Role of security forces a thorny issue

ALTHOUGH there is almost common cause among most of the organizations and parties negotiating at the World Trade Centre about the need for a multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) to be established as soon as possible, there is as yet no consensus about the powers of the TEC and its sub-councils.

The ANC and its allies would like the TEC to set up as soon as possible, and want it to have effective, enduring, control and authority over the security forces. They envisage a situation where the TEC would be a supreme body, ruling the country on some issues and with absolute say on matters relating to the levelling of the playing field with regard to the forthcoming elections.

On the other hand the IFP and its allies have a different view. They submit that the TEC and its sub-councils would have power over matters related to the elections but not see it as a body with advisory powers. As President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town this week, the Government considers itself the legitimate ruler of the country, and says it will surrender power only to an elected government of national unity.

Another potentially divisive issue, which has yet to come up in the multiparty negotiations forum, is the exact role and powers of the TEC sub-councils in the security forces.

The ANC would like the security forces "and all other armed formations" to come under joint control by the TEC.

The IFP and its allies have their own reservations about the role of the TEC, and believe that the TEC should have the power to control the security forces, but not to have absolute control over them.

The organization's defence policy, which has its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, has not yet been discussed separately from the other negotiations. The IFP has also expressed reservations about the role of the TEC in the negotiations, and has said that the TEC should not be allowed to have too much power over the security forces.

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Spirit of Codaesa lives on in revived multiparty talks

The society could not proceed in the absence of some kind of mediation among the warring parties, which has been the case in the past. The current situation demands the involvement of a neutral third party to facilitate dialogue and negotiations. This is crucial for the restoration of peace and stability in the region.
THE age of blow-dried American razzmatazz politics may have arrived in South Africa with the opening of a local branch of the world-famous image-makers Saatchi and Saatchi.

Style creators for such luminaries as Margaret Thatcher and Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi — the media image-maker’s first client here will be the new look National Party.

Local advertising agency Saatchi Saatchi Klerck & Barrett (SSK&B) group chief executive officer Jurie Snyman says the move to establish a local branch of the company was prompted by the fact that there is money to be made in Africa in politics.

"There are some 26 countries in Africa which are changing from one-party states to multiparty democracies. All will have to hold elections. Madagascar and Angola have just had elections, for example, and Mozambique should hold one in a year’s time. Namibia is scheduled to hold an election by 1995 — and all these political parties will be looking for ways to best promote their message and reach voters," he says.

The SSK&B company — Communications Africa — will be headed up by Eldad Louw, a former agency strategic planning director, who has been associated with various National Party campaigns since 1983.

SSK&B has handled the NP’s election advertising campaigns since 1983, with the exception of 1989; it also handled the two referendums.

The company has been approached by parties in Zaire and Angola to do work for them, he said.

In picking up election campaigns as a specific business, SSK&B is following the well-trodden path forged by its international affiliate, Saatchi & Saatchi Worldwide, whose latest assignment was for Boris Yeltsin in the referendum last month in Russia.

It also handled the second election campaign of former US President Ronald Reagan and all the election campaigns for Thatcher and John Major.

"It was quite obvious to us from the day we started our push into Africa that the first money to be made was in politics. It is big-budget stuff, for which money is made available," Snyman notes.

A South American agency which handled work for the MPLA in Angola is said to have charged a fee of around R9 million; the Kenyan election billings ran to around R3 million.

"Although political advertising in South Africa has always been a sensitive issue, political campaigns are big and legitimate business in Africa and elsewhere," Snyman adds.

Nats set sail under new flag

THE National Party this week unveiled its new colours. Guided by its political consultancy, Communications Africa, the NP has decided on yellow, red, blue, green and white, breaking with its familiar orange and blue corporate look.

"The flag is divided into three panels broken in the middle by a bright sun which will also become the NP’s symbol. ‘The symbolism of the sun is that it shines on everyone, regardless of race or conviction. It stabilises our entire solar system in the same way the NP stabilises SA politics,’ the party says.

‘The issue of whether or not the NP should change its name appears to have been hotly debated. But it was decided to retain the name because ‘our name is more appropriate today than ever before’.\n
Follow us: The sun, the NP hopes, will shine warmly on all South Africans regardless of race."
CP's Gaye faces murder charge

GAYE Derby-Lewis, wife of Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis, had been charged with the murder of SACP general secretary Chris Hani, a senior police spokesman said last night.

After hours of confusion following her appearance in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court, Brigadier Frans Malherbe said Gaye Derby-Lewis had been charged with murder, even though no formal charge had been presented in court.

"She appeared on an indictment as a second accused after Janus Waluz, who appeared previously in connection with the same case," Malherbe said.

No bail application was lodged and the case was postponed to May 12, when Waluz would also appear in court.

Earlier Boksburg chief prosecutor Jan Ferreira said he had asked the court for her name to be added to the murder charge sheet drawn up for Waluz.

Police yesterday won an application before Mr Justice Curlewis to hold Clive Derby-Lewis in terms of the Internal Security Act until May 8.

Meanwhile, police said the hit list allegedly found in Waluz's flat could still be at risk, according to an affidavit by SAP Col. Adriaan van Niekerk handed to the Pretoria Supreme Court this week.

Supporting the application for the continued detention of Clive Derby-Lewis, Van Niekerk said he inspected that more people were involved in a plot to kill those on the list — one of whom had been Hani.

Waluz had said after his arrest that more people would be eliminated despite his detention.
Talks saved at the last minute

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

MULTIPARTY negotiations were pulled back from the brink at the last moment yesterday to close on a high note.

A day of drama at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park saw negotiators see-sawing between desperation and exasperation.

Urgency

However, a resolution calling for urgency in the talks and for elections to be held by next April was tabled minutes before the meeting — which looked set for deadlock — ended.

The resolution will be discussed when the national council meets again on Friday.

Earlier, negotiators spent hours nit-picking. At one stage it looked as though the Inkatha Freedom Party was going to walk out over a technical compromise proposed by the planning committee.

MDLALOSE: In close touch with Buthelezi.

MDLALOSE: In close touch with Buthelezi.

Members of the Afri

kaanser Volkskie and the Conservative Party backed Mdlalose; insisting that he be allowed to read the document.

The ANC and its allies strongly opposed the motion. A Transkei government delegate warned that if the IFP were allowed to read the document, Transkei would "rock this forum".

Bophuthatswana Minister of State Rowan Cronje asked for a 15-minute adjournment so that a compromise could be found. The planning committee then asked the IFP to table the document, with the agreement that the question of violence would receive continuing attention.

Orders

Sources said Mdlalose was in constant contact with IFP leaders and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Umlazi during the impasse, and that he was under orders "to read the document in the meeting or not come back to the table".

