever methods open to them to mobilise support. One feature of this phase of the struggle is an appeal to ethnic or regional constituencies. But while ethnicity is a crucial factor in power struggles it is not the only factor.

In fact, in the majority of African countries ethnic communities have combined to strengthen their bargaining power. In Angola, for example, the ethnically based UNITA was defeated by the multi-ethnic forces of the MPLA.

To concentrate too exclusively on inter-ethnic conflict results in a distorted picture of the nature of on-going power struggles. The key element is understanding the difficult transition from single party and military regimes to multiparty democracy is to see it as a continuing political process. There is no straight line from authoritarianism to democracy; it is a wavering line of ups and downs, sometimes curving back on itself like a parabola. Freezing the frame of the focus at any particular stage is to lose sight of the momentum of on-going change.

Setbacks are inevitable. The residual power at the centre can be relied on to engage in every trick to retain as much of its power as possible while the challengers frequeently resort to pressure tactics that enhance conflict.

The road to a true democratic society is a long and stony one. It takes time — at least a decade. The African continent has only just begun its journey; to write it off now, as a "guttering candle" is to miss the incandescence of the hope that has begun to shine right across the continent.

David Walker is at large, and his column will resume when he returns.
Talks set for major advance

THIS week’s crucial three-day bilateral meeting between government and the ANC could be an important step towards speeding up the negotiation process and hastening the arrival of full nonracial elections for an interim government.

Developments last week in the national peace committee and President F W de Klerk’s announcement that government had accepted a set of timeframes for a fully representative government have set a positive climate for the meeting.

A timetable for the path forward in the near future is sure to be high on the agenda at the bosberaad. However, government will be anxious to avoid binding itself too firmly to agreements with the ANC, for fear of further alienating Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At the weekend, the Inkatha central committee urged De Klerk to call a multi-party conference as a matter of extreme urgency in order to establish a constitutional negotiating forum before Parliament convenes in January.

It also warned against any unilateral or bilateral decisions taken by government and the ANC about steps needed for the holding of elections.

The ANC has rejected De Klerk’s proposal for elections within 12 months, calling for voting to take place sooner. But government has declared it is fully prepared to negotiate.

Talks pared to negotiate its proposed agenda with other parties. In announcing eight steps to transition last week, De Klerk said he was flexible on the dates and the deadlines could be brought forward.

There were strong indications in political circles last week that there was room for compromise on the part of both government and the ANC. The gap between the two parties on a date for a general election is only about five months, and speculation yesterday was that it was likely a poll date around the end of next year would be settled on.

Yesterday ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said De Klerk’s timeframe for an election by May 1994 was “too relaxed”. The ANC wanted a poll by October next year.

Slovo pinpointed two key targets for pre-election negotiations: the levelling of playing fields to allow all political organisations to canvas and win support, and the election itself.

He agreed that the main topic at this week’s meeting would be timeframes.

However, he did not believe a date would be reached at this meeting. A further meeting, probably early in January, would give delegations the opportunity to discuss the issue with the national executive committee and Cabinet.

He acknowledged that De Klerk’s announcement was a vital boost to the process and a major development for government, which had always stressed clear of putting its lifespan on the line.

Government, on the other hand, also has other issues it wants to sort out.

It will try to tie up loose ends from the Mandela-De Klerk record of understanding, such as issues connected with violence and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend it was “totally unacceptable” for the ANC to accuse MK recruits out of the country for training. Responding to reports that the ANC’s armed wing was training thousands of men in Uganda, Meyer said this issue would have to be resolved before there could be a political settlement.

Government will also be trying to remove some of the sticking points Inkatha has raised in relation to the ANC.

At its weekend central committee meeting, Inkatha said it had no national agreement yet on an interim government. The committee instructed its executive committee to formulate a strategy for a KwaZulu/Natal negotiation forum to adopt a federal proposal for the region and a national government.
The Anxious Black Voter

DP must woo the anxious black voter.
The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) was the right forum — "as it is" — in which to resolve the country’s political problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela said.

Speaking in Mamelodi yesterday, Mr Mandela appealed to all political organisations, including those on the far left and the far right, and all those who were not members of Codesa, to come forward and present their views.

The ANC leader was addressing more than 10,000 ANC supporters and members of the United States and Japanese diplomatic missions at a rally in the HM Pitje Stadium. It was his first visit to the Pretoria township since his release from jail in February 1990.

He said he would not call for the reconstruction of Codesa, but believed it was "adequate" and the kind of forum where the country’s problems could be addressed.

Mr Mandela said there were 19 political organisations at Codesa because the ANC believed no one should be sidelined.

"President De Klerk tried to persuade me to agree on the formation of a troika between his party, the ANC and the IFP, but I rejected that. I could not abandon my colleagues, including those in the PAC and Azapo, who were with me in prison, to form a troika with organisations I knew little about.

"We have chosen negotiations because we believe it is the only way to end the violence and put the country’s ailing economy back on track. I appeal with all humility to all parties to join us at Codesa to get South Africa out of the present mess, pull our resources together and repair the economy," Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela cautioned Mr De Klerk to desist from attacking the ANC as he had done on a number of occasions — here and abroad. He said he had not responded to the persistent attacks because he had the interests of the country’s people at heart.

The ANC leader said he was prepared to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi just as he had met other homeland leaders — but only after thorough preparations had been made.

Their two previous meetings had ended with no positive results. Decisions which had been reached at the meetings had not been implemented because full preparations had not been made.
ANC, NP ready for poll talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — This week's three-day secret bilateral meeting between the government and the ANC is the first urgent step toward speeding up the negotiation process and shortening the period to full non-racial elections to the end of next year.

Developments last week in the peace committee and then President FW de Klerk's announcement that the government had accepted a set of time frames for a fully representative government to be elected within 18 months has been described as a "major boost" for the process. However, the ANC has rejected it as being too far into the future.

Yesterday Inkhata's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a multi-party conference before the end of January following a central committee meeting of the party at the weekend.

The government has declared that it is fully prepared to negotiate the time scales with other parties.

In announcing the eight steps to transition last week, Mr de Klerk said he was flexible on the the dates and hoped the deadlines could be brought forward.

Mandela urges parties to go back to Codesa

PRETORIA. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela on Sunday at Mamelodi outside Pretoria appealed to all organisations to the left and the right of the political spectrum to join hands to get South Africa out of "the mess it is in".

He urged all political parties to join Codesa as he believed negotiations could end violence and put the country's ailing economy back on track.

He reiterated that he was prepared to meet Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the question of violence, but only after proper preparations had been made.

Sapa

Yesterday ANC negotiator Mr Joe Slovo said Mr De Klerk's time frame for elections by May 1994 was "too relaxed and we believe it can be cut shorter. We want the election by October next year".

He said there were really only two key targets; levelling the playing fields for all political organisations to canvass and win support and the elections.

The government, on the other hand, had other priorities it wanted to sort out at the meeting.

The main issue for its delegation was to try to tie up loose ends and reach agreement on the outstanding issues from the record of understanding concerning violence and Umkhonto weSizwe."
Pork king 'richest'?

LONDON — A pork property tycoon has been confirmed as the richest person in the UK, as reported by the Evening Standard.

In a statement, the tycoon said: "I am the richest person in the UK and I am proud of it."

The tycoon has been involved in multiple controversies, including allegations of tax evasion and animal welfare violations.

The article also highlights the recent rise in pork prices, which has led to increased profits for the tycoon.

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**De Klerk not toppled?**

NEW YORK — The political landscape in South Africa is in flux, with former President FW De Klerk's influence waning.

A recent poll conducted by the Western Cape Institute of Public Policy has shown a significant drop in support for De Klerk's political party.

However, De Klerk remains a influential figure in the country, and his legacy continues to be debated.

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**Power struggle in ANC**

Johannesburg — The South African National Congress (ANC) is facing a power struggle, with several key members calling for a change in leadership.

The issue has been stirred up by the recent arrest of a high-ranking member, who is accused of corruption.

The ANC's internal squabbles have been a source of concern for many, as they threaten the unity and effectiveness of the party.

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**Political turmoil in Zambia**

Lusaka — Political instability continues to plague Zambia, with the upcoming elections being marred by allegations of fraud and corruption.

The Nationalist Party, led by Hakainde Hichilema, is one of the main opposition parties, and is expected to challenge the ruling party, the Patriotic Front, in the upcoming elections.

The country's economic challenges are also expected to take centre stage, with inflation and unemployment rates remaining high.
Talks: Govt slams Inkatha

False start to top talks

DURBAN. — Planning for a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting got off to the shakiest of starts yesterday when the IFP’s preparatory committee arrived at a local hotel for talks — only to find the ANC delegation was not even in town.

Harried consultations — and a series of phone calls between the hotel and ANC headquarters in Johannesburg — yesterday led to agreement that the meeting would go ahead on Wednesday, December 9.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, leading the IFP’s five-man delegation, said yesterday that a meeting of the two committees had been arranged following last week’s meeting of the National Peace Committee executive.

But he said the meeting was scheduled for 10am.

The ANC’s muted response from its information and publicity department was: “The task force of the ANC... was unaware of the proposed meeting for today, November 30.”

CONSTITUTIONAL Minister Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday rounded on Inkatha, saying that while the party and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi demanded an urgent multi-party conference; they were actually responsible for preventing it from taking place.

Inkatha last night denied this, saying it was the ANC, “the friend of the government”, who had walked out of Codesa and that future meetings had been cancelled because of wider consultations made necessary by the Record of Understanding between government and the ANC.

In a strongly worded statement, Mr Meyer said he wholeheartedly supported Inkatha’s call for multi-party talks, but he found it “very strange that Inkatha had avoided and refused, for weeks, attempts by government to restart negotiations with it.”

Reacting to an Inkatha central committee weekend resolution that a new negotiating forum be set up before the end of January, Mr Meyer said delays in the negotiations process had to be removed as soon as possible.

“The government would appreciate it if Inkatha would throw its weight behind these endeavours and was prepared to give fair attention to any obstacles to facilitate the negotiation process,” Mr Meyer said.

Mr Meyer said Inkatha was responsible for cancelling a two-day meeting with government on September 28 and 29.

It also cancelled another on November 18 and 19 which government was to have with the Concerned South Africans Group, which Inkatha heads, Mr Meyer added.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday denied Inkatha was responsible for holding up negotiations and blamed the NP and the ANC for holding up the process.

Dr Mdlalose said it was “strange that he should say that when it was us who were left in the corridors after the ANC walked out of Codesa.”
**IFP to launch federalism plan**

**Political Staff**

DURBAN. — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is poised to launch an initiative for Natal/KwaZulu which Inkatha has predicted will have "vast implications for negotiations and future constitutional proposals".

An IFP statement yesterday said the initiative would be "of particular relevance to the debate on regional issues and territorial autonomy".

A weekend meeting of the IFP's central committee strongly emphasised that it believed federalism could only be established in South Africa "if existing regions with an historic identity and a will come together to ensure a regional structure for themselves".

It added that the central committee should compile a document spelling out the IFP's role in promoting federalism and "moving to a KwaZulu/Natal negotiating forum".

Chief Buthelezi told the President's Club in Maritzburg yesterday the process of broadening the negotiation process could begin now "by allowing regions to negotiate their own constitutional futures".

He will unveil the initiative in Ulundi this afternoon before a special two-day session of the KwaZulu legislative assembly.
Govt, ANC meet in hideaway

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Top negotiators of the Government and the ANC will reti-
re to a secret northern Transvaal hideaway today
for an intense three-day "bosberaad" aimed at res-
moving the remaining obstacles to the resumption of
multiparty negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, on a visit to Le-
bowa, yesterday reiterated
the ANC’s belief that the two
parties would be able to an-
nounce a date for the coun-
try’s first democratic elec-
tions after the “bosberaad”.

The two teams — Cabinet
ministers on the one side and
top ANC officials on the
other — will spend virtually
all their waking hours be-
tween tomorrow and Friday
trying to regain the rapport
that has been lost this year.

The discussions will centre
on the managing of the tran-
sition process, and differ-
ting timetables for an interim
government. Other specifics
will include ways of re-start-
ing multiparty negotiations,
and the structuring of a con-
stitution-making body and
an interim government.

Debate on the structuring
and functioning of a Trans-
sitional Executive Council
— which will supervise the run-
up to elections for a govern-
ment of national unity — is
expected to form an im-
portant part of the meeting.
Joint control of the security
forces could be discussed
under this agenda.

ANC allegations about se-
curity force covert opera-
tions are likely to be discus-
sed under the official agenda
topic of creating a climate
for free political activity.

Surprisingly, the two par-
ties have agreed not to dis-
cuss political violence and
the continued existence of
Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Government has been
at pains to stress that the
"bosberaad" will not make
agreements binding on other
parties — fearing it could
further alienate parties like
the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Both the Government and
ANC point out that it is ne-
necessary for them to thrash out
differences between them-
selves before these are dis-
cussed in a multiparty forum.

However, the ANC sees
the purpose of the "bos-
beraad" as getting the Gov-
ernment to accept co-res-
ponsibility for driving the
transition process.

Constitutional Develop-
ment Minister Roelf Meyer
and ANC secretary-general
Cyril Ramaphosa will head
the delegations.
Nats prepare for elections

Political Staff

DURBAN: The National Party in Natal is preparing for non-racial elections by redefining its regions and breaking from traditional constituencies.

It has divided the province into 'five areas based on the Joint Services Boards' borders and yesterday announced the launching of the 'Port Natal/Ebuhleni region' - the greater Durban region.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Renier Schoeman was elected chairman of the new region, the NP said.
Govt accuses Inkatha of stalling talks

CONSTITUTIONAL Minister Reilif Meyer rounded on Inkatha yesterday, saying while the party and its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi demanded an urgent multiparty conference, they were actually responsible for preventing it from taking place.

Inkatha last night denied this, saying it was the ANC, "the friend of the government", that had walked out of Codesa.

In a strongly worded statement, Meyer said he supported Inkatha's call for multiparty talks, but found it "very strange that Inkatha had avoided and refused, for weeks, attempts by government to restart negotiations with it".

Reacting to an Inkatha central committee weekend resolution that a new negotiating forum be set up before the end of January, Meyer said delays in the negotiations process had to be removed.

"Government would appreciate it if Inkatha would throw its weight behind these endeavours," Meyer said. Government had been talking to all possible negotiating parties to get a multiparty forum off the ground, but Inkatha had held back its participation, he said.

Meyer said Inkatha was responsible for unilaterally cancelling a two-day meeting with government on September 28 and 29. It had also cancelled another meeting on November 18 and 19 between government and the Concerned South Africans Group, which Inkatha heads.

"In this way Buthelezi postponed a meeting he, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo were to have with President PW de Klerk," he said.

GAVIN DU VINGE reports that Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday blamed the ANC and NP for holding up the negotiating process. Mdlalose said it was "strange that he (Meyer) should say that when it was understood that we were left in the corridors after the ANC walked out of Codesa".

It was not possible to keep the September meeting, after the ANC and NP had "bulldozed" through the record of understanding, as it was necessary for Inkatha to consult other South Africans.

The November meeting was postponed, not cancelled, as the Concerned South Africans Group had been waiting for a clear indication from government on what it thought of the analysis presented by the group on the form a multiparty congress of review should take.

Our political staff reports that planning roles in negotiations, they had to involve other parties in developing solutions.

De Beer called on the ANC and government to reconsider separating the functions of an interim legislature and that of writing a new constitution.

The DP wanted to issue a serious warning against the difficulties and dangers involved in trying to change the same body with the dual functions of legislating and drafting a new constitution.

"An attempt to do this will invariably necessitate a comprehensive interim constitution providing all the necessary checks and balances, and we foresee that any attempt to provide this will delay the process for a long time," De Beer said.

He supported the idea of a multiparty government of national unity to run the country for a few years, even after the introduction of a new constitution.

Comment: Page 6
Ethnic realism has positive spinoffs for SA

Professor Themba Sono, who must rank as one of the most refreshingly straightforward intellectuals in this country — made two central and related claims about the PAC (Opinion, November 24).

The first is that the PAC conceives of itself and portrays itself as "an organisation of Africans" and that this emphasis on Africanness is neither racist nor racial, but a concept inclusive of all South Africans.

The second of Sono's points is that this self-conception of Africanness, as he puts it, will resonate widely and loudly across South Africa when the time for elections arrives and could well translate into significant electoral support for the PAC.

Assuming that the PAC is able to articulate this Africanness far more effectively than it has been able to do to date — and this is the big if — Sono's second point is certainly valid. More contentious and more fundamental — is his description of what Africanness means.

Following Sobukwe, Sono defines an African variously as: "one who owes ... loyalty to Africa; who accepts the primacy of African interests, who is willing to identify with Africa and Africans, emotionally and perceptionally".

Definitions which include the word one is trying to define are not particularly clarifying.

Apart from the anti-pluralism implicit in notions of a hegemonic loyalty to Africa and African interests (ie the implication that divergent conceptions of what loyalty to Africa and African interests are "cannot exist"), these attempts definitions in fact cloud rather than clarify understanding.

Implicitly recognising the circuitous nature of the aforementioned definitions Sono then tells us that "African" is not a racial or ethnic concept, but a "land" concept. In other words, anyone — black, coloured, Indian or white — can be an African as long as he associates with the African continent.

This non-racial description of the notion of Africanness however is a patently superficial one. Portraying it as the reverse of the French colonial policy of assimilation, Sono in fact concedes this. The French "evolutive policy was certainly non-racial in the sense that black Africans were accepted as Frenchmen after adopting all the trappings of French culture. But the term non-racial has surely got to mean more.

The assumption of assimilation was that French culture was inherently superior, and not simply different to that of the indigenous peoples of Africa. The assumption is surely racial, ethnic or ethnocentric.

To draw an analogy between the French policy of assimilation and an allegedly non-racial Africanness illustrates a very narrow and illiberal meaning to the notion of non-racialism.

If it is to mean anything, non-racialism must surely mean the tolerance of different cultures, and not simply a cultural imperialism parading under a superficial non-racial banner.

This is not to say that this is the essence or totality of the PAC or Africanness. It is rather one of the unfortunate results of the dominance of a mythical "non-racial" paradigm in South Africa which forces all political entities — including ethnic or national realists — to "explain" their positions in superficially inclusive non-racial terms.

This resulting tension is evident in Sono's description of the symbolic and substantive attraction of the "non-racial" concept Africantly "first to the indigenous" African and second to the "African evolve". Plainly speaking an indigenous African is a black African and one gets back to race.

In an unguarded moment Sono — in describing the likely appeal of Africanity — writes: "for the black man there is a definite psychological pride in knowing that at long last ... he is considered the top dog, his concerns come first".

The White (and I assume coloured and Indian) is the "evolved" African.

Over and above the negative and illiberal cultural and racial imperialism implicit in the notion of Africanness, there is how ever something positive — namely the implicit recognition of the fact that the conflict in South Africa has a central national, ethnic or communal dimension to it.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC does not attempt to hide this fundamentally important dimension of our social reality. The PAC's refusal to talk in explicit African nationalist terms is not a reflection of its essence, but rather a grudging terminological concession to "non-racialism".

South African liberals and other ethnic realists should thus not make the mistake of rejecting out of hand the PAC and its Africanness. The latter incorporates an ethnic realism — albeit partial — and thus a liberal dimension to the PAC.

The strange love/hate relationship that liberals and other ethnic realists — following Patrick Duncan's example of the 1980s — continue to experience with honest black nationalists is not simply attributable to a virulent anti-communism.
**News in brief**

**Apla behind club killings**

A MAN claiming to be an Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre telephoned the SAP radio control room in East London yesterday to claim responsibility for the machinegun and handgrenade attack on a Border golf club at the weekend.

Police spokesman Colonel Christo Louw said the man phoned at 8.21am to say Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, had launched the attack in which four people died and 17 were wounded.

**Workers picket AECI**

MEMBERS of the SA Chemical Workers Union employed by AECI held a lunch hour picket at the company's premises in Middelfontein yesterday to press for demands in wage negotiations.

The union is demanding a R250 - or 14 percent, whichever is the greater - across-the-board increase. Workers are also seeking assurances on job security as well as a reduction in working hours from 45 hours a week to 40 without loss of pay.

**DP presses for elections**

A CONSTITUTION making body should be erected as soon as possible and the present Parliament be allowed temporarily to discharge the legislative function, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

He said the DP further strongly supported the idea, recently revived, of a multi-party government of national unity to run South Africa for some years.
unbridled power?
the temptations of long
can the ANC resist

Simon Barber in Washington

[Image and text not legible]
Govt, ANC start 'bosberaad' today

Political Correspondent

The government and the ANC today begin a make-or-break "bosberaad" or "lekgotala" aimed at ending the negotiation logjam and setting the stage for the speedy introduction of a government of national unity.

The ANC said on the eve of the three-day meeting that it was "crucial".

The government has spent the last two days holding a special two-day cabinet meeting.

The cabinet will reconvene on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday next week in a year-end stock-taking session.

The government's negotiating team will be headed by President F W de Klerk and includes Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport, Law and Order Minister Mr Hermus Kriel and Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw.

ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela will lead a team including ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the SACP's Mr Joe Slovo.
Government and ANC to begin talks, PAC left out

Summit in the bush

Political Staff

As the government gets together with the ANC today for intensive 'talks to clear up obstacles' in the way of multi-lateral constitutional negotiations, its contact with the PAC is in trouble.

Last night the government broke off further talks with the PAC following the claim by its armed wing, Apala, that it was responsible for the King William's Town golf club killings.

Minister of Law and Order Mr. Hermus Kriel said there could be no further dialogue with the PAC until there was clarity on its stand on acts of terror.

The three day ANC-government Bush summit will bring together a delegation from the government, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr. Roelf Meyer, and one from the ANC led by the movement's general-secretary, Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr. Meyer said the talks were aimed at reaching common ground on points of difference between the parties to ensure swift progress towards the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

He said no firm agreements would be reached but, after the parties reported to their leaders, follow-up talks were planned for early next year.

Bilateral talks with other parties would continue.

The ANC said its delegates would put pressure on the government to 'speed up' negotiations as a matter of urgency.

Among items on the agenda were the transition process, setting the date for non-racial elections, the constitution writing...
Ulundi's shock plan to go it alone

From page 1

Buthelezi

He dismissed as "nonsense" suggestions that KwaZulu was adopting a "go-it-alone" or unilateral declaration of independence option.

The draft federal constitution for Natal-KwaZulu was approved by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at a special sitting yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said this approval was the "first step in a process which will establish the state of KwaZulu-Natal as a member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa."

It would include the submission for approval and adoption by the joint executive authority for Natal-KwaZulu "and submission to the South African government."

"It is envisaged that after extensive consultations followed by a popular referendum this constitution will become the supreme law of the state," he said.

Chief Buthelezi added: "It is intended that once ratified by the electorate of KwaZulu-Natal, the new constitution will stand in force, regardless of the direction taken by the constitutional process of South Africa."

He and his government "perceive it to be their historical responsibility to bring the issues of federalism, pluralism, minority protection, privatisation and social justice to full national debate."

Asked when he anticipated a referendum taking place, Chief Buthelezi said the KwaZulu government intended approaching the issue "step-by-step," but added that "this doesn't mean a long time."

Asked if he would press ahead with the plan irrespective of the government's reaction the chief minister said he did not want to deviate the process by responding to possibilities.

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The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN.—The government has bluntly told Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to take any unilateral steps following the release of his proposed new constitution for KwaZulu/Natal.

Dr Buthelezi has sparked a major debate on what his motives were for releasing the 113-clause constitution yesterday. This has overshadowed the contents of the draft constitution, which in itself is rather progressive and liberal.

At a Press conference in Ulundi yesterday, Dr Buthelezi emphasised that the constitution would not be implemented until it had been endorsed by the voters of Natal and KwaZulu. He envisaged, however, that with widespread approval it could be put in place before a national constitution was worked out at negotiations.

Dr Buthelezi insisted that the constitution would not take the place of the national negotiations, and that the state would be a sovereign member of the federal republic of South Africa.

The draft was the basis for debate, and it was nonsense to see it as a unilateral declaration of independence, Dr Buthelezi said.

Inkatha Freedom Party stalwart Dr Dennis Mdlalose said the important aspect of the draft was that for the first time there was a complete federal constitution up for debate, so people could see what was involved. The IFP wanted other parties to table their draft federal/regional constitutions.

However, the timing of the release — on the eve of today’s summit between the government and the African National Congress — has alarmed the political opponents of the IFP. Several have accused Dr Buthelezi of acting unilaterally.

In reaction last night, the government said constitutional issues should be part of multi-lateral negotiations involving all significant parties.

Any impression of unilateral action should be avoided, the government cautioned Dr Buthelezi.

IFP leaders should as an obvious first step discuss their proposals bilaterally with the central government at the earliest possible date, the government said.

The prospect of bilateral talks between the IFP and the government is likely to be taken further next week when Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana’s President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei’s Brigadier Oupa Gqozo meet President de Klerk in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party expressed its disapproval of Dr Buthelezi’s plans. Constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said: “While we support federalism, the fact remains that we cannot approve of the latest IFP action. This is no way to develop a new constitution for a country.”

The ANC said Dr Buthelezi’s action was a “drastic departure” from South Africa’s constitutional process. His unilateral action came “as a bolt from the blue” to the ANC and other political players.

However, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht backed Dr Buthelezi’s action, saying the constitutional suggestions were in line with the rejection of a South African unitary state.
Scepticism over IFP 'breakaway'

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh 2/12/92

The Inkatha Freedom Party’s surprise announcement of a draft go-it-alone constitution for the “KwaZulu-Natal state” was received yesterday mainly with scepticism and some dismay by the main political players in the negotiation process.

The central Government expressed reservations, without rejecting it out of hand, but the National Party-controlled Natal Provincial Administration mainly expressed approval.

The Democratic Party firmly rejected the initiative, but the Conservative Party warmly welcomed it as a rejection of a unitary South African state.

The Government’s chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said the constitutional debate could be taken further only by multiparty negotiations.

The Government was involved in bilateral discussions with all parties with a view to restructuring the multiparty negotiating forum, and wanted to have discussions with the IFP as soon as possible, Meyer said.

In its preliminary response, the ANC said the announcement of IFP leader MangosuthuButhelezi came “as a bolt from the blue” to the organisation and other political players.

“The step taken by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, which is wholly dominated by the IFP, constitutes a very drastic departure from the constitutional process that the country has thus far been following,” the ANC said.

“This unilateral action has implications beyond the borders of the KwaZulu bantustan.”

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said he thought the IFP’s proposal for a joint legislature in Natal would be a good interim step on the way to a new national constitution. But he said that President de Klerk had already made it clear that homelands like KwaZulu could not entrench themselves as sovereign states, regardless of the direction of negotiations.

However, Bartlett said he was very much in favour of testing the will of the Natal people through a referendum.

Natal Administrator Con Botha also came out strongly in favour of a referendum and said the rest of the Natal Executive Council would also back it.

DP constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said whatever the virtues of the IFP constitution, the party had been mistaken in the approach it had taken to getting it implemented.

“Their attitude is ‘we will do this regardless of whatever anyone else says.’ This is unacceptable and regrettable,” Worrall said.

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the CP had always supported the right of the Zulu nation to self-determination, and would like to continue negotiating with KwaZulu and other states on the establishment of a commonwealth of states.
Key features

Features of the KwaZulu-Natal constitution include:

- Chief Minister, called the "Governor", elected by majority of votes in a state-wide constituency election and serving a maximum of two three-year terms.
- Bicameral legislature: House of Delegates and Senate. Members elected for five years.
- Official languages: English, Zulu and Afrikaans.
- Private enterprise fully guaranteed, private property fully protected.
- Protection of minorities and promotion of power-sharing through coalitions.
- Recognition of communal property and the right of traditional leaders to exercise customary law.
- No power of the federal government may be legitimately exercised in the region if it is inconsistent with KwaZulu-Natal's principles and provisions.
- Guaranteed freedom of the media provided they do not "publish erroneous information as a result of gross negligence or malice".
- Inclusion, through negotiation, of areas "historically, culturally and socio-economically strictly connected to the territory and state of KwaZulu-Natal".
- Taxes and duties levied "only with the advice and consent of the state of KwaZulu-Natal".
Diplomatic ties with South Korea

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea yesterday.

The agreement, signed in Tokyo yesterday by the South Korean ambassador and the SA charge d'affaires provides for the immediate establishment of diplomatic ties at ambassadorial level.

SA now maintains official relations with most of the major trading nations on the Pacific Rim such as Japan, the Republic of China, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong and now South Korea. Informal relations also exist with the People's Republic of China.

SA's links with South Korea date back to the Korean War in the early 50s when 37 SA soldiers died while serving as part of a UN

force against North Korea.

South Korea offered excellent opportunities for bilateral trade and technological co-operation which could benefit the people of both countries, Foreign Affairs said in a statement.

SAPA reports from Pretoria that Botha hailed the country's establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea as another milestone in its international relations.

The signing further strengthened the friendly relations between the two countries and opened up new opportunities for co-operation in the fields of tourism, trade, technology and culture, the Foreign Minister said.

SAPA-AP reports that the end of the Cold War allowed South Korea to open relations with more nations. Last week, South Korea established ties with Israel, and officials were looking toward establishing ties with Egypt.

In Seoul, the foreign ministry said in a statement that the South Korean government wishes to reinforce contacts with the SA government as well as the political parties and organisations in SA, and to thereby further contribute to the international efforts to build a democratic non-racial SA.
**SAFETY ATTENTION** — People do in horrible attacks in the townships every day but do not get the attention the King William's Town attack is generating from the authorities and the general media.

**White life is still more precious**

**By Ismael Llagarden**
Political Correspondent

INDIGENOUS Africans have since the advent of colonialism at the tip of the continent always been mere props in the largely European drama in this part of the world.

The indigenous people were of no account during those early days, to the extent that Dutch settlers imported later in the form of slaves from their other colonies in South East Asia.

Thus it all, African people were shunted about, conveniently, to fill the spaces on the stage, never to play a part or even exist...

By the early '60s of this century all the slaves, indentured workers and even some of the "flame skinned" people from the indigenous to the North Western Cape region were brought into the ruling elite in the tri-polar parliament and its white, coloured and Indian churchmen.

But that's all in the past, they say, and indigenous Africans are being given (slowly and carefully, at a pace determined by the descendants of the European colonials and their allies) a role in the big picture.

The irony is, when indigenous Africans were props, they could be shoved around, now that they are brought to life, they are killed in the same callous way that they were shifted about the land.

In other words, in life or death, indigenous Africans are of no account.

At least 6,000 African people have been killed in South Africa since February 2 1990.

That the African people are coming into their own, however, means that the white descendants of the Europeans are now less important or insignificant, No.

White life and liberty is still precious while Africans — well, they don't have to be moved — so dying silences them just as well.

Poor white people were killed in an attack on a golf club in King William's Town last Saturday night.

The attack could have been staged by anybody from South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC's armed wing, dissident members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sivone, or even the Ciskei Defence Force for that matter.

What makes this attack so different from the daily carnage in this country is it seems, purely because the victims were white.

The ANC and PAC both pointed out on Monday that the Government, police and media reaction to the golf club attack was racist.

But the media, admirers of opinion and society van "courage" stories (even so for four white deaths when at least 20 other black people died on the same weekend.

Sure, the white people were dying (harmlessly) in the golf club.

What on earth were the five black people doing in clubs in the Veld on Sunday night? Posing the overthrown of white domination?

No. They were harmlessly enjoying themselves.

One cannot but conclude from the response of the Government, the police and the media (Sowetan included) that indigenous Africans have metamorphosed from being harmless dispensable objects to innocuous dispensable people.

How else is it possible to explain the response to the death of four white people in the King William's Town attack?
Challenge to De Klerk on IFP constitution for Natal and KwaZulu

Let voters decide says Buthelezi

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has challenged President De Klerk today to let the voters of Natal and KwaZulu decide their future themselves.

Chief Buthelezi's challenge, which follows the release of a draft constitution for the State of KwaZulu/Natal, raises the prospect of a protracted battle with the government.

This has chilling implications for the region, particularly if Chief Buthelezi refuses to be part of a negotiated political settlement.

Relations between Ulundi and Pretoria today are little better than they were when the P W Botha government tried to snatch the Ingwavuma area away from KwaZulu a decade ago.

Mr De Klerk said it was unfortunate that Chief Buthelezi had frequently adopted a confrontational course with the government, more often than not on erroneous assumptions.
Moves to speed up reform

The ANC and government constitutional negotiating teams yesterday began three days of bilateral talks aimed at speeding up the reform process.

The meeting, the first half of a continuous bilateral dialogue to be continued at a similar meeting in January, is a follow-up to address outstanding matters raised at the September 25 Record Of Understanding summit.

The two teams will include senior negotiators on both sides are being led by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Roelf Meyer.

Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk will not attend the meetings unless specific circumstances require their joining the talks.

Details of the follow-up meeting in January are likely to be refined before the conclusion of the present round of talks tomorrow.

Issues to be discussed include violence and shortening of the government's time scale for the step-by-step process needed to secure the first open elections. The ANC is eager to have an elected interim government before the end of 1992, while the government is aiming at March or April 1994.