A short adjournment of nearly two hours led to the IFP's agreement as an "interim measure" of the formation of a task team to study the IFP document, discuss violence and liaise with the national peace committee. However, Mdlalose said the sub-committee could only be established after his own delegation had reported back to his principal.

The negotiating council also accepted the planning council's recommendation that technical committees be established to deal with constitutional issues and human rights.

The technical committees would consist of issues that would deal with — and report to the negotiating council — on the form of state and constitutional bodies, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional re-
NP changes colour

By Christelle Terreblanche

A LEOPARD can't change its spots, the saying goes. But the National Party's new look is unblemished by the black spot of apartheid. (BOL A)

Gone are the days of krag-deugdheid; it seems. The kruithoring — powderhorn — NP logo, symbolising its readiness for all eventualities, was thrown out on Thursday to make way for new, non-racial symbols.

Gone also is the party's strong stance against the British, until now symbolised in its flag of the House of Orange in the Netherlands, with its orange, blonde, blue panels.

The "completely New NP" is part of the party's drive to convince South Africans they can win with them in a "New South Africa".

After what the NP terms "extensive research", comprising focus groups of all "race and age groups", but not sangomas as has been reported, the revamped image

will sport a new logo, symbol, letterhead, flag and completely new colours.

Only one of the existing colours will remain, along with the name. The NP and its consultants seem confident that people of all races, creed, colour, age and gender, will be able to "identify strongly" with the new symbols, said to be "very Africa-orientated".

One thing is certain, the new symbol won't be an owl, found in the research to portray "those who hunt and kill in the night" by blacks, the NP's new target market along with coloured people.

The old kruithoring logo came into existence in 1934 when the "purified" Nats broke away from the United Party alliance.

It served the NP through the forties when it was the "party of poor white Afrikaners", throughout the era of the "Verwoerdian dream", disenfranchisement of coloured voters and apartheid legislation.

Despite slight image changes the kruithoring and flag also survived the late seventies "total onslaught" when the NP actively tried to woo the English and business sector, its original adversaries.

Since 2 February 1990, the party has projected itself as the party of change and it became clear that a "make-over" was indispensable. It is expected that the unveiling of the new NP will go hand in hand with the kick-off of the notorious NP election machine — this time for a democratic non-racial election. Whether the spots were washed out, remains to be seen.
The impossible dream?

The realisation of multi-party control of the security forces is made impossible by the problems and difficulties inherent in this political demand. We simply do not have the mechanisms, short of a democratic government, to achieve this.

The current ministries have no control over the security forces, so it is difficult to believe that a multiparty committee will enjoy more success.

Working Group 3 of Codesa, in their report, advocated for a formal sub-committee on defence and law and order. There was agreement in principle on this, although political organisations have not been able to follow through the mandate spelled out in the report.

The difficult question is whether the sub-committee will have executive authority. The government would like it to be an advisory body while the ANC is pushing for a body with executive authority.

An advisory body will have no real influence and will not be a major step forward. If it has executive authority, it could play the role of a ministry of defence and police until a democratic government is elected.

It will need a mandate to pass legislation, give authority to determine where the security forces are deployed, draft a code of conduct and be given the power to begin the process of integration of the security forces.

These requirements, politically sound as they may appear, present almost insurmountable problems. How will the committee reach consensus and exercise executive authority if 26 political parties are participating in it? This is completely incomprehensible.

Even if they reach consensus easily, political control of the armed forces is not operational control. The committee will require a mechanism to implement its decisions from a political level to an operational level.

What is worth establishing, however, is a joint military high command responsible for implementing decisions relating to defence.

Sorting out policing is more difficult. Not only the government has to be contended with but the Bantu police forces as well.

The fact that there is no progressive equivalent to the South African Police would also pose difficulties for the liberation movements.

Another massive problem is the numbers of parties represented on the sub-committee. Perhaps five to six of the major political players could limit the size and the other parties could be invited to advise the committee.

The sub-committee's decisions could go to a transitional executive council for debate, but to what extent will the committee be allowed to act independently?

Multi-party control of the security forces is only possible under a democratic government. The government would be responsible for the security forces and other parties would participate through parliamentary sub-committees.

I doubt whether political parties will be able to reach agreement on this issue before elections for a democratic government are held.

Political organisations should not be naive about what they can achieve in the short-term. They should rather look at which stepping stones can be put in place to realise the long-term objectives.

The best solution to the problem of the control of the security forces is a massive international monitoring force, like we saw in Namibia.

The army was confined to barracks in the run-up to the Namibian elections and the police were accompanied by not only peace observers, but police observers too.

International monitors present the most attractive option as it is feasible in terms of logistics, finance and politics.

While the demand for multiparty control of the security forces is important politically, players on all sides need to think it through more extensively.

The problem with a lot of the Codesa and bilateral talks proposals is that there is agreement in principle, but the details are left until later to be worked out.

Details have everything to do with deciding whether a plan is feasible or not.

If the ANC is serious about their demand, they have to come up with viable proposals.

(Laurie Nathan is a defence analyst attached to the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town)
‘We were forced to join NP’

By Christelle Terreblanche

NATIONAL Party MP Mr Nic Isaacs has dismissed as “totally unfounded” allegations that he forced residents to join his party.

However, SOUTH has found proof that people are forced to join the NP in order to remain in their homes.

Mrs Sabine Hausen, 39, who shares a house with 15 people, was recently told she could not stay in the house she grew up in unless she joined the NP.

Hausen says she has been on a waiting list for a house since 1984, when Isaacs promised she would get one if she voted for him in a management committee election.

Her sister, Mrs Rose Hendricks, 36, tells the same story.

On Wednesday, Mrs Ursula Parker was evicted from the Skool Street home she was born in after her mother died and after promises that the NP would ensure she kept the house.

Parker said she did not join because she did not know anything about the NP.

“Now I have nowhere to go,” she said.
AT HOME WITH THE NP: Rose Handley's and Sophie Henson with some of the children

2004. By Christine Fernandes

or get out
South IL - Stirling
Vote NP

NEWS SOUTH 3
Mum's the word for women delegates

SOME people might say the multiparty talks are delaying the new South Africa, not hastening its birth, but some of the delegations are at least trying.

After all, the Government has an Indian woman as a delegate to the Negotiation Council, one Xhosa homeland is led by a ginger-haired lawyer, and an Afrikaans-speaking ex-Minister in the Rhodesian Cabinet speaks for the Tswanas.

Rowan Cronje, a Minister under Ian Smith and under President Lucas Mangope since 1982, is — on the conference floor at least — effectively the sole voice of the Bophuthatswana delegation. The Ciskei team is similarly partially mute, leaving the talks to Mick Webb, a King William’s Town lawyer, who has been an adviser to Oupa Gqozo even since the brigadier seized power.