A major concern of the government is the status of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and more particularly, the ANC's insistence that it will continue training cadres in foreign countries.
De Klerk Warns Botheli over Proposal

The ANC's national congress in February 1992, which was attended by his own former comrades, including Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, was a turning point in his political career. De Klerk, who had resigned as prime minister in 1991, was re-elected as the leader of the conservative opposition National Party. The congress of the ANC, which was held in Bloemfontein, was a significant event as it marked the end of apartheid and the beginning of a new era in South Africa. De Klerk, who had once been a vocal critic of Mandela and the ANC, now found himself in the position of having to negotiate with the new leadership of the ANC and work towards a transition to democracy.

In his address to the congress, De Klerk acknowledged the mistakes of the past and committed to working towards a new South Africa. He also called for the release of political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, and supported the idea of a multiracial government.

However, De Klerk's support for the ANC and its leader, Mandela, was not without its critics. Some within the National Party and the conservative movement were opposed to the idea of a black-majority government, and there were concerns about the potential for violence and instability. De Klerk, who had been a seasoned politician for many years, was well aware of the challenges that lay ahead.

Despite these challenges, De Klerk remained committed to the democratic process and the idea of a united and prosperous South Africa. His leadership and commitment to reconciliation were key factors in the successful transition to democracy in 1994, and he has become a symbol of the country's journey towards a more inclusive and just society.
the ANC leader, Mosiuoa Lekota, was assassinated. The group claimed responsibility for the attack. In response, the government declared a state of emergency and imposed curfews.

Meanwhile, the ANC's military wing, the MK, continued to fight against the government. The MK's military operations were supported by a network of ANC members across the country.

In June 1985, the ANC's military wing, the MK, launched a series of attacks against South African security forces. These attacks were in response to the government's crackdown on the ANC and its members.

In 1985, the ANC decided to adopt a more radical approach to its struggle. The ANC's military wing, the MK, was renamed Umkhonto we Sizwe, or Spear of the Nation, in recognition of the fact that it was now operating in a more international context.

The ANC's struggle continued for many years, with the organization facing numerous challenges and setbacks. However, the ANC eventually emerged victorious, with the end of apartheid in 1994.

In conclusion, the ANC's military wing, the MK, played a crucial role in the organization's struggle against apartheid. The MK's operations were a key factor in the ANC's ability to maintain its strength and resist the government's attempts to crush the organization.

By Abby Makoe

The ANC's military wing, the MK, has adopted a more radical approach to its struggle against the apartheid regime.
FW Warns Bushelzil of Possible Contamination over Autonomy
Govt calls off indaba with the PAC

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

3/12/92

Law Ministry urges organisation to give up its armed struggle:

Hermus Kriel, who said that until the PAC distanced itself from "acts of terror", there would be no further bilateral discussions.

The PAC and the Government were to meet next Wednesday. Bilateral talks between the two parties had so far been "exploratory" while Wednesday's meeting was to have focused on details of a multiparty forum.

The PAC yesterday said that "irresponsible reaction from the Government such as the statement made by Kriel impacted adversely on the economy and closed the door for a democratic solution and investor confidence".

Yesterday Mr Benny Alexander, the PAC's secretary general, said his organisation had not received official notification that next week's talks had been cancelled.
NEGOTIATIONS were now held hostage to violence in South Africa, the new US Ambassador, Mr Princeton Lyman, said at a press conference in Durban yesterday.

Commenting on violence in the country, Lyman said most people were concerned about increasing violence in South Africa and, for that reason, he thought negotiations should be supported.

Asked how the coming into power of a new US government would impact on that country's foreign policy, he said he could not yet say much about that.
FW angry over Buthelezi move

IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk:

It was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night.

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi's announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"In respect of constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP. "It is a matter of concern that Mr Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach," De Klerk said.

In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk's request for an urgent meeting.
By CHRIS WHITRELD

PRESIDENT F W DE KLKER yester-
day sharply rebuked Chief
Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warning
that unilateral action by Kwa-
Zulu could increase violence and
bring it into "direct confronta-
tion" with the government,
other parties and the interna-
tional community.

His comments came amid increasing
indications that deteriorating relations be-
tween the government and the IFP, the
PAC and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana
governments could delay an early return
to multi-party talks.

The president broke from the govern-
ment's three-day bilateral meeting with
the ANC to issue a hard-hitting statement
expressing "serious concern" at the Kwa-
Zulu government's move on a federal con-
stitution for Natal/KwaZulu.

He warned that any impression of an
unilateral initiative by KwaZulu: 

- Could bring about a "further escal-
ation of violence".
- Could have a "disruptive effect on the
  concerted efforts which are currently un-
derway to bring about the resumption of
multi-party negotiations".

- Would be "incompatible with the
  agreed goal that constitutional reform
  should be the result of multi-party negoti-
anations".

UN ASKED TO
AID APLA PROBE

See PAGE 2

He called on Chief Buthelezi to "meet
with me as soon as possible to discuss this
latest initiative and to resolve whatever
problems may exist regarding the IFP's
return to bilateral and multilateral nego-
tiating processes".

Government sources said a meeting be-
tween Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi,
Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and
Bophuthatswana leader Dr Lucas Mang-
goepa may take place next Thursday.

Mr De Klerk said it was "unfortunate
that Chief Minister Buthelezi has on a
number of occasions adopted a confronta-
tional course with the government, more
often than not on erroneous assumptions".

He said the government had always
been supportive of the KwaZulu govern-
ment — pointing out that Chief Buthelezi
administers a budget of R1.769 billion,
"larger than that of many independent
African states" — and "also supported the
principle of devolution of power".

Government negotiators have become
increasingly frustrated with the IFP's re-
usal to talk to them, and yesterday Mr De
Klerk sharply criticised Chief Buthelezi
for this.

He said the IFP had delayed efforts to
convince a follow-up to the September 7
conference on federalism and "De Buthe-
lezi has consistently refused to discuss
any problems which he may have with the
government in bilateral discussions with
me".

A well-placed government source said it
was difficult to say how the "direct con-
frontation" the Mr De Klerk talked about
would manifest itself, but if KwaZulu pur-
sued unilateral initiatives of this import it
would mean "the governments are on di-
vergent courses".

Mr De Klerk said it was "imperative"
that such confrontation be avoided.

The source added that, given the govern-

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Bosberaad bid to salvage talks

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators at a three-day "bosberaad" are believed to have changed their agenda in an urgent move to seek ways of rescuing multi-party negotiations.

The talks are gravely threatened by the breakdown in relations between the government and both the KwaZulu government and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Top government and ANC negotiators return today from an intense round of discussions in the Northern Transvaal bushveld aimed at an early resumption of the multi-party talks that have been suspended since June.

They started with an agenda dealing with problems between themselves but dramatic events shifted attention elsewhere.

First KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced a unilateral initiative to establish an autonomous KwaZulu/Natal federal state.

Then the government broke off talks with the PAC pending clarification of its stand on claims that its armed wing, APla, attacked a King William's Town golf-club party last Saturday.

It is not clear whether a planned meeting next week between President de Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and other homeland leaders will go ahead.
Bosberaad forced to look at new crises

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE "bosberaad" between the government and the ANC enters its final day today with issues raised by parties outside the bilateral discussions also clamouring for attention.

Apart from the timetable towards democracy and ongoing violence being discussed at the bush summit, the emerging crisis with Inkatha, the Ciskei and the PAC are also expected to force their way onto the agenda at the bilateral talks.

The delays to a speedy transition process posed by stands taken by parties outside the current talks is expected to set alarm bells ringing for both the government and the ANC.

They both expressed the hope their inclusive multi-party constitutional talks can be resumed early next year.

An extended cabinet meeting — including deputy ministers and members of the Nationalist-controlled ministers' councils — will be held at a final year-end stock-taking session by the government from Monday to Wednesday next week.

The ANC and the government are planning a further bosberaad meeting in January before the opening of the 1989 session of Parliament.
‘Bosberaad’ tackles crisis

By Kaizer Nyatumba
and Peter Fabricius

Government and African National Congress negotiators at a three-day “bosberaad” are believed to have changed their agenda urgently to seek ways of rescuing multiparty negotiations.

The breakdown in relations between the Government and both the KwaZulu government and the Pan Africanist Congress have put multiparty negotiations in jeopardy.

Government and ANC negotiators return today from an intense round of discussions in the northern Transvaal bushveld aimed at an early resumption of multiparty talks which have been suspended since June.

They started with an agenda devoted to addressing bilateral problems, but two dramatic events have shifted attention elsewhere.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced a unilateral initiative to establish an autonomous KwaZulu-Natal state. Then the Government broke off talks with the Pan Africanist Congress following claims that its armed wing Apal was responsible for the King William’s Town golf club attack.

It was not clear yesterday whether a planned meeting next week between President de Klerk, Buthelezi and other homeland leaders would go ahead.

The Government said it was going ahead with planning for it.

The KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party were prepared to put their autonomy plan for a KwaZulu/Natal state to multiparty discussions if requested, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said on SABC’s “Agenda” programme last night.

Yesterday, in its first formal comment on the KwaZulu plan, the ANC joined the Government in condemning it as an unilateral initiative threatening negotiations.

In another development, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa yesterday said approval of the “KwaZulu-Natal constitution” would mean either an enforcement of the federal option countrywide or secession by that region. Either outcome, IDASA programme director Paul Graham said, would not be acceptable to the other parties involved in national negotiations.

Natal Administrator Con Botha said yesterday if KwaZulu asked the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) to conduct the referendum, the Natal Provincial Administration component of the JEA would have to consult the central Government “and I doubt that they would give the go-ahead”.

● Collision course – Page 15
Buthelezi's proposal is 'racist'

Political Staff

DURBAN — The Natal/KwaZulu draft constitution is apartheid-inspired and serves the narrow interests of ethnicity, the ANC said in a statement released yesterday.

"Ikatho is an integral part of South Africa's negotiation process", but with the Natal/KwaZulu draft constitution it has "defined itself out of the process", the statement said.

The ANC was commenting on the document released in the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi on Tuesday, and the statement view that it would be presented to the Joint Executive Authority (a Natal local government-KwaZulu body) and residents of "this region".

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech at the launch of the document "is a clear indication the IFP has chosen the path of conflict and confrontation" the ANC said.

"The IFP has opted for enforced balkanisation on the model of the apartheid past.

"South Africa can ill-afford further apartheid-inspired designs that serve the narrow interests of ethnic political formations.

Meanwhile, according to a government source, the government is likely to block any attempt to hold a referendum in KwaZulu/Natal.

The source was speaking after Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi had thumped his nose at President F W de Klerk's criticism of KwaZulu's constitutional initiative, and signalled his determination to hold a referendum.

The government, source yesterday predicted the President would refuse to allow the referendum.

Natal National Party information chief, Dr Johan Steenkamp said, its MPs in the province were fully behind Mr De Klerk on this issue.

Dr Steenkamp described Dr Buthelezi as "not an easy customer ... he gets bad advice and we are afraid it will lead to his demise".

"It's a crazy move and might be his last," he said.

Yesterday the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) said if the draft constitution was approved it would mean either enforcement of the federal option on the rest of the country or secession by the region.
Natal referendum would be illegitimate, says ANC

THE ANC warned yesterday that a referendum on Inkatha’s draft constitutional proposals for Natal/KwaZulu would be illegitimate and could exacerbate tensions in the province.

“The very idea of a Natal/KwaZulu referendum to decide on an issue that impacts on the future of the whole country is itself totally illegitimate. Given the repression, formal and informal, that is pervasive in KwaZulu, it would be impossible to hold a free and fair referendum.

“Both the NP and Inkatha are an integral part of the unfolding multiparty negotiations. As a consequence of blind ambition, confusion or sheer desperation, Inkatha appears to have elected to define itself out of that process.”

The proposals contained a thinly veiled threat that Inkatha’s will could become law irrespective of decisions taken in national negotiations, relied on apartheid structures which enjoyed no legitimacy, and ignored the wishes of the majority of South Africans.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha had initiated a process to test the will of the people of the region on a fundamental issue important to them.

He said the failure of the negotiating process and its degeneration into bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC had made it imperative to consult ‘the people’.

Buthelezi said the adoption of a constitution for Natal/KwaZulu would reflect an immediate and clear mandate from the people of the region.

Idasa programme director Paul Graham said the approval of the draft constitution would mean an enforcement of the federal option on the rest of the country or secession by the region, reports Sapa.

Our Political Correspondent reported from Cape Town that government is likely to block any attempt to hold a referendum in Natal/KwaZulu, a well-placed government source said yesterday.

And NP information chief Johan Steenkamp said NP MPs in Natal were fully behind President F W de Klerk’s criticism of Buthelezi’s constitutional initiative.
NEGOTIATIONS

Setting the targets

Despite Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's autonomous regional initiative, apparently designed to pre-empt constitutional talks — the negotiations process looked set for a major boost this week's summit between government and the ANC. Their three-day bonfire was due to kick off at a secret venue as the FM went to press. Buthelezi's announcement seemed timed to steal its thunder.

A day earlier, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer had attacked Buthelezi for, in effect, preventing the very multiparty conference Buthelezi was so urgently demanding should be set up in January. (Government's target is February, the ANC would prefer later this month.) Inkatha had for weeks "avoided" and "ruined" the government's attempts to restart talks with it, said Meyer. An example was its unilateral cancellation of a meeting with government on September 28 and one set down for November 18 with the Concerned Citizens Group, headed by Inkatha.

Inkatha replied that it was government and its "friend" the ANC that were holding up talks and that it was the ANC that had walked out of Codesa. Buthelezi clearly remains riled at what he (wrongly) perceives to be his exclusion from decision-making. He is rapidly becoming the main obstacle to the formation of a new government.

The ANC, meanwhile, said rather implausibly on Tuesday that it was unaware of a preparatory meeting its task group was meant to have had with Inkatha on Monday, to prepare for the summit between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi. However, the meeting has now been scheduled for Wednesday in Durban. Whether Buthelezi's announcement pertaining to a Natal/KwaZulu referendum will affect this was not clear when the FM went to press.

In announcing a timetable for the setting up of a government of national unity, President F W de Klerk last week warned that failure to reach agreement about this would lead to "other ways and means" being found to bring one about. This would seem perilous, not least in the light of Buthelezi's latest stance — though he could precipitate a crisis if he chooses to remain aloof from the process.

Buthelezi will, no doubt, have inserted himself on to the agenda of the ANC-gov-

cernment summit this week, which is a follow-up to agreements reached in their Record of Understanding in September. Among the issues to be tackled are the "modalities" leading to an elected interim government and the question of violence. Both sides are keen for new momentum to be injected into the process, which prior resolution of matters is bound to do.

For government, however, the question of disbanding private armies such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is a critical issue — compounded by the fact that the ANC recently sent 1 000 cadres for military training in Uganda. (It's charitable interpretation of this move is that the ANC wants somewhat more numbers than the present ragbag in MK to integrate into a common defence force when the time comes.) Ability to resolve this issue would matter progress indeed.

They are closer on preparatory and constitutional matters, such as the negotiating multiparty forum and regional government powers. And the ANC believes its interim government proposals to be most accommodating: it expects similar generosity of spirit from government.

While the ANC has slammed De Klerk's (realistic) election target date of April 1994 as too far away, this is only about six months longer than the ANC's and should be bridgabale, especially since government has said it was flexible on a date. In presenting his transition timetable last week, De Klerk said the main question in debating further constitutional reform centres on "the timing of the process which will lead to the installation of a government of national unity."

This "fully representative" government should be in place "no later" than the first half of 1994. It will function in terms of a transitional constitution, which would also provide for an elected parliament and executive.

Stepping stones

De Klerk outlined the steps that should precede the setting up of a national unity government:

Before the end of February: Complete bilateral discussions across a broad spectrum of parties aimed at the resumption of negotiations, whether in a new forum or a restructured Codesa;

Before end-March: Convene multiparty negotiating forum;

By end-May: Conclude multiparty agreements on a transitional constitution (including constitution-making procedures and principles and regional governments), Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;

May/June: Adopt legislation for the Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;

June: Institute Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;
Mngoma South Africa's announcement of plans for the adoption of regional constitution is the first tangible step in what has been threatening for a long time — namely, to go it alone. In a hard-hitting address at an Ulundi press conference on Tuesday, Thutu Lezi (Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha Freedom Party leader) announced a special two-day sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to "pass urgent legislation."

He claimed that a regional constitution would lead either to acceptance in its entirety of the region's federal position, or expose the "game of government and the ANC/Communist alliance."

Buthelezi said he believed he would be taking the initiative by creating a KwaZulu/Natal negotiating base, which could form the proposal for the kind of central government to which the region would be prepared to devolve some of its regional powers — powers which are there, he says, by dint of historic precedent and political reality.

He also reiterated his outright rejection of the Conference's proposal for an elected constituent assembly as a constitution-making body. He stressed that he would not allow the region's existing government and ANC constitution, in terms of constitutional negotiations, until the whole matter of government dealing bilaterally with the ANC had been resolved and a multiparty conference convened to deal with the constitution. "It is only in a multiparty conference that we can possibly now find a way forward." He added:

Details his constitutional plans, Buthelezi said he was proposing picking up where the Buthelezi Commission and the Natal Indaba left off. "The issue has arrived for us to establish a Natal/KwaZulu-proposed constitution, and spell out the national requirements as we see them in order to make that constitution a reality," he said.

The first step would be the adoption of the constitution by the IFP, KwaZulu Government and the Joint Executive Authority of Natal — a consensus-based statutory body that was established to develop permanent co-operation between the Natal provincial and KwaZulu administrations.

The next stage in the process would be a referendum, possibly within 30 days of adoption. Once adopted provincially, the constitution would be canvassed nationally. The result, said Buthelezi, would be a document undersigned by "millions of people" and the national negotiating process would be forced to take account of this reality.

Early reaction to the proposal was less than starry-eyed. DP spokesman on local and regional government Jasper Walsh says the proposal smacks of Buthelezi attempting to go it alone, and this would be in contradiction to the national effort.

Says Walsh: "Our first priority must be to devise a national constitution. Thereafter regional negotiations will play an important part and the one need not wait for the other, but nor should it force the pace. We support local negotiations towards regional solutions. But clearly this must be within the framework of a nationally approved constitution."

"Clearly difficulties can arise where a strong regional proposal is in conflict with what is agreed upon at a national level. However, we would want to avoid attempting to reach a conclusion regionally at a time when we're about to re-open multiparty negotiations on a national constitution."

Walsh stressed his concern at what appeared to be an attempt to put pressure on national negotiations — but that is exactly what Buthelezi is trying to do and he's making no bones about it.

Walsh adds that it would be nice if he were just commenting that such a constitution was within a framework of anything agreed at a national level.

Wits University's Tom Lodge wonders why Buthelezi is being so confrontational about the issue, when some form of regional government is already on the agenda of the national constitutional talks.

Buthelezi's plan to pick up from where the Natal Indaba left off assumes that nothing has changed, says Lodge. Would there be the same level of support that businessmen and others gave to the plan in the mid-Eighties? Lodge also points out that blacks in Natal are bitterly divided (between the ANC and Inkatha) and that reactions to the plan might well be quite different now. Re-launching the KwaNatal Indaba therefore seems absurd.

Buthelezi is clearly thinking in terms of consociational federalism, in which the centre has virtually no control over regions — a notion that simply will not fly. Where, in any event, is the tax base for such a plan in KwaZulu/Natal?

Buthelezi does not need a fiscally self-sufficient administration, and could simply be cut off by Pretoria, which pays for the KwaZulu Police.

Yet there may well be an element of bluff and threat in Buthelezi's announcement. Miffed at being left out, as he sees it, from the government/ANC understandings, this may simply be a warning to them to sit up and take notice of him.

DEVELOPMENT

Beyond the Feuding

Development Bank of Southern Africa chairman-designate Wiseman Nkuhlu says an independent panel to co-ordinate the efforts of development agencies and determine priorities is essential if an interim government is to have any chance of tackling demands.

In an interview with the FM this week he outlined, for the first time, proposals he will make to major political players and development agencies for the establishment of what will in effect be a national commission for economic restructuring and development.

It will be more than an advisory body and could put members in a position to influence government spending, economic restructuring and development strategies.

Energy and Resources

Nkuhlu, who is also CEO-designate of the Independent Development Trust and on several corporate boards, including Barlows, Old Mutual, Genbel and Standard Bank, believes the interim government — the first phase of which is expected in the first half of next year — will not be able to devote the necessary energy and resources to development.

There's a danger that it will face massive demands and high expectations but have no development programme to implement, no way of determining priorities and will be unable to make significant progress on development issues while also wrestling with the creation of a new constitution.

FM 4/12/92
'Optimism takes a dive'

By Michael Chester

New surveys show levels of optimism among both blacks and whites about the outlook for SA have been battered by outbreaks of violence, political stalemates and bad economic news.

Research Surveys revealed yesterday that the optimism which reached a peak about three years ago — encouraged by Government pledges of reform and the release of Nelson Mandela — had melted. The gradual decline had been underscored by regular nationwide surveys to assess changes in the attitudes of white and black adults towards the outlook, compared with six months earlier.

In February 1990, 60 percent of black males said they were more optimistic. A new repeat survey showed the proportion had sunk to 27 percent.

The numbers voicing less optimism grew from 14 percent to 30 percent.

The number of white males showing more optimism about the outlook stood at 49 percent in November 1989, sank to 34 percent in February 1990 and climbed to 44 percent in April 1992 but had now fallen to 20 percent.

The proportion made less optimistic by events over the past six months had grown from 28 percent to 31 percent.

Research Surveys executive Binky Kellas said: "Hopes for the future have plummeted. Kellas said: "However, announcements of intentions to restart negotiations towards an interim government, lower interest rates and decreasing inflation, may lift the mood slightly."
ET's back on the Warpath

BY JAN TULLAND

"Peace is not coming to South Africa until the kind towards the shack dwellers by not carting.

..."
Mandela and de Klerk see time running out

By Jenny P

While the president has not yet publicly declared his intention to resign, the ANC is reportedly finalising its plan to remove him from power. This comes as the party faces a crisis of confidence, with its support base eroding and allegations of corruption rife. The ANC is reportedly considering the possibility of a joint consultation meeting between the president and the party leadership, with the aim of reaching a consensus on his future. However, the pressure on the president to resign is mounting, with opposition parties calling for his immediate removal. The party is reportedly divided on the issue, with some members calling for a more measured approach, while others favour a more decisive action. The ANC's national executive committee is reportedly set to meet this week to discuss the matter, with the possibility of a statement on the president's future to be announced at a later date. The situation remains tense, with tensions between the president and opposition parties showing no sign of abating. The ANC's decision on the matter will be crucial in shaping the political landscape of the country in the coming months.
Much expected from 'Lekgotla'

Hopes for resumption of talks:

Soweto 4/12/92

THE ANC and Government emerge from a crucial three-day meeting today to great expectations from South Africans for the speedy resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The three-day lekgota focused on "outstanding issues" between the two parties and sources in both parties were confident earlier this week that at least a date for the resumption of talks can be secured in the meeting.

Whatever agreements the two parties reached, they will still have to wait for two meetings between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress and President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.
No meeting on talks - PAC

Movement's armed struggle continues, says Alexander

The Pan Africanist Congress yesterday refuted reports that it was holding an emergency meeting to discuss the Government's suspension of talks with the organisation.

Secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the movement had not received any letter from the Government informing it of the suspension.

"As far as we are concerned, our meeting with the regime on December 9 has not been officially cancelled. It is only when we receive an official notification from the regime that the meeting is cancelled, that we will discuss the matter in our normal monthly meetings," he said.

He said the PAC was committed to a democratic solution of the country's problems through a democratically elected constituent assembly.

He also reminded the Government that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had publicly admitted that the PAC had not agreed to ending its armed campaign, and had added that further talks would be held in this regard.

The organisation also said Law and Order Minister Mr Henris Kriel's statement was ill-timed as he had not considered its consequences on the business community.

"Since the media played up the issue of King William's Town killings and forced the PAC into making public statements, the financial rand fell sharply against the US dollar.

"This was so mainly because as a result of financial rand selling by Swiss and German investors in response to the incident.

"If Apla leads investor trends through a single alleged incident, Mr Kriel should know that further Apla activities will easily spark a flight of capital."
Hope for talks in February

By ANTHONY JOHNSTON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC are hopeful that multi-party talks will be back on track by February after “good progress” was made at the government/ANC “bosbeerdad” which ended yesterday.

Negotiators were in an upbeat mood last night after three days of bargaining in the bush but said it would be premature to suggest that the two parties had “reached a deal” on a step-by-step transition to democratic elections.

The delegation leaders, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said after the day meeting that follow-up talks would be held during the second half of January, when the problem of political violence would be intensively addressed.

A date for the possible installation of an interim government of national unity was also discussed but no finality was reached on the sensitive issue, which will be discussed further before the January meeting.

President F W de Klerk is slated to meet Inkatha’s Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders on Thursday next week—a meeting which the government hopes will pave the way for a return to full-blown negotiations by the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has been showing signs recently of opting for a go-it-alone option.

However, cabinet sources were adamant last night that the planned bilateral meeting next Wednesday between the government and the PAC was definitely off if the PAC did not come up with a satisfactory response to its stand on violence and its relationship with its military wing, Apia.

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa said the two sides had reached agreement on the need for a speedy movement to a democratic dispensation.

“To this end every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form. The two parties reaffirmed their commitment to the agreements already reached at Codesa,” the statement said.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk yesterday said he was confident that the government would succeed in adhering to the transitional timetable he had set out earlier.

He said he was hopeful that multi-party talks would be back on track soon.

A delegation of National Party MPs led by Mr George Bartlett, leader of the NP in Natal, visited Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi yesterday.

It is believed that there is concern in the National Party camp because of the enthusiastic reaction Chief Buthelezi’s proposals on federalism have received in NP circles in Natal.
It's Organia, or bust

Airkreter Rightwingers You

Above: Airkreter Rightwingers You, the legendary pilots of the Organian Airforce, ready for their next mission.

Below: Professor Kowloon, the renowned scientist, and his assistant, Assistant Professor Kowloon, working on their latest invention: a flying car. They are determined to solve the mystery of Organia's missing citizens.
A STRONG and shared commitment to addressing the problems facing South Africa was the message that emerged from the three-day "bosberaad" between the African National Congress and the Government.

Government sources stressed there had been no bilateral deals and no agreements. But they indicated that, despite differences, both sides had found common cause and a partner with whom they could once again work seriously.

The need to get back to a multilateral forum was stressed, however, and much of the time was apparently spent addressing this.

Interestingly, there seemed a rapprochement on the form of the new multilateral forum. ANC president Nelson Mandela said last week that Codesa was an adequate instrument and should not be changed.

But in a joint statement after the "bosberaad", the ANC and the Government said "every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form".

It was understood that this restructuring would involve making the alterations necessary to incorporate parties, such as the Pan Africanist Congress, which did not attend Codesa 2.

The Government had previously been inclined to support greater changes to the Codesa formula.

A second "bosberaad" will take place in the second half of January and the issues of violence will top the agenda. In the interim, contact will continue and subcommittees will work on specific areas.

**Damaging events**

Government sources were confident that despite the two potentially damaging events of the week—the unilateral KwaZulu-Natal proposals and the attacks for which the PAC’s armed wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, was suspected—South Africa was now closer to a multilateral forum than before.

The Government remains adamant that the PAC has to make its position on violence and its armed wing absolutely clear before meetings between the two can resume. As a result, the planned meeting between the Government and the PAC scheduled for Wednesday is still in the balance pending a PAC clarification.

As for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Government sources were confident that its KwaZulu-Natal proposals would embolden it to come to the negotiating table.

A meeting between President F W de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is set for Thursday. This follows De Klerk’s reaction to the IFP proposals, in which he expressed concern that such unilateralism could spur violence.

Although the "bosberaad"—not attended by Mandela or De Klerk—did not complete the agenda, the outstanding issues are to be discussed by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The two sides did agree on an extensive agenda for ending the violence which would be comprehensively discussed at the joint meeting next month, the sources said.

A senior source close to the negotiations denied there was any political significance in the absence of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. This was due to pressure of work, they said.

Coetsee’s absence raised eyebrows at the meeting, as he is known to be a conservative.
ANC, govt in 'warm' parley — but no deal

PRETORIA. — A strong and shared commitment to address problems facing South Africa emerged from the three-day ANC-government bosberaad.

Government sources stressed there had been no bilateral deal but suggested that despite differences the two parties had found common cause. And each side had found a partner with whom it could again work seriously.

The sources described dialogue at the secret bushveld getaway as "adult" — and a "warm communication". But they said a need to get back to a multilateral forum was stressed. Apparently much time was spent addressing this problem.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said last week Codesa was an adequate instrument and should be used unchanged.

In a joint statement following the bosberaad, the ANC and the government said "every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form".

A second bosberaad is scheduled for the second half of January. Highest on the agenda will be the issue of violence.

A meeting between President De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is scheduled for December 10. This follows Mr De Klerk's statement that KwaZulu-Natal proposals could spur violence rather than resolve the problem.
ANC Eyes The Elections

December 6 to December 9 1992

By Quintin Wilson
Inflexible charter doomed.

TONY IJON says Uluru's proposals constitute for Kurnai/Narrung

Is too dangerous to ignore and too problematic to implement.
Push for earlier election
'We will speed up the talks'

By THEMBA KHUMALO and SBU' MNGADI

A POSITIVE note was struck this week when the ANC emerged from "bush talks" with the government confident elections for democratic rule would be held in 1993.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday on the outcome of their secret meeting with senior government officials, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the two parties had found common ground on various issues over which they differed before.

"We agreed to work for the speedy resumption of multilateral negotiations. We have established sub-committees that will report to a joint committee on a number of issues 10 days before our second encounter in January next year," he said.

Tasks of these committees include setting up media and electoral commissions, and determining the structure and functions of the transitional executive committee and the constitution-making body.

Ramaphosa said it was also agreed to go back to CODESA and restructure it to accommodate the parties that stayed outside the convention. These include the PAC and Azapo.

Ramaphosa emphasised that bilateral decisions taken between them would not be imposed on other parties.

The question of time frames was discussed extensively and there was convergence of views on both parties that because the process had to be hastened it would be desirable that elections be held next year... instead of running into 1994, he said.
Catastrophic workplace will affect all and everyone involved in the community. It is imperative that we come together to support each other. We must stand together and help those in need. It is important that we work together to ensure a brighter future for everyone. Let us come together and make a difference.

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News

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participants in the television programme “Slabbert on Sunday” shortly after the successful “boerebraad” between the government and the ANC and, on the eve of this week’s long-delayed meeting between Mr De Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, the parties continued to differ on whether it was desirable to have a power-sharing arrangement entrenched in the constitution and the length such a “political marriage” should last.

Mr De Klerk said that if a constitutionally entrenched government of national unity worked during the transitional period it might be adopted as a permanent feature in South Africa.

He said it was important for powersharing between the major parties to be entrenched in the constitution because South Africa was emerging from a long period of conflict and distrust.

He believed a new multi-party power-sharing government would be more successful in exercising economic and fiscal discipline than a single party that had too much power.

Questioned by Dr Slabbert on what he meant by an earlier commitment that “special measures” would have to be implemented in a government of national unity if negotiating parties failed to reach agreement on how to proceed with the transition, Mr De Klerk said the overall responsibility for constitutional reform would rest with the government.

In a clear signal to parties uneasily delaying the transition, Mr De Klerk said that initiatives would still take place on a bilateral and smaller multi-lateral basis.

“We will ensure progress in another way but still on the basis of maximum possible consensus,” he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said that despite the clear differences between the ANC and the government there was a need for these two parties and others with wide popular support—to share power during the transitional phase.

A government of national unity was needed to “deal with the economic mess” the country found itself in, to consolidate democracy and dismantle the effects of apartheid.

“We are compelled to work together,” Mr Ramaphosa said, but added that the ANC did not believe that power-sharing should be written into the constitution as political marriages should be voluntary.

Dr Mdlatoswe said Inkatha supported the idea of power-sharing but warned against “deals being struck” by parties before the results of popular elections were known.
Cabinet’s bush meet underway

The extended cabinet, which includes the four provincial administrators and deputy ministers, gathered at an undisclosed country venue yesterday for the last formal meeting of the executive in 1992.

The meeting will end on Tuesday when official statements may be expected regarding the status of negotiations and the threatened escalation of a terrorist onslaught by Abu Nida (Azanian People’s Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress).

The cabinet and the entire formal political system will go into the Christmas recess on Thursday.

Sources were confident the government’s main concern, threatened strikes at civilian targets and after December 16, will receive priority attention at the “bush cabinet” deliberations.

Another related issue which will be subjected to extensive analysis and forward planning will be this week’s bilateral meeting with the African National Congress and its resumption in January.

The cabinet is also expected to concentrate on the stalled Codesa negotiations process.

The difficult situation regarding the PAC, with whom talks have been suspended pending clarification of its armed actions in attacking civilians, as it did in King William’s Town and Queenstown recently, will be given special attention.

The meeting will work on ways of formulating a strategy to counter the threat of further attacks, particularly on soft targets.

The PAC’s absence or refusal to join Codesa and the Inkatha Freedom Party’s continued resistance to return to multi-party talks remain the central dilemma for both the government and the ANC, both of which are eager for talks to resume as soon as possible in the new year.

Proposals to achieve this, along with ideas which may have emerged from the bilateral meeting with the ANC, may be developed further and translated into follow-up action for the recess.