At the other end of the horseshoe-shaped conference floor, Devogie Govender — Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates — sits alongside Reelf Meyer with heavyweights like Tertius Delport and Faan van der Merwe taking a back seat.

There is a similar situation at the adjoining table where Dawie de Villiers has Mathilda Ngebebndwane alongside him as a National Party delegate. She is involved with the National Party in Tembisa.

Neither Govender nor Ngebebndwane have said a word in two days of talks, but then not many women have, despite the decision taken that every party should include one woman as a delegate — “allow the ladies into our meetings”, as Webb put it.

Two delegates sit in the front row of tables and have speaking rights, while advisors sit in the row behind.

On Monday, for instance, 27 men said their say before the first woman spoke up. There was a brief flurry of speeches by women just before lunch, including a tongue-lashing from S Ismail of the National People’s Party who said it was no surprise that little progress had been made when the man simply talked on and on. That was said without so much as a glance at her NPP teammate Amichand Rajbansi. But after that, as the debate got hotter the women seemed to go silent.

The only party that has not accepted the instructions on women’s delegations is the Conservative Party. That prompted Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party to ask whether the Le Roux on their list was Mrs or Miss. Even Frank de Roux, member of Parliament for Brakpan, couldn’t resist a chuckle.
Admin hold-ups the least of the problem

"HOLDING up negotiations... derailing the new South Africa... derailers". None of these was particularly complimentary, but the men at whom this invective was directed weren't in the least bit contrite.

Key figures in the Concerned Southern Africans Group (COSAG) - all better known as white right-wing parties and some homelands - The World - insisted that they were not responsible for the fact that Monday's opening round of negotiations produced only frustration and dismay.

To the immediate cause, they said, was the fact that delegates were not given the time or means to prepare properly. "We received the documentation on the morning of Monday morning," said Ciskei's chief negotiator Mick Webb. "We were expected to take part in the most important debate yet on the future of our country."

Add to this, it seems, would have generated a fairly sized logjam of its own.

Bophuthatswana's principal negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said: "The government and the ANC have engaged in certain discussions and reached certain understandings, so they are clearly focused on issues on which they have agreed. We believe bilateral meetings are helpful, but not bilateral agreements we are not sure of the parties' degree of open-mindedness when these issues are raised in multiparty talks."

COSAG leaders said urgent action was not the sole preserve of the government and the ANC.

Said Webb: "We also believe that there is an urgency, but we are not prepared to sacrifice any part of the process just to allow an imperfect system to be introduced. We don't believe we should be tied to any time-limit. The method of time-limits as exploited at Codesa was its failing. If discussions had carried on at Oates for a few more hours it would have succeeded."

Intakha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Pelge suggested the IFP's transition proposals reflected far greater urgency than the ANC's and Government's. "The latter organ is not yet playing a transitional executive council (TEC) and a government of national unity would "exacerbate things. From our side we're looking at a situation where negotiations determine the form of state, then a government of constitutional experts and eminent people produce the constitution in two months."

"Such a constitution would be put to the people in a referendum, and a final solution would be in place by the end of 1994. That is our commitment to the people."

The IFP felt the government and the ANC were using the negotiations to "move as rapidly as they can to enshrine a TEC. They have decided where they want to go, but there is no sense of the route they are seeking."

All the fences out of the situation. Then... the constitutional blueprint should be determined and referred to a committee of statesmen." Pelge said the IFP, which had lost 270 office bearers to violence, wanted the issue addressed first, in a very specific way. "Unembittered we will not go, full stop. No party has suffered anything like the ANC's losses. ANC members have died in mob violence and in mass action, but they have not been singled out for killing in their beds and in their houses. That is serial killing. We have a special claim to say 'no more violence."

Cronje, describing the wrangling as "a veritable hodgepodge of the start-up process", said: "We are not put on the agenda doesn't matter to me. But there is a sense that the negotiations process is unpredictable, with major issues to resolve. How can you set a date and then try to force the process to meet that date?"

Some of the static, the COSAG men said, was the result of mutual mistrust. Said Webb: "Everybody is looking behind the debate for hidden agendas."

Cronje felt accusations of spoiling had "not helped to improve the atmosphere."

Webb said wrangling over the order in which issues were tackled was more than just political jockeying. "There is a sense that the parties are using issues for political point-scoring. Criminal wanted violence at the top of the agenda, followed by discussion of the "form of state."

"To have an election date when you don't know the constitutional form means you are always working to a crisis," he said. An election date would mean "intemperance and political intolerance are bound to increase. Our first task should be to talk about the violence, to take
Talks end on high note after a day of drama

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Weekend Argus Political Staff

KEMPINGTON PARK — Multi-party negotiations were pulled back from the brink of a disastrous deadlock at the very last moment yesterday.

They ended on a high note of optimism after a day of high drama at the World Trade Centre.

A resolution calling for a sense of urgency in the negotiations and calling on elections to be held by April next year, was tabled just minutes before the meeting was about to end in deadlock.

Earlier on in the day negotiators had nitpicked for hours arguing about issues with the IFP at one stage looking like it would stage a walkout. The talks were saved however by the last minute compromise proposed to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) by the 10-member planning committee.

At the end of a long day, key negotiators had initially described the talks as having been “a waste of time” — and once again accused the IFP of engaging in delaying tactics.

The negotiations deadlocked earlier when IFP National Chairman Dr Frank Ndlalose insisted on reading to the meeting a six-page document accusing the ANC and the government of collusion in violence against IFP members in Natal.

The controversial document, circulated to the press and negotiators at Monday’s meeting, calls for the disbandment of all “private armies” before constitutional negotiations could continue and elections could be held, and accuses the ANC’s Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) of having killed hundreds of IFP office bearers in Natal.

The document says the government was unwilling to take action against the ANC and MK because it did not want to “upset the bilateral apple-cart it is so busy trying to balance”.

“Frankly, we hold little hope for a successful transition to democracy unless the question of political violence is addressed, and addressed properly. Constitutional negotiations cannot succeed on their own in taking the nation forward,” says the document.

Some key negotiators told Weekend Argus that Ndlalose was in constant contact with IFP leader and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi during the impasse and that Ndlalose was under orders from Buthelezi “to read the document in the meeting or not come back to Ulundi”.

Some members of the Afrikander Volksunie and the Conservative Party backed Ndlalose, insisting that he should be allowed to read the document. The ANC and its allies strongly opposed the motion.

A Transkei government delegate warned that if the IFP were allowed to read the document Transkei would have to respond “and our reaction will rock this forum”.

South Africans losing faith in politicians — poll

WHITES have lost faith in politicians being able to solve South Africa’s problems, according to the latest research by the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys.

The research, in mid-March, was conducted in major metropolitan areas with samples taken from 400 white and 400 black men. In addition, 400 whites, in middle to senior management positions, were also interviewed — half of them women.

Between 40 and 50 percent of black men, 25 and older, professed more faith in politicians than two years previously. But only one in four of 18 to 24-year-olds were as positive, while 40 percent of whites had less faith than previously.

Those disillusioned with the politicians (both black and white) had lost faith because politicians had not succeeded in reaching an agreement about the country’s future. The next strongest influence was the failure by politicians to end violence.

Samples also showed that most respondents believed their political representatives had put party and personal interests before those of the country. A lower level of agreement regarding these factors was recorded among blacks than whites, suggesting that black politicians are seen to be less self-serving than their white counterparts.

Omnicheck’s director Beky Kellis says the research results underlined the despondency among South Africans regarding the future of the country. “It is also clear that politicians have lost credibility and are faced with a Herculean task to regain the faith of the electorate. “It is sobering to reflect that the more experienced white politicians, in particular, are seen to put South Africa’s interests after those of their parties and themselves,” she says.
Now, let's talk about voting, baby.

VOTER education has never been
the likes of this, young men jump-
ing and rapping around the merits
of voting.

The Centre For Development
Studies (CDS) at the University of
the Western Cape has recruited
popular rap group, Prophets of the
City (POC), to reach the youth.

The “RAPping for Democracy”
campaign, part of the CDS voter
education programme, hopes to
bring the message of democracy
across in an “edutaining” way.

POC will tour high schools from
May and shows will last about 40
minutes, conveying the meaning
and content of democracy and a
music and dance demonstration on
how to vote.

All school concerts will be free
and any interested parties can con-
tact Melanie Jacobs at tel. 959
2566, or fax 959 2317.
New Nat gives apartheid land back to family

A CALVINIA minister whose family's property was expropriated under the Group Areas Act more than 20 years ago has been offered the land back by a remorseful property developer.

Mr Pierre Jean Gerber, who bought his first piece of land at the age of 11 with money raised by collecting cold drink bottle deposits, said he felt morally obliged to return 12 plots of "Group Areas land" to the original owners for the same low prices he paid.

Mr Gerber, Cape leader of the National Party Youth, said he was "sorry about owning this land" and he wanted to restore it to the rightful owners.

One of them, the Rev Patrick Lionel Kriel, was overcome with emotion this week after being told Mr Gerber wanted to give back the land on which he had grown up.

The vacant plot in the centre of Calvinia in the Western Cape belonged to Mr Kriel's father, who has since died.

Mr Kriel told how much his father received in compensation for the land, but recalled that it was "a mere pittance".

Mr Kriel has served the NG Kerk ministry in a number of towns, but returned to his home town when he retired.

Visiting the land in the heart of the Boland town this weekend, Mr Kriel said he recognised a tree that was there when he was a child.

But while his childhood home has been demolished, he has never forgotten it.

"Soon I could be drinking tea on a shady stoep here," he said with a smile. "We never dreamt this would happen. I can't wait to meet the present owner. He must be a good man."

Last year, Mr Gerber returned another Calvinia plot to the Anglican Church. The site has special meaning for the town's coloured community, as it once housed a chapel built to commemorate folk hero Abraham Esau.

It was a thanksgiving service for the return of this property that persuaded Mr Gerber he had to give all the land back.

"When I got up to say a few words during the service, the entire community stood up in my honour. There were tears in many people's eyes," he said.

"That's when I realised how terrible it was for communities and families to have lost their land through the Group Areas Act."

"I wish this tragedy had never happened. Now I'm trying to atone for a tiny bit of the injustice. I would hate to have my land taken away at the stroke of a pen."

Mr Gerber, the son of an NGK minister, is now trying to trace the original owners of his other land.
At the

World Trade Centre

NEGOTIATING council delegates who fly into Jan Smuts airport pass an advertising hoarding on their way to the World Trade Centre. Selling trips to Sydney, it reads: "It's time to cross this bridge."

After two long days of negotiating, the council had clearly heeded the sign and taken its first step towards negotiating the transition to non-racial rule — even if Joe Slovo and Cyril Ramaphosa bantered about whether progress could be measured as one inch or several.

The gain came on Friday — an inch or two — when for the first time party-political games were laid aside and the Ciskei's Mick Webb, in his capacity as a member of the planning committee, persuaded the council to adopt a move he personally did not completely support.

With reasoned emphasis he talked the council through the need to set up technical sub-committees that will rope legal and constitutional experts into the process.

Their task will be to transform the raw positions of the 26 parties into submissions which will bring much-needed structure to the debate. They will also have to marry positions which, once the clutter of rhetoric is cleared, are always somewhat disparate.

Seven committees will be set up to work this magic on constitutional proposals, human rights, the problem of violence, a commission to ensure independent elections, one to ensure fair media access to all parties, rid the country of discriminatory legislation, and probably the most contentious, one which will attempt to ease the passage of the Transitional Executive Council.

The technical committees were effectively sanctioned by the council before lunch. By late afternoon it was still trying to work out what it had agreed to.

Uneasy

The IFP and KwaZulu government delegation and their allies remain uneasy about the committee, believing them to be another sign of the council putting the cart before the horse in attempting to sort out crucial issues such as violence at the same time, or even after, discussing the federalism issue.

A technical committee will also — for the moment, at least until the being debated even though it enjoyed no status — be the resting place of a highly contentious IFP statement on violence calling for the dismantling of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

After the bizarre sight of the document being debated even though it enjoyed no status — it had been distributed but not read or tabled at that point — the planning committee cut a deal with the IFP's Frank Mdlalose and shuffled the speech off into the committee loop.

The planning committee, on which 10 delegates sit in their personal capacities to formulate proposals for debate by the council, is also the repository of all attempts at public politicking in the council chamber — but not a very secure one. It had tried to block the IFP statement at least twice before Dr Mdlalose — himself a member of the PC — brought it into the open anyway.

Whether it will stay safely in committee is moot as Dr Mdlalose is clearly under pressure from Durban to read it into the record come what may.

But, not for the last time, parties to the right of the ANC were reduced to merely recording their objections or referring their rights to revisit issues as "momentum and an impatient public" carried them forward.

The SAPC's Joe Slovo launched his politicking soon after the council met on Monday, dropping the dreaded (to some) word "elections" into the meeting.

The smaller parties squawked and flapped at the meeting to erect the E-word before Mr Slovo explained that all he sought was the meeting's approval for placing on the agenda the setting of a date by the planning committee.