The cabinet will resume its official weekly meetings in the week preceding the opening of parliament but political circumstances may demand a more “active” recess than the traditional Christmas break of past years.
De Klerk and Buthelezi to resume talks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet in Pretoria this week to discuss a wide range of issues, including national negotiations.

The meeting — the first between the two leaders since Chief Buthelezi angrily suspended contact with the government after Mr De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26 — will also be attended by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Following the signing of the Record of Understanding, Chief Buthelezi and the other two homeland leaders met in Mmabatho to discuss the ANC-government agreement, and later invited a host of rightwing organisations and like-minded homelands to a meeting at the Indaba Hotel in Fourways, outside Johannesburg.

The meeting, dubbed a Conference for Concerned South Africans, called for a multi-party conference of review where the Record of Understanding would be subjected to scrutiny.

Chief Buthelezi has since refused to meet Mr De Klerk, whom he has often accused of giving in to the ANC-led tripartite alliance’s demands and siding with it against the IFP and Zulus.

Although neither government spokesman Mr Dave Steward nor IFP central committee member Mr Walter Fogelgate would say what would be on the agenda of this week’s meeting, tentatively scheduled to take place on Wednesday, it is expected that Mr De Klerk will use the opportunity to raise his concern about the “KwaZulu-Natal constitution” released by Dr Buthelezi last week.

Mr De Klerk, who warned last week that Chief Buthelezi’s moves would lead to a serious confrontation between KwaZulu and his government, has repeatedly asked for a meeting with the IFP leader so that they could iron out their differences — all to no avail.

This week’s meeting comes after a three-day “boisterous” government had with the ANC last week, where substantial progress was believed to have been made.

Reliable sources said the government and ANC delegations agreed on the need for elections for a government of national unity to be held at the earliest possible moment.

ANC negotiator and SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo later commented: “I got the feeling for the first time that the government is prepared to walk the last mile.”

On this week’s meeting, Mr Steward said Mr De Klerk and the three homeland leaders — all strong proponents of federalism — would discuss “matters of common interest”.

SAPA reports that yesterday Mr De Klerk said the government would ensure that constitutional reform progressed if a multiparty forum failed to emerge.

He was speaking in a pre-recorded interview on Sibbert on Sunday, hosted by political commentator Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, on SABC’s TSS network.

Referring to his announced timetable to bring about an interim government of national unity by the middle of 1994, he said: “The overall responsibility continues to rest with government to ensure that there will still be progress with regard to constitutional reform.”

Security man | Cartour calls
Extended Cabinet meets for last time before holiday recess

CAPE TOWN — The extended Cabinet, which includes the four provincial Administrators and deputy Ministers, gathered at an undisclosed country venue yesterday for its last formal meeting of the year.

The meeting will end tomorrow when official statements may be expected regarding the status of negotiations and the threatened escalation of a terrorist onslaught by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress.

The Cabinet and the entire formal political system will go into the Christmas recess on Thursday.

Sources are confident the Government's main concern — the threatened strikes at civilian targets on and after December 16 — will receive priority attention at the 'bush Cabinet' deliberations:

Another related issue which will be subjected to extensive analysis and forward planning will be this week's bilateral meeting with the ANC and its resumption next month as well as the stalled Codesa negotiations process.

The difficult situation regarding the PAC, with which talks have been suspended pending clarification of its armed actions in attacking civilians, as it did in King William's Town and Queenstown last week, will be given special attention, specifically in formulating a strategy to counter the threat of further attacks. — Sapa.
FW, BUTHELEZI TO HOLD TALKS THIS WEEK

By Kaizer Nyatumbi
Political Reporter

For the first time in almost three months, President de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will come face-to-face this week when they meet in Pretoria to discuss a wide range of issues, including national negotiations, it was confirmed yesterday.

The meeting — the first between the two leaders since Buthelezi angrily suspended contact with the Government after De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26 — will also be attended by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Chikane military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Following the signing of the Record of Understanding, Buthelezi and the other two homeland leaders met in Manabatho to discuss the ANC-Government agreement, and invited right-wing organisations and like-minded homelands to a meeting at the Indaba Hotel in Fourways, outside Johannesburg.

Buthelezi has since refused to meet De Klerk, whom he has often accused of giving in to the ANC-led tripartite alliance’s demands and siding with it against the IFP and Zulus.

Although neither Government spokesman Dave Steward nor IFP central committee member Walter Felgate would say what would be on the agenda of this week’s meeting, tentatively scheduled to take place on Wednesday, it is expected that De Klerk will use the opportunity to raise his concern about the “KwaZulu-Natal constitution” released by Buthelezi last week.

De Klerk, who warned last week that Buthelezi’s moves would lead to a serious confrontation between KwaZulu and his Government, has repeatedly asked for a meeting with the IFP leader so that they could iron out their differences.

This week’s meeting comes after a three-day Government-ANC bosberaad last week, where substantial progress was believed to have been made.

Steward said De Klerk and the three homeland leaders — all strong proponents of federalism — would discuss “matters of common interest”.

The meeting’s main purpose, Steward said, was “to get multiparty talks off the ground again.”

The IFP’s draft constitutional document for the state of KwaZulu/Natal would be presented to a national multiparty negotiating forum. IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdhlalose said last night during a panel discussion on “Slabbert on Sunday” on the SABC’s TSS network.

‘ELECTIONS BY THE END OF 1993’

MAPUTO — The South African Government has agreed that elections, to end white rule, should take place by the end of next year, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela held about six hours of talks with Mozambique’s President Joaquim Chissano yesterday to brief him on last week’s meeting between the ANC and the Government.

He told a news conference there was no dispute on the timing of elections, even though the ANC had earlier condemned President de Klerk for setting what it felt was a distant target date of April 1994.

“Standing on this point,” Mandela said, “in these bilateral talks there has been an agreement that the elections should take place before the end of 1993, so that matter has been resolved.”

De Klerk said yesterday the Government would ensure that constitutional reform progressed if a multiparty forum failed to emerge.

He was speaking during a pre-recorded TV interview for “Slabbert on Sunday.”

Referring to his timetable to bring about an interim government by the middle of 1994, he said: “The overall responsibility continues to rest with Government to ensure that there will still be progress with regard to constitutional reform.”

In the event of a delay, the Government would continue with negotiations, either bilaterally or within a smaller multiparty forum, de Klerk said.

However, he felt such a hitch was unlikely because he had detected a sense of widespread urgency. “I think all the responsible leaders realise that we are playing into the hands of radicals who don’t want an accord to be reached, who want to destabilise SA.” — Sapo-AP.

7/1/92
Ominous line drawn in the dust

Graham Lumsdell reports that SA cannot afford a stand-off with Kwazulu

31/7/24

1ST - Multiplan declaration of the existence of a stand-off between the two countries and the recognition of the KwaZulu state.
Bush meeting raises hopes for early vote

THE new-found trust and co-operation between government and the ANC could see the negotiation process speeded up and nonracial elections taking place late next year rather than mid-1994.

Last week's meeting in the bush between the parties injected a sense of urgency and shared responsibility into the process, with both sides accepting that they had to make more effort to resolve problems preventing the process going ahead.

They also saw a shared responsibility to end the violence and achieve a political settlement as soon as possible to form the foundation for economic growth.

However, both parties saw Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a major stumbling block to the process moving ahead quickly following his "federal" constitutional proposal last week and his objection to bilateral meetings between the ANC and government.

Government and ANC negotiators will spend the next month meeting in joint committees to try to iron out difficulties so that the initial stages of the transition process can be speeded up. The hope is that multiparty talks can resume by February.

The aim is to have nonracial elections as soon as possible, with a tentative target set at late 1993 or early 1994.

To achieve this, the parties will have to speed up the first two stages of transition: convening a multiparty forum and reaching agreement at this forum for the rest of the process. This would include negotiating the guiding principles to form the basis of the elected constitution-making body.

According to a senior government negotiator, these were the only two areas where the process could be speeded up. The rest of it was mostly mechanical, registering voters and piloting through agreed legislation for the establishment of transitional executive councils.

He said yesterday that the main gain of last week's bilateral meeting was that the parties were trying to re-establish trust and a constructive working relationship.

"It is vital that the parties can trust one another during this process, otherwise we just get tied up in bickering over majorities as a guarantee and substitute for trust."

Last week's extended discussion and the second stage of that meeting, a five-day bilateral meeting scheduled for January 23, is designed to try to smooth out the disagreements between the two main negotiating partners. Once they have reached agreement, the belief is that there would be fewer glitches with the other parties and the process would be quicker.

Reaching agreement on the guiding principles and how the process should proceed has been described by President FW de Klerk and ANC negotiators as possibly the most difficult part of the process, especially in the light of Inkatha and Buthelezi objecting to the concept of an elected constitution-making body.

Added to this problem was the disagreement over regionalism/federalism being included in the guiding principles. The ANC claims that the structural form of...
South Africa enters a crucial week in its political transition today as the Government buckles up for meetings with the Left and Right on Wednesday and Thursday.

After a highly successful three-day meeting with the ANC last week, the Government is expected to meet the PAC on Wednesday and leaders of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana as well as the Conservative Party on Thursday.

A date for the recall of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is expected to be decided upon by the end of the week, and perhaps even announced. Informed sources believe the Government and the ANC have toyed with a date in February next year. The Government’s meeting with the PAC and the contact with the CSAG - if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is there - are decisive in that the activities of Apla and the constitution for the envisaged “State of KwaZulu” adopted by the territory’s legislature last week could be the focus of talks.

The meeting between Government and the PAC by late yesterday remained in doubt after a senior Cabinet Minister said last week that unless the PAC distanced themselves from “acts of terror” all talks between the two parties were off.
ANC: Election date a priority

WINDHOEK — The ANC's delegation had been ready to walk out of last week's talks with the government if an election date was not set, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at State House here yesterday.

"The meeting's top priority was to have elections in as short a time as possible," Mr Mandela told diplomats during a one-day visit to Namibia. "We said if there is no agreement they should pull out." (SAPA)

However, that had not been necessary. Multi-party elections for a transitional government are due towards the end of 1993. CT 8/12/92

At State House, Mr Mandela received a warm welcome from President Sam Nujoma, whom he congratulated on Swapo's landslide election result before holding a private meeting with a Namibian delegation. — Sapa
Buthelezi, De Klerk set to clash.

By Peter Fabrizius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are firmly on course for a direct collision when they meet on Thursday for the first time since the IFP broke off talks in September.

Last week De Klerk warned that Buthelezi was heading for direct confrontation with the Government over his announcement of a go-it-alone plan for a highly autonomous KwaZulu-Natal state.

Yesterday a defiant Buthelezi dismissed De Klerk's remarks as extremely arrogant and condescending, fully reaffirmed his plans to create a regional KwaZulu-Natal state — and firmly rejected Codesa and its agreements on transitional arrangements, especially a constituent assembly.

And at a meeting in Pretoria of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), other homeland leaders and the Conservative Party strengthened the separatist tendency by also committing themselves to a bottom-up negotiation process driven by autonomous states.

Speaking at the meeting, Buthelezi also slammed last week's bosberaad between the Government and the ANC, where transitional arrangements were discussed.

He said other parties had now been relegated to the function of rubber-stamping ANC and Government agreements to provide legitimacy to their secretive dealings.

After yesterday's meeting, Cosag issued a statement rejecting Codesa and calling for a new negotiating forum to draft a new constitution for SA.

It also rejected the idea of a transitional government, transitional constitution and constituent assembly, calling instead for a new, non-exclusive multiparty forum to draft a new constitution.

This contrasts directly with the agreements reached at Codesa and frequently reaffirmed by the Government and the ANC since then.

Apart from the IFP, Cosag comprises the Conservative Party; the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.
Canadian envoy has hope for SA

DURBAN. — Canadian ambassador to South Africa Mr. Christopher Watsal yesterday told an Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy gathering here he was deeply optimistic about South Africa's political future.

"I sustaine inextinguishable hope for South Africa... when the (National) Peace Committee agreed to fresh, inclusive talks, when the ANC formally recognised the need for honourable compromise in sharing power, when Nelson Mandela accepted the parallel Goldstone/Steyn investigation of recent revelations; all these positive developments together felt to me like the end of the worst of it," he said. — Sapa
leaders discuss joint action
Right-wing and homeland

Right-wing and homeland
Youth leaders hopeful on talks

DURBAN. — ANC and IFP youth leaders expressed the hope that the preparatory meeting between the two organisations will provide the catalyst for a breakthrough in peace efforts.

At a briefing organised by Diakonia here, the ANC's Southern Natal Youth League chairman Mr Cyril Xaba said they expected all obstacles in the way of an accord to be resolved ahead of the proposed meeting between their leaders early next year.

He also appealed to political leaders to temper their inflammatory rhetoric in violence. Mr Musa Zondi, leader of the IFP Youth Brigade, said the youth were demanding progress in negotiations because they were frustrated by the stalemate in constitutional talks. — Sapa
CP 'calls up' its supporters for duty

Political Staff

The Conservative Party has "called up" its supporters for duty in its home guard system.

The "call-up" is to help counter the reported terror campaign against soft white civilian targets by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla).

This followed warnings by political commentators that Apla's alleged terror campaign against whites could provoke a white backlash.

On Monday the extremist rightwing group Order Boerevolk warned of "bloody vengeance" and of bomb attacks against black taxi ranks if Apla continued its campaign.

The CP's Pretoria head office said yesterday: "We call on students in particular, who are now on holiday, to make themselves available for security duties within the CP's Home Guard system."
Rightists reject Codesa

PRETORIA. — Rightwingers and homeland leaders met yesterday to bolster and synchronise their plans for an extreme federal dispensation, resolving to resume multi-lateral negotiations but not in a revived Codesa.

The meeting of the Concerned South African Group (Cosag) took place yesterday in preparation for the meeting between homeland leaders and President F W de Klerk on Thursday.

Those present included Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Dupa Gqozo.

Although the group discussed Chief Buthelezi's constitutional plans for KwaZulu-Natal, it was unable to agree on the relationship between central and regional government.

The group was only able to agree that states in various regions would have varying degrees of power and autonomy, reflecting differences in the approach being adopted by the CP and Inkatha.

The group has decided to prepare constitutional proposals and organise a conference for the beginning of next year.

Details of the plan of action are still to be decided.

Meanwhile Chief Buthelezi will take the unusual step of addressing a meeting in Pretoria's City Hall this evening to explain his party's stance on the 'transition crisis'.

Chief Buthelezi said he would hold a series of public meetings because it was crucial all South Africans understood why the IFP had decided to refuse to negotiate with the government. — Own Correspondent, Sapa.
Govt confident about early poll – Meyer

In spite of negative political developments in recent weeks, the Government is still confident about quick progress toward democratic elections, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night.

Meyer said in a statement after a Government strategy conference in Natal that there had been broad consensus at the meeting that President de Klerk’s transitional timetable should be followed.

But, he added: “If other parties co-operate and the steps can be completed more quickly, an election can be held earlier — even before the end of next year.”

Addressing the opposition of the “Concerned South Africans Group” to agreements reached between Government and the ANC, Meyer said Cosag — which includes KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and the Afrikaner Volksunie — “made no provision for the macro-situation in South Africa.”

“The country’s leaders must agree on a national level, as quickly as possible, on how a regional dispensation, by means of a transitional constitution, can be brought into existence.”

It was therefore essential that the Inkatha Freedom Party and other groups should return to the negotiation process.

Sapa reports that the future of the much-awaited summit between Mandela and Buthelezi remained uncertain yesterday, with even a preparatory meeting scheduled for today running into problems.

Although ANC head office spokesman Carl Niehaus said preparations were going ahead for today’s meeting with the IFP, ANC sources in Natal said they were still deciding whether this would be appropriate.

Their hesitation is reportedly due to the KwaZulu government’s controversial constitutional proposals, which Buthelezi unveiled last week.

Inkatha spokesman Walter Folgate said yesterday IFP delegates were ready for the scheduled meeting in Durban today to pave the way for a full meeting of the IFP central committee and ANC national executive committee.
The door for talks still open — PAC

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

The door for negotiations between the government and the PAC remained open, Mr. Clarence Makwetu, president of the movement, said today, the first time he has spoken publicly since the Apla controversy erupted and the breakdown of talks with the government.

In an interview, he said the PAC was not prepared to accept conditions for such talks. "Our doors are open. The ball is in the government's court."

He rejected a statement by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr. Roelf Meyer that the PAC had committed itself to peace and in effect to the suspension of armed action at its talks with the government in Gaberone in October.

He also rejected Mr. Meyer's assertion that the PAC had a dual attitude to negotiation and violence.

Mr. Makwetu said the PAC had been talking to the government before the issue of violence had been raised.

The PAC was in fact a non-violent movement.

"The PAC is talking to everyone. We have not been involved in violence. We have been going up and down the country trying to stop violence. Apla is nothing to do with this violence."

"We are also the only truly non-racial movement in the country. That is the approach."

He did not think his view that the PAC was a non-violent movement was contradicted by the actions of its armed wing, Apla, nor was he prepared to query the fact that the PAC channelled money to Apla without being aware of how this money was used.

"Apla is fighting a legitimate war against white domination."

He did not think this was a racist attitude.

Asked whether the violence in King William's Town and Queenstown could be regarded as legitimate political actions, Mr. Makwetu said "this is for Apla to say."

He stressed again that the PAC would not distance itself from Apla.

*See page 7*
Prospects dim for ANC-IFP meeting

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — The prospects for a meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dimmed yesterday as both parties expressed doubts about the outcome of today's preparatory talks in Durban.

They expect today's meeting to be "confrontational and extremely difficult" after the developments of the past two weeks. These include KwaZulu's acceptance of the "federal constitution"; Inkatha's rejection of Codesa and the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC; and Mr Mandela's four conditions, the chief of these being that the Record of Understanding be accepted by Inkatha before a meeting between the leaders can take place.

An Inkatha source said it was "highly unlikely that the summit would happen this year".

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he was not entirely sure today's meeting would go ahead.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk is to meet today those homeland leaders who are spearheading opposition to a restructured Codesa.

He was expected to have tough discussions with Chief Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Mr Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Inkatha spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said yesterday.
NEWS IN BRIEF

Secret projects Bill

A BILL has been published forcing the President to consult opposition leaders on at least one appointment to the Secret Services Evaluation Committee, which assesses secret projects.
Secret services bill published.

A bill which will force the state president to consult opposition leaders on at least one appointment to the Secret Services Evaluation Committee has been published. The committee's role is to evaluate secret projects.

Sapa.
Govt halts talks with PAC

GOVERNMENT has cancelled today's scheduled meeting with the PAC and all further talks until the PAC denounces the activities of its military wing Apala.

But the PAC remained defiant yesterday, declaring it would refuse to "abandon the armed struggle and isolate Apala". It would not elaborate on whether it was prepared to suspend the armed struggle.

PAC Secretary for political affairs Isak Serote said government had cancelled talks until "the PAC's attitude to Apala is clarified". Constitutional Development spokesman Isak Retief said this probably meant talks had been postponed pending clarification.

Government wanted the PAC to denounce terror activities carried out by Apala, to commit itself to peaceful negotiation for a political settlement in SA and to take responsibility for keeping Apala "under control".

Serote, who said the PAC was informed by Constitutional Development adviser Fanie van der Merwe of government's decision, added: "The PAC cannot abandon the armed struggle until the objectives of the struggle have been realised."

Until there was mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and government, the organisation was "not duty-bond to condemn the element of armed struggle conducted by Apala against the settler enemy structures", Serote said.

The PAC's position had been put frankly to government at two earlier meetings in Nigeria and Botswana, he said.

It was clear the PAC would not isolate the armed struggle for national liberation from the process for a negotiated settlement. "The regime's delegation in these exploratory talks expressed their appreciation of our position on this matter." He rejected the implication that government wanted it to "clarify its attitude to Apala" through the media before a meeting could take place. However, Retief said government was waiting for the PAC to clarify its position to government directly.

Sapa-Reuters reports from Harare that Zimbabwe has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory. "We do not want Zimbabwe soil to be used for hostile activities against SA or any other country," Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said.
Buthelezi addresses boerevold in Pretoria

Political Staff

A “black South African of Zulu extraction” greeted “the boerevold of South Africa” when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke in the Pretoria City Hall last night - his first speech in the capital.

There were only about 200 “boerevold” in the gathering of about 400 and there was a strong smattering of English among them.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was there. Not officially, he said, but because he was curious.

IFP recruitment papers lay on tables in the foyer and when Buthelezi entered, the audience rose and a small blond boy in khaki, festooned with the IFP colours, pinned a flower to his lapel.

Buthelezi used the occasion to attack the government-ANC Record of Understanding and to present Kwazulu-Natal constitutional proposals revealed in Umlazi last week.

He appealed, too, for reconciliation “between black and black and white and white”.

“You as the boerevold of South Africa and I as a black South African of Zulu extraction are equal in our claim to South Africanism.”

He then proceeded to attack the exclusive bilateralism of the Government and the ANC-SACP alliance.

“Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer was quick to insinuate that I am the spoiler in negotiations. This is very far from the truth. There is very little the National Party can teach me about negotiations,” he said.

Buthelezi reiterated his rejection of the Record of Understanding as the reason for breaking off talks with the Government.
Ch ie fness freed

By Abby Maico

PAC positioned
Meeting with

Government wins family conference

**News**

Multipart talks in balance • All charges dropped against Kobe’s First Lady

**Politics**

PAC decision: Key issues discussed

**Polling**

Association polls, public opinion

**Today’s issue**

Regulatory bodies, government regulation
Here's to gaining a new perspective.
PRETORIA — The Russian Federation's first ambassador to SA yesterday handed his credentials to President F W de Klerk.

The new ambassadors from Japan and Israel also handed their letters of credence to De Klerk at the same ceremony at the Presidency in Pretoria.

De Klerk told the ambassadors he was confident multiparty negotiations would be resumed and an accord reached within a reasonable time.

He said in spite of setbacks in the past six months he was confident it was not a matter of if negotiations would succeed, but when.

Russian Federation ambassador Eugeniy Petrovich Gusarov said his country recognised the importance of international support for change and could play a role in SA, especially as it was a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Israeli ambassador Alon Liel said his country supported and welcomed positive changes in SA.

Israel and the rest of the international community had "high expectations" for the peace talks. His country, Liel said, had close associations with the SA Jewish community whose contribution was a blessing to both countries.

De Klerk acknowledged the constructive role the Jewish community was playing in SA and said government was striving for a new SA where there was room to accommodate a diversity of cultures.

Japan's ambassador Katsumi Setoki conveyed his country's support for change and a message of hope for a peaceful, negotiated settlement that would proceed "smoothly".

De Klerk expressed the hope that SA could become the "Jewel" of the southern Africa. — Sapa.
back on personalized

SADF forced to cut

shaken in the SAP

SADF forced to cut
Call to SA whites

WHITE South Africans must rediscover the ability to be angry, outraged and embarrassed about the deeds of the Government, says Professor Njabulo Ndebele, vice-rector of the University of the Western Cape. He made the call during a graduation address at the University of Cape Town yesterday.
Progress as IFP, ANC meet

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The first official face-to-face meeting of the ANC and IFP in more than a year ended in smiles yesterday with what appeared to be considerable progress being made and the stage set for a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting.

And in another boost for peace in the province the KwaZulu/Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee's special meeting yesterday was described by its co-chairman Mr M C Pretorius as "very positive".

The ANC-IFP meeting, held at a Durban beachfront hotel and attended by high-ranking officials from both organisations, took place in a "positive and constructive atmosphere".

The meeting had been "basically a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between leaders of the two organisations", said a joint statement read by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose. The same delegations are due to meet again on December 29.

The government yesterday appealed to conservatives to rejoin multi-party democracy talks, but vowed there could be no negotiation with radicals until they renounced violence.

Sapa-Reuter
DP and PAC will 'create climate for negotiations'

Political Staff
Johannesburg — The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party have committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the Eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and the DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned."

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown had been discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.

At least five people died and many others were injured in the attacks.

The two parties said they found "considerable common ground" on the need to urgently end the violence.

Asked if he would be prepared to condemn the attacks, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said: "Unfortunately we are not here to be tried by the media. Whether or not we condemn (the attacks) is our own indaba."
Government, homelands for ‘bosberaad’

Political Staff

THE government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "bosberaad" to try to thrash out major differences about negotiations and the future of South Africa.

In a joint statement after a six-hour meeting in Pretoria yesterday — the first between the government and the homelands since the latter broke off talks in September — they agreed on the need for inclusive multi-party negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by President De Klerk, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties — including other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — would be invited to the bosberaad on January 8 and 9.

Chief Buthelezi made it clear there had been blunt talking at the meeting and that he had not budged from his intention to launch a "bottom-up" negotiation process for an autonomous KwaZulu/Natal state.

An unrepentant Chief Buthelezi told Mr De Klerk he had "erred" in the way he was undertaking negotiations.

Mr De Klerk should not think that he and the ANC could "steamroller" other parties with private decisions affecting the whole negotiation process.

Chief Buthelezi vowed that he would not return to Codesa, which Mr De Klerk had "buried" when he followed a policy of appeasing the ANC. He insisted that Mr De Klerk lay all the government's bilateral agreements with the ANC before a multi-party conference of review.

He rejected the government/ANC agreement on a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. It was unreasonable to negotiate about who should write a new constitution until there was agreement on how the constitution should look.

If a federal constitution was to be produced, it might be advisable that it should be written by individuals representing member states.
Homeland leaders and govt to meet

PRETORIA — The move back to the negotiating table was given impetus yesterday after government and three homeland leaders met and decided to hold a two-day bosberaad early next year.

The leaders of SA, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu — citing the pressures of the stagnant economy — agreed on the need to move towards inclusive multiparty negotiations as soon as possible.

At a short media briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday, the leaders spoke of the "new hope" the meeting had engendered. Asked about the differences between them, President F W de Klerk said: "Judge us by our smiles." 1/1/2/92.

The meeting will take place on January 8 and 9 and may include members of the Concerned South Africans Group, which includes other homeland groups, the CP and the Afrikaner Vryheidsstigting. The governments' leaders will not attend.

Asked about the format for negotiations, which government and the ANC have agreed should be a streamlined Codess, De Klerk said the delegations had discussed problems and possible scenarios. This and the ANC/government "record of understanding would be taken further next year.

Asked if all his problems were resolved, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi compared the discussion yesterday with having an argument with his wife: "Once she has had her say, and I have had mine, I usually get it out of my system."
University of the Western Cape. Though he spoke before the Angolan election and subse-
quent crisis, as well as the signing and subse-
quent collapse of the Mozambique peace
accord, Anglin’s comments on what are es-
sentially the prerequisites for success give
clear indications of why the two countries
have reverted to conflict.

In Angola, as in Zimbabwe, Namibia and
Zambia, the major parties were committed
to the electoral process because they believed
they could win. But unlike the other three,
the outcome of the Angolan presidential
election was indecisive, which cast doubt on
the fairness and fairness of the process,
resulting in the resumption of hostilities.

In Mozambique, Anglin argued, a “major
disruptive element” within the peace and
monitoring process was the Renamo leader-
ship’s total lack of any sense of commitment or
consistency.

The success of the transitions in Zim-
babwe, Namibia and Zambia did not imply
that international monitoring was unneces-
sary, but rather underscored the value of
independent outside observers in ensuring
free and fair elections.

Though Anglin did not discuss SA in de-
tail, his general comments indicated the pos-
sible value of international mediation in end-
ing SA’s conflict — especially in Natal,
where government appears powerless to play
the role of honest broker.

There is little doubt that, to avoid an
Angolan-type situation, intensive foreign
monitoring of SA’s electoral process will be
essential to ensure acceptance of what is
likely to be a close outcome. But ending the
violence is obviously a far more pressing
problem and one for which the international
community has started to develop special
skills. Anglin said the move beyond “conflict
settlement” to “conflict resolution,” espe-
cially in southern Africa, was “highly signif-
cant.”

While similar in concept, the two func-
tions differ. Conflict settlement seeks to
modify the behaviour of parties by ensuring
agreement with a set of agreed rules, where-
as conflict resolution involves changes in
attitudes, goals and values to eradicate the
underlying causes of strife. “It goes beyond
the preoccupation with the technical provi-
sions of a treaty, to a concern for the spirit
required to give it life.”

Two issues are of particular significance:
the integration and re-orientation of rival
security forces and the broader question of
national reconciliation. “Neither issue is the
exclusive responsibility of international mon-
itors, though monitors have been instrumen-
tal in promoting conflict resolution initia-
tives in each of the spheres.”

Anglin says the world still faces formida-
ble challenges in southern Africa, including
possible roles in SA, Lesotho and Malawi.
But whether the international community is
capable of demonstrating the imagination
and commitment to seize these opportunities
when they present themselves is by no means
certain.”

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Minding own affairs

On Monday, the so-called Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) rejected a transitional government, Codesa, and a constituent assembly. President F.W. de Klerk was not expected to react until after his meeting on Thursday with the homeland contingent of the group.

Cosag, which was formed in reaction to the government/ANC Record of Understanding last September, includes KwaZulu and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht, Afrikaner Volksunie's Andries Beyers and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sketching their alternative path, they have decided to prepare their own constitutional proposals, embark on a "plan of action" and organise a conference including more parties early next year.

United by their rejection of a unitary State, they affirmed their belief in the principle that regional "states" should be established with varying degrees of power and autonomy. Only a "limited and listed number of powers" would be reserved for central government in what effectively amounts to the CP's ideal of a consociational federation.

They again abjured negotiations of the kind they see as being "restricted to a process of bilateral meetings and understandings." Codesa wants multi-party negotiations to resume "without any exclusion or preclusion to determine a new forum to guide the drafting of the new constitution." The rejection of Codesa comes only days after the government and the ANC at their bosberaad "reaffirmed their commitment to the agreements already arrived at in Codesa." More important are indications that the two main players have reached compromise on an election date — late 1993.
DP and PAC resolve to help end violence

By Kaizer Nyatsambe
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party yesterday committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned."

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown were discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.
ANC prepared to press on to interim govt

By Carina le Grange

Even if other parties refuse to enter into new negotiations, the ANC is prepared — if the Government is willing — to press ahead towards interim government, ANC president Nelson Mandela said last night.

It would be preferable for all parties to be involved in the transition, he said, but the continuing violence, the struggling economy and high unemployment in the country demanded swift progress to an interim government.

Interviewed on TV1’s “Agenda” programme by The Star’s editor-in-chief Richard Steyn and Indicator editor Ameen Akhalwaya, Mandela stressed that Codesa remained the proper forum for multiparty negotiations, even if it had to be restructured.

He said it was “unthinkable” that Codesa should be dismantled, after two years of struggle to get it under way.

Warning against unilateral decisions by any one party, Mandela said “no force” could stop the establishment of a new government.

“The forces of peace are too strong to be derailed by any party,” he said.

Mandela said he also believed that only an interim government could adequately address the problem of violence.

He said: “The Government, the ANC — all are involved in violence in one way or another. It is a question of where we put our shoulders to the wheel to stop it.”

Mandela said the ANC was not opposed to the devolution of power to regions, but believed the issue should be settled by a representative constituent assembly.

He said the ANC would not abandon the option of mass action until South Africa had crossed the threshold into democracy.

Any decision to implement mass action would depend on the progress of negotiations. However, he added, it was unreasonable to expect negotiations to “proceed without hiccups”. 
NP/ANC COALITION

A time to merge

The political climate has been drastically altered in recent weeks by the behaviour of Apla — the so-called armed wing of the PAC. The "declaration of war" against whites at this stage removes the PAC and Apla from any serious entitlement to a place at the negotiating table and the cadres in the field will sooner or later be stopped.

It will be recalled that after the breakdown at Codesa the mood of the country slipped into exhaustion and depression — with all that this meant by way of economic stagnation. And that the breakdown sprang from government’s intransigence over the percentage of votes in a national assembly required to overturn quasi-entrenched regional powers.

In essence, the Nationalists wanted power at the periphery to balance the central power it foresaw wielded by the ANC under virtually any acceptable electoral system. One calculation is that under the system of proportional representation chosen by the NP, the ANC would gain 49.5% of the vote; under an ANC system, that figure would be higher: 53%.

In this (notional) election, the Nats could gain 21.5% or 22.6% — also scoring higher under ANC rules than under their own.

There is certainly room for debate about the validity of such projections in a country which has never had a free parliamentary election before (see Current Affairs).

But the point is that the NP cannot rule by itself — nor yet muster a majority of partners which would have to include too radical a spectrum, from the AWB to the PAC, assorted homeland and ethnic parties. And that assumes that the NP’s low vote threshold for election is allowed to pass through Codesa, or its successors, untouched.

For its part, the ANC could certainly attempt to rule with a 49.5% plurality, or scoop in the likes of the PAC with their 3.5% of the popular vote to attain a majority. But even if current differences between the ANC and the PAC can somehow be resolved — and that cannot happen as long as Apla continues its ugly little war — one is looking at an unstable coalition.

In such circumstances — as experience in Israel shows — two strong parties vie for the centre and woo the fringes which, in turn, put in outrageous demands in exchange for their support. The strongest coalition would be between the NP and the ANC. Is this feasible?

It might help if the independence of the Reserve Bank was constitutionally sanctioned before a government of national unity has to decide on spending priorities in forthcoming Budgets. It might also help if Derek Keys was retained as Minister of Finance. But underlying philosophical gulfs loom: on the issues of reparations for apartheid, land apportionment, affirmative action, the free enterprise system, health, welfare and schooling.

These gulfs are, perhaps, not so wide as even a year ago. There has been Codesa — a labyrinthine and tiresome exercise which did at least show that the ANC and NP could work together once out of the never-never land of ideological competition. Ideas which outlive their usefulness simply die out like unfavourable mutations in the animal kingdom — which is why the SACP repudiates Stalinism, a sort of eight-legged armadillo to which it has been chained for some decades.

The big parties, at any rate, agree that the economy must grow. Such a convergence — tentative as it may be — is far more rational and conciliatory than one may have feared listening to Nelson Mandela’s Cape Town speech on his release from jail some 31 months ago. The ANC leader has evidently seen the economic writing on the wall.

Much dirty work has already been put in place to facilitate just such an ANC/NP coalition. The exchange of psychopaths; the cut-off date for indemnity for political crimes; the oddly muted sounds of disapproval which mutually emerge whenever the Nats or the ANC are yet again caught out in some deviant or brutal scheme.

It would be remarkable if we were morally strong enough as a nation to prosecute all wrongdoers who carried out government or liberation force actions in the belief that they were just obeying orders. But we are a morally weak country — and no occupying power is around to make us pay for our sins — so we have no choice but each to forgive the other’s thugs’ transgressions.

And now Apla comes along to show us the real alternative — that ghastly one which John Vorster refused to contemplate despite doing so much to bring it about: race war.

Apla, and the PAC, are positively mandating a coalition between the NP and the ANC on the simple basis that they wish to avoid this nightmare.

All of which might seem to amount to a low argument for a coalition. There is a higher one: it has to do with foreign confidence in SA’s ability to keep the peace, create jobs and maintain a growing economy which will be attractive to foreign investors. And from which South Africans themselves will not flee, financially or in person.

If one year from now, SA has a strong government of national unity which flows from free elections — and which is presided over by, say, Mandela — think of all the good things that will, deservedly, come our way.
A spoke in the wheel

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to play the KwaZulu constitutional card has clearly caught everyone in the political arena off balance. But he may have committed a long-term strategic gaffe by going for short-term tactical gains.

His unilaterally devised constitution, set out in the steamy atmosphere of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1 (Current Affairs December 4), is a significant departure from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader's consistent stance on federalism in recent years. Suddenly he appears to have opted to lead a rightist, federalist charge.

Analysts say this is the implication of his policy document, which advocates strong regional authority and a virtually impotent central government — particularly with reference to the establishment of a State militia and taxation powers. Nevertheless, some feel Buthelezi's constitution, which is well prepared and thought out, stops short of calling for a unilateral declaration of independence.

Others, like Tony Minnaar of the Human Sciences Research Council, believe that in seeking such wide autonomy — with control of the purse strings, education and security forces — he is calling for independence.

"There's no provision for negotiation on this constitution at all. That effectively means he's talking about a referendum and then declaring UDI."

But, though it may elicit a strong groundswell of support from many Natalians, including white businessmen, the IFP leader must realise there is little likelihood of his constitution ever being tested at the polls prior to a general election next year.

However, as Stellenbosch's Willie Breitenbach puts it, Buthelezi has alienated the Nats — formerly its natural allies — along with the DP. Instead, Breitenbach says, he's cozying up to the Conservatives — who are delighted with the latest tactical shift. However, this seems as much to be a protest against the ANC/Nat Record of Understanding, as seeking a binding alliance.

"He's been a lot quicker to opt for this fallback position than I expected," Breitenbach adds. "His first objective always seemed to be central troika power on a non-elected interim government basis lasting as long as possible. I thought he'd opt for securing regional autonomy only if that failed.

"Now early elections seem probable — possibly even before the end of next year. And perhaps he feels such an election, either for a constituent assembly or new parliament, might show him to be a significant power — but not one in the top three — and that would mean the end of the troika."

Breitenbach, however, doubts that Buthelezi has suddenly become a confederalist. That would snap the golden thread running from the Buthelezi and other commissions, where he and the Democratic Party emerged as SA's original federalists. Breaking off to the Right doesn't match ideals and visions carried throughout the Seventies, Eighties and Nineties.

"Therefore, I think his constitution is a bargaining chip. I still expect Buthelezi to play a political role, more or less in the middle of the political spectrum and not to the right of centre. Politically, he belongs in bed with De Klerk and possibly Mangope: they share many common principles, such as federalism and belief in free-market economies."

However, based on the reactions of his "natural partners" to the constitutional proposals, Breitenbach feels Buthelezi has blundered tactically. "First prize was Nat and DP support, representing bureaucracy and business. Instead, the only approval came from the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's Mangope."

"It looks as though Buthelezi will be left on a limb for some time. Though the ANC and Nats may be natural opponents, they will probably be forced to co-operate after an election because of "sunset" clauses and interim government principles. Only after this will partnerships be reformed to decide who governs SA. According to Breitenbach, those partnerships will be much along Co- desa divisions with the IFP in the Nat-led "system" camp, pitted against the ANC-led "struggle" group."

Minnaar is less convinced that Buthelezi has blundered. He believes it was a good tactical move for the constitution to be launched on the eve of the busbeaeda which brought together government and the ANC — it reasserted the need to consult Buthelezi at national level. "Ironically the PAC's Apla has to some extent thrown a spoke in the wheel because its actions have led to greater government/ANC consensus on political directions."

Unlike Breitenbach, he believes Buthelezi was shrewd to publish the constitution now. "He's showing other power players what he can do. He is saying 'this is what I'll do in my regional power base. I'll have total independence from SA if you don't take cognisance of me and as a national leader.'"

Minnaar differs with Breitenbach over whether Buthelezi is genuine about confederalism. "Though Buthelezi may have fought homeland independence for KwaZulu from SA, his position had already shifted considerably by 1983, when he was looking at consociational politics and there has been a logical progression from the concept of equal status since then. That also explains the to speak to the political Right..."

Whether he has blundered or not remains to be seen, but the IFP leader has certainly stirred the pot and shown that he's far from impotent.

PAC/APLA FM 11/12/92

In the firing line

Unless it splits or re-forms in its universally condemned armed wing Apla, the PAC risks working itself out of the negotiations process and being sidelined altogether.

This week's scheduled meeting between the government and was, predictably, called off. Following the Apla-claimed atrocities at King William's Town and Queenstown last weekend in which five people were killed and 34 injured, government demanded a clear and satisfactory explanation of the PAC's relationship with Apla as a condition for the meeting. This had not been received by Tuesday.

On the contrary, PAC information director Walters Tobotuni underlined the link with Apla. He said it was an "integral" part of the organisation, which would not be abandoned even if this meant scrapping Wednesday's
Govt, Cosag to hold indaba

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

After a straight-talking six-hour meeting, the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January “bosberaad” to thrash out major differences about the way negotiations and the future South Africa should be structured.

In a joint statement issued after yesterday’s meeting — the first encounter between the SA Government and the directly affected homelands members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) since the homelands broke off talks in September — they agreed to move towards inclusive negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by President PW Botha, President Lucas Mangope, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties including the other Cosag members such as the National Party, United Democratic Party, and the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — would be invited to attend the two-day bosberaad on January 8 and 9.

The statement said that at yesterday’s meeting the four parties discussed agreements and disagreements on constitutional negotiations and on federalism, regionalism and confederalism.

De Klerk said at a press conference that no agreement had been reached but that differences would be discussed when they held the January meeting.

Buthelezi issued the text of a statement he had delivered at yesterday’s meeting which made it clear there had been blunt talk and that he had not budged from his intention to launch a bottom-up negotiation process for an autonomous KwaZulu/Natal state, which would be at odds with the current negotiation process.

His announcement of his plans last week prompted De Klerk to warn him his bilateral initiatives were threatening negotiations.
Bomb attack puts more pressure on de Klerk

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk is under pressure to take action against the Pan Africanist Congress after a bomb attack on a restaurant in which 18 whites were injured, five seriously, writes our Correspondent in Johannesburg.

The second random attack on whites within one week turned attention from bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the government, in which progress appeared to have been made towards restarting multi-party constitutional negotiations in February.

The rightwing Conservative Party said the government’s failure to take action made them responsible, and the ANC described the bombing as “the work of desperadoes who are not confident of pitting their strengths against other parties in a democratic election which they realise is imminent.”

Police blamed the PAC’s military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army. It followed its reported threat to kill more whites after the gun and grenade attack two weeks ago on a winetasting dinner in nearby King William’s Town, which left four whites dead.

The government and the ANC, meanwhile, were optimistic at the end of their three-day meeting at a secret rendezvous. In a statement, they said they had agreed on “the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation.”

• Two British women, one a young mother on holiday, were found murdered last week on a remote beach in northern Natal. They are thought to have been raped and their bodies thrown into the sea before waves washed them back.
The differences were headed by Dr. Kibambo.

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New SA is 'building fast'

FURTHER strong signals have emerged that the political clock has now been set for rapid progress towards building the New South Africa.

At the end of a highly-constructive week, the two main government and African National Congress negotiators yesterday delivered signals indicating that major developments were only months away.

In Pretoria, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer told a media briefing that, if all parties co-operated, an election for a transitional government could be held before the end of next year.

And in Stockholm, African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a transitional government in South Africa within a few months and free elections before 1994 were distinct possibilities.

Mr Meyer said: "The government is convinced the time scales and objects it has proposed for 1993 are attainable. The government has come to this conclusion as a result of continuous contact with all political groups of the country, in spite of dif-

- A Happy Christmas and a Peaceful New Year could be on the cards for South Africa if this week’s political signs are right.

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ferences regarding the process and the content of constitutional development."

Mr Ramaphosa, who has been in Sweden on a private visit since Wednesday, told the newspaper Dagens Nyheter: "We are very close to agreeing on an election date with the South African government. It is an important victory for the ANC and we are very pleased with the progress we are making."

"We have different political ideas, and different histories, but we have a common goal: To make South Africa a democratic country."

- On Thursday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said: "I think we have good reason to look at 1993 with hope."

- The same day, President De Klerk said he, IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders cleared up misunderstandings and achieved some hope for renewed multiparty talks.

In a television interview, however, Mr Mandela cautioned that talks next year would not be trouble-free.

And, at the Union Buildings, there was no mincing of words between Mr De Klerk, Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana’s President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Qoza.

The homeland leaders were highly suspicious of government-ANC dealings, believing the government was being hoodwinked by a movement wanting power.

Dr Buthelezi told Mr De Klerk he believed the president had erred: "We believe your analysis of the South African situation is either lacking in important understandings or you are chartering a wrong course through a constitution obstacle race against time to do the best you can in the face of everything that is descending upon you."
THE Government and the African National Congress have moved closer to a negotiations deal which could lead to elections in less than a year. But the deal has enraged the Inkatha Freedom Party — and is driving a deep wedge into the National Party.

It is becoming clearer now that in the torrid political love triangle between the Government, the ANC and IFP, the Government and ANC appear to be getting into bed together — and the IFP is feeling jilted.

This has important implications for the likely course of negotiations next year. It now seems that the Government and ANC will push through a negotiations package leading to elections for an interim government before the end of 1993.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after an attempted reconciliation between the Government and the IFP this week that it was like having an argument with his wife. “Once she has had her say and I have had mine, I usually get it out of my system.”

But although he — and other dissatisfied homeland leaders — agreed to get together again in January with the Government, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the political marriage between the NP and the IFP is heading for the rocks. And the divorce papers will probably cite the NP’s “dirty weekend” with the ANC at an Ellisras game reserve last week.

Romantic atmosphere

It was there — in the romantic atmosphere — that the two sides seem to have secretly agreed to drive the negotiation process in tandem and to run the interim government and beyond in a power-sharing deal.

Both sides have been extremely coy about exactly what was decided on. But ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the Government had agreed to elections before the end of next year — after President de Klerk forecast elections only in March/April 1994.

Although the Government denied that any firm agreements had been reached, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at a news conference yesterday that elections could be held before the end of 1993 if all parties co-operated.

Both sides agreed after the broadcaster that they had to accept “joint responsibility” for negotiations — which sounded very like the ANC view that negotiations should essentially amount to an agreement between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP flounced off in a huff and announced its go-it-alone option of launching an anti-Codesa negotiation at which regional powers — not national leaders — would get together to decide how the new South Africa should look.

De Klerk warned Buthelezi that his “unilateral” initiative was jeopardising negotiations and leading to direct confrontation with the Government. His tough response alarmed the National Party’s conservative wing, especially the Natal Nats, whose leader George Bartlett is a fervent IFP fan.

It was Bartlett and other Natal Nats who brought Buthelezi and De Klerk together in Pretoria this week to discuss their differences.

Although the meeting ended on an ostensibly optimistic note, with an agreement to meet again in a bosberraad on January 8 and 9, sources inside the meeting said no rapprochement was achieved.

Buthelezi delivered a hostile speech to De Klerk, berating him for acting in an unpatriotic way by doing secret deals with the ANC.

Constitutional differences

De Klerk calmly dismissed the personal attack on himself and focused on constitutional differences, prompting some concern in the NP’s anti-IFP faction that the president might be wavering.

But the general consensus was that De Klerk and the Cabinet had decided that the only way to pull off a negotiations deal to save the economy and rescue the country from violence was to join forces with the ANC — dumping the IFP if necessary.

It is understood that at the ANC-Government bosberraad last week, Bartlett was severely chastised by De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha for his over-enthusiastic response to Buthelezi’s go-it-alone plan.

One of the important “fault lines” in the party was between those who wanted to do a deal with the ANC and those who saw the NP’s salvation in a conservative alliance with the likes of the IFP.

The pro-ANC faction seems to have seized the initiative. And the issue that might have tipped the balance was the Joe Slovo-inspired strategy of offering the NP a power-sharing deal with a life beyond that of an interim government.
Africa towards a settlement?

Could APLA be showing South
NINE MONTHS LATER...
A President with hope
(BUT WITHOUT STARS IN HIS EYES)

President F.W de Klerk, a tumultuous year behind him, contemplates the future with a subdued confidence. BRIAN POTTINGER and MIKE ROBERTSON report.
One months later... (President with hope but without stars in his eyes)

5/11/90 13/12/92

President FW de Klerk, a tumultuous year behind him, contemplates the future with lued confidence. BRIAN POTTINGER and MIKE ROBERTSON report

"We showed that will when we brought VAT in against tremendous opposition, and we will show that when presenting the next Budget, which will be aimed at fundamentally addressing the economic problems which we continue to face."

"We showed the will by going through with the incommodity legislation. We showed the will by doubling the number of troops in Natal. And in each and every instance, I can give you examples of firm government decisions which have been taken in the best interests of the country."

He is unrepentant about the government's record in his tenure, particularly when the ANC claims that since his significant victory in the white referendum nine months ago, he has become arrogant in negotiations. "I don't think the setbacks since the breakdown at Coetzenburg were caused by us. And without being cowed, we have succeeded in managing the difficulties created by the breakdown at Coetzenburg relatively well - to such an extent that we can truthfully say there is now every reason to be hopeful for conclusion of multi-party negotiations early next year."

Of course, the success of constitutional negotiations is in many ways dependent on the economy recovering. Despite a surprise early this year by Mr de Klerk to cut government spending to the bone, the deficit before borrowing has risen sharply to about eight percent of gross domestic product.

Mr de Klerk says the reason for this worrying state of affairs is not the result of a lack of effort on the part of his government, but of the extraordinary circumstances in which the country found itself this year - a crippling drought and a fall in tax receipts because of the recession.

In next year's Budget, he promises, further steps will be taken to reduce government spending.

"Well, the possibility has been raised that we must look at the main item (the salary bill) ... we must bring in more discipline and make sure it doesn't grow too much." Cutting the salary bill will necessitate a reduction in jobs - an unpopular move, and Mr de Klerk is aware of this.

Unemployment, he says, is "the biggest single problem that South Africa has at the moment. The government is not aggravating this in an unfeeling and haphazard manner."

Finance Minister Derek Keys has identified the lack of investment which in turn reflects a lack of confidence as South Africa's chief economic problem. Mr de Klerk disappointed at the private sector's reluctance to invest in South Africa in my discussions with them, it became clear that there are quite a number of important projects on the drawing board ... I am satisfied that almost every major corporation has plans on the drawing board and has taken decisions which will result in vast investment. They are showing confidence and, in 1990, this will become even more apparent."

Two issues have particularly raised public ire in the last year - revelations of corruption in government departments and indemnification for individuals commit- ted in the past by security forces or guerrillas.

On these topics, the president is defensive. Much of the corruption occurred years ago, he says, and the rot was revealed in investigations appointed by the government itself. Where there was prima facie evidence of criminal activity in the public service or security services, there had been prosecutions — and some people had even lost their jobs.

"It shows the will to root out corruption. Where there is prima facie evidence that there might be corruption, we have not shirked back from the responsibility of it being properly investigated, with the result that people have been arrested or the minister has been dismissed or even reprimanded!"

He says: "I think that in some countries, political accountability is taken far too far — in the sense that just because something is wrong in a department, the minister involved is almost chopp ing somebody's head off. The reality is that I think there must be a middle route."

"But if a minister did not take necessary actions when it became apparent that steps were necessary, then he, too, must be held accountable. And in each of these cases, the ministers involved definitely took steps immediately after they were advised. It is for this reason that they are now being rounded or did not offer their resignations."

Mr de Klerk also defends his government against charges of leniency in the trial of the Angolan helper. He says that he himself recommended extreme leniency in such cases. The trial allows for people guilty of politically-motivated crimes to confound their sins in private to a board of judges and be given absolution.

Mr de Klerk justifies the legislation on the basis that the release of some of these cases is a political action and he, as a political actor, does not have to exercise that power without national revision."

The president rejects suggestions that the main purpose of the new legislation is to "cover" for government people who have perpetrated crimes. "I was not under pressure from the security forces and the police in drafting this legislation. I was giving a blank, faceless reason."

"Why? Then, the secrecy provi- sion is to protect the people. "That would only apply in the case of individuals voluntarily having been co-opted. I think the number of those cases with that number of names were very small."

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AFTER A TOUGH YEAR, PRESIDENT DENIES HE LACKS WILL TO GOVERN

I'm no lame duck — FW

By MIKE ROBERTSON and BRIAN POTTINGER

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, surveying a year of disappointments, this week dismissed suggestions that he lacked the will to govern South Africa and declared: "We are not a lame-duck government."

The 58-year-old president, tireless but still determined, reflected a somber and qualified confidence in the new year in a wide-ranging interview with the Sunday Times.

Despite a year of stalled talks, deepening recession and reports of unhappiness in his own Cabinet, he was still optimistic that constitutional reform, economic recovery and a sharp reduction in violence were all attainable in 1993.

If talks did not yield progress soon, he said, he would be prepared to push ahead with his own initiatives.

Defensive

He would not comment on, but did not rule out, a possibility — favoured by some in his Cabinet — of Parliament adopting a new constitution next year, even if talks with the ANC and others break down.

He was particularly defensive about charges that he had lost the will or capacity to govern.

"We will show that will in the next budget, which is aimed at fundamentally addressing the economic problems which we continue to face," he said.

His message for a buffeted and increasingly disillusioned public was: despite a tough year, there are hopeful economic and political signs that things are on the mend.

The points of hope are:

- After a year of endless delays, the beleaguered public is:

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A PRESIDENT WITH HOPE

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Rothmar
KING SIZE
A PRESIDENT WITH HOPE
Bell Without Stars

Defensive
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THE view from South Africa House is of a bleak and wintry Trafalgar Square, dwarfed by the towering column of Nelson. Rain is lightly drifting down as little groups of children in wellies and coats chase the square’s street-wise pigeons.

On the pavements, the commuters stream along steadfastly, eyes to the ground and faces hidden behind upturned collars and hats. Life in London goes on.

But up in the impressive stone building that will forever remain part of South Africa the mood is distinctly upbeat. Ambassador Kent Durr is preparing to return home for Christmas, his first holiday since he took up his posting in April last year.

From his first-floor office he overlooks the stretch where anti-apartheid demonstrators maintained their protracted campaign throughout the 70s and 80s. Their absence now is the most visible sign that the country is being rehabilitated in the eyes of the world.

Few people will dispute that South Africa is regaining its place on the world stage, but since the release of Nelson Mandela there has been no blaze of glory. It’s happening in a series of small steps.

A particular milestone was South Africa’s rugby return to Twickenham last month, but seen as just as important is the establishment of banking operations in London, air links with the Middle East (facilitated by the embassy) and the impending visit to Cape Town by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Seemingly small things like the country’s high-profile presence alongside former Commonwealth compatriots at services to commemorate the battle of El Alamein show that the country is regaining favour.

As Durr puts it: “South Africa was, in a subtle way, written out of history, but it is now quietly beginning to be written back.”

The ambassador is predictably, most keen to discuss the progress being made, but an urgent message from Pretoria on the Apla attacks necessitates a quick phone call to the Foreign Office.

It brings home the point that a major political upheaval in South Africa has the ability to derail all diplomatic breakthroughs. Three incidents this year have come perilously close to blowing the gains that have been made – the Boipatong killings, the ANC’s withdrawal from CODESA and the Ciskei massacre. But the forward impetus has continued.

The demonstrations outside the embassy after the Boipatong deaths in May were a brief reminder of the bad old days when staff and visitors had to run a permanent gauntlet outside the embassy.

Last month’s revelations of state involvement in violence by Judge Goldstone could easily have become a major issue in Britain, but reassuring given by President de Klerk during a visit to Britain a few days earlier seemed to have blocked the political fall-out.

Indeed, diplomatic relations with British politicians have seldom been better. South Africa has always had close ties with the Conservatives, and the sanctions-blocking Margaret Thatcher in particular. The difference today is the improved relationship with the Labour Party which has adopted a more pragmatic, less judgmental, approach to the South African situation.

During his visit to London last month, Mr de Klerk made a point of calling on new Labour leader John Smith before meet-

**WRITING SA BACK INTO THE HISTORY BOOKS**

ON THE SOUTH

Ambassador Kent D attitudes have come

while newspapers in increasingly reflect the complexity of the situation, the embassy had also worked hard to repose itself.

Socially, too, Durr has a distinct advantage over his predecessors who were treated as diplomatic lepers. Political reforms in South Africa have

RIGHT ROYAL MEETING... Kent Durr with Princess Margaret
African Embassy Balcony: Kent Durr, who says visible barriers fell first, and now invisible social barriers are going

PETER MALHERBE how changes in a series of small steps rather than a blaze of glory

opened doors to him that remained firmly closed during the apartheid years.

He acknowledges as much: "The visible barriers are gone. Now many of the invisible social barriers are going."

A gregarious figure, he has lost no time in throwing himself into the social whirl and is a regular in the highest social and business circles in the city.

During the week of the rugby Test, when hordes of South Africans converged on London, the Durrss hosted up to three functions a day for up to 500 people a time.

Durr and his wife, Sury, have met both the Princess of Wales and Princess Margaret at gala functions. Weekends at royal residences with lesser royals are discreetly alluded to.

Durr, a former cabinet minister, is particularly keen to rebuff the image that the embassy serves only the National Party and says relations with the ANC and IFP offices in London are good.

"We are civil servants and serve all South Africans and all political parties," he maintains.

Black South Africans may not yet feel entirely at home with the Pierced-adorned banquet halls, but over the past year steps have been taken to make the embassy more accessible to interested Britons and the estimated 40,000 South Africans in London at any one time.

The ground-floor reading room and library, closed to the public since 1974, has been reopened and refurbished with African art in places of prominence.

Contres have also been created where visiting businessmen have access to telephones, faxes and secretarial assistance and the embassy handles an average of 70 trade inquiries every day.

South Africa's diplomatic presence is small in a city of 180 embassies and 20,000 diplomats, but there are strong historical and business ties between the two countries.

The embrace being accorded by the business community is slowly being echoed in other sectors. For the first time in three decades, the South African aeronautics industry was represented at Farnborough this year.

On a cultural level, there have been strong moves towards the reintegration of the countries' entertainment industries.

The involvement of the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (Bafta) in a South Africa Week film festival earlier this year is seen as a hopeful sign that Equity, a Bafta affiliate, is likely to vote to end the cultural boycott at its general meeting next year. Significantly, the festival was opened by Cry Freedom producer and arch anti-apartheid activist Richard Attenborough.

Links with the influential Church of England are growing, and Dr George Carey's visit to South Africa for the International Anglican Conference in Cape Town next month is likely to boost relations further.
The coming year can only be for the better

As the year draws wearily to its end, the only energy that South Africa can muster, it seems, is for self-destructive squabbling and muttering continue unabated but, for the rest, the country is exhausted, emotionally and intellectually.

Even the government looks dispirited. One of the country's most prominent businessmen remarked as he left a meeting: "They should hand over to Cyril Ramaphosa. After all, the first requirement of government is the will to govern."

That may be unfair — and the charge is hotly denied by President de Klerk — but public perceptions have their own momentum, and since the referendum the momentum has been downward: Cogsa II, the appallingly bungled release of prisoners that put criminals by the thousands back on the streets, the revelations of the extent of Nationalist corruption, the one-sided Record of Understanding which led to the forced passage of a calamitous indemnity law, the collapse of key cabinet ministers, the dogged refusal of anybody in government to be accountable for mistakes, neglect or misdeeds... it is a depressing record. As the lady said, annus horribilis.

The coming year must be better, if only because it could hardly be worse, but it is plain to everybody that 1993 will be a hinge of history: 50 years of white hegemony is coming to an end.

The only analogy that comes to mind is the ending, after nearly four centuries, of Roman rule over Britain.

This is not, I hasten to say, an apocalyptic comment, or not necessarily so. It all depends on how the transition is handled, and how well we lay the foundations for a stable and prosperous democracy. Only if the transition slips into violence, or if the constitution of the new state is deeply flawed, will we face the apocalypse.

So far, despite the dreadful record of the past year, the omens are not all bad. The ANC talks of an election late next year, but, if I read between the lines of President de Klerk's timetable, that election is more likely to come early in 1994. Either way, we have about a year to get used to the idea of majority rule.

In 1984 I worked briefly for an American civil rights organisation in Mississippi, and on the strength of that experience I believe that Americans have much heavier weather of much lesser changes.

But lately it has seemed to me that people were reaching the limits of adaptability. The instinct of most people, of all bureaucrats, is to do today what they did yesterday; our entire world is being refashioned, and we worry about the Banana Board! Or Peter Kirsten's run-out. Or the ingredients for the Christmas cake.

Perhaps it's courage, more likely it's escapism. People are happy to berate Nelson Mandela for buying a house in Houghton — it's quite a modest house, actually, as northern Johannesburg houses go — because they cannot imagine him moving into the State President's official residence in a year or so.

The Conservatives demand weapons and money for the SADF, never imagining that any SADF will soon be under the control of an ANC government, or that Chris Hani will be Minister of Defence. Right-wingers, including some judicial officers, fight against human rights legislation and practice because they do not see that they, not the black majority, will soon be calling for the protection of a culture of rights.

President de Klerk does not show his hand, or draw a bottom line, and the ANC simply waits, confident that spreading anxiety, economic decay, ungovernability will generate pressure for compromise.

A long-suffering black population languishes in misery and violence, and a bewildered white population subsides into apathy. Thus 1992, annus horribilis, draws to an end.

What, then, of 1993? Watch the Budget, which is the only true guide to the priorities of government, and see whether it continues to serve the appetites of the mandarins, or the needs of the people.

The Budget cannot predict success or failure, but it can tell us, with reasonable certainty, whether the Nationalists still have the will to govern, and the patience to negotiate, and the resolve to create a democracy, or whether they might as well hand the whole thing over to Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ken Owen
Buthelezi sticks to plan

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that federalism was the only form of government strong enough to secure lasting democracy in South Africa. (C07.7)

He said he was confident that the IPP's plan for a federal KwaZulu-Natal would be supported by all people in Natal and KwaZulu.
Strains show in Cabinet
A Cure for All Ills

Interim Gov't not

by Geronimo Mokwe

Publicity Secretary, APO

Cmnd 13/12/72

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Inkatha move threatens to block general election

WITH South Africa's first free elections likely to take place around the end of next year, the constitutional debate has opened up on two new and unexpected fronts.

Both issues could scuttle the elections before they happen.

One was the announcement last week of chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's proposed constitution for KwaZulu/Natal. The other was the implied proposal that the new SA become a federation of more-or-less independent, regional states bound together, only loosely, by a central government.

Buthelezi's bombshell, plus his proposal that his suggested federal constitution be put to a referendum in Natal/KwaZulu, was a side-stepping of all constitutional forums established so far.

This week Buthelezi, speaking at the Pretoria City Hall, said his plan is a step further when he formally rejected the agreement reached at Codesa to leave drawing up of the new constitution for a unitary state to a state elected constitutional assembly.

Arguing strongly for regional self-determination, Buthelezi went on to call on all South Africans to consider his constitutional proposal as a possible blueprint for the new SA.

Buthelezi also rejected the Record of Understanding concluded in late September between the government which promised the way for an ANC-government working alliance and a government of national unity which would play the major role in the transition phase.

In this week Buthelezi and his allies in the Coordinated South Africa group (CSAG) - white right-wingers aligned with homeland leaders including Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Chief Oupa Gqozo - met in Pretoria.

While disagreeing on the theoretical relationship between national and central government, they joined Buthelezi in his rejection of the new ANC-government power sharing proposal and his dismissal of Codesa as a negotiating forum.

The new dispensation, they said, would have to be negotiated by multi-party talks, but they were adamant that there would not take place under the auspices of Codesa.

Apart from the dominance of the ANC and the government in Codesa, what particularly concerns the CSAG members, many of whom were former leaders of the apartheid forces, is the agreement, contained in Codesa's founding Declaration of Intent, that all participants commit themselves to seeking solutions within a unitary SA.

Bop refused to endorse this clause asserting that it was intended to be a "consideration of states".

Buthelezi's proposals revive initiatives launched during the late 1980s under Kwazulu/Natal in which the idea was first explored of merging Natal and KwaZulu.

Such initiatives - which were rejected out of hand by the PW Botha government - represented a joint drive by the Kwazulu government and wealthy Natal businessmen towards the same kind of federal system Buthelezi proposes today.

That informal alliance still exists with much of Inkatha's funding still coming from many of the same businessmen.

The IsiZulu backers continue to play key - and heavily pro-Inkatha - roles in the National Peace Accord structures.

Similar alliances between white conservatives and black homeland leaders have been emerging in both Bop and Ciskei.

Even before Ciskei emerged representatives of the Bop government and white farmers, the Conservative Party and later the Afrikaner Volksfront have been engaged in discussions aimed at creating a single regional political power.

Such a region would, in their view, function as a largely independent and self-determining member of a confederation of SA states. It is known that Bop has been working on its own constitutional proposals - which are likely to reject the idea of a central election commission assembly.

Though such moves have not yet been taken up in the Ciskei/Border region, it is believed that secret agents of the BAFD, who until this month were basically running the show in Ciskei, have developed a similar regional and federal arrangement based on the government's allocated development regions.

Gqozo and the AWB have also explored the possibility of forming an alliance.

The big question is the one in which a number of federal initiatives have been launched partly in order to challenge Ciskei as the main negotiating forum, and to propose a strongly federal alternative to the unitary state which the ANC wants to create.

Ironically, it was the De Klerk government which first became the driving force behind the federal moves, moves which are now threatening De Klerk's new power sharing arrangement with the ANC.

On the same day that Gqozo's troops, under the command of De Klerk's soldiers, moved down onto ANC protesters at Soweto killing many, De Klerk was hosting a conference of political groupings committed to federal options and exploring the possibility of constituting them as a formal alliance.

Though the Record of Understanding, which De Klerk was pressured into signing in the aftermath of the Bophuthatswana massacre, resulted in rifts between his own party and his federal allies, the options are far from rejected.

Even before Bophuthatswana, and with Buthelezi still working closely with De Klerk, it was evident that Inkatha had altered its strategy and that it had ceased trying to project itself as a national power player.

Harassing to its power base in Natal (with the Transvaal violence dramatically too), the party set about consolidating its regional influence in Natal. Part of this process has involved the handling over of SAP police stations in the major townships outside Natal cities to the KwaZulu cops, a process which is now reaching completion.

This has led to increased repression of ANC political activity and can be expected to impact significantly on any popular poll which may be held in the territory - despite Inkatha's relatively small support base even in Natal.

Which of the two - the federal or the power sharing option - the government will finally pursue, remains to be seen.

While for the Nats the idea of a power sharing alliance with the ANC remains more attractive, the ANC may well return to some version of the federal ideal.
US's first black woman senator on visit to SA

Pretoria — The first black woman to be elected to the US senate, Carol Moseley Braun, arrived in SA yesterday with her SA-born campaign manager Kagiso Matthews. Although she is on vacation, the Illinois senator will call on a variety of SA political players. She met Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday and will meet ANC leaders today.

She is expected to visit a variety of SA cities including Durban, where Matthews' father Joe practises law. Matthews' father is a former Soweto editor and his grandfather, ZK Matthews, is reputed to have assisted in writing the Freedom Charter.