When the planning committee met in camera to debate the matter, Mr Slovo suggested mid-April 1994: Why not early March, countered another member in the spirit of "more transient than thou".

Discussion was deferred, but Mr Slovo kept his election theme alive by introducing, just before the council adjourned on Friday, a "Declaration of Intent on the Negotiating Process".

Mr Slovo spoke in support of the resolution — which contains no advance on the government's preferred timetable of elections by April next year — in impassioned terms: "If we want this process to sparkle in the eyes of our people, we must set a date for an election."

The struggle at the World Trade Centre is only partly ideological, only partly between national and local interests, overwhelmingly it is, as witness observed of the framing of the United States constitution, between inertia and energy.

This week inertia ruled, but momentum is breathing down the necks of... Claire Robertson
Sun rises on a new look NP

by NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

WHEN State President FW de Klerk first saw the new look six-colour NP flag—described by cynics as a chameleon's "worst nightmare"—he almost fainted.

By his own admission, he received such a "culture shock" when he first set eyes on the multi-hued flag that it took him 24 hours to recover.

"But then the new flag, colours and symbols just grew on me," he confessed when he launched the party's new "corporate image" in Cape Town this week.

The NP has decided to drop the colour orange from its traditional "orange, blue and green" flag and publicity material. White and blue now feature equally on the flag, along with green.

The "new image" is now dominated by a golden sun with red sunbeams, which Mr de Klerk said he hoped would "shine warmly on all South Africans".

Public relations consultant Satchi and Satchi advised the NP that to change the name of the party before the elections would have been construed as too obvious a ploy.
Foreign relations deal could boost aid

By EDITH BULBRING

The government and the ANC have agreed on how they want foreign relations to be conducted after June this year.

Their agreement will set South Africa on the path towards the complete normalisation of relations with the rest of the world, opening up avenues for investment and financial aid.

The deal, to a large extent, was thrashed out between the ANC's 'Thabo Mheki' and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, foresees the establishment of a multi-party sub-council on foreign affairs under a multi-party transitional executive council.

It is expected to be established before July, once agreement has been reached at the multi-party negotiating forum.

The foreign affairs sub-council will dictate and influence the course of SA's foreign relations leading up to elections. It is envisaged with a view to charting the foreign policy course for a government of national unity.

While the powers of the sub-council will largely be limited to foreign policy - the establishment of diplomatic ties, trading initiatives and international agreements - it is unlikely that the government will appoint diplomats or embark on foreign trips without the agreement of the sub-council.

The government is confident that its membership of the Organisation of African Unity and its full membership of the United Nations will be considered favourably in view of the establishment of the transitional executive council.

However, the ANC is opposed to these steps until an elected government is in place.

It is, however, prepared to call for the lifting of sanctions once an election date is set and will promote SA's participation in World Bank aid programmes and access to IMF loans.

The economic benefits that the complete normalisation of international relations will bring are seen by the government as crucial to stability and growth in the country.
Walus complains of sleep denial

arrived and only being returned to his cell at midnight. "I am being psychologically broken down."

He added he was being "virtually forced to answer questions and thus denied my right to silence."

In his affidavit, the SAP's Colonel Ivor Human confirmed Mr Derby-Lewis was being questioned intensively.

Denying an urgent application for Mr Derby-Lewis's release, Mr Justice Curlewis agreed with Mr Hennie de Vos, counsel for Mr Derby-Lewis, that the Internal Security Act was unfair as it denied a detainee access to legal representatives and visitors.

But, he said, such legislation was the same the world over, and was intended to uphold the integrity of the state.

He granted the police request for Mr Derby-Lewis to be held for another 10 days under the Internal Security Act for further questioning.

In affidavits before the court, investigating officers said Mr Walus had told them he had been given a gun and a silenced weapon by Mr Derby-Lewis, and told to shoot Mr Hani during the Easter weekend.

They said Mr Walus had also revealed that Mr Derby-Lewis had given him a "hit list" of nine people who were to be killed, and that he had shot Mr Hani after five reconnaissance trips.

The addresses of those on the list had been supplied to Mr Derby-Lewis's wife, Gaye, by former journalist Arthur Kemp, the court heard.

In his affidavit, Mr Derby-Lewis denied he had ever given orders for Mr Hani or anyone else to be murdered, that he had provided Mr Walus with a pistol and silencer or that his wife had received a hit list from anyone.

State prosecutor Mac van der Merwe told the court it appeared Mr Derby-Lewis had been involved in the planning of several killings, besides that of Mr Hani, and that he was believed to be withholding information about the weapon used to kill Mr Hani.

Less than three hours after Mr Derby-Lewis's application for release was turned down, his wife appeared in the Boksburg magistrate's court in connection with the assassination of Mr Hani.

Mrs Derby-Lewis, 54, listened impassively and declared she had nothing to say after being told she was a co-accused in the Hani murder.

Her surprise court appearance came less than 18 hours before the expiry of her 10-day detention period under section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

She was remanded, and will be held in Pretoria Central Prison until her next court appearance — with Mr Walus — on May 12.
RIVALS RALLY TO SELLS

By Carolee Rothen

A heated debate over the future of the National Football League (NFL) has erupted in recent weeks, with fans and teams alike questioning the league's policies and practices.

The controversy centers around the issue of player safety, with many accusing the NFL of prioritizing profits over the health and well-being of its players. In response, the league has announced a series of new regulations aimed at reducing the risk of concussions and other head injuries.

However, some have criticized these measures as insufficient, arguing that more needs to be done to protect players. The debate has intensified further with the release of a new study warning of the long-term effects of repetitive head trauma on former NFL players.

In the face of growing public pressure, the NFL has承诺ed to reevaluate its policies and to work towards creating a safer environment for its athletes. While some remain skeptical, there is hope that these efforts will make a real difference in the lives of those who have risked it all on the gridiron.

Plans for a playoff expansion have also been under discussion, with some advocating for a 16-team tournament to increase excitement and ensure fairer competition. The league has not yet made a final decision on this issue, but it is clear that the focus on player safety remains at the forefront of their decisionmaking process.

In the meantime, fans continue to rally around their teams, cheering on players who have given their all for the love of the game. As the season progresses, the debate over the future of the NFL will undoubtedly continue, with fans and players alike eagerly awaiting the next moves from the league.
PLANS for a right-wing power bloc led by retired police and army generals will be disclosed at a mass meeting in Potchefstroom on Thursday.

The generals were asked by Conservative Party politicians to forge an alliance between the squabbling right-wing splinter groups to oppose a future ANC government.

One of their first objectives is the formation of a “White People’s Army” drawn from traditionally conservative white quarters — farmers, miners and railway workers.