Braun was active in pressing for sanctions against SA firms while a local politician in Chicago and is expected to take a special interest in US-Africa policy. She arrived in SA via Nigeria and other African countries. 15/12/92.

Braun left a stormy trail behind her in the US following newspaper reports that Matthews made improper sexual advances to campaign staff, although lawyers she retained to investigate the charges found no evidence that the law had been violated.

Despite the reports, there are also rumours Braun intends to marry the 35-year-old Matthews.
Kwame Nkrumah cannot go it alone...
SA to aid Mozambique

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

South Africa is to participate in the United Nations-sponsored peace process in Mozambique and will offer technical aid in reconstructing its war-ravaged economy.

South Africa's ambassador to Italy, Glenn Babb, is to announce details of the aid offer at an international donors' conference in Rome, which starts today.

The World Bank announced on Friday that international donors had promised Mozambique US$766 million (about R2.3 billion).

Department of Foreign Affairs sources said South Africa would also serve on the multi-national commission which will re-integrate the demobilised military forces of the Frelimo government and Renamo.

However, the sources said South Africa would not contribute troops to the UN peacekeeping force of between 7,000 and 8,000, to be sent to Mozambique to monitor the transition to a multiparty democracy.

The Foreign Affairs sources would not disclose the amount the SA Government would spend in aid to Mozambique, but emphasised it would be largely technical rather than financial.

The offer would include drilling for and purifying of water, providing agricultural know-how, manpower training and technical expertise in holding elections.
DURBAN. — The National Party in Natal is firmly behind President FW de Klerk, said provincial leader Mr George Bartlett.

Mr Bartlett, the Mineral and Energy Affairs, was reacting to reports that some NP members in Natal were concerned at the rift between the NP and IFP and were dissatisfied with how Mr De Klerk handled it.

He also said the government's relationship with the IFP was "much better" after a meeting between Mr De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week.

Mr Bartlett said the NP in Natal would meet the IFP next month for thorough discussions on Chief Buthelezi's regional constitutional proposals and "try to reach some consensus on this'.'

"He admitted that the signing of the Record of Understanding had created problems in the NP's relationship with Chief Buthelezi. But he said Friday's meeting between Mr De Klerk and the IFP leader — who attended as a member of the Concerned South Africans Group — "went a long way to eliminate these problems."
ANC put end to DP meeting

By BARRY STEEKE
Political Staff

ANC supporters broke up a Democratic Party meeting in Khayelitsha last night, the DP said.

Two DP MPs, Mr Jasper Walsh (Pinelands) and Mr Robin Carlisle (Wynberg), received minor injuries and other DP members were assaulted.

The police arrived at the end of the meeting but their offer of assistance was declined, Mr Walsh said.

Mr Walsh, the DP's Western Cape chairman, said in a statement last night that a member of the ANC's regional executive, Ms Nomatyla Hangana, the chairman of the Khayelitsha Civic Association, who he could not name, and members of the South African National Civic Association broke up the meeting attended by about 100 people.

He and Mr Carlisle were hit by flying chairs.

ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyer said the ANC had been aware of plans to disrupt the meeting and had sent Ms Hangana, with other ANC members, to try to control proceedings.

He condemned the behaviour of some people in not allowing others to speak.
The meaning of the vote and its implications for the electorate and parties should be explained to the people. The vote should be one of the tools that inform citizens about the political system and the role they play in it.

In this context, the role of the Senate as a check on the executive branch is crucial. The Senate, being less prone to public opinion, should perform its duties impartially and objectively. This ensures that the government is held accountable to the people and that decisions are made in the best interest of the country.

The Senate's role in the impeachment process is also important. It is the only branch of government that has the power to impeach the President. This power is a vital safeguard against abuse of power and ensures that the government remains responsive to the will of the people.

In summary, the Senate's role in the political system is significant. It serves as a check on the executive branch, ensuring that the government remains accountable to the people. The role of the Senate is crucial in maintaining a healthy and democratic political system.
Hopes for elections for transitional govt

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Codesa participants in the Patriotic Front (PF) yesterday reiterated the ANC's viewpoint that elections for a transitional government were attainable before the end of next year.

The PF meeting hosted in Johannesburg by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said such a timescale for elections would give direction and certainty to the negotiations process.

President de Klerk announced earlier that the Government envisaged elections to be held in March or April 1994.

It agreed that multilateral discussions should resume speedily and that Codesa should be restructured to include groups who boycotted the negotiating forum this year.

The group committed themselves to agreements reached at Codesa reiterating a decision taken at the recent Government/ANC "bosberaad".

Yesterday's talks were attended by the Inyandza National Movement, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the SACP, the United People's Front, the Labour Party, the Intando Ye-sizwe Party, and the Transkei and Venda governments.

A statement issued after the meeting said it received a briefing on the Government/ANC "bosberaad" and last Friday's meeting of the Front Line states in Harare.

The PF meeting resolved that multilateral talks should proceed as soon as possible, even if these groups, which have been boycotting Codesa, refused to join the negotiating forum.
political change - survey

White public services fear

NEWS

Additional text not visible due to image cropping.
Freedom from Passion of Men

A Bill of Rights in SA must have the authority of people, says Kader Asmal

OPINION
Into 1993 – with a new realism

A 6 Tiiss column signs out for the holiday season, it does so with the bracing awareness that 1993 is going to be the big one for South Africa.

This year in which the great transition from apartheid to democracy has to take place, otherwise it may never take place at all.

The time frame has become clear: another showdown between the Government and the African National Congress later in January, Caucus in February to reach broad agreement among all parties, the installation of a multi-party Transitional Executive Council by May to run the country and level the ground for our first one-person-one-vote election; then the election itself before the end of the year.

That will provide a Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution. The assembly will also serve as an Interim Parliament, from which an Interim Executive will be drawn to rule until this work is done.

Then, some time in 1994, we will have a new constitution, a new government and a new future. A future which will be another country.

But 1993 will be the critical year of transition. If the vital agreements are not reached then, the moment will be lost and the transition may not take place.

Another year of delay, of slim pickings as we had in 1992, this country will be doomed, a victim of runaway destabilisation which started as clever political gamesmanship but slipped out of control and ended up as another Angola.

But I don’t think it will go that way. The saving grace of South Africa is that none of us can leave in large numbers like the Portuguese did, particularly in a time of global recession when there are no jobs going anywhere. Like being hanged in the morning, that concentrates the mind, for we are all stuck with the fate of this land.

This is why our transition is crisis-driven. Everyone plays politics until it brings us to the brink, when our leaders stare into the abyss they step back and face reality again. So we stagger forward, step by crisis-driven step, towards the new South Africa.

The year now closing has brought us to that brink, which is why we have a new sense of realism. One can count the positive signs. First among them is the recognition by the Government that instead of trying to disrupt and defeat the ANC it must work with it.

May a transition like this can succeed only if the major constituencies are jointly committed to it. Since the National Party controls more than 65 percent of the white constituency and the ANC more than 65 percent of the black constituency, no deal can work that excludes either.

Most of the setbacks of 1992 stemmed from the Government’s failure to realise this truth. Carried away by the big “yes” vote in the Khubeka referendum, National Party strategists became intoxicated with the idea that perhaps the transition to democracy wouldn’t mean having to give up power after all.

A drift of destabilisation for the ANC and the building of an ethnic alliance like Dire Dodge’s DTA in Ramville, and they might have won the election.

So began the delaying tactics that led to the breakdown of Coega 2. Gain time to build the alliance, while letting the ANC twist in the wind and Nelson Mandela’s heroic image fade as it launches into the disillusionment. That was the strategic thinking.

But it has backfired, while the delay has harmed the ANC it has hurt the Government’s image, which has wrecked confidence and set back the economy, which has destabilised the white constituency as well as the black. Disillusionment has been with the process itself, not just with the ANC.

The appalling massacre, and the Government’s failure to bring the perpetrators to justice, have damaged President de Klerk’s image abroad, while the exposure of wholesale corruption has damaged it at home.

Over the year, De Klerk’s opinion poll ratings have fallen across the board while Mandela’s have continued to rise in the black community. The Nat-led alliance has failed to materialise, and some of the prospective allies have proved an embarrassment.

How the stalling has given way to a sense of urgency. The Government has woken up to the fact that the country is falling apart, taking its own interests down with it, and that the only way to stop the rot is to drive the centre forward fast. That means getting together with the other major partners.

Meanwhile, the national crisis has brought the ANC leadership to a realisation that if, too, cannot govern alone — at least not initially. Power resides not only in the political kingdom as KwaMzukhulu imagined but in several other sectors as well: in the civil service, in the armed forces, and with the drivers of this land.

There must be a relationship between these nodes of power. The politicians cannot rule regardless of the others. Deals must be struck, understandings reached. The ANC, thanks largely to an understanding of the negotiations process acquired during the years of shop-floor bargaining by the black union movement, has recognised this and accepted the need to make concessions.

And so, out of the ruins of a disasterous 1992, we find ourselves awaiting a hopeful 1993.

There are still dangers ahead. A recession-minded Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is trying to set himself up with a conservative white support as the Mozamban of South Africa. There is the frightening spectre of our military-security underworld operating beyond the fringes of Government control, of Apla and renegade members of Umkhonto we Sizwe operating beyond the control of their respective political leaderships.

But as these crises loom they will hopefully spur the major players to move even faster down the road to agreement, until an election finally sorts out the dangerous pretenders from those with genuine support.

So let’s optimise the darker predictions. I therefore take my holiday in a spirit of optimism and wish you all a peaceful Christmas and a truly historic New Year.

Allister Sparks
Parties in row over DP meeting

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE violent break-up of the Democratic Party's public meeting in Khayelitsha yesterday developed into a row about the lack of political tolerance and who should bear the blame.

ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak withdrew his earlier statement that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had claimed responsibility.

The PAC denied any involvement.

PAC regional secretary Mr Butembo Langa accused the ANC of trying to shift the blame and added: "We don't have problems with political organisations organising meetings in the townships. "If the DP had a constituency in that area, it would have protected the meeting itself."

Dr Boesak condemned the disruption of the meeting and said political organisations had a right to propagate their own policies and programmes and "should be allowed to do so — without interference — when and where they please".

ANC assistant secretary in the Western Cape Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the people who came to disrupt the meeting were not from the ANC and "we don't know who they were".

DP youth chairman Mr Ryan Coetzee said the party had been organising in the Western Cape townships for five months with increasing success but it had to operate underground at the request of its members and the events on Monday night justified their fears.
PAC calls on UN to take active role

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday called on United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send a high-powered delegation to South Africa to convene and chair a new negotiations forum.

Meanwhile, senior PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo has admitted the organisation’s military wing carried out two recent attacks in the Eastern Cape in which five whites were killed.

In an interview Mr Mlambo said attacks by the Azanian People’s Liberation Army were carried out in furtherance of the political objectives of the PAC.

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said Dr Boutros-Ghali should also increase the UN Observer Mission’s mandate in South Africa to enable monitors to take measures to prevent violence.

Mr Seroke was reacting to the head of the UN mission in South Africa Ms Angela King’s statement that they could not accept the PAC’s invitation to visit areas in the Transkei where Apla bases are alleged to exist because they are in South Africa to observe and not investigate. — Sapa
ET promises a fight to the death

Johannesburg.— AWB leader Mr Eugène Terre'Blanche yesterday said the time was right to renew the Day of the Vow and called on supporters to recommit themselves to "fight to death in the coming war."

Meanwhile Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told a rally of about 250 in Vereeniging that Afrikaners had no choice but to prepare themselves against threats made by the Azanian People's Liberation Army and 'umkhonto weSizwe.'

Addressing a Day of the Vow rally in Kempton Park on the East Rand, Mr Terre'Blanche accused President F W de Klerk of treason and added if the AWB won the "imminent revolution" it would put Mr De Klerk on trial.

Mr De Klerk was committing treason by dealing with the ANC and its armed wing and the Pan-Africanist Congress and its military wing, 'Apl.',

Mr Terre'Blanche led a parade of about 700 uniformed AWB members, many of them armed, into Kempton Park's Barnard Stadium.

Dr Treurnicht said the Afrikaners were a threatened people, surrounded by revolutionaries, agents of communism and forces of evil. — Sapa
ANC hypocritical and racist, says DP

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party (DP) reaction to the disruption of a meeting in Khayelitsha outside Cape Town on Monday night continued yesterday, with an MP accusing the ANC of hypocrisy and racism.

The DP’s Ken Andrew was reacting to ANC statements, first blaming the Pan Africanist Congress for the disruption, then apologising to the PAC and saying political organisations had the right to propagate their own policies.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the DP had been “outrageous in its insensitivity” when it claimed not to have been involved in violence.

Andrew yesterday alleged that ANC office-bearers and supporters had broken up the meeting, during which chairs were reportedly hurled at two DP MPs.

Although Boesak had said the DP had the right to speak, he “immediately gave reasons why the DP should not hold meet-

ings in Khayelitsha”.

Andrew said Nomathyana Hangana, who had been at the meeting, “has the gall to make the racist suggestion that the DP should ‘first settle the white areas’”.

“Perhaps she is sorry the Improper Political Interference Act was repealed so that political parties are not required by law to be racially exclusive,” Boesak said. Hangana attended the meeting to try to ensure order after hearing rumours that the gathering would be disrupted.

Andrew said Boesak was hypocritical in warning the DP “of the deep hostility towards political parties operating within the tricameral Parliamentary system while the ANC itself is happy to have tricameral MPs, including two who are on Boesak’s own ANC regional executive”.

The MP said the ANC would be judged in the end by “the actions of its members and supporters — and by the disciplinary steps taken by its officer-bearers against those who violate democratic principles as happened in Khayelitsha on Monday night”. — Sapa.
PF says elections possible in 1993

C

ODESA PARTICIPANTS in the Patriotic Front (PF) on Tuesday reiterated the ANC viewpoint that elections for a transitional government were attainable before the end of next year.

The PF meeting, hosted in Johannesburg by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said such a time scale for elections would give direction and certainty to the negotiations process.

President FW de Klerk announced earlier that the Government envisaged elections to be held in March or April 1994.

It agreed that multiparty discussions should resume speedily and that Codesa should be restructured to include groups who boycotted the negotiating forum earlier this year.

The group committed itself to agreements reached at Codesa, rezoning a decision taken at the recent Government-ANC "bosberaad".

Yesterday's talks were attended by the Inyandla National Movement, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the SACP, the United People's Front, the Labour Party, the Intando Yesizwe Party, and the Transkei and Venda govern-
CPAC offers a complete range of solutions for your needs. CPAC provides a comprehensive suite of services tailored to meet the specific requirements of your organization. Whether you require strategic planning, operational support, or specialized training, CPAC is here to help. Our team of experienced professionals is dedicated to providing exceptional service and delivering results that exceed your expectations. Contact us today to learn more about how CPAC can assist you in achieving your goals.
SA Judge may head Transkei’s Apartheid inquiry

The recently appointed judge to head South Africa's first post-apartheid commission of inquiry, Judge F. Theron, has said he is prepared to tackle the issue of apartheid with a fair and impartial approach. He noted that the commission would not be a rubber stamp for the government but would be independent in its investigations.

DP calls for urgent talks with ANC

The Democratic Party has called for urgent talks with the African National Congress (ANC) to address the ongoing political crisis in South Africa. The DP has said that the ANC must show greater transparency and accountability in its decision-making processes.

The ANC government has been under pressure to address issues such as corruption and economic policy, which have contributed to the country's economic challenges.

DP's call has been met with mixed reactions from the political landscape, with some parties expressing support and others calling for a more comprehensive approach to the crisis.
Don't forget Afrikaners - CP

ANY future constitutional dispensation in South Africa that ignored the rights and freedoms of the Afrikaner people was doomed to failure, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Addressing a Day of the Vow rally at Vereeniging the CP leader said he rejected any foreign domination and the CP had to be prepared to guarantee its own safety and survival. "What we are saying today is not really new. We are simply repeating the words of our forefathers from the time of the Great Trek," Treurnicht said. - Sapa. 17/12/92
PAC warns of use of arms

JANE FURSE (Lebowa)

The Pan Africanist Congress took a hardline stand yesterday against Government/ANC plans to install an interim government, and said it did not rule out the use of arms against such plans.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mphahlele Mogale Maphahlele, addressing a 300-strong PAC rally, said the PAC would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year and that the organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the Government to agree on the installation such a government."

Maphahlele said the Government was trying to talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced the Azanian People's Liberation Army's armed activities against whites.

"They (the Government) have sent a message to us saying they want talks with us before Christmas. We want a constituent assembly and we shall fight the regime while on the other hand talking to them.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up," he said.

Maphahlele lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela and South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, saying they had joined white liberals in condemning Apla's King William's Town attack.

Mozambican President Joaquin Chissano had declared his support for the PAC while other countries were supporting the PAC privately because they feared reprisals from the US, which had established a military base in Botswana to monitor PAC activities, Maphahlele claimed.

— Sapa.

• Moseneke resigns
PAC may take up arms to thwart interim government

JANE FURSE (Lebowa).—The Pan Africanist Congress has taken a hardline stand against government-ANC plans to install an interim government.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mr Mogale Mphahlele, addressing a 300-strong PAC rally here, said the PAC would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year.

He said the PAC “does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the government to agree on the installation of such a government”.

According to Mr Mphahlele the government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced Aplas armed activities against whites.

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Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano had declared his support for the PAC while other countries were supporting the PAC privately because they feared reprisals from the United States “which had established a military base in Botswana to monitor PAC activities”, Mr Mphahlele claimed. — Sapa.

● More political reports, page 5.
ANC disrupts DP meeting

THE Western Cape branch of the African National Congress yesterday condemned the disruption of the Democratic Party meeting in Khayelitsha on Monday.

ANC regional chairman the Reverend Allan Boesak said political organisations had a right "to propagate their own policies and programmes and should be allowed to do so - without interference - when and where they please."

Some DP officials, including Mr Robin Carlisle, were slightly injured when a group of ANC people broke up their meeting.

Allan Boesak offers to meet DP to plan chaos-free meetings:

The DP said senior ANC regional officials, including Ms Nomityala Hlangana, were part of the group...

But Boesak denied this, saying Hlangana and her friends "had worked actively to keep the meeting under control".

He said his organisation was willing to meet with the DP and discuss ways of ensuring that political parties could hold meetings without disruptions.

A special friendship. A special story.
A special kind of pleasure.
with South Africa closed down

Mandela and De Klerk invited to the United States

WASHINGTON - President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are both expected to attend the inauguration next month of Mr Bill Clinton as President of the United States.

Members of the new Congressional Black Caucus and other influential blacks in the Democratic Party have especially asked that Mandela be included in the official guest list and sources in the Clinton team say the tricky protocol of doing so is now being discussed.

Normally invitations are directed to the heads of state of countries with

SA leaders are invited to Clinton's inauguration:

which the US has diplomatic relations, but black members of the Congress - supported, they say, by prominent Democrats close to Clinton - have argued that because of "special and unique circumstances" both South African leaders should be in Washington on January 20.

It is not known what the South African Cabinet's response would be to the two invitations but black members of Congress say they have reason to believe that De Klerk will not be offended.

They add that their wish to have Mandela present is not intended as a slight and that they stand ready to give De Klerk a friendly welcome.
PAC slams ANC/NP plans

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday took a hardline stand against Government/African National Congress plans to install an interim government, and the PAC did not rule out the use of arms against such plans.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mr Mogale Maphahlele, addressing a crowd of 300 at a PAC rally at Jane Furse in Lebowa, said his organisation would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year and the organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the Government to agree on the installation such a government",

Maphahlele said.

According to Maphahlele the Government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced the Azanian People's Liberation Army's armed activities against whites.

"They (the Government) have sent a message to us saying they want talks with us before Christmas. We want a constituent assembly and we shall fight the regime while on the other hand talking to them.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up," he said.

Maphahlele lashed out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani, saying they had joined white liberals in condemning the Apla attack in King William's Town.

Meanwhile, Apla's Transkei "field political commissar" Vuma Nkikina warned yesterday that a hot pursuit raid into Transkei by the South Africa would trigger widespread retaliation by Apla forces. He also warned Transkeians to be on the alert and to prepare themselves to ward off blows from the "enemy" when it struck. - Sapa.
Solidarity the only way
to gain real freedom

The chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), Mr Mosibudi Mangena, analyses the state of the struggle for liberation:

While federalism as a concept is fairly neutral, in the context of our country it can only bring more problems, complications and conflict.

Mosibudi Mangena: black people live in fear of one another.

The way federalism is understood today means one thing only: division and separation of the people of South Africa into artificially created communities.

The question is not whether we should divide the country into separate states, but how we should go about it.

It is in the interest of all South Africans to find a way to live together in peace and harmony, to build a united and prosperous society.

The people of South Africa have the right to choose their leaders and determine their own future.

The struggle for freedom is not over yet. We must continue to fight for a better future for all South Africans.
DP shuns ANC march after row

THE Democratic Party yesterday declined to take part in an ANC-led peace march from Guguletu to Athlone stadium where "Heroes Day" celebrations were held.

The DP and the ANC are embroiled in a row over Monday night's disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha.

Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde was also invited to the peace march, but did not attend due to illness.

Yesterday's march, which was followed by a soccer match and cultural events, was attended by about 1000 people.

DP regional secretary Mr Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote a letter to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting and calling for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said relations between the two organisations would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to the DP demands and the "undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption", he said.

He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the townships.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the DP had been "outrageous in its insensitivity" when it claimed not to have been involved in violence.

Mr Andrew said the DP was experiencing "very rapid and very significant" growth in the coloured areas of the Western Cape, where it now had 40 odd branches.

Membership in the black areas was "trickling in" but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said.

Meanwhile the Western Cape region of the ANC expressed the hope that democracy would heal the wounds and unite all South Africans in 1993.

In a statement, the ANC thanked the people of Cape Town for their support and sacrifices during 1992, and expressed the hope that 1993 would yield a true and lasting democracy.

The ANC said those who died in the struggle against apartheid must be honoured, "but while we salute our fallen heroes, we do so in a spirit of reconciliation - in the hope that democracy will heal the wounds and unite all South Africans in 1993".

- Staff Reporter, Sapa
The Day of the Vow ‘must be scrapped’

THERE is speculation in political circles that the Day of the Vow, which South Africans marked as a public holiday yesterday, may disappear in a new political dispensation.

The public holiday has been criticised for being “sectarian” and not in the spirit of the “new South Africa”.

Formerly known as Dingaan’s Day, it has been observed on December 16 every year as a national day of dedication to honour the vow made by the Voortrekkers during the week before the decisive battle at Blood River in Natal on December 16, 1838.

The covenant sworn was that if the Almighty granted a victory to the Voortrekkers, they would every year thereafter observe the day as a Sabbath and a day of thanksgiving, and would build a church to the glory of God as a memorial.

At first the covenant was observed only in family circles. In the days of “granite apartheid”, National Party politicians used Day of the Covenant commemorations to whip up racial feelings.

But in recent years these services have become much more conciliatory.

A spokesman for the ANC, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, said yesterday that the vow was taken in 1838 so that the Afrikaners could “annihilate” their fellow countrymen.

Insofar as the holiday represented the wish of one group to conquer another, it should be scrapped.

Mr Macozoma said he did not believe the Day of the Vow should be replaced by any other public holiday. “We have too many public holidays in this country”, he remarked.

Nonetheless the ANC celebrated “Heroes’ Day” yesterday to honour the founding of uMkhonto weSizwe and those killed in the struggle against apartheid.

Dr Dennis Madide, a member of the central committee of the IFP said there was no justification for the retention of the Day of the Vow. The day was marred by “too may bad feelings”, he said.

Dr Madide suggested the establishment instead of Heroes’ Day on which different groups could have their own commemorations.

National Party information officer Mr Piet Coetzee said the day would always be a special day for Afrikaans-speaking people or at least for those “with a historical link to it”.

But he said it might become a national peace day with a “wider meaning” for the South African community. — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent
Dawn of hope, Mandela's

EXCLUSIVE
Keep talking, King urges SA

Observers welcome talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Commonwealth observers are pleased South Africans accept that the political process in the country has to proceed irrespective of whether violence has subsided. To expect the resumption of multiparty negotiations to depend on a reduction in violence is unrealistic, however desirable, Mr Austin Amisah of Ghana told a press conference here yesterday.

"A government accepted by all the peoples of South Africa may be in a better position to deal effectively with the violence than a government which is not," he said.

Mr Amisah, the chairman of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, was reporting on behalf of the 12-member Comsaa delegation which has been in the country for the past two months. — Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — SA political leaders and businessmen were unaware of the extent of the negative effects of violence and instability on foreign investment, a top UN official said here yesterday.

UN observer mission leader Ms Angela King said yesterday political rivalry, electioneering and the tendency for leaders to abandon forums where there was disagreement were obstacles to negotiations.

Ms King said recent efforts by Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys to explain the poor state of the economy to political parties were going some way to addressing the problem, but South Africa remained unattractive to foreign investors.

"I don't think that with the degree and levels of violence and instability South Africa would be a good investment option.

"It would be difficult for us as a community to invest in the country fully lift sanctions. It was feared earlier this year that the country was out of control and violence was escalating."

No party or group of parties should try to stall the negotiation process or hold it hostage.

"In KwaZulu and the Witwatersrand there is a tendency for certain parties, if they can't come to agreement, to leave forums rather than sit down.

"Our job is to be of nuisance value. We just have to make sure that everybody keeps talking."

There appeared to be an organised force behind much of South Africa's violence, but there was insufficient evidence to label that a third force, she said.

"It does seem that there is an element of engineering in what happens. The train violence in the Witwatersrand area, for example, is not the ANC and Inkatha, it is random killings.

"I am convinced that everybody wants peace and that if they talk about armed conflict or the use of force, this is the very last resort. But they don't always have mechanisms, or want to accept mechanisms that lead to a meeting of the minds or a greater understanding," she said.

"We have been pressuring government to put out a proclamation prohibiting the carrying of weapons. They have to do something very quickly about it, because the guns keep on coming in across the border and they are very cheap."
distinction between political violence and other types is not always clear. The figures are probably better indicators of trends than absolute levels of conflict.

As the Legal Resources Centre’s Howard Varney says, the sad irony is that more people are dying now than in the dark days of the State of Emergency.

His pessimism at the outlook for next year should perhaps be counterbalanced by the renewed optimism on the negotiations front.

**NEGOTIATIONS**

**New year wishes**

Despite complications thrown into the negotiations brew by the strong federal push of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his group of “concerned South Africans” (Cosag), as well as the PAC’s ambivalence about violence, government is “convinced the timescales and objectives it has proposed for 1993 are attainable.” That’s according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The timetable for elections is not hard and fast, though there is agreement, notably with the ANC, on the steps to be followed towards:

- A multilateral negotiating forum;
- The contents of the transitional constitution;
- The principles of a constitution; and
- Implementation of the transitional executive council.

This programme follows the outline given by President FW de Klerk last month, when he spoke of an election not later than March or April 1994. The date could be brought forward depending on how fast the process moves.

In his last media briefing for the year (“unless something dramatic happens over the next weeks, which we are not predicting”), Meyer told journalists that government had reached this optimistic conclusion as a result of continuous contact with all significant political groups in the country.

“In spite of differences regarding the process and the contents of constitutional development, notable common factors can be identified across the political spectrum.”

While the process had been delayed, Meyer said, the interaction among parties and the influence on them of external factors such as the economy and violence “has led to a more pragmatic attitude in most parties.”

He gave as examples the “necessity” for strong regional government, a growing economy, power-sharing and constitutional continuity.

He added that the “nature and style” of discussions had changed during the year. This applied especially to the depth of discussions and their seriousness and intensity.

In the new year, government intends doing everything in its power to get all parties together as soon as possible in one conference. Resumption of multilateral negotiations — in whatever form — had to be the next step. He appealed for the process not to be delayed by arguing over whether to change the name of Cosas. The matter is, however, somewhat more complex given Cosas’s insistence on a new forum and Buthelezi’s demand for a conference to review decisions reached in Cosas.

Pressed on the question, Meyer pointed to the agreement reached with the ANC that Cosas should be restructured — to bring in other parties — “but it might also be necessary to restructure it from other angles, especially as far as decision-making or at least the structure of its operation is concerned.”

He thought it was too large and needed to be streamlined.

It was significant that the Minister had “no certainty” about whether Inkatha would accept the Cosas agreements. This would be clarified at next month’s meeting.

However, all parties are agreed, Meyer added, that change can be effected only through “a forum of a multiparty nature.” A concerted effort to this end would be made over the next two months in bilateral and multilateral talks.

Meetings already arranged with govern-
BUTHELEZI’S PROPOSALS

On the road to UDI?

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that his controversial federalist draft constitution will be tested at the polls one way or another — with or without government blessing.

Though he says he is confident that President F W de Klerk will accede to a request to hold a regional referendum on the proposals, he adds: "However, should government fail to fulfill this responsibility, the referendum will be organised by a committee established in terms of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly resolution which approved the constitution."

His assertion came from his office in response to an FM suggestion that there is speculation that the popularity of the constitution may never be tested because the referendum must be sanctioned by the Parliament’s Standing Committee on Natal. Such blessing seems improbable since government has already voiced its displeasure at the constitution and the timing of its publication.

But even this is disputed by Buthelezi: "We are under the impression that the decision to organise and hold a referendum is an activity which requires no approval from any legislative or administrative entity."

In promulgating the proposals (on December 1), Buthelezi said the intention, following its ratification in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, would be to seek approval of a referendum through the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA), a consensus-based, regional power-sharing, administrative body.

However, NPA executive member and JEA vice-chairman Val Volker claims that even if the poll is endorsed by the JEA, it must also be ratified by central government.

Meanwhile, the political hornet’s nest stirred by the publication of the document continues buzzing.

The latest agitator is General Bantu Holomisa who launched a vitriolic attack on Buthelezi and Inkatha at the weekend, claiming that the IFP was trying to force its hand in the constitutional arrangements now being mooted. Buthelezi understandably claims that Holomisa, as the head of an unregistered military government, is on shaky ground when it comes to pointing democratic fingers.

But the controversy over the timing of the constitution’s publication and whether it has a chance of being tested at the polls all but eclipses the proposals.

The constitution outlines a three-tier governing structure comprising a state governor, a senate elected through proportional representation and a legislature elected from small constituencies which respects existing cultural divisions. It also envisages considerable devolution of powers to the regional authorities within the State.

The most controversial aspects of the document centre on the clauses which create a virtually independent State and an imperious central government — and have led to it being labelled a federalist constitution and on the proposal to establish QwaZulu/Natal state militia and tax systems.

Less controversial are the establishment of a bill of rights, pluralism, universal franchise, minority protection mechanisms, entrenched employment, housing rights, an independent judiciary and a free press. There are safeguards against a burgeoning public sector and sex discrimination.

The document also protects the role of traditional leaders in terms of law and communal property.

On the economic side, there is a commitment to private property ownership, free enterprise and the establishment of structures to promote economic growth. Safeguards against government abuses will be provided through a civil service commission, the appointment of an ombudsman and a constitutional court.

On the face of it, this is a liberal and broadminded document with a lot going for it — hence the apparently growing level of support for it among Natalians.

Wits University’s professor Alf Stadler agrees that the constitution is "probably very expertly drafted" and that though theoretically federal systems are terrific and some even work, he has always taken an antifederal line in the SA context because systems cannot be judged purely on merit.

"It must be considered in the SA context based on structures established by Verwoerd. Unless a way can be devised of establishing a federal system that does not coincide largely with homeland borders, the concept has an insuperable major weakness."

"However, I have never seen a plausible case, so we’re probably stuck with homeland-type structures or a unitary state — and even then, as the ANC is discovering, compromises must be made with some of the leaders."

Natal University’s law professor George Devenish points out that while the Buthelezi constitution carries similar clauses to other proposals in terms of civil liberties and checks and balances, his main concern centres on the de facto constitutional annihilation of the constitution. "SA needs a balanced regional system which will probably effectively be federal, though I prefer the term regionalism because it is less contentious."

"However, a strong central government is also needed. It must be capable of dealing with national crises as well as the process of national reconstruction."

Devenish maintains that strong regional and central governments are not incompatable as demonstrated by the US. He points out that the ANC has increasingly indicated its willingness to accept entrenched regional power, though it initially strongly opposed the principles of federalism. Based on this, he believes the Buthelezi constitution may simply be an "opening" in the constitutional debate.

"Obviously there are good aspects to it," he says. "These proposals build on what the pioneering Natal/KwaZulu Indaba built; so the baby shouldn't be thrown out of the basket. However, so much of it revolves around Buthelezi’s negative, arrogant and undiplomatic public image."

If the pragmatists can gain the upper hand, it should be possible for government, the ANC and the IFP to throw their proposals into a melting pot and cook up a workable regional government — balanced against a strong central structure.

APLA

Small but rabid

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its "operationally independent" armed wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla), have received more publicity following the attacks on white civilians in the eastern Cape recently, than at any time since the PAC was banned and forced into exile 30 years ago. Is this perhaps a measure of its effectiveness?

Until recently, the PAC was to most blacks a half-forgotten, rather colourful
Buthelezi defends proposal for KwaZulu/Natal state

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected claims that he was trying to go it alone in adopting the KwaZulu/Natal "federal constitution.

He also said the region had proved that in "terms of income produced and revenues collected in the state of KwaZulu/Natal it is currently subsidising the other regions of SA".