The “army” is part of a planned march of the right-wing forces after the tensions caused by the assassination of SA Communist Party leader Chris Hani and a burst of apparently racially inspired attacks on white farmers.

The death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht has also created a vacuum in right-wing politics.

Spokesmen for the “Committee of Generals” said yesterday that the right-wing power bloc would negotiate for a white homeland. Failing that, armed action would be considered.

The Committee of Generals was formed during a four-hour meeting at the Silverton, Pretoria, headquarters of the Transvaal Agricultural Union on April 21.

**Splinter**

It includes four of the most senior bureaucrats who served former State President PW Botha during the height of his iron rule.

They are former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, former army chief of operations and the man in charge of the Conservative Party’s mobilisation programme, Lieutenant-General Koos Bisschoff, former CID chief Lieutenant-General Cobus Visser, and former military intelligence chief Lieutenant-General Timie Groenewald.

The fifth member is retired SAP colonel Servaas de Wet, commander of the AWB’s military wing, the Wenkommando.

Also at the meeting — convened less than 48 hours earlier and attended by representatives of more than 100 right-wing political and splinter groups — were retired Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Mike Goldenhuys and former SAP forensics laboratory head Lieutenant-General Lothar Neethling.

General Goldenhuys is not one of the committee members, and General Neethling has subsequently withdrawn from the organisation.

The initiative for the White People’s Army came from within the ranks of the CP, the 14 000-strong Transvaal Agricultural Union and the Afrikaner Volkses.

General Groenewald said yesterday that the intention was not to wrest “the leadership initiative” from the politicians, but rather to forge the right-wing into a coherent power bloc.

By JOCELYN MAKER, DE WET POTGIETER and CHARRIS PERKINS

I’m a little upset... send official inv...
Generals plot with right

"The generals were asked by the politicians to establish right-wing unity," he said.

General Groenewald said the committee was the culmination of "months" of behind-the-scenes lobbying.

It will hold a press conference this week to spell out its plans for mobilisation.

Yesterday AWB Commandant-General de Wet confirmed that the intention was to form a White People's Army.

"We have no other choice. Too many people are being murdered and the government has lost control. The right-wing, which was divided, is now standing together as one with a single goal - an Afrikaanse volkstaat." -

The white Mines Workers' Union, the Iron and Metal Union and Spoornet's white union, SA Steel, have all pledged their support for the committee.

General Groenewald said: "One of our first objectives will be a show of force, but the generals are not in command - we are there to plan, co-ordinate, advise and suggest what action should be taken."

"Our people have to defend themselves. The government can no longer guarantee law and order in this country." -

"The People's Army is 500 000-strong and they have all had military training. We have the capacity to enforce law and order." -

CP information officer Pieter Mulder said the right-wing was moving into "second and third-stage mobilisation".

"We will begin to act on fronts other than the political terrain. Up to now we have been strong on elections, but FW de Klerk has blocked us and we have no way to vent our frustration.

"I personally don't want war, but our people have their backs against the wall. We are mobilising to defend ourselves," said Dr Mulder, who will take time out from his parliamentary duties to attend the Potchefstroom meeting."
The National Party in Natal adopted a motion calling for the reimposition of the death penalty for armed robbery and murder at a special congress held in Pietermaritzburg at the weekend. NP Natal director of information Dr Johan Steenkamp said the continuing crime, violence, intimidation of political opponents, armed robberies, murders and assassinations were sources of great concern to the party.

Smallholder and hov killed
Derby-Lewis's lawyer hits out at prosecutor

By Brendan Templeton

Hani murder suspect Gaye Derby-Lewis's advocate has accused a State prosecutor of breaking a promise to allow him time to appear for his client on Friday.

Derby-Lewis appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court and had her case was postponed in the absence of her advocate, Hennie Aucamp.

Aucamp yesterday threatened to take the matter up with the Commissioner of Police and the Attorney-General.

Sapa reported Aucamp said that press stories mentioning his absence had prejudiced him as they did not say why he was not present.

He was informed at 2 pm on Friday that his client was about to be charged. But the police officer who contacted him could not give the scheduled time of the appearance, Aucamp said.

"I informed him that it was very short notice," he immediately called the State prosecutor who agreed to wait until the advocate had time to arrive and represent Derby-Lewis.

"However, in violation of this agreement, the State prosecutor proceeded and the case was postponed in my absence," Aucamp said.

Boksburg chief prosecutor Jan Ferreira told the hearing that he had asked the court for Gaye Derby-Lewis's name to be added to the murder charge sheet drawn up for Janus Walz.

The Polish suspect appeared on April 13 in the court in the connection with the death of slain SAPC leader Chris Bani.

The detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act of Derby-Lewis's husband and President's Council of member Clive was extended to May 8 on the same day.
Magnus's daughter backs MK bomber

By JOCelyn Maker

The eldest daughter of one of South Africa's foremost失效2011年2月6日

The eldest daughter of one of South Africa's foremost失效2011年2月6日

But though Madelein Malan, 29, expressed her Magck member jailed for his失效2011年2月6日

And her father - former失效2011年2月6日

Miss Malan - a lawyer失效2011年2月6日

Miss Malan says she has always been able to voice失效2011年2月6日

"We want to lead constructive lives in a normal失效2011年2月6日

"They claim to be fighting失效2011年2月6日

"I feel positive about the

Madelein Malan: 'People thought I was echoing my father'

Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

"We want to lead constructive lives in a normal society, but fear is crippling South Africa and this is forcing many to join the right-wing," she says.

And, rather than entrenching the Afrikaner culture in the new South Africa, she believes "the right-wing leadership is destroying it".

"They claim to be fighting for a cause for a specific nation, but really it's nothing more than sentimentalism for an old order that keeps them together."

"I feel positive about the changes in the country and its future. The right-wing does not have the copyright on Afrikaners. What we need is a change in the attitudes of people and an acceptance of each other."

Miss Malan says she has always been able to voice her political opinions within her family ranks.

"A lot of people have thought that when I said something I was echoing my father. That's never been true. He always encouraged open family debates," she says.

See Page 22
Whites losing faith in politicians

JOHANNESBURG. — Whites have lost faith in the ability of politicians to solve the country’s problems, while the reverse is true of black people, according to a recent survey by Research Surveys’ Omnichek division.

Omnichek director Binky Kellas said between 40 and 50 percent of black men aged 25 years and older professed more faith in politicians than they had two years ago. Whites on the other hand had less faith than they had had earlier.

She said both whites and blacks disillusioned with politicians said they had lost faith in them because they had not yet succeeded in arriving at an agreement about the country’s future.

The next strongest influence was the politicians’ lack of success in bringing violence to an end.