However, SA Sugar Association chairman Tony Ardington, who was also KwaZulu-Natal Inhanda economic committee chairman, disputed this, saying unless the region got a share of the proposed federation's fiscal resources it would not serve the best interests of the people living in that region.

The Inhanda was one of the key bodies involved in the formulation of the proposed constitution.

Ardington said more than 23% of the people in SA lived in KwaZulu/Natal "yet it generates only 14% of the GDP".

Without substantial fiscal transfers from central government there would not be the resources to meet the needs of the people living in the region.

"They would be condemned to inferior education, health care and welfare services, no matter how well intentioned and competent the regional government," he wrote in a newspaper article this week.

Buthelezi said that by no stretch of the imagination did his proposed constitution suggest KwaZulu/Natal could be self-sufficient but it would be viable as a federal state within a federation.

"This is consistent with the reality of the state of KwaZulu/Natal whose economy is surely not self-sufficient in terms that it does not provide for the full range of required services and industries ..." he said.

He said the proposed constitution required that a federal republic for SA be adopted by the population of the country before his idea could succeed.

However, he did not explain why he threatened to take his constitution to a referendum of the people in the region before there was a federal republic.

'DP membership gains sparked ANC attack'

THE significant inroads the DP was making into the black and coloured areas was the prime reason for the ANC's attack on two of its senior MPs in Khayelitsha last week, DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday.

He said one of the MPs involved, Jasper Walsh, had written to the regional dispute resolution committee to record the DP's protest, but asked the body to take no action. The DP and the ANC regional offices would try to resolve the issue bilaterally.

He said the party's recruitment drive since mid-year had borne startling results, with the region recording the highest number of new membership applications in one day in the history of the party.

"About two weeks ago in one day we received 221 application forms in the post. It is the biggest number in one day in the history of the party," Andrew said.

He said the party had made good inroads into coloured and black areas in the Western Cape, and especially in the Boland region.

At the beginning of the year the DP had 14 branches in the Western Cape, mainly composed of white members. Since then, the membership drive had increased the branches to more than 40.

"These are mostly due to coloured and black members increasingly joining the party, and in this region the DP is by far the strongest and has the best chance of success in an election," he said. Other areas — especially the far Northern Transvaal — were showing strong growth.

The branches consisted of between 30 and 400 members. Some older areas had more than 900 members.

He said in some of the more remote places with too few members to form a branch, support groups were formed to carry the recruitment drive.

While there was not significant Indian membership of the party, there had been interest shown from certain sectors of the community in Natal, Andrew said.
Staunch NP man Joubert joins the DP

TOS WENZEL (30th)
Political Staff

MR Chris Joubert, the Sea Point city councillor who has been a staungh Nationalist for many years, has joined the Democratic Party.

Mr Joubert said the DP had a clean bill of health in politics, no apartheid baggage from the past and the 'credibility' to reach out to people.

It was therefore the 'vehicle to bring parties together in a new, non-racial South Africa.'

Mr Joubert was the NP candidate in Sea Point in the 1982 provincial council elections.

He said today he was a great admirer of the initiatives President de Klerk had taken in 1986 but had waited in vain for rapid progress with reform.

Mr Eglin, MP for Sea Point, welcomed Mr Joubert's decision and said it would strengthen the party's efforts in the Peninsula.
PRESIDENT de Klerk is set to clash with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi when they meet on Thursday.

This follows the organisation's firm rejection yesterday of the basic transitional arrangements agreed to at Codesa.

Relations between the two leaders are already at their lowest because of Buthelezi's announcement last week of a virtual go-it-alone plan for a KwaZulu/Natal federal state.

**Buthelezi on confrontation course after rejection of transitional arrangements:**

De Klerk warned Buthelezi this unilateral action was leading him into direct confrontation with the Government.

Yesterday Buthelezi and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) met in Pretoria and afterwards called for a new negotiating forum to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

They rejected the idea of a transitional government, transitional constitution and constituent assembly, calling instead for a new, non-exclusive multi-party forum to draft a new constitution. This contrasts directly with the agreements reached at Codesa and frequently re-affirmed by the Government and the ANC since then.
Rhododendron in Costly Row of Untuths
ANC, DP to kiss and make up

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town
A FENCE-MENDING exercise to heal relations between the Democratic Party and the African National Congress in the western Cape is on the cards for early January following the violent disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha this week.

At issue is the alleged involvement of senior ANC and civic organisation members in the fracas.

The ANC claims the regional secretary of its Women's League, Nomatyalwa Kungana, was there to intervene in case of trouble - but the DP insists she was part of the chanting mob which hurled chairs and invective at MPs Jasper Walsh and Robin Carlisle, bringing the meeting to a chaotic end.

Tensions were fuelled further by ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak, who claimed tempers flared when Carlisle told the meeting the DP had never been involved in violence - a statement "outrageous in its sensitivity" coming from people "seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the tricameral parliament" while Khayelitsha's people had been "in the direct firing line of state violence".

Boesak denied ANC involvement in the disruption, saying the Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian Liberation People's Army (Apla) had claimed responsibility.

He later withdrew this statement as "an error made in good faith" and the ANC has now formally apologised to the PAC for the "misunderstanding".

Hangana, meanwhile, justified her actions by saying she told people before the meeting that the DP had the right to speak, but that they should "also ask questions which would show the DP it was not welcome in Khayelitsha".

She said the DP should "first settle the white areas where the National Party and Afrikaner Weerstands beweging were growing in strength before trying to enter black townships".

This prompted a stinging attack from DP national chairman Ken Andrew, while Boesak and Hangana conceded the DP's right to speak both "immediately gave reasons why the DP should not organise in black townships" - making "a mockery of the ANC's professed commitment to democracy and non-racialism".

Hangana's suggestion was "racist" and Boesak saw fit to "hypocritically warn the DP of the deep hostility towards political parties operating within the tricameral system while the ANC itself is happy to have tricameral MPs, including two who are on Dr Boesak's own regional executive", Andrew said.

DP MP Jasper Walsh, who has called on the ANC to investigate and publicly discipline members involved, said the disruption was "clearly planned" and involved ANC as well as civic organisation members. The PAC, however, has said it also had members at the meeting - although it denies they were involved in disrupting it.

ANC organising secretary in the western Cape Willie Hofmeyr said yesterday a meeting would be held with the DP "to see what can be done". The ANC would also inquire into the matter to see whether disciplinary steps should be taken against any of its members.

However, he was adamant the ANC had not planned to break up the meeting - the DP's first public event in a black township - "because we knew that if anything happened it would be used in a massive propaganda campaign against us.

"The only way the DP can win support in black and coloured areas is to portray the ANC and National Party as at two extremes, both tainted by violence."

It was "outrageous" to suggest the ANC intended to disrupt the meeting as this would only reinforce that perception, he said.
Just visiting this planet

The 1 400 right wingers who turned up to hear Eugene Terre’Blanche’s war talk are a sign that economic woes are helping the AWB.

By JAN TALJAARD
19/12-23/12/1992

OAPENING more than 700 men, women and children in uniform, and roughly an equal number of hangers-on, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging this week staged its biggest show of force since its heyday in 1988.

At what was billed as “the last Day of the Vow before the war”, AWB leader Eugene Terre’Blanche reaffirmed the vow taken by the Voortrekkers’ leaders before the battle of Blood River on the same date in 1838.

Held at the Bernardo stadium in Kempton Park, on Wednesday, the AWB event included a march through the city of Kempton Park.

The march was led by 300 heavies, followed by 30 masked members of the elite Vliegende (Iron Guard). 16 generals, various other offic-

ers, 234 uniformed members of the AWB rank and file, a white Alsatian led by his masked master, six black dogs tied to their respective handlers and 66 children belonging to the AWB’s own Youth Brigade.

Making up the guard were the Stormkorp (Storm Falcon), the revitalised motorcycle squad of the AWB. Led by the silver-helmeted “censor, Fredie” Harmse from Roodepoort, and his wife, Anny, on an ageing Yamaha 1 500, the contingent consisted of more than 30 motorcycles and a truck that carried a message on its rear end: “Only visiting this planet.”

In the end those chances of light relief were few. The overbearing impression on Wednesday was one of martial manoeuvring and of black-clad heavies with pump-action shotguns, and cocked pistols.

The high point of the day came when Al Kuhnert, photographer for the Star, walked into the arena taking pictures of Terre’Blanche as he strode towards the podium. Shots of “Yet dint kaffer wees! Take that kaffer away”, “Wat maak die swart hond hier? (What is that black dog doing here)!” were heard from the stands, while the imperturbable Khu-

nert carried on with his job.

Earlier, just before the procession entered the arena, Iron Guard members on horseback also tried to bar him from entering. After a whis-

Taking the vow ... AWB leader Eugene Terre’Blanche reaffirms the vow taken by Voortrekkers’ leaders before the battle of Blood River to the outcome of the conflict.

Referring to the Azanian People’s Liberation Army and the “war declared by Apla”, he threatened Pan Africanist Congress secretary general Benny Alender: “Carry on, then I am coming to get you, Benny — as certainly as I am standing here.”

Terre’Blanche also stated that he had notified Apla about the meeting in Kempton Park after Apla had threatened to break up Afrikaner fest-
vities on December 16. “And where is Apla now?” he triumphantly asked.

Earlier he had suddenly switched to English in front of an almost exclusively Afrikaner audi-

cence: “I am saying this in English so that the uneducated Aplas can also understand: We are going to knock the hell out of you.”
Symbolic Govt vital - Amissah

Political killings amaze Commonwealth observers

By Mokgadi Pela

A MORE representative government might be better able to defuse the violence than the present regime, Commonwealth observers said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Chairman of the observer mission to South Africa, Mr Austin Amissah, told a media briefing that South Africans felt the political process had to continue despite the violence.

He said the Commonwealth observers were happy to learn that multiparty talks would continue.

He said the observers were amazed at the level of indiscriminate political killings in the country. "The sooner the cause of the violence is identified and rooted out, the quicker will the source of instability be removed," Amissah said.
PRETORIA. — Different regions should have different powers in a future dispensation, depending on needs, infrastructure and economic ability.

This is one of the main recommendations in a report by the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) Centre for Constitutional Analysis on regional powers in a new constitution.

According to the head of the centre, Dr Bertus de Villiers, a new constitution would probably have a federal character and the powers of future regions had now become one of the most important issues.

In the report Dr De Villiers proposes a system of "asymmetrical autonomy" in terms of which the powers of the various regions can differ.

"Varying levels of autonomy are internationally regarded as one of the best ways of defusing conflict, bringing diversity into account and ensuring effective government."

"This will enable the different regions in South Africa to develop according to their own needs and abilities."

"Each region still had to act within the framework of the current constitution."

Dr De Villiers suggested that the constitution contain a comprehensive list of potential minimum regional powers.

"Each region can negotiate with the central government for additional functions under the constitution."

The duration of asymmetrical autonomy could be linked to a specific time-scale — thus replacing unequal powers by equal powers after a certain period — or to an unspecified time-scale or for as long as the need existed. — Sapa.
Read the line print then make your cross
The best yardstick a voter can use to assess how likely it is that a party will deliver on its promises is by examining the party’s past record.

For their own sake, voters need to be as well-informed as possible about all the parties contesting the election.

In an election campaign parties try to highlight their “positive” track record, while exposing any “negative” aspects of the opposing parties.

If voters do not have a clear picture of what each party stands for, they are likely to become very confused and have difficulty in making a well-considered choice.

An election campaign seldom has a great effect on the committed follower even meeting their basic needs. They think the vote, or democracy, is going to deliver luxury cars, elite homes and private schools.

These are unrealistic expectations. No government in the world has been able to deliver such things.

The process of transforming living standards is a slow and laborious one which will have to be measured in years rather than months.

Most people might not experience any improvement in their lives, while others may find that their living standards have deteriorated.

People who have enjoyed unrealistic standards of living which were made possible because of apartheid policies such as cheap labour, state subsidies and preferential treatment may experience a decline in living standards. These people are aware that they stand to lose some of their privileges under a new government.

Of concern are the unrealistic expectations of the mass of impoverished victims of apartheid.

Great efforts must be made to explain to them what the vote can influence and what it cannot.

This should not be left to political parties alone. For them, the temptation will be great to minimise the long-term uncertainties in the hope of getting as many votes as possible.

On the other hand, it is in the interests of all South Africans that the country remain as stable as possible during the transition period.
Post-Codesa guide out soon

FOR those baffled by the ever-shifting sands of South Africa's post-apartheid political set-up, a detailed account of the negotiation process since Codesa will soon be on the bookshelves.

The 200-page book "South Africa After Codesa: The Search for a Negotiated Settlement" is being written by a group of researchers assembled by the Centre for Policy Studies.

CPS director Steven Friedman will edit the book, which is targeted at the political and business community as well as the public. The focus is on South Africa's prospects for a negotiated settlement and the process needed to reach such an agreement.
A ready to set sail — again?

T THIR end of 1991, there were tentative murmurings of hope. Flagship Cadesa brokered a deal for a nationwide peace drive. But 1992 beeped — Cadesa collapsed and all but faded, a network of political promises yet to be fulfilled. The ANC and the South African government moved up its elections but the peace drive did not even come close.

Despite all this, however, the same tentative beginnings of hope have reappeared. The bazaar-like atmosphere of the ANC National Conference in 1992 was enough to give hope to many. The Conference’s declaration of a new era of democracy and reconciliation was greeted with enthusiasm.

In September, it was De Klerk’s administration that was in the spotlight. The Biko trial, which had been delayed, was finally held, with the accused facing charges of sedition and treason. The trial was marked by a series of public protests and a show of support for the accused.

In November, the ANC announced that it would seek to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission to investigate the human rights abuses of the apartheid era. This was seen as a significant step towards reconciliation between the ANC and the government.

The release of Nelson Mandela from prison in February 1990 was another major event. Mandela’s release was seen as a symbol of the end of apartheid and the beginning of a new era of democracy.

In April, the ANC and the government signed the Agreement on Ending the State of Emergency, which ended the state of national emergency and paved the way for a new era of democracy.

In May, the ANC held its first conference since the end of apartheid, with 10,000 delegates from all over South Africa. The conference was marked by a sense of hope and optimism for the future.

In June, the ANC launched its election campaign, promising a new era of democracy and economic growth. The election was held on 27 April 1994, with the ANC emerging as the clear winner, winning 62% of the vote and 252 of the 400 seats in the National Assembly.

In July, the ANC held its first national conference since the end of apartheid. The conference was marked by a sense of hope and optimism for the future.

In August, the ANC announced its new government, with Nelson Mandela as President and Thabo Mbeki as Deputy President. The new government pledged to work for a new era of democracy and economic growth.

In September, the ANC held its second national conference. The conference was marked by a sense of hope and optimism for the future.

In October, the ANC announced its new government, with Nelson Mandela as President and Thabo Mbeki as Deputy President. The new government pledged to work for a new era of democracy and economic growth.

In November, the ANC held its third national conference. The conference was marked by a sense of hope and optimism for the future.

In December, the ANC announced its new government, with Nelson Mandela as President and Thabo Mbeki as Deputy President. The new government pledged to work for a new era of democracy and economic growth.
THE government and the ANC are inching closer to an agreement on a date for a democratic election.

Following theiroversight two weeks ago, negotiators from both sides agreed that they had to press forward and set a date soon.

The government wants elections to be held in March or April 1994 while the ANC believes they could be held as early as September next year.

Both parties hope that they can convince the other participants at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to accept their proposals.

The ANC and the government have one more round of talks to complete — hopefully on January 20 next year — before taking their proposals to Codesa.

Their optimism means that South Africans who have never participated in an election before should begin to learn what an election means and to prepare themselves to make that crucial choice which will shape the future of the country.

More than 17 million South Africans are expected to vote in the election, according to the Department of Home Affairs.

This excludes the 3.1 million Africans in the nominally independent homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC states).

A racial breakdown of the potential voters shows that there are 12 million Africans, 3.3 million whites, 1.4 million coloureds and 600,000 Asians.

These figures make up 77.5 per cent of the population — all the people over the age of 18.

However, less than 15 million would be able to cast their votes if an election were called today because 2.7 million potential black voters are without identity books.

The position of the TBVC states, their participation in an election and the position of their citizens living in South Africa are being negotiated.

Parties will also negotiate the qualifications for voters and the method of identification in the elections.
Separation of powers proposed for regions

Political Staff

The different regions of South Africa should have different powers in future, depending on the region's needs, infrastructure and economic ability, the Human Sciences Research Council constitutional expert, Dr Bertus de Villiers, said yesterday.

Dr De Villiers, who is the head of the HSRC's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, said the centre had produced a report on regional powers.

He said that although the word "federation" still caused suspicion, a new constitution would probably have to have a federal character to protect the powers of the regions.

He proposed a system in which the powers of the regions could differ.

This would enable different regions to develop according to their needs and abilities.

"However varying regional autonomy does not mean that the country deteriorates into uncertainty and that the regions follow their own heads.

"Each region would still have to act within the framework of the current constitution," he said.
SOUTH Africa's anti-apartheid and establishment diplomatic corps will have to be merged if the country's diplomatic effort is to be successful in the future.

This will be the central theme of a two-day workshop, "The changing world and the professional diplomat", to be held in Cape Town from January 12. It is organised by the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

South Africa has not had a thoroughly professional diplomatic service. Although the state's foreign service attempted to develop a professional ethos, their efforts were thwarted by the political fray created by apartheid.

The ANC and other groups interacted extensively with the international community over the years. In the West, this was most evident in the anti-apartheid movement which has been described as the most successful mobilisation of public opinion since the Second World War.

But it served specific political objectives, aimed at the isolation of the apartheid government and could not be considered professional diplomatic work.

Driven partly by politics and economic considerations and partly by wider international changes, South Africa is set to integrate its two experiences of the world into a single foreign policy culture.

The central challenge facing the Centre for Southern African Studies workshop is how to achieve this goal.

One of the issues to be explored is the fear among establishment diplomats that a merger with their colleagues in the liberation movement will ruin the reputation of the foreign service.

On the other hand, the liberation movements may argue that the Department of Foreign Affairs is inherently discriminatory and that their prospects may be limited.

Participants at the workshop will try to identify the characteristics of a professional diplomatic corps.

Renowned foreign experts have been invited to share their experience with ten representatives each of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the ANC and the PAC.

Sir Brian Urquhart, former deputy secretary-general of the UN, has been invited to chair the workshop, which will include ambassadors or foreign ministers from Norway, Sweden, India, the Netherlands, France, Namibia, Egypt, Ghana and Botswana.
Talks: Govt warns IFP

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. -- IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi must re-enter negotiations or face the risk of being excluded, the government's chief negotiator said here yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting hosted by Aspen Institute's Dr Partline Baker, a possible Clinton administration appointee, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Rolf Meyer stressed that "time is of the essence" in getting back to multi-party talks.

If the timescales for a transitional government -- which he said had been broadly agreed by government and the ANC -- could not be met, he warned "we might proceed ... without the participation of all parties".

Government wanted the IFP in the process, and was urging the ANC to help, but, in the end "the only basis that we must get the majority of support of all South Africans".

Mr Meyer described the Nation...
PRACTICAL

Hold thumbs as '92 slides away

SEKOLA Sello

As the year draws to an end, expectations are once more high that the much talked about, but elusive, national new SA is around the corner. But will next year usher in a new deal?

Apart from the endemic violence, one topic dominated the SA political landscape: the constitutional negotiations between the government and ANC. The year started with these two parties poles apart after the NP unveiled its complex set of constitutional proposals. The DP was sceptical about the Nats' proposals, saying they were likely to bog down the fragile negotiations process. Predictably, the ANC shot the NP down and offered theirs as the best solution to break the political logjam.

They proposed that an interim government should have a short lifespan: that its principal function was to organise an election for a constituent assembly.

Although Inkatha participated in the talks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to take his seat in Codesa until the participation of Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini was clarified.

Alliances of a secret deal between the government and the ANC surfaced. Buthelezi threatened to tear up any agreement reached behind his back.

For Codesa to succeed, its credibility must be restored. It failed to make a significant impact. The ANC suspended all talks with the government. These were only resumed almost six months later. The talks were notoriously tedious.

The reality of the cold war separatists, the various participants soon realised and the forum continued to be dogged by controversy. Codesa's future in Angola and Tanzania. Rogue elements of ANC self-defence units continue to run wild in the Vaal triangle. Dirty tricks by some members of the security forces, it seems, are still continuing under de Klerk's rule while mass evictions in KwaNdele and Lebowa are recently exposed. The Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC, which some analysts believe holds the key to the country's future, has already been rejected by Inkatha. Instead, Buthelezi has come up with a federal proposal for Kwazulu.

Amidst all this, Aplu, the military wing of the PAC, has increased its attacks against white civilians. To counter Aplu, the government threatened cross-border raids into Transkei and Zimbabwe.

Given the fluidity of the latest developments, it seems likely that the path to a democratic SA may be the beginning of the worst of times. 

MASSACRE... This youth stood little chance. Ciskel soldiers opened fire on unarmed marchers at Bisho on September 7 in a rehearsed operation by homeland forces.
away

Education

MASSACRE... The rebellion still rages on as the ANC and its military wing continue to attack targets in South Africa. The government and its security forces deny the existence of the rebels and their activities. The conflict has claimed thousands of lives, with both sides committing atrocities.

On the school front, the Education Department has announced plans to expand access to education for all children. However, the lack of funding and infrastructure remains a huge challenge. The government is under pressure to improve the quality of education and reduce the dropout rate.
Non-racial poll: ANC gears up

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC has hit the election trail — not with speeches, but by ensuring its supporters will be ready and able to vote come the first non-racial poll.

The risk of a low turnout if voters fear intimidation, and the possibility that blacks who have never voted will inadvertently spoil their ballots, are the two major concerns, ANC electoral official Mr. Khotso Gordhan said.

Some 21 million voters will be voting, and around 18m will be doing so for the first time. Of those, some 63% are illiterate.

"People have difficulty understanding what an election is," said Mr. Gordhan. ANC has set up "election workshops": procedures are explained and polling is "sensitised to carry out mock
Bring them to book - DP

FW's sincerity will be proved by prosecutions:

This was said by Democratic Party leader Dr. Zach de Beer, reacting to the State President's announcement that 23 senior members of the SADF had been retired or suspended after revelations of illegal activities. - Sapa.
Justice slams Comsa allegations

THE Justice Department has denied allegations that SA's criminal justice system had broken down and lost the confidence of the majority of the people.

The allegations, made by the Commonwealth Observer Group to SA (Comsa), also said that SA courts were not interested in the protection of human life.

The Department described the findings as a generalised, ill-informed and superficial evaluation of the country's criminal justice system.

"SA is justifiably proud of its legal system, which ranks amongst the foremost in the world," it said.

"The SA legal system is continuously involved in a process of dynamic change and the Minister of Justice and Department of Justice have not and will not hesitate to take the lead in this regard."

An invitation was issued to Comsa to meet officials and present any proposals which could help improve the administration of justice. — Sapa.

Parties are 'less dogmatic now'

PRETORIA — Greater flexibility and pragmatism in the constitutional debate have been noted by the Human Sciences Research Council.

An HRSC report released at the weekend said there had been a shift away from dogmatic ideological approaches by all parties.

Compiled by the HRSC's centre for constitutional analysts, the report recommends that regions should have different powers depending on regional needs, infra-structure and economic ability in a federal-type constitution.

Head of the centre Bertus de Villiers said the new style of problem-solving had been most noticeable in the approach of the parties to regional government.

The word federation was still viewed with suspicion and hostility, but it was becoming increasingly clear that a new constitution would be federal in nature, providing constitutional guarantees for regional autonomy.

It would leave room for central institutions to lay down guidelines and for initiatives on socio-economic upliftment.

De Villiers proposed a system of "asymmetrical autonomy" in which powers of the various regions could differ.

Varying levels of autonomy were internationally recognised as one of the best ways of defusing conflict, taking diversity into account and ensuring effective government, he said.

Varying regional autonomy did not mean the country would deteriorate into uncertainty and that regions would go their own way. Each would still have to act within the work of the constitution.

De Villiers said the constitution should contain a list of potential minimal regional powers.

The constitutions of 12 countries, including the US, Canada, Nigeria and India, were analysed to determine what level of government was responsible for various powers. The comparisons could be the basis for further discussions and negotiations in SA, he said.
Gous threatens to revenge
FREE State Agricultural Union president Dr Pieter Gous has warned that farmers could take the law into their own hands in rooting out those who attack them. *Sowetan* 21/1/1993
He was reacting to an attack on a Free State farm on Saturday night in which a teenage girl was killed.

New executive for the Vaal
THE VAAL Civic Association has announced its new executive following elections last week.
Mr Miungisi Hlongwane was elected president, Mr Joe Williams vice-president, Ms Linda Magomezulu general secretary, Mr Ntshane Leholo assistant general secretary, Mr Jeffrey Rademeyer publicity secretary, Ms Suzi Tshabalala treasurer, Mr Doctor Raboko treasurer and Mr Sello Morake organiser. *Sowetan* 21/1/1993

Party still rejects Codesa
BOERESTAAT Party leader Robert van Tonder yesterday reiterated that his organisation would not take part in multiparty negotiations at Codesa.
Van Tonder was speaking at a wreath-laying ceremony at Pretoria's heroes' acre in commemoration of the death 78 years ago of Boer rebel Jopie Fourie. The ceremony was attended by other right-wing organisations, including the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging and the Wit Wolwe. *Sowetan* 21/1/1993
Revelations could create crisis in talks

PROOF that third force was real:

PRESIDENT De Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SA Defence force were involved in serious malpractice and illegal activities had created a crisis in the negotiation process, the ANC has said.

While commending De Klerk on his revelations, senior African National Congress NEC member, Mr Mac Maharaj, said attempts at cover-ups would be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans and would have serious implications.

Although reticent on what the serious implications would be, Maharaj sounded a clear warning to De Klerk to be open about the matter.

Maharaj said De Klerk's announcement on Saturday morning was a step in the right direction but "not nearly enough".

"There should be full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilisation. The names of those members involved, the acts committed together with the units involved, must be made public immediately."

De Klerk had also acknowledged that some of the activities included attempts to undermine negotiations.

Maharaj demanded that disciplinary steps be taken against security force members involved.

The Pan Africanist Congress has said the axing of top SADF members by De Klerk was an acceptance by the Government of the existence of a Third Force within its ranks, reports Sonti Maseko.

The organisation's National Executive Committee member, Mr Ntsundeni Madzunza, said the measures against the top military men on suspicion of involvement in dirty tricks, aimed at derailing the negotiations process, was also a demonstration that the Government had the capacity to stop and start the violence in the black townships.

"The fact that these are now general implicates in the violence puts a big question mark on the SADF and the police."

"We cannot rely on them, we cannot have a stable political environment where free and fair elections can take place," said Madzunza.
FW faces acid test

BCMA recalls Tiro's murder

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday said the announcement by President FW de Klerk that 16 Defence Force officers would be retired was accompanied by hypocrisy and double-talk.

Mr Vuyisa Quata, publicity and information secretary, said de Klerk was party to the so-called total strategy employed to quell the efforts of black people to attain justice, liberation and peace.

"He was party to the declarations of the state of emergency which gave the white security forces licence to terrorise the black community without fear of any discipline."

"The acid test of whether de Klerk is serious will be whether the crimes which have been committed by his henchmen will be revealed and the criminals taken to court, including those he refers to as civilian collaborators."

The BCMA is not convinced that the regime is trying to put a stop to the slaughter of black people which it ordered its security forces to carry out. Rather the regime appears to be polishing its image and pruning those whose activities have been exposed to the public.

Quata said former Saso president Mr Okgopotse Tiro was certainly assassinated by the South African forces in Gaborone in February 1974.
FW de Klerk

THE CONSERVATIVE Party has accused the Government of conducting a witch-hunt against senior members of the SA Defence Force.

This follows State President FW de Klerk's announcement that 16 senior members of the force would be forcibly retired. 27 JUN

CP Defence spokesman Dr Wilie Snyman told SAPA that the party rejected the 'witch-hunt' against SADF officers if it was based on hearsay and unfounded allegations. 21 JUL

The CP would close ranks with SADF senior officers whose feelings coincided with the right-wing party on matters related to land affairs in the present system, he said.
An ANC in power may fail — Tutu

LONDON. — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu says he would not be surprised if an ANC government turned out to be a failure.

The 61-year-old cleric said that although it was entirely possible the country could flourish if the politicians got it right, there were no guarantees.

"We have so much going for us. We have a tremendous country, richly endowed. We have wonderful people, and once we know how to use our human resources we are going to take off.

"But there is no absolute guarantee, and that is the point about the importance of theology. Theology tells us that human nature has got a thing called original sin and there is no guarantee that even a popularly elected democratic government will not jettison its very high ideals."

He said it meant the church had to be vigilant and as critical of the ANC as it had been of other political players in the past.

"I would only say that it (an ANC government's fall from grace) would be a very sad day and fill us with very considerable chagrin."

Dampen expectations

"But I would not be surprised. Humans tend to be tempted by power and succumb to those temptations, and we need to be truly vigilant to affirm: Thus saith the Lord, what you are doing or intending to do is wrong, and the fact that you are black does not give you an excuse."

He said the priorities for an interim government would be to achieve reconciliation, contain violence — and dampen expectations.

"Most people presently believe that under a post-apartheid dispensation heaven is virtually going to happen on earth — that there will be housing, there will be schooling, health care and so on."

The archbishop said his sense of the ridiculous helped him to maintain his sanity. "If we didn't take ourselves so seriously in South Africa, maybe we would have been down the road of a constitutional solution ages ago.

"People take themselves so seriously that they behave like puppets, donnas, grandstanding, getting upset over piddling little things. Sometimes you wish you could take these guys and lock them up in a room and say: You don't get out of there until you've got a solution." — Telegraph
An ultimatum

Government

CP gives the

By Israeli eradication

Independent October 27, 1992

News Father and daughter killed in ORS farm • Conservation to reduce attacks

Right-Wing Israelis' demand

The Right-Wing Israelis' demand

An Ultimatum

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M TFMN's on the side and a character, the.
INKATHA chairman Frank Mdlalose accused Constitutional Development Minister and key government negotiator Roelf Meyer of "getting a little too big for his boots".

Mdlalose was responding to recent statements by Meyer in the US that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be left out of negotiations if he did not agree to join multiparty talks soon.

"I fear Meyer is getting a little too big for his boots. It is a bit rich for him to pontificate abroad about the need for multiparty talks when he himself has just emerged from bilateral talks with a party that unilaterally withdrew from Codesa to scupper the process."

Fortunately, Inkatha did not have to take much note of what Meyer said, since his own party did not take him all that seriously, Mdlalose said.

Saps reports from Umlazi that Buthelezi said Meyer's threat to leave Inkatha out of talks was "the clearest rejection of a federal formula by government" and smacked of baaskap.

Forum delayed by Cabinet shuffle

PLANS to launch a national forum on the future of local government by the end of national negotiations this year had been delayed, following recent changes in the Cabinet, a SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) spokesman said.

Mabase suggested the portfolio change was a deliberate action by the Cabinet to delay the establishment of the national forum.

Sanco publicity secretary Max Mabase said the appointment of Tertius Delport as Local Government Minister on December 1 had "disrupted the whole process".

Manpower Minister Leon Wessels dropped the post in favour of a greater role in establishing a national negotiating structure was one of Delport's highest priorities and that he envisaged a far broader forum than negotiations between government and the civic leaders.

Mabase said a local government steering committee comprising representatives of Sanco, the four provincial administrations and local authorities, would be meeting in January to continue discussions about a new national forum for local government.
Simhon Barber in Washington

Soy's Reform Train

Inkatha's Absence

 platforms: Reform in the ANC

Soy's reform train will not derailed
Group to work against election

THE New Unity Movement (NUM) is to start an anti-election campaign based on the promotion of non-participation.
'Change in behaviour patterns is needed' LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The political left had not confronted with sufficient seriousness the need to challenge South Africans to change their behaviour patterns, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Dr Mampele Ramphale said yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of a book and video based on the Old Mutual-Nedcor scenarios, Ramphale said the left mistakenly believed political transition would automatically bring with it socially responsible citizens. This was not the case.

Ramphale believed the Old Mutual-Nedcor scenarios, which had played an important role in helping South Africans to face the future, remained valid.

The scariest future would be a "business as usual" one in which people did not change but continued with old behaviour patterns.

The "business as usual" situation outlined by the scenario planners was one in which the solution to economic and social problems was postponed pending the election of a new government.

Change would be confined to the political arena. Its effect would be to derail the political transition in as little as 12 to 18 months and ensure continued economic decline, social disintegration of black communities and an increase in violence.

Ramphale said SA lacked leaders with vision. People needed to be able to define social roles for themselves. However, she said that as change took place, South Africans had to be grateful — considering the history of the society — that things were not worse than they were.
Federalism will fail and fuel conflict, says analyst

FEDERALISM will not only fail to solve SA's development problems, it could also lead to new areas of conflict, a political analyst says in the Institute for Multiparty Democracy's latest quarterly bulletin.

Senior political science lecturer at Natal University's Maritzburg campus, Ralph Lawrence, says federalism would hinder development and probably undermine democracy at the same time.