Faith in their political representatives had further been shaken by the fact that they put their parties’ interests, as well as their own, before those of the country. Fewer blacks than whites agreed on this.

“This suggests that black politicians are seen to be less self-serving than are their white counterparts,” Ms Kellas said. — Sapa.
Time-frame for election on agenda

By Kaita Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

South African political parties and organisations are expected to adopt a declaration of intent during this week's round of negotiations calling for the country's historic all-in election to be held not later than April next year.

The declaration of intent, tabled towards the end of Friday's Negotiating Council (NC) meeting after a recommendation of the 10-member planning committee, will be debated at the next meeting of the NC this Friday.

Friday's meeting ended just as the important issue was about to be discussed because the meeting — whose progress was earlier delayed by squabbling — had gone on beyond the allocated time.

Urgency

Both the Government and the ANC have called for a sense of urgency in negotiations, and have said the next six weeks — five as from this week — could see binding agreements on a wide range of issues, including a date for the first, all-inclusive, one person, one vote election for a constituent assembly.

The proposed declaration says that, given the fact that there is an urgent need to inspire confidence in the negotiations process and offer "a clear vision of the major milestone in the negotiating and transition process", parties represented in negotiations commit themselves to certain issues.

These include:

- Providing for an adequate time-frame for the implementation of decisions on these matters and procedures for elections.
- Ensuring that the negotiation process moves forward over the next five weeks to set the exact date for an election "that should take place not later than the end of April 1994".

Earlier that day, the question of violence seriously threatened to scuttle the negotiations, with Inkatha Freedom Party national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose insisting on reading a 12-page statement accusing the Government and the ANC of collusion in violence against IFP members.

Although some of the IFP's allies in the Concerned Southern Africans Group said Mdlalose should be allowed to read the statement — which was first circulated to the press and delegations last Monday — the ANC and its allies strongly objected.

A Transkei delegate warned that "if the IFP were allowed to read the document, Transkei would have to respond, "and our reaction will rock this forum".

After an hour-long adjournment to reach a compromise, a recommendation by the planning committee was accepted, allowing the IFP to table the document and have it considered by a technical subcommittee on violence.

It was also agreed to set up technical committees to deal with constitutional issues as a package, and to deal with fundamental human rights during the transition. These committees will receive their instructions from the NC and make recommendations to it.

The planning committee — made up of 10 members chosen for their competence and not representing their parties and organisations — will meet at the World Trade Centre today and tomorrow, ahead of Friday's NC meeting.
Govt land dispute plan rejected

GOVERNMENT’s plan to set up an independent land rights advisory forum to assist with land claim settlements has been greeted with caution and criticism.

Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Schepers said in Parliament on Friday government did not support the idea of a land claims court proposed by the ANC because government lacked the financial means to implement such structures.

A land claims court would also “create and contribute to conflict” as determining a historic cut-off date was discriminatory.

Schepers said the court would produce negative socioeconomic impacts because it gave a low priority to “the proper utilisation of land” and the basis of compensation threatened legal titles by not considering land titles.

The Advisory Commission on Land

Allocations (ACLA) did “offer solutions for numerous claims”. In cases where the original land was state-owned, the relevant community should be given back its land.

If disputed land was privately owned, alternative state land should be made available, he said.

Negotiations between concerned parties would resolve disputes in other cases, Schepers said.

An Association for Rural Advancement spokesman said the organisation was “extremely cautious about the establishment of the land rights advisory forum, as dispossessed communities had not been canvassed.”

It was remarkable that government had rejected the land claims court and a moratorium on the sale of state-owned land – the only two effective short-term measures to resolve land claims, he said.

A National Land Commission spokesman said on Friday the announcement was “another example of unilateral decision making on behalf of government”.

This amounted to signing a “blank cheque for the restructuring of land and rural development policy”.

Commission director Joanne Yawitch had rejected consideration for appointment to the forum because its terms of reference had been set by government alone and its decisions could be ignored, she said.

The commission also questioned the effectiveness of ACLA which, contrary to Schepers’ claims, had only settled two land disputes on behalf of the Roosboom and Chardes-town communities in Natal.

Advocates call for interim Bill of Rights

THE general council of the Bar of SA has called for the introduction of an interim Bill of Rights enforceable by the courts, including the Appellate Division.

Chairman Brian Southwood said the council reaffirmed its support for introduction of a Bill of Rights and urged negotiating parties to agree on a new constitution at the earliest opportunity.

“Experience in countries such as Namibia has shown that the early introduction of an interim Bill of Rights greatly facilitates and enhances the process of creating such a rights culture,” he said.

“An interim Bill of Rights must be accompanied by adequate state provided resources to give all citizens inexpensive and expeditious access to the courts to enforce their rights.”

The council was opposed to the entrenchment of the death penalty in the Bill of Rights, Southwood said.

“The question of whether the death penalty should be abolished because it is unconstitutional and/or in conflict with the Bill of Rights should be decided by the courts.”

The widely divergent views of the members of the council’s constituent Bars rendered it impossible for it to adopt an unequivocal view. The council was unconditionally opposed to detention without trial even in a state of emergency.

Rival oil firms launch product war

TWO of SA’s largest oil companies are engaged in an advertising war over the cleaning ability of their brands of petrol.

Caltex yesterday opened a nationwide advertising campaign defending the track record of its 20-year-old additive, CX3.

The new Caltex campaign came just days after BP said it had come up with a “new generation” petrol capable of reducing dirty engine deposits.

Since its launch in 1973, CX3 has been sold on its ability to keep car engine parts clean.

The new BP newspaper ad featured a photo of a filthy, muddy rally car with the caption: “BP’s new generation petrol. Proved to keep engines clean.”

Caltex GM Mike Rademeyer yesterday declined to comment on BP’s claims.

BP spokesmen were unavailable for comment yesterday.
Delegates, including the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, register for the second round of talks at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, on

**Negotiators pleased by 'major progress'**

3/17/93

Negotiators say major progress was made on Friday, in spite of the appearance that little was achieved.

Several serious problem areas were leapfrogged; seven areas of agreement for moving ahead were identified; a mechanism to structure debate was decided on; and negotiators agreed to tackle talks with a solution-oriented approach.

DP chief negotiator Colin Eglin said it had been decided at the meeting that parties would put forward the names of people they wanted on the seven technical committees. The planning committee would present a structure of these committees at Friday's negotiating council meeting.

There were two methods of approaching constitutional negotiations: either delegations tackled the "hairy problems where lots of difference exists" or smaller committees would look at solutions to issues for debate by council.

"The first approach would have landed us in trouble right at the start of the talks, where parties are still trying to find their feet in working with others. Their positions would have been inflexible, and the possibilities of grandstanding and deadlocks much greater," he said.