Lawrence subjects the federal option to two tests. The first deals with nation-building. He says a fractured political establishment does not foster national unity and hinders the country's development.

Federal structures are created to put distance between the national government and the regional state, leading to a "frontier ethic", he says.

This frontier ethic causes central government to be seen as a holding device, allowing individuals or regions to disregard what happens elsewhere. This will frustrate development.

The second test, which federalism fails, involves human development.

"My broad conclusion is that federalism would create additional lines of conflict," says Lawrence. He compares SA with Third World countries with similar socioeconomic positions rather than with developed federal states in Europe and the US.

The Third World experience has shown that regional feuds occur where politics becomes subject to patronage, often leading to corruption and nepotism.

The other aspect is that regional grievances become trapped in federal structures and may not be expressed at national level.

Lawrence points to the continuing breakup of the former Soviet Union and the war in Yugoslavia.

"In both, federalism proved to be little more than a constitutional holding operation for societies which never achieved a sense of commonality after their respective boundaries were set in the '40s.

"My fear is that the same sort of thing could occur in SA," he says.

A federal government may also be tempted to provide itself with emergency powers to justify intervention.

As India and Nigeria have shown, federalism is no guarantee of protection against a determined central government.

Another problem concerns money. While a federal authority is at pains to demarcate constitutional authority between itself and the regions, it hangs tenaciously onto the purse strings.

This is especially true in the Third World context, where the central authority's survival and its success in keeping the social fabric intact, depends on macroeconomic planning and development.

As a result, most of the central authority's revenue goes to the exchequer.

The wealth disparity between the regions will also cause unhappiness.

However, the argument for a unitary solution will not be won through hammering at the federal system, says Lawrence.

Any new democratic government will have to act quickly to meet the burden of its electorate's expectations.

Without a strong capacity to deliver, SA could be party to a society that will wither away and never realise its democratic credentials, Lawrence says.

Bystanders hurt as gunmen fire on taxis
Federalism will fail and fuel conflict, says analyst

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Will we ever bury the past?

The year old ghosts refused to stay silent

Photograph: Guy Adams

The year old ghosts refused to stay silent.

Did the year just seem tough because the dead were new in their graves and fresh in our memories — or will the spectres of the past disturb our sleep for year after year after year?

By Anton Harber

In 1992, the New World Order's promise of stability and peace was shattered by age-old ethnic conflicts before we even began enjoying it. The hopes of a mega-Europe, where the collapse of socialism would end the divisions of the past and spread the prosperity of the West into the hungry countries of the East, did not last long into the year. The second half was dominated by bitter wars, the spectre of neo-fascism and disillusionment with the promise of unbridled capitalism. And the European Community — for which 1992 was scheduled to be the great year of unity — stood by helplessly, its future thrown into doubt by the rejection of the Maastricht Treaty.

There was a belief that unity would be difficult and costly but as one of the world's strongest economies, it would soon bring new prosperity and growth to the former Communist bloc. All that is now overshadowed by the threats of Nazi-style racism, as youths from the former Democratic Republic of the German Democratic Republic; of the German Democratic Republic; of the German Democratic Republic.

The promise of a world order without superpower rivalry, in which the "peace dividend" could contribute to an end to global recession, gave way to one in which the great powers diverged over new ways to deal with racial conflicts in Europe and famine in Africa.

Back home, the seeds of the new South Africa were just germinating after CODESA in December last year and seemed to be taking root during the referendum of March. But they were quickly strangled by the fatter-growing weeds of apartheid, corruption, mismanagement, ethnic passions, distrust for human life, unemployment, poverty, and despair.

Search engines like Google use this text to improve their results.
And now for the good news...
The opera's not over, they say, until the fat lady sings. After a frustrating year of political stalemate and conflict, and socio-economic degeneration, South Africa is still in suspense, waiting for the National Party to commit itself to the transfer of power to the democratic will.

Perhaps a more appropriate musical for South Africa's negotiation process is the Bokserdal Marathoon, the Herman Charles Bosman classic in which the dominee, after announcing that his congregation will sing Psalm 119, goes into a trance without specifying which of its 176 verses.

The long-suffering congregation sings itself hoarse for eight hours as the animist trills on, inspired by "medicine" in a black bottle fetched by several elders and a deacon in ever-lengthening trips out to the konsistorie.

It has been one hell of a year, an ultramarathon in which South Africa thirsted for leadership.

Yet it began on a high. The all-white referendums produced an overwhelmingly majority for negotiations. For a brief moment in time, most blacks and whites seemed at one with themselves and the future. Even The Weekly Mail was infected by the mood and proclaimed: "Let the good times roll."

But then came the blows. The deadlock at Codesa II; Boipatong; mass action; Biko; the trenching of Sauli; the state of corruption, incompetence and murder; the Azanian People's Liberation Army's bombings; and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's veiled threats to drag Natal out of the republic. All of this to the backdrop of negative economic growth, capital flight and flight and the spectacular whip of violence.

Even the record of understanding between the African National Congress and the government, a fresh flash of hope in October, was marred by Buthelezi, who stoned out of negotiations, miffed at his evident exclusion from what he perceived to be important deliberations.

Among the biggest casualties of the rollercoaster ride from post-referendum euphoria to post-Boipatong catatonia were the National Party and President FW de Klerk. For him, it has been a long downhill journey since the release of ANC president Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political parties, when he was regarded, even in the townships, as something of a saint.

By the time of the funeral of Boipatong victims in July, if the posters were to be believed, De Klerk was wanted in the townships for murder. It was a precipitous slide.

A convincing two-thirds majority "yes" in the referendum, cutting the rightwing challenge down to size, enabled De Klerk to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. For the rest of the year, he assiduously set about snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.

De Klerk overplayed his hand at Codesa II. He held out for the constitution of the new South Africa to be front-loaded by the largely unrepresentative, apartheid-tainted Codesa parties, rather than drawn up by an elected body.

This he sought through the slippery device of leaving the time frame for a final constitution open-ended. The high majorities that the NP demanded for "amendments" to the interim constitution — 75 percent — would have ensured that temporary mechanisms such as power-sharing would be locked into the constitution forever.

The NP miscalculated and overestimated the ANC's desire to cut an early deal at all costs. The failure of the government to accept the ANC's generous terms at Codesa II was taken as objective proof to many thousands of suspicious ANC supporters that the party of apartheid could not change its spots.

De Klerk's folly was not simply a tactical miscalculation. A large pile of dirty laundry has tumbled out in public this year to support claims that elements of the state are complicit in the violence. To have thought he could play for time while the townships were burning underlines the central question mark against the De Klerk presidency.

Either he knew what was going on, and was seeking to undermine the ANC as an electoral opponent, or he didn't know, and therefore one could only conclude that he had no adequate control of his intelligence-gathering agencies, who were too busy sticking violence in black communities to gather intelligence for him.

As the constitutional deadlock began to stretch out, the volatile climate in the townships was like a bomb waiting to explode. When it did, at Boipatong on June 17, the already fragile multiparty negotiations were blasted into a thousand little pieces.

Whatever electoral advantage De Klerk might have presupposed from a delay, his party, far from moving confidently into the head of an alliance that could electorally challenge the ANC, was dealt a glancing blow.

De Klerk's image of reform gave way to one of weakness, his homeland and tricameral allies deserted him, his top lieutenants deserted him, and the “Consensus” report was rejected by theexisting Indemnity Bill through the President's Counsell because he could not even persuade the House of Delegates to support him.

On the other side of the table, the ANC also took a battering as it battled to establish a direction during the year. The movement's negotiators, emasculated by Codesa II, were pushed to the sidelines as the ANC returned to a military strategy at its May policy conference.

Just as the movement's leadership were preparing for the run-up to elections and political power, they were forced to revive the struggle. The megaphones were dusted off, the United Nations security council was summoned, and Ronnie Kasrils was sent out to marshal the troops.

There was a lot of talk about permanent mass action and there were a lot of assurances about not turning the taps on and off again. But then Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's troops opened fire on an ANC march in Bisho, and the taps of mass action dried up once more.

All of this exposed a deeper fault-line running through the ANC — one that was heightened by the debate that raged over "sunset clauses", the proposal that sought to postpone democracy and lengthen the transition from minority rule.

On the one side were those who saw the NP — pejoratively known as the "regime" for all
Scorecard '92:

out, who's in, who's hot

Who's in, who's hot...
Questions of tolerance

The ANC wants elections next year. Government says early 1994 is a more realistic date. But both may be way off the mark.

The violent disruption of a Democratic Party public meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town last week has raised doubts that elections are possible in the foreseeable future without plunging the country into an orgy of unprecedented conflict.

Though DP meetings in “black” areas have been disrupted before — notably in the OFS and northern Transvaal — what happened last week underscored an important point. If a party as innocuous as the DP can’t have a meeting in an area as peaceful as Khayelitsha, is it possible to have pre-election activity anywhere else without risking massive bloodshed?

Leaders across the political spectrum argue that elections can’t be held hostage to continuing violence. They say constitutional certainty and a democratically elected government will be the most effective counter to the current conflict.

That may be so, but an “elections-at-any-cost” attitude certainly won’t solve SA’s problems. Unless the poll is seen to be free and fair and all the main parties accept the outcome, violence and instability will increase and the country will face a similar fate to that of Angola.

Human Sciences Research Council election specialist Lawrie Schlemmer says it would be foolish of parties to try to resolve issues through the polls only. Elections must be the result of settlements rather than an attempt to impose them. “I don’t believe we should risk an election unless we have a contract between parties about some form of joint action after the election,” he says.

He adds that there’s no doubt SA needs an election — and should not try to avoid it. But if too much hinges on the poll, it could “blow us apart” and threaten all the progress so far made. There is also a need for pre-election agreements between the parties on how to campaign and how the poll itself will be conducted.

Public rallies serve more to “rabblerouse” than disseminate information and should be avoided to lower the risk of conflict. Communication with voters would be more effective through negotiated time and space allotments on TV, radio and in the printed media.

The election itself should be spread over a few days and people should be allowed to vote where it suits them rather than at high profile polling booths.

Schlemmer believes an election should be preceded by a much more elaborate process of “pacting” right down to local level. Cooperation between parties at top level is generally good, but not at lower levels, which is where many of the problems occur.

In countries with successful democracies, success is usually based on a lower intensity of political motivation. Elections are part of a broad, unwritten agreement which SA still needs to develop. Schlemmer is also concerned about the influence on voters of the “ruling consensus” in an area. He describes it as a “village politics” phenomenon not uncommon in the Third World. In terms of the “consensus” people are simply expected to vote for a particular party even if they don’t want to.

Schlemmer is not in favour of large-scale international involvement in SA’s election process. Though international assistance in conflict resolution followed by monitoring of elections has achieved moderate success in southern Africa (Current Affairs December 11), usually only two main players have been involved.

Considering the potential for nationwide conflict between supporters of just the four major political groups — the National Party, ANC, PAC and Inkatha — the task facing international peacekeepers would be impossible. Schlemmer says a peacekeeping force for SA would have to be massive and the international community would not be prepared to finance it.

The efficacy of international monitors is also questionable. In southern Lebanon, for instance, the UN observer force is powerless to stop cross-border conflict. A local monitoring force agreed to by all parties and representing all of them would be more effective.

Schlemmer agrees that the current timetable for elections seems optimistic. While it’s not impossible to prepare for an election within the next year or two, schedules in the reform process so far have generally taken two to three times longer than planned — and the same may happen again.

The implications of delaying an election are important. President F W de Klerk is constitutionally bound to another tricameral poll late in 1994. But, if necessary, the constitution can be changed — if it hasn’t been replaced by a transitional agreement by then. A transitional government could be established through negotiation — representing all major parties and ruling until the climate is more conducive to free elections.

A drawn-out transitional period and poll delay won’t be ideal, but unless the level of violence drops and that of tolerance rises, political leaders may have no choice. The crucial element at every stage will be negotiated agreement.
ANC president Nelson Mandela a year ago promised SA a “Christmas present” — which turned out to be Codesa, rather like one of those awful ties, spotty and unacceptable, that relatives give but one is too polite to refuse.

This is not to suggest that Codesa had no value: merely that, in retrospect, it was a badly designed vehicle for constitutional change. It brought within one hall too great a diversity of opinions, parties and expectations. In the event, a quick-fix solution to our problems proved impossible and Codesa disintegrated as rancour and greed overtook its participants.

A great deal of practical work was done in committee — and will be available to whatever body succeeds Codesa — but, politically, the initial euphoria was unwarranted.

The major failing of the convention was that violence was imperfectly addressed. The National Peace Accord, various concerned observers and, most effectively, the Goldstone Commission, with foreign assistance and goodwill, faced up to the reality.

Not that Goldstone, or anyone, can bring the violence to a swift end. What can be done is to expose, ruthlessly — “to the bone,” as President F W de Klerk once put it — the agents of violence whose aims are to abort a constitutional settlement.

A year on from the first plenary session of Codesa, we have only the bare outline of what a democratic constitution could look like. But we do have a far greater understanding of the roots of violence.

In particular, we can see the cogency of ANC criticisms of government’s credibility in the area of covert operations. De Klerk’s weekend axing of two SADF generals and 14 other officers — and the suspension of seven more — proves that the prima facie evidence for a third force within the security establishment has been true all along. Various commissions and brave figures have contributed to this understanding — and De Klerk must be commended for acting with boldness.

It has been pointed out that the purge does not go far enough — or not yet. In terms of the Further Indemnity Act — which De Klerk rammed through the President’s Council — the disgraced military figures and their CCB operatives may qualify for blanket forgiveness, which would be a pity. This has been a year of miserable political deals — most notably the exchange of psychopaths involving Berend Strydom and Robert McBride — but there is no need to enter 1993 on such a dubious note.

We should at the very least know what the sacked and suspended officers have done, with whom they did it and with whose authorisation — if any. Only then should even the possibility of indemnity be raised.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone Commission — which sparked De Klerk’s actions — is to investigate the military wings of the ANC and the PAC. The PAC’s Apla, whatever its degree of complicity in the attacks in and around Transkei, seems a particularly murky and reprehensible outfit; but the question of incorporating Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SADF, whatever MK’s misdeeds in foreign camps, must be resolved.

In terms of having identified at least one third force and given Apla’s brutal revelation of itself, the broad peace process has been relatively successful. The point about Apla is that, however nasty, it is small; and there can be no political motive in holding back from crushing it. MK as such is no longer part of the problem.

All of which, of course, does not address a fundamental cause of violence isolated by Goldstone: ethnic conflict along Zulu (or Inkatha) vs ANC lines. Since Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi refuses to accept the Record of Understanding between government and the ANC, the potential for an escalation of this conflict is very real.

A further problem lies in the white right wing, which is armed and dangerous. The threat of reprisals — which would almost certainly be indiscriminate — against Apla, or those perceived as staging attacks on whites, must be taken seriously. We already have one too many Wit Wolf at large.

Nevertheless, there is room for optimism on violence. The principle established by De Klerk — that those who have broken the law must be punished — should never have been vitiated by the Indemnity Act. But at least the President has acted; and this should serve warning on would-be vigilantes on the Right, or pockets of Zulu chauvinists, that behaviour which contributes to public fear and unrest will be dealt with appropriately.

One’s optimism must, however, remain guarded. In the past, whenever a step forward on the path of settlement has been taken, some incident of horrible violence has occurred to wreck it. So curious has been the coincidence of massacre and hope, that many have suspected the former was designed to smash the latter. There is no need to list the candidates — they would all share a desire not to have a settlement.

As long as any of these people are at large, sudden outbreaks of killing can be expected, until the security forces get a grip on the situation. Clearly, they could never do so while harbouring men with evil designs. Bearing this in mind, De Klerk’s purge is probably the best news of a bitter and, in many ways, wasted year.
FW pledges a year of progress

PRETORIA — The government is determined to make 1993 a year of fundamental progress and breakthrough, President De Klerk said in his Christmas and New Year’s message.

President De Klerk said greater clarity on how this would be achieved would emerge early next year.

"Acknowledging the prevalence of crime, violent death and social and political uncertainty, he vowed that the government would not capitulate to radicalism, and that it would continue to govern the country with all the means at its disposal" until its reform objectives had been achieved.

The government would be taking the lead to achieve a rapid movement, through multiparty negotiations, towards a government of national unity.

He announced that the government would be approaching the churches of South Africa to call for a day of contrition and prayer.

"There is nothing wrong in South Africa which, with divine grace, cannot be rectified. That is the challenge of 1993 and that is the Christmas message of reconciliation."

I appeal to you all to join me in accepting this challenge."

He urged the public not to yield to despondency. The land and people had much potential.

"Compared with the rest of our continent, we are a beacon of hope," President De Klerk said.

"Let us build on that hope and strengthen that beacon."

All South Africans should reconcile themselves with the irreversibility of the reform process.

"The unchangeable realities of our country placed us on this road, there is no alternative."

The country now had the possibility of emerging from years of bitterness and division.

President De Klerk said: "Each South African also has to make his and her contribution to make 1993 a year of great progress."

"For that, there are many opportunities — on a person-to-person level, in the work-place and by enthusiastically participating in the activities of your church, your party, a charity organisation or other community organisation."

The dangers of radicalism and the existing threats to the value system of all believing, moderate and peace-loving South Africans demanded that all should act constructively."

He concluded: "We should be such a nation in 1993: an inspired and purposeful nation; a hard-working nation, which stays on its knees before God, who holds the destiny of all of us in his hands."

Let's work together to build a better South Africa." — Sapa.
This isn't a soap, FW. It's for real

The government is discredited and divided, the military may mutiny, Buthelezi wants secession and Apley threatens a race war. Still FW de Klerk prevaricates.

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

accepting the structure of the transition. By mixing the explosive cocktail of the constitution-making body, the legislature and the executive, the National Party and the ANC have made constitution-making hostage to politics while strong, legitimate government has to wait for a constitutional settlement. On this point, at least, they should have listened to the warnings of the Democratic Party. Instead, the government and ANC's concoction delays both an election for a constituent assembly and the formation of a fully-fledged interim government of national unity. The DP has pointed out that if the constituent assembly were not tied to an elected interim government, an election could be held within months. Those elected to the constituent assembly could then excuse themselves from the dirty day to day politicking and get on with the job of drawing up the best constitution for South Africa. On the other hand, those charged with the day to day politics could form a coalition government of national unity this afternoon if they really wanted to. Other countries do it in times of emergency, without having to plod through the elaborate procedures of transitional executive councils.

To reinforce the legitimacy of a collapsing state, a precious symbol of national unity like Nelson Mandela needs to be given real authority as soon as possible. An alliance of all those who constructively want to lead South Africa away from the abyss should govern the country. What is needed, urgently, is effective joint control over the security forces, and an iron determination by a multiparty government to wipe out violence and thuggery from all sides, including the third force, criminals and the perpetrators of racial war, and to restore legitimacy to the security forces so they can uphold the law. Nor can economic recovery or a crash development programme for the unemployed and the homeless wait for the still distant constitutional settlement.

Even accepting that a transitional arrangement that takes use to 1994 is irreversible at this stage, the ANC is in a stronger position than De Klerk to move quickly. It has a mandate to compromise by postposing real democracy to meet the fears of the NP, the security forces, the civil service and business in general.

On the other hand, a weakened De Klerk appears to be hardly in a position to cross the raging Rubicon. Yet, when he stood at the political pinnacle after the March referendum, a birthday to remember if ever there was one, De Klerk had the world in his hands. He chose to use his advantage to attempt to secure a constitution that would have fallen well short of democracy — a position that eventually saw the destruction of CODESA.

A major cause of despondency is Inkatha's federal constitution, carefully timed to impact on the agenda at the boshibaad. For the past year, the Inkatha Freedom Party has played a spoiler role. Buthelezi's carefully timed move is still a spoiling one, but — with the aid of American 'experts' — he has acted proactively this time rather than reactively.

Having shored up his position as the Zulu populist-nationalist, Buthelezi is playing his other card — that of spokesman for the Natal region. The 'regional' option is attractive to the white Natalists and farmers of Natal, but what the country needs most of all right now is a strong central government of national unity to restore governance and end the violence.

Natal is the last place on earth that needs regional autonomy at this time. There would be a staggering configuration if either the IFP or the ANC was on a local election and took power with their own police force and institutions.

Furthermore, whatever the locals might think, the international community will not allow secession. The Organisation of African Unity has strict policy against the breakaway of new states that create bad precedents on a tribal continent.

Those whites who might be attracted to the Buthelezi option need to get a grip on reality. To go the route of secession or UDI could turn Durban into Sarejio. De Klerk is in an unenviable position. He has to stand up to those voices in his cabinet who are ideologically wedded to an alliance with the IFP which, like them, is proposing something short of democracy. Yet to remain willingly tethered in such a way to a small provincial force would be a bad mistake and the boshibaad of now and January will yield very little.

The risky alternative — of moving bravely into the future as a centrist party, of scrapping the notion of permanent power sharing, of calling election and getting a majority, of making a deal with the ANC — could give the Nats oxygen and a real chance of doing well in an election.

And who would then begrudge De Klerk his evening with Joan Collins?
When the pace got too much

OPPORTUNISTS of the government cruelly referred to it as the "Wimp Factor".

While the indefatigable, chain-smoking President de Klerk rolled through crisis and triumph, his lesser colleagues fell by the wayside. The year saw the exit of Minister of State Affairs and key negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, finance minister Barend du Plessis and secretary-general of the National Party, Stoffel van der Merwe.

Dr Viljoen cited ill-health, Mr du Plessis exhaustion and Dr van der Merwe said it was personal.

In May, shortly after the release of the Pickard report, which detailed wide-scale corruption and mismanagement by the Department of Development Aid, Dr Viljoen was appointed minister of State Affairs while Dr van der Merwe was given the post of the first secretary-general of the National Party.

Dr Viljoen held the Development Aid portfolio for four years from 1994 and was succeeded by Dr van der Merwe when he was appointed Minister of Constitutional Development.

Dr van der Merwe announced his resignation from political life a day before the release of the Parsons and De Meyer reports which detailed further abuses in the Gazankulu and Lebowa homelands.

While Dr van der Merwe had not been at the helm during the period when the abuses took place, he had become tired and disillusioned with his new job of trying to sell the NP to potential black voters.

Mr du Plessis resigned after eight years as finance minister, having come within eight votes of succeeding President FW de Klerk in 1989.

He had come under enormous criticism for his handling of VAT, his role at Cedeo and his unimaginative handling of the economy.

A search for justice

JUDGE RICHARD GOLDSMITH has just emerged from an Appleton Court hearing, a visitor was heard by the American ambassador, who had come to learn about the case.

He grabs a quick sandwich at the snack bar at the Bloemfontein Theatre, where he ponders on the ramifications of his commission's report on the affairs of the Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Activity in Pretoria.

The head of the commission into "Public Violence and Intimidation" is a man almost unique in senior SA legal circles in his lack of pomposity and sincere desire to hear the opinions of others.

The Goldstone commission began as an adjunct of a Peace Accord that has become a bastardised conflict of its own.

However, while local dispute resolution committees literally battled to get off the ground in conflict zones, the Goldstone commission has shown an unerring impartiality and a willingness to tackle issues that others have previously feared to tread.

Ground-breaking commissions into violence in a number of townships, allegations of state violence and taxi warfare have pinned the root of conflict on apartheid, poor policing, and political rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC that generates the intolerance necessary to fuel conflict.

Greatest show in town

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA, the ANC's secretary-general, had scarcely announced that the ANC was pulling out of negotiations because of the Boipatong massacre when his telephone rang.

It was Reolte Meyer, Constitutional Minister, and he was angry: "What the hell do you think you are doing?" Mr Ramaphosa chuckled: "Well, the good news is we're still talking."

For the next three months the only show in town was the "R and R show" as it became known.

While negotiations were theoretically suspended, it was this sanctioned channel of communication that finally sealed the return to talks with the Record of Understanding on September 29. The Government had much to do with the rapport between the two men, who, at face value could not be more different.

Both cut their molars on student politics while studying law, but Mr Ramaphosa later became the first general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mr Meyer the MP for Johannesburg West.

Many politicians hold their breath in the hope that the R and R show will continue.
Bobby Godsell
ON BOOKS

Sharp reminders

THESE TIMES: A DECADE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS
Ken Owen (Jonathan Ball)

Astonishing, that can be described poetically as licence.

The cover of Ken Owen's new book, which is a compilation of his columns over the past decade.

THESE TIMES: A DECADE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS

Ken Owen

The mind of the second censor, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, continues to fascinate and perplex the newspapermen who work under his regime of ruthlessness. His speeches have a subtle complexity, a quality of bewilderment and property, freedom of speech, freedom of association and tolerance for diversity.

These Times does more than merely expound these values. It argues them in the context of the harsh realities of our society and our times. Press freedom and section 208 of the Criminal Procedure Act, will be public property; the Sharpeville Six; television coverage of township violence; campus tolerance. These are not just values asserted by the author.

LISTEN

And therein lies Owen's challenge ... In a column written in September 1983 he offers advice to English South Africans:

"It's time we got off our sanctimonious high horse and down to the hard n مر- and-bolts of building a constituency to real reform. It requires organisation, and the willingness to listen to black people, which may be the hardest thing for white South Africans to do."

White South Africans did just this in this year's referendum: their hundreds of thousands...
Sunday Times Reporter

PRESIDENT de Klerk has warned that a complaining and protesting nation will play into the hands of radicals. (South)

In a somber Christmas message he said the dangers of radicalism and threats to the value system of all believing, moderate and peace-loving South Africans demanded that everybody should act constructively. (South)

A complaining, protesting, despondent and discontented nation is a nation heading for disaster and will play into the hands of the radicals. An active, hard-working, God-fearing, cheerful and solution-oriented nation overcomes its difficulties and is a prospering nation.

2-11-17

Destiny

"We should be such a nation in 1993 — an inspired and purposeful nation, a hard-working nation which prays on its knees before God, who holds the destiny of all of us in His hands," he said.

He said unemployment, drought, corruption, crime and violence had led to great social and political uncertainty in the past year, but that there was nothing wrong which, with Divine Grace, cannot be rectified.

He said the government would approach the churches with a "serious request" to jointly call for a day of contrition and prayer "on which all believers can thank the Lord for all the blessings, among which are the widespread rains, and, in all humility, confess their sins".

President de Klerk said all South Africans would have to reconcile themselves with the irreversibility of the reform process.

"The unchangeable realities of our country placed us on this road. There is no alternative. The process of renewal is unstoppable," he said.
The Government is determined to make 1993 a year of fundamental progress and breakthrough, President de Klerk said in his Christmas and New Year's message.

De Klerk said greater clarity on how this would be achieved would emerge early next year.

Acknowledging the prevalence in South Africa of crime, violent deaths and social and political uncertainty, De Klerk vowed that the Government would not capitulate to radicalism, and that it would "continue to govern the country with all the means at its disposal" until its reform objectives had been achieved.

The Government would be taking the lead to achieve a rapid movement, through multi-party negotiations, towards a government of national unity.

He announced that the Government would be approaching the churches of South Africa to call for a day of contrition and prayer.

"There is nothing wrong in South Africa which, with divine grace, cannot be rectified. That is the challenge of 1993, and that is the Christmas message of reconciliation."

"I appeal to you all to join me in accepting this challenge."

He urged the public not to yield to despondency. The land and people had much potential.

"Compared with the rest of our continent, we are a beacon of hope," De Klerk said. "Let us build on that hope and strengthen that beacon."

All South Africans should reconcile themselves with the irreversibility of the reform process, he said.

"The unchangeable realities of our country placed us on this road. There is no alternative."

The country now had the possibility of emerging from years of bitterness and division.

De Klerk said: "Each South African also has to make his and her contribution to make 1993 a year of great progress."

"For that, there are many opportunities — on a person-to-person level, in the workplace, and by enthusiastically participating in the activities of your church, your party, a charity organisation or other community organisation."

The dangers of radicalism and the existing threats to the value system of all believing, moderate and peace-loving South Africans demanded all to act constructively.

"A complaining, protesting, despondent and dissatisfied nation is a nation heading for disaster and will play into the hands of the radicals."

"An active, hard-working, God-fearing, cheerful and solution-oriented nation overcomes its difficulties and is a prospering nation," De Klerk said. — Sapa.
Pragmatism first for Russian ambassador

Pence, co-operation and departure from ideological constraints are the cornerstones of the thinking of the Russian Federation’s ambassador to South Africa. Eugeny Petrovich Gusarov spoke to HELEN GRANGE about his role in South Africa.

The Russian Federation’s first ambassador to South Africa, Eugeny Petrovich Gusarov, is intent on exercising the ghosts of the Soviet past in South Africa, even if it means leaving some former Soviet allies behind.

His message is simple: Communism and the Cold War are over. We are here to foste co-operation with South Africa as far as possible, and see South Africa the best of luck in its transition to democracy.

Impassively diplomatic, Gusarov is uncharacteristically to face the challenges of visibly reducing Moscow’s profile in South Africa as peace broker.

He is amiable, speaks fluent English with plans to learn Afrikaans, and has a mind which clearly lends itself to the pragmatic.

Conditions nevertheless become self-defeating when asked if there is any lesson to be learnt from the Soviet’s epic tragedy.

In a phrase filled with geopolitical reality, Gusarov says: “We know better from the difficulties and pain of our past that violence is not a solution.”

“We are no longer giving aid and advice to other countries that we ourselves are not involved in these 10 years without Soviet diplomatic representation in South Africa. Gusarov, the arrival on November 1st to set up an embassy signalised a new dawn for South Africa’s relations with the world’s biggest and most developed regions.”

However, a blow to the SA Communist Party, which has stated that the move was premature and counter-productive, and should have only been considered once barriers to economic integration were in place.

Gusarov is quite stern on this score: “We have no relationship with the ANC. The Communist Party at home has been banned so there are no links at all. How this (the establishment of the embassy) will be resolved here is not for me to say.”

The Russian Federation’s efforts to purge its past and be incorporated as an active member of the democratic world and its strongest bond with South Africa, also attempting to legitimize itself in the global community.

This mutual struggle is what Gusarov sees as the key to co-operation between the two nations.

Cautiously, he says: “As I understand, you are starting out. While it is possible, you need to co-operate with us.”

Meanwhile, the economic co-operation between the two countries is very interested in what Moscow has to offer to the South African market.

A joint project in the world of co-operation is one that has already been agreed in August between the Mineral and Energy Affairs department and the Russian Federation’s Ministry of Atomic Energy.

During State President F W de Klerk’s visit to Moscow last year, a trade agreement was set up whereby South Africa would export consumption goods at bargain prices, and Pretoria would extend to Moscow a R160 million revolving credit line.

Gusarov will be facilitating further trade contact, but his immediate plans are to meet and develop good relations with the leaders of parties participating in the peace process.

He emphasizes these words, clearly to reiterate the Russian Federation’s new non-ideological role in South Africa and the continent at large.

Much of the ground work of diplomatic contact has already taken place through an exchange of trade missions established at the end of 1991.

Gusarov is indebted to the two men who ran it, and both will be staying on to share their experience with the staff of the new embassy.

Residential accommodation is still being organised, but already there is a sense of settlement in the Embassy’s modest offices in Hatfield, Pretoria.

Gusarov is anxious to see how his 11-year-old son is going to cope with his new school, but is pleased that he already has a friend in the 11-year-old son of another embassy staff.

As to the length of his stay in South Africa, Gusarov has no idea. “There is a lot of catching up to do considering the fact that we last attempted diplomatic contact with South Africa in 1950,” he enquired. 

Cordial relations... now Russian ambassador Eugeny Petrovich Gusarov with President de Klerk.
Hopes high for crucial summit between Mandela and Buthelezi.
Time overdue for firm leadership, says HSRC

Ray Hartley

THE time was long overdue for SA's political leaders to begin exercising firm leadership on the basis of achievable strategies, HSRC social dynamics GM Lawrence Schlemmer said in the December edition of the organisation's magazine Prospects.

"The process of political negotiation in SA is almost invariably ambiguous and confusing. One week we appear to have deep and irreconcilable conflict; the next we appear to have political understanding," he said.

Many NP members had the impression that the ANC treated crises and then won "more than its fair share of concessions", with government appearing to bend over backwards, he said.

Schlemmer said the ANC's sudden shift back to bilateral talks with government was unexpected.

"In some ways it is a positive feature of the current process. Both the NP and the ANC alliance have come from very different parts of the political spectrum.

"They carry with them fears, sensitivities and commitments which were firmly established in their party structures in the previous period of armed struggle and naked ideological and strategic antagonism."

Also writing in Prospects, Stellenbosch University international law professor Gerhard Erasmus said SA might need more international involvement to achieve a peaceful negotiated settlement.

Lloyd Cutts reports that Erasmus said mutual trust was lacking among the main political players in SA, and the resulting inability to reach agreement coupled with escalating violence had threatened both negotiations and regional peace.

"This is the basis for international involvement. We need the international community to help us with our own efforts."

Monitoring could restore trust in the machinery of state which had been used to enforce apartheid in the past.

The escalating violence, however, could require a greater role by the international community.

The first elections would require extensive monitoring, and the registration of voters, campaigning, media access, polling and counting, would have to be free and without intimidation.

"Umta's success in Namibia has established a reputation of objectivity."

Work for Life starts job creation project

Robert Wicks

MORE than 7 million economically active South Africans have no recorded employment and about 450 000 new job seekers are entering the market each year, according to figures released by Work for Life Entrepreneurial Developments.

Work for Life has been launched by engineering firm Rutec to assist retrenched staff by creating community self-reliance.

Blue chip corporations, governments, international development aid agencies, banks, entrepreneurs and community organisations were being targeted in an ambitious job creation project which could see the establishment of half a million micro-enterprises in the next five years.

Rutec director Andre van Heerden said a successful programme had been implemented with Anglo Alpha, and a similar project was in the pipeline with Postkor for the new year.

Productivity centres in disadvantaged communities were established and then run by candidates with a genuine desire to work for community upliftment.

Extensive training in technical, business and marketing aspects was undertaken. Revenue was derived from technical and business training services, the marketing and distribution of appropriate technology and the supply of raw materials.

"Each centre operates as a franchise of Work for Life, training 100 people a month at a fee of R50 a course. From this it obtains 30 micro-enterprises at a set-up cost of around R4 000 each," said Van Heerden.

Rutec guaranteed an equipment buyback and ceded its shares in the centre to the investor for its exposure in the first year, Van Heerden said.
ANC condemns hot pursuit threats by govt

THE ANC yesterday vehemently condemned government sources threatening hot pursuit raids into Transkei, claiming these would be used to harass the local community and disrupt the organisation's activities in the region.

And Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday warned President F W de Klerk against cross-border raids.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus was reacting to a report in the Sunday Star that an unnamed government source had threatened that SA security personnel would not honour any border protocols in tracking down alleged Apla members attacking whites in the eastern Cape.

He said the ANC "absolutely and in no uncertain terms" opposed any suggestions of cross-border raids.

Holomisa said yesterday an inquiry would investigate all claims that came before it.

He called on Newsweek magazine to provide such an inquiry with the agreement it reported between the Transkei Defence Force and Apla, in which the latter was allegedly given permission to use Transkei as a launching pad for attacks on whites in SA.

"I do not know about any agreement and until it has been investigated, and there is either proof or otherwise, I'm not prepared to discuss it," Holomisa said.

He said the SA government was welcome to go ahead with cross-border raids and he would "cross that bridge" when he came to it.

Holomisa said it was up to De Klerk to state clearly where he, as head of government, stood on the issue of cross-border raids.

"I want to warn De Klerk that we have many agreements that we have signed and if there is a violation of our border he will have to answer to that," he said.

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that the NUM has accused SA security forces deployed on the Lesotho and Transkei borders of harassing and intimidating black miners.

NUM president James Motlatsi said in a statement that mineworkers were being subjected to searches, intimidation and harassment at roadblocks under the pretext of maintaining law and order in areas affected by the violence.

"While we understand the need to maintain law and order, we are however concerned when this is used in a manner which suggests that all blacks are criminals or offenders simply because of the colour of their skins," he said.

"The silence of the Lesotho government on this critical issue affecting people who are mainly responsible for the contribution to their economy is deafening," Motlatsi said.

Motlatsi added that the deployment of white mineworkers as police reservists to harass fellow black employees would damage relations between the two groups.

Zimbabweans lose cars in sales scam
BlockML Road to Democracy

Yor Sarakimy examines De Klerk's role in the context of similar activities in Algeria.
FW pledges a ’93 of progress

PRETORIA. — The government is determined to make 1993 a year of fundamental progress and breakthrough, President F.W. de Klerk said in his Christmas and New Year’s message.

He said greater clarity on how this would be achieved would emerge early next year.

Acknowledging the prevalence of crime, violent deaths and social and political uncertainty, Mr. De Klerk vowed that the government would not capitulate to radicalism and that it would “continue to govern the country with all the means at its disposal” until its reform objectives had been achieved.

The government would be taking the lead to achieve a rapid movement, through multi-party negotiations, towards a government of national unity. He urged the public not to yield to despondency. The land and people had much potential. South Africans should reconcile themselves to the irreversibility of the reform process.

The country now had the opportunity of emerging from years of bitterness and division. — Sapa
ANC/IFP summit to go ahead

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—The important summit between ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to go ahead. Delegations preparing for the meeting are hoping to set a date tomorrow when they meet for the second time.

Sources in both parties confirmed that they were “very confident” about how preparations were proceeding, with the ANC negotiator saying the summit “would definitely happen” and that it was just a matter of time.

Inkatha national chairman Dr. Frank Mdlalose said he was hopeful that a date could be set tomorrow. But he cautioned that the problems were not superficial and while only two meetings were scheduled, the delegations could decide to hold further talks to prepare the ground.

The ANC source said it was “vital” that the summit of delegations headed by the respective leaders succeeds.

“We have to ensure success. If we do not prepare a strong foundation for the summit to succeed, there will be problems and we do not believe the country needs to see it fail at this stage,” he said.

He said the negotiations were extremely tough with the two delegations looking for a way through the two major problem areas: Mr. Mandela’s demand that Chief Buthelezi accept the record of understanding between himself and President F.W. de Klerk concluded in September; and Inkatha’s adoption of the “go-it-alone” federal option.

Dr. Mdlalose said the first meeting last month was “very encouraging” and progress was made with “a great deal of goodwill”.

Neither side was prepared to divulge details of the talks.

Relations between the parties, especially in Natal, have been bad for most of the year with both leaders blaming each other for the escalating violence and communicating with one another through media statements.

One of the events most damaging to the already tense relationship was Mr. Mandela’s address to the UN where he labelled Inkatha as a puppet of Pretoria.

Mr. Mandela complained a few months ago that he had phoned Chief Buthelezi on at least 12 occasions but the latter had refused to take his calls and the “ball was now in his court”.

But Chief Buthelezi has objected consistently to ANC/government collusion and making bilateral decisions affecting parties which were not included in talks.
Cautious Inkatha, ANC go on with talks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The ANC and IFP were cautiously optimistic that today's meeting between the two parties would set a date and agenda for a summit between their leaders Mr. Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Mr. Carl Niehaus said the ANC was aiming for tangible conclusions on a Mandela/Buthelezi summit to secure peace between the two parties and get constitutional negotiations back on track.

The ANC did not want the talks to be purely "ceremonial." There would be no point in continuing a series of preparatory summit talks if they did not produce concrete results, Mr. Niehaus said.

IFP national chairman Dr. Frank Mdlalose said in a radio interview that he expected the preparatory meeting to continue clearing whatever obstacles remained in the way of the summit.

He cautioned, however, that the obstacles were not superficial.

Dr. Mdlalose is to lead the IFP delegation and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma will head the ANC team.

Neither the ANC nor the IFP would divulge the agenda for today's talks or the venue, but it is believed the teams will meet at a hotel in Durban.

Today's meeting follows an earlier "seven-a-side" meeting between the two organisations.
Gold, red, green for new flag?

PRETORIA. - South Africa's new national flag is unlikely to be a pink and circular — but that is just about where consensus ends. Writing in the Human Sciences Research Council journal Prospects, HSRC cultural studies unit researcher Mr Charles Malan has made some suggestions.

He said few leaders seemed to be in favour of retaining the present flag, and said a new flag containing yellow/gold, red and green should prove the most popular.

"It is logical that communities should primarily be sought as regards colour preferences."

The most popular heraldic colours and colour combinations were green and yellow/gold (ANC, PAC, IFP, Springboks, Zion Christian Church). Then came black and yellow/gold (PAC, ANC, IFP, Azapo) and orange (national flag, NP).

In addition, an indigenous African tradition of heraldry had developed and features such as the hide-bound shield, spear and knobkerrie, and animals such as the leopard and elephant might be incorporated in a flag design.

Mr Malan said there were strong arguments for adopting Nkosi Sikelel i'afrika as the new national anthem. It was widely accepted in Southern Africa because it was a prayer without political references.

— Sapa (304.6 Oct 29 1992)
Johannesburg — The NP government's "indecent haste" to hand over power to the ANC-SACP alliance was the main reason for the country's economic decline, the ANC said yesterday. It said in their right mind would invest in a country which registers a "growth" rate of minus four percent," CP spokesman on economic affairs Mr. Daan Nolte said.

He said the coming budget would reflect the failure of the government's bankrupt "welfare state" and the revenue shortfall. — Sapa
Govt reneging on Codesa — LP

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse yesterday accused the government of reneging on the Declaration of Intent adopted at Codesa, and of bringing the country to the brink of total disaster.

Opening the LP's 27th annual congress, Mr Hendrickse said government intransigence had brought the negotiation process to a standstill.

Viewing the future of the party Mr Hendrickse said it was ironic that with legislated apartheid now generally a thing of the past, "we should be debating whether a largely ethnic party should continue to exist."

At a time when "we should be celebrating victory, we are worrying about who will represent the coloured people in a future government."

Mr Hendrickse said this illustrated just how difficult it would be to break down all ethnic barriers and "see that we are all South Africans".

"We need a government of national salvation if we are to have any hope of dragging our country back from the abyss of civil war."

Calling for a government of national salvation made up of a broad spectrum of political parties, he said this was necessary to create the kind of stability needed to attract substantial foreign investment.

He said it was "nonsense to talk of a government of national unity".

The ravages of apartheid over the past 40 years "have ensured we will not be able to speak of a unified nation for generations to come," he said.

Mr Hendrickse warned that the NP might be planning a new form of co-option, adding that no minority regime had ever willingly handed over power to the majority.

"Do you really believe that a party which has so persistently denied us our rights, done everything in its power to advantage whites at the expense of others, is now prepared to hand over power?"

Labour Party Durban Suburbs MP Mr Luwellyn Landers yesterday warned that any new government would have no option but to institute "Nuremberg-style trials", if President F W de Klerk did not disclose the truth about all covert activities.

Mr Landers said a future government would be honour-bound to establish the truth about projects which had been aimed at the liberation movement.
Labour Party rejects NP alliance

PORT ELIZABETH — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has called for the formation of a “government of national salvation” to save SA from political and economic ruin. Opening the party’s 27th annual conference yesterday, he said it was “nonsense” to speak of a government of national unity because the legacy of division caused by apartheid would remain for generations to come.

A government made up of a broad spectrum of political parties would create the kind of stability needed to attract foreign investment.

Hendrickse warned that the NP would not willingly hand over power.

Pointing the way to the Labour Party’s future, Hendrickse urged the party to reject any alliance with the NP because of its history of apartheid and racism.

“Don’t make the mistake that so-called coloureds and Indians made in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Your future lies with your brothers and sisters in the struggle,” he said to applause.

Hendrickse sharply attacked the media, particularly the SABC, for subjecting his party to “the most pernicious misinformation and disinformation”.

He called for an international commission to supervise the media during the run-up to a nonracial election.

Cosatu president John Gomomo warned of renewed mass action in the new year if government increased taxes.

“We are not going to accept government manipulating and misusing our taxes,” Gomomo said.

During a debate on the future of the party yesterday Labour appeared set to continue as a separate entity — at least for the immediate future — but in closer alliance with other members of the patriotic front, reports our Political Staff.

But the decision is unlikely to be unanimous, and there are signs of further defection.

Speaking in support of an alliance with the ANC, Northern Cape MP Desmond Lockey said the LP should form joint structures with other members of the patriotic front at local and regional level to pool resources and “fight the NP”.

Earlier, Riversdale MP Douglas Joseph called for the retention of the status quo, stating that people should not be “ashamed” to be coloured.

The coloured people were a reality, he said.

ANC Eastern Cape chairman Linda Mti and Raymond Mhlaba of the SACP called for unity of “the oppressed” and pledged their organisations’ support for the Labour Party.

— Sapa.
Mandela, Buthela: talks closer
Promise of New

The sour joke of 1992 had it that there was at least one growth industry in South Africa: politics. The year in politics has been conducted at breakneck speed, with major developments following one another so closely that June's sensation was forgotten by July. The Star's Political Staff provides a month-by-month run-down of 1992, the year of sound and fury — and not all that much evident movement towards the "New South Africa".

The Department of Development Aid is scrapped.

APRIL: CP splits, Nelson leaves Winnie, and Barend leaves politics.
Wonderboom MP Koos Botha is expelled from the CP for advocating negotiations for a smaller Volkstaat. He later admits he bombed a school.
Twenty-three people are killed in an attack on an IFP stronghold in Crossroads squatter camp near Kariega.
The SADF's 32 Battalion rampages through Phola Park squatter camp.
PAC leaders meet the Government outside SA.
Mandela and his wife Winnie separate. Winnie resigns as New Nation publishes the alleged "Goniwe death signal".
De Klerk orders the re-opening of the Goniwe inquest.
Codeda 2 deadlocks, despite agreement on a wide range of issues.
The Government widens the scope of conscientious objection.
Mr Justice Goldstone tables his second interim report pointing at ANC/IPF rivalry and security force complicity as causes of violence. He recommends that hostages be fenced and patrolled, and the carrying of dangerous weapons be outlawed.
The ANC's national policy conference resolves to embark on mass action if the Government does not give in to demands for interim government and a constituent assembly.

JUNE: Boipatong, talks called off, and the entry of the UN.
The Johannesburg City Council agrees to take over the administration of Soweto.
The ANC alliance announces details of its mass action campaign.
The hospital strike affects 17 hospitals, involving 12,000 strikers.
At least 39 people die in the Boipatong massacre.
De Klerk announces a special session of Parliament for October.
The Melanet Commission reports gross irregularity in the Multilateral Motor Vehicles Insurance Fund.
De Klerk visits Boipatong but is beaten up by protestors.
The ANC breaks off all constitutional negotiations with the Government and presents a list of 14 demands.
Mr Justice Goldstone appoints international assessors.
UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali accepts the Government's invitation to try to resolve the negotiations impasse.
The ANC says it will allow already-arranged sport events to go ahead under certain conditions.
The Government sends a memo to the ANC softening some of its Codeda 2 negotiating positions.

JULY: Cyrus Vance, Jonathan Gluckman, and the Saccola talks
De Klerk announces impending action on hostels and weapons, and the disbanding of Koevoet, 31 and 32 Battalions.
The UN security council passes Resolution 765 calling for special envoy Cyrus Vance to visit South Africa.
Cosatu and Saccola express optimism about reaching an accord and averting a general strike talks break down.
Neil van Heerden steps down as Director-General of Foreign Affairs.
A report by a British police expert finds the SAP's handling of the Boipatong massacre "woefully inadequate".
Private pathologist Jonathan Gluckman says "out of control" policemen are killing people in custody. Law and Order Miniser Tonnis Kriel orders an internal inquiry.

AUGUST: General strike, the Hammer unit, and an end to rival SAP generals.
The two-day general strike begins. Millions stay away.
Five Ethos sign to form the Afrikaner Volksparty.
Andre de Villiers is murdered on his farm in Addo after giving newspapers information about the activities of an alleged SADF unit called Hammer.
The Government says 13 police generals are to be retired early and black generals are to be promoted.
Finance Minister Derek Keys announces that 30,000 civil service jobs are to be cut to reduce government spending.
planned legislation for the special session of Parliament.

The Government and ANC reach a wide-ranging Record of Understanding which includes agreement on an elected constituent assembly, and action on prisoners, weapons and hostels.

Buthelezi fiercely rejects the Record of Understanding and withdraws the IFP from negotiations.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Governments and the CP join the IFP in forming the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Rarend Strydom, Robert McBride and others are released on parole; many other prisoners are freed.

The ANC announces it will rejoin negotiations.

OCTOBER: Lucky, Gerrit, the Indemnity Bill, and more massacres.

Lucky Malaza, released in error, declines an “invitation” to return to jail.

De Klerk gives a qualified apology for apartheid, then delivers a tough speech at the start of the special parliamentary session.

Six Labour Party MPs defect to the DP.

The Constitution Amendment Bill to allow blacks and other non-MPs to be Cabinet Ministers is passed at the second attempt.

The controversial Further Indemnity Bill is defeated in Parliament.

The ANC accepts responsibility for abuse of detainees, and undertakes to appoint another commission to identify the guilty individuals.

Gunmen shoot dead 20 IFP supporters and injure 27 at Mpuhini, Natal. Police speculate it is a revenge killing for the murder of six ANC supporters in nearby Ficksburg.

ANC Natal Midlands deputy leader Reggie Hadebe is assassinated.

Gerrit Viljoen retires from politics. De Klerk shuffles his cabinet again.

De Klerk doubles troops in Natal, and accuses the ANC of infiltrating weapons.

More than 200 policemen have been killed this year.

Government, labour and business agree to launch a National Economic Forum.

The President’s Council approves the Further Indemnity Bill.

NOVEMBER: More corruption, the goldstone report or April 1994.

In an alleged Apla attack, four whites die and 17 others are wounded at King William’s Town golf club.

DECEMBER: KwaNatal, bosberads, the SADF purge, and farmers’ fury.

The KwaZulu legislature adopts a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region in a future South African federation.

ANC and Government negotiators meet for a “bosberaad” at a secret northern Transvaal venue.

Government calls off bilateral talks with the PAC.

The SADF unveils a short-service Permanent Force system paving the way for the phasing out of national service.

The SADF cuts its staff by 6,000 members.

The CP “calls up” its supporters to help counter Apla’s campaign.

Kriel criticises Gluckman’s allegations; Gluckman calls the police report “inadequate”.

Lucky Malaza is arrested on theft charges and then freed on bail.

Eugene TerreBlanche says the AWB is preparing for a fu-
NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe retires from politics.

The De Meyer Commission report exposes gross corruption in Lebowa.

Witnesses allege at the Webster inquest that former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had admitted to taking part in the academy's murder.

Mr Justice Goldstone announces that his commission raided an SADF MI unit and seized files showing MI last year launched a campaign to discredit the ANC.

The existence of the Directorate for Covert Collection (DCC) is revealed.

Mr Justice Goldstone asks for support in investigating all armed forces, official and private, in and outside SA.

De Klerk appoints SADF Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn to take charge of all SADF intelligence functions including MI, and to probe them for irregularities.


Government releases 42 political prisoners under the Record of Understanding, bringing the total to 153.

Kobie Coetsee announces an extension of the moratorium on hanging.

Du Plessis backs down on VAT zero-rating.

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The ANC alliance endorses Joe Slovo's proposal that the ANC share power with the Government even after the period of interim government.

Mandela and Buthelezi agree in principle on a meeting.

De Klerk announces a proposed timetable for transition with a resumption of multiparty negotiations by the end of March 1993 and elections for an interim government in March.

De Klerk rejects Buthelezi's plan for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

A bomb, allegedly placed by Apila, kills one and injures several at a Queenstown steakhouse.

Mandela says the Apila attacks will not derail the negotiation process.

De Klerk meets Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo for the first time since the signing of the Record of Understanding.

PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke resigns.

December... Dikgang Moseneke quits the PAC.

De Klerk announces the compulsory retirement and suspension of 23 SADF intelligence officers.

Kriel declares unrest areas in the eastern Cape and Free State.

He and two other Ministers are heckled by irate Free State farmers.

September... Robert McBride is released.

September: Biko, Mandela's olive branch, and the Record of Understanding.

Ciskei Defence Force soldiers open fire with live ammunition on ANC alliance marchers at Bisho, killing at least 24 and injuring 198.

Mandela says in an interview with The Star that a resumption of negotiations is urgent.

De Klerk announces his

August... Derek Keys slashes civil service.
Stop-start build-up to the Year of Reckoning

(ending 30/4 1994)
Elections top priority for new year, says Mandela

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

The core challenge set by the events this year was the holding of free and fair democratic elections for a constituent assembly, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his New Year message last night.

"Such an election would mark the end of decades during which our country was ravaged in an undeclared war. South Africa urgently needs a 'Marshall Aid' plan to address the consequences of such devastation."

The ANC's demand for a democratic election was based on the urgency with which South Africa needed to address its economic crisis.

The world stood ready to support SA with aid, investment and sporting and cultural exchanges, but would only do so with a "democratically elected, legitimate government representative of all South Africans".

The extent of the disregard for black life had been underscored by the almost hysterical response to the recent killing of whites in King William's Town, Queenstown and Ficksburg when almost 15 000 blacks had lost their lives in violence.

He said violence was the greatest disaster South Africa had faced in 1992.

"The acknowledgement by President de Klerk of the involvement in the violence by senior SADF officers confirms the efforts to destabilise the negotiation process and the ANC."

The other problem South Africans had grappled with in 1992 was negotiations.

A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission had to be set up in the new year.
October election — PAC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A REVAMPED negotiations forum could be set up by February and elections for a constituent assembly held by October next year, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday in his New Year's message.

Mr Makwetu said his organisation remained committed to the decisions taken by the Patriotic Front in 1991 and remained ready to discuss with other parties ways to set up an elected constituent assembly.

"To this end we believe that the new negotiations forum could be established by February 1993, that voter registration be started by March 1, 1993 and that elections for a constituent assembly unfettered by prior deals be held by October 1993," he said.

Mr Makwetu said 1992 had been a year of contrasts between:

● Promises of peace and the grim realisation of violence.

● Promises of democracy and continued minority rule.

● Promises of economic recovery while in reality the economy continued its downward slide.

If the government had frozen the R6 billion earmarked for covert military activities in the South African budget it would have gone a long way to ending political violence and curbing government overspending, he said.

"Savings through these measures could have been directed towards African entrepreneurial growth in the manufacturing trade in order to bring interim relief to millions through job creation ventures."

The PAC was worried about possible tax hikes next year which would only increase state revenue and would not be protected against "il-disciplined government overspending", Mr Makwetu said.

● The past year had been one of betrayal for black South Africans, Azapo president Professor Kheneng Mosala said in his New Year's message yesterday.

"There can be no happiness and prosperity where there is wholesale betrayal of the fundamental aspirations of the black majority," he said.

He accused President F W de Klerk of trying to get blacks to sign their own death warrants through bi-lateral talks and the "infamous" Codesa negotiating forum.

● Reconciliation should displace violence as the order of the day in 1993, acting chairman of the Solidarity Party and Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates, Mr Baldeo Dooikee, said in his New Year's message.
THE mammoth task of preparing for elections for new local political and administrative structures in 1994 awaits Government and local government authorities and civic organisations in the new year.

Last March, the then Minister of Local Government and National Housing, Leon Wessels, announced an end to all racially based municipal elections and postponed all local government elections until an interim solution could be found.

Government and the SA National Civic Organisation agreed in November to establish a national forum on local government in the new year to deal with the long-term restructuring of municipal authorities on a nonracial basis.

Next year has been described by new Local Government and Local Affairs Minister Dr Tertius Delport as a "make-or-break" period for local government in South Africa.

Problems high on the Government's local agenda include: the large debts facing black local authorities and the many rent and service tariff boycotts; the swift establishment of joint administrations, as the country can no longer afford duplicate structures; and the need to strike a balance between the needs of developed areas and undeveloped areas in cities and towns.

Government will also investigate the feasibility of local government structures and administration in the Transvaal plateau in the coming months.

Next June is the Government's deadline for all white local authorities to have entered into agreements to form joint administrations with black neighbours, or at least to have set up negotiating forums. Government is expected to get tough with those who cling to separate councils.

Behind the scenes in 1992, often without any fanfare, progress was being made in negotiations at municipal level, reports Local Government Reporter LOUISE MARSLAND.

release of a blueprint for an interim democratic, nonracial, elected local government for Greater Johannesburg and Soweto.

The chamber proposed a 100-seat interim metropolitan authority to take over the functions, finances and jurisdiction of the existing Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council and the chamber.

The chamber's recommendations meant that the civic associations were also back in constitutional negotiations.

An electoral commission will be set up by the chamber in the new year to draw up guidelines for interim local government elections.

Another of the Metropolitan Chamber's successes was the formulation of guidelines to deal with short-term crises in urbanisation and manage the transition process in the post-apartheid city.

An intensive investigation into the availability of vacant and undeveloped land on the outskirts of urban areas on the Reef for low-cost housing is continuing after the release of a chamber land audit in October.

The financial and administrative crisis facing the Soweto councils will also be finalised shortly, with a decision from the Administrator of the Transvaal expected before the end of the month.

The Johannesburg City Council is ready to provide services, on an agency basis and paid for by the CWRSC, to Diepmeadew and Soweto. An administrator for these two areas is likely to be appointed.
Alliance ‘could squeeze out NP’

THE Labour Party’s congress decision to seek a closer alliance with the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu, could see the NP squeezed out of the western Cape as a major contender in the first non-racial elections scheduled tentatively for the end of next year, politicians said.

At the same time, the decision places the DP and Labour at loggerheads as opponents competing for the “so-called coloured votes in the Cape”, a Labour Party source said.

The decision, taken with another that forbade dual membership, would also pave the way for Labour MPs uncomfortable with an alliance with the ANC to cross the floor to the DP. There was strong support among some in the caucus favouring an alliance with the DP.

**Raid**

The source said the party had been squeezed badly as it was constituted as an ethnic party in terms of SA’s constitution. It was also being subjected to “midnight raids for scalps from rival white parties, the DP and NP, to dominate parliamenary dohaas”.

DP MP (Johannesburg North) Peter Soal confirmed his party would head-hunt Labour Party members to “ensure that we remain the official opposition in Parliament”.

He said there was concern that the CP might gain a few new MPs.

The ANC welcomed the Labour Party’s decision to seek a closer alliance, but said a decision about the kind of alliance would be up to the national working committee and negotiations between the tripartite alliance and the Labour Party.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation had a great deal of sympathy for the Labour Party’s congress decision which it saw in a “positive light”.

However, the ANC would have to wait for a formal approach from the Labour Party to see what kind of alliance it wanted.

This would be discussed by the national working committee. Depending on that decision, negotiations between the tripartite alliance and the Labour Party would follow.

He said the tripartite alliance was a close and formal alliance and there was a looser alliance through the patriotic front. The main criteria for a close alliance would be the extent of the party’s commitment to the ANC’s aims and objectives.

Figures released by the DP indicate that it is rapidly recruiting coloured members in the western Cape with branches growing from four at the beginning of the year to over 40.

There are indications that the ANC is not faring well in recruiting coloureds. A Labour Party alliance with the ANC would boost the alliance’s chances greatly and might also stem the flow of members leaving the Labour Party to join the DP, a DP organiser said.

He said that the DP viewed the Cape, its strongest area, as the area it could dominate in regional elections.

Should the alliance plans bear fruit, there would be a strong battle and the NP would fade into third place, he said.
SA saturated with foreign observers

The profusion of international observers in SA had reached the point where observers attending a march or rally nearly outnumbered the participants, Idasa said in its Democracy in Action publication.

By the end of November this year, the UN had 50 full-time observers in SA, the Commonwealth Secretariat had 22 and the EC had 15, the Idasa report said.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said this week the UN would be sending a further 10 observers to SA, bringing its total to 60. Boutros-Ghali said he had decided to send additional observers because "continued uncertainty over SA's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline".

The Idasa report said the OAU had also sent a task force, while the SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference were hosting up to five international church observers in SA.

"The obvious question is whether their presence will have any affect at all on the violence. From some recent experiences it seems that their role will be limited," the report said.

"While it is clear that there is a role to play in observing rallies and voting polls, local non-government organisations which are dealing with the violence believe that the monitors will have to do more than send reports back home."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reacted strongly this week to a report on SA submitted by two UN envoys to the UN Security Council.

The envoys, Virendra Dayal and Tom Vraaiken, were critical of government on a number of counts, including the existence of covert operations, lack of security at hostels and deficiencies in the police's ability to investigate serious crimes.

Botha said Boutros-Ghali was "not yet fully aware of all the relative aspects which make these problems difficult to resolve overnight."

People's courts 'still widespread'

The courts and traditional forms of justice continue to operate widely in SA, says Idasa in its recent issue of Democracy in Action.

Ronel Scheffer said "popular" justice mechanisms in SA included traditional courts, alternative dispute resolution centres and "the plethora of structures known as people's or community courts."

There was considerable pressure for some of these to become a permanent feature of SA's judicial system, Scheffer said. "This revolves not so much around the idea of bringing justice and dispute resolution closer to the people but rather how this could, and should, be realised practically."

Nico's Lucas Malekane said people's courts were functioning daily in Cape Town's Khayelitsha township, with the knowledge of the police and strong community support.

Malekane said matters before the courts ranged from petty theft and family disputes to murder cases.

Traditional leaders' organisation Contrasela president Patekile Holomisa reported widespread use of traditional courts in SA.

Scheffer said Idasa would be holding a national conference on people's courts and traditional forms of justice next year.

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Race relations

Non-racial elections are among developments predicted for 1993.

AFTER a glance into its crystal ball, the South African Institute of Race Relations has listed possible developments in South Africa for 1993: including non-racial elections and the retrenchment of up to 40,000 public servants.

In a Press release, the SAIRR said other developments could include the long-awaited equalisation of old age pensions between the races and the introduction of legislation eliminating discrimination against women at work.

It said some developments worth watching included:

- Whether South Africa's central government took over some of the functions of the administrations of the non-independent homelands.
- Whether displaced communities, dissatisfied with the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, re-occupied their land.
- Whether non-racial elections were held before the end of 1993.
- Whether between 30,000 and 40,000 public servants were retrenched in line with the general rationalisation of the public service.

On the economic front, the SAIRR suggested 1993 might see a return to tighter regulations in the granting of taxi licences in an effort to reduce violence in the industry, and that there might be deregulation in the liquor industry.

The Kieser Commission could recommend that the marketing boards' statutory agricultural powers should be removed and there could be more centralised bargaining over retrenchments.

The new year could possibly also see the commercialisation of State airports and air traffic.
There is great optimism among South Africans after their hopes in 1992 were washed away in blood, sweat and tears. SOUTH Africans enter 1993 with no more than guarded optimism after their hopes were washed away in so much blood, sweat and tears in 1992. While 1992 started off as the year during which everything would fall into place, things came apart and the country found itself in political and social chaos. The optimism with which 1993 is greeted stems, perhaps, from vague promises that multi-party negotiations will resume by the end of February at a restructured Codesa. Government is expected to complete a series of bi-lateral meetings with, among others, the Concerned South Africans Group and the ANC by the end of January when Parliament opens. These talks are expected to lead to multi-party negotiations.

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The restructured Codesa is expected to be a lot leaner and should shrink from a cumbersome 500 delegates, advisers and support staff to around 150. Parliament and Codesa will again run simultaneously but with a greater amount of symbiosis - the one complementing the other. Government still bears the responsibility to table a Budget and this will be done at the end of March. Besides the mooted increase in petrol early in the year, next year's Budget will, as usual, contain good and bad news. The bad news is that an increase in VAT is expected to be announced, while the good news is that greater, if not total, parity in the pensions between black and white people will be effected.

Parliament will next year also consider legislation to speed up the process of transition. The ANC has prepared what it has called "The Transition to Democracy Act" which should establish the framework for legislation that Parliament will consider. All of this amounts to relative agreement by the middle of next year and possibly the announcement of a date for elections to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly by the end of the year. It has been reliably learnt that the Government has already made tentative enquiries to at least one European government about uniform identity documentation for all South Africans and which are aimed at the elections.
Most American have lost interest in South Africa as it slides into ruin and dismiss it as just another inept African country, writes Hugh Roberton.

Two people lie dead after being mowed down by unknown assassins in one of the violent attacks that make South one of the bloodiest countries in the world today. But this, according to world observers, does not warrant even a single line in the history books.

Focus SA does not feature in top 20 news events of the world

W anston - South Africans have been preoccupied, understandably by 1992's diverting harvest of assassinations, treason trials, political crises and corruption. But much of the rest of the world appears to have lost interest in the country's turbulent journey towards change.

This week, for instance, the Associated Press released the results of its annual survey of which editors of America's 150 largest newspapers regarded as the year's top 10 news events. Not a single event in South Africa made the list, and neither did the country feature in the list's most important news events.

A further 100 editors of the largest newspapers in 37 countries outside the US were asked for their opinions, and what was described as a "South African newsprint copier" was accorded only 35th place on the list of 100, getting one vote more than the shots in Los Angeles.

There has been other evidence that what we regard as events of huge import in 1992 passed unnoticed outside the country. When the UN Security Council debated the Lusaka peace process, the event - including the speech of ANC president Nelson Mandela - was not even covered by New York's usually wide ranging newspapers.

The ANC's much awaited investment conference in New York was ignored, the revelations of military involvement in political violence and President de Klerk's dismissal of senior officers were reported, though modestly and without comment.

The Channel Four television programme and the Sunday Times KCPE programme on world events and was billed, respectively, as a South African correspondent.

But to any assessment, and of the producers, one thing evident in South Africa was put to me during the full 90 minutes I was on the box with national correspondents.

The debate of letters and phone calls that came my way from every corner of the US privately to the days following the show produced only two on South Africa, both from correspondents.

Have we become an obsessively inward looking society, preoccupied by our own problems to the extent that our perspective is warped?

Hardly, since massacres, terrorism, political crises and corruption in high places are issues of the highest importance to the country.

More likely, however, is the disturbing conclusion that the world has grown weary of the seemingly endless ramifications of South Afri-
Disillusioned world losing interest in South Africa

For America, this is an opportunity to prove that we can be the world's leader in foreign policy, not just the world's leader in power projection. We have the opportunity to show the world that we can use our influence for good, not for evil. South Africa is a test case for our commitment to democracy and human rights. If we fail in South Africa, we will lose the trust of the world. If we succeed, we will set an example for other countries to follow. We must take advantage of this opportunity to make a difference in the world.