Government and the ANC would try to avoid tackling serious differences at the start of the process, rather locking parties into the process and facilitating compromises to achieve agreement.

Eglin said the council had decided to refer issues to be debated to committees with instructions that solutions — not policy positions — be sought. "The committees would look at the areas of agreement and expand these into areas of difference to encompass as much as possible under the agreed areas before confronting the areas of substantial differences," he said. "This would give the talks momentum and make it easier to deal with the differences later.

The committees would not be negotiating issues on behalf of parties but rather looking at ways of solving problem areas and presenting scenarios to be discussed and negotiated by the council. The issues would be referred back and forth until agreement was reached in council.

It was decided that no single agreement would be implemented until a full package of agreements was in sight.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said while progress was slow, he was pleased that the major hurdles of appointing technical committees had been passed.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said he was more optimistic than after Monday's meeting, when no substantive issues had been debated.

The seven areas of agreement on which the committee would start work were an independent elections commission; an independent media commission and telecommunications authority; amending and repealing repressive legislation; the transitional executive council and its subcouncils, giving priority to the issue of armed formations; strengthening the national peace accord and forming a peace corps; fundamental rights during the transition phase; and constitutional matters such as a form of state, constitutional principles, and a constitution-making body.
Wife of top CP member charged

Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis in court over the murder of Chris Hani:

THE wife of Conservative Party member Mr Clive Derby-Lewis was charged with the murder of South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani on Friday.

Police spokesman Brigadier Frans Malherbe said Mrs Gaye Derby-Lewis had been charged in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court with murder, even though no formal charge had been presented in court and she had not been asked to plead.

No bail application was lodged and the case was postponed to May 12, the date on which Mr Janus Wallis will also appear.

Wallis appeared in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on April 13 in connection with the murder of Mr Hani.

Meanwhile, the Pretoria Supreme Court ruled on Friday that top Conservative Party member Clive Derby-Lewis may be detained for another 10 days in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The ruling by Mr Justice Carlewis extends Derby-Lewis' detention for another 10 days as from midnight on Thursday.

The judge dismissed applications against the further detention of Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye.
Pik Botha visits Tambo’s widow with condolences

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday visited ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo’s widow, Adelaide, at the family’s Sandhurst, Sandton, home to convey the Government’s condolences.

Accompanied by his spokesman, Arie Marais, Botha arrived at the Tambo residence shortly before 5.30 pm and spent about 30 minutes in the house.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki had arrived at the Tambo residence only a few minutes before Botha got there.

Speaking after his meeting with Mrs Tambo, Botha said he had come to pay his respects and deliver the Government’s condolences to her.

“This lady has been quite a strong force, standing by her husband for many years.

Pik Botha... delivered Government’s condolences.

“She is so dignified, very strong, very faithful and has been an example to us all,” Botha said.

Asked why the Government had not sent a delegation to Tambo’s funeral on Sunday, the Minister said that was “a very delicate matter” which could only be discussed by the Government and the ANC.

According to a diplomatic source, Botha was a VIP guest at a function at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg on Sunday for the many diplomats who flew in for the funeral.

The source said Botha arrived “and threw his arms around Mandela in a bear-hug that lasted a while, to the incredulity of some of the Americans and others who had flown in, but not of those who know him well.”
R5-m for
societies
promoting pluralism
Staff Reporter

Societies promoting democracy in South Africa will soon be able to access R5 million provided by former Hungarian refugee George Soros, now a multi-millionaire.

He floated the 19th chapter of his organisation, the Open Society Foundation (OSF), in South Africa at the weekend with the assistance of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The OSF said in a statement yesterday it would seek to promote human rights and civil liberties, strengthen autonomous society, promote political pluralism and create an educational system which promoted these values.

Stringent criteria have been laid down for societies hoping to benefit from the OSF fund. They will have to have an ongoing, institution-building impact; have an emphasis on sustainability; mutually reinforce each other where possible; and intend using the funds for delivering of projects.

No beneficiary may promote any form of discrimination and no funding may go to operating expenses; construction; endowment funds; charities; conferences and institutional research; political campaigns or party-political organisations; fund-raising events; inventions or private profit-making ventures; short-term emergency relief; scholarships and bursaries.

OSF board member Dr Alex Boraine said the foundation was thrilled that the University of Cape Town had agreed to allow its deputy vice-chancellor, Professor Michael Savage, two years' extended leave to fill the role of OSF executive director.

Other members of the board are Dr Van Zyl Slabbert (chairman), Fakler Bam, Anthony Heard, Rhoda Kadile, Mamphele Ramphele, Kheli Shubane, Peter Sullivan and Helen Zille.

The OSF will be fully operational from July 1 and applications will be considered at the first meeting of the board on July 26.

Boraine said one of the first beneficiaries would be a governance school in the western Cape. South Africa desperately needed more people who understood how government administration should work, he said.
Planners make modest progress

Negotiators stressed that the 10-member planning committee has the power only to make recommendations to the larger forum, but were optimistic that yesterday’s deliberations could lay the basis for substantive progress on Friday. Cosag, whose main members are the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Conservative Party and Civic government, wants the national parliament to take a new constitution dealing with early and in detail, and wants the issue of violence to be the focus of the talks. The spirit prevailing in the planning committee should calm Cosag fears.

The planning committee’s package of proposals deals with a range of issues, including details for seven technical sub-committees, guidelines on how to deal with demonstrations and criteria for deciding on new applicants to the negotiating council.

“I think we’ve got very good chances of making real headway on Friday,” South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said after the meeting.

"I will second Mr Slovo’s suggestion,” Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said.

“I think it will make sense to get the process really going with the appointment of the technical sub-committees.”

The proposals on the sub-committees include timetables, management, terms of reference and composition.

But Dr. Ben Ngubane, senior Inkatha Freedom Party official and leader of the KwaZulu delegation in the Negotiating Council, warned the moment of truth was still to come in multi-party negotiations.

“Substantive issues — that is where the crunch is going to come,” he said.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander — who chaired the session — said a letter had been sent earlier yesterday to all 36 parties requesting nominations for the sub-committees.

By Friday the planning committee would have finalised its proposals for the members of the sub-committees, Alexander said. The committee has proposed between three and six members for each sub-committee.

Sub-committees dealing with issues such as a constituent assembly and form of state would need more “political decision-making” and would therefore be bigger in size.

“For those matters which are purely of a legal nature, such as repeal of (discriminatory) legislation and prohibiting free political activity, you just need about three people.”

When it’s more technical, it is smaller, when it is more political it will be bigger,” Alexander said. “We are also going to put forward a proposal on how to deal with demonstrations.”

The IFP has already said it wants a separate sub-committee to deal with a future form of state. The party does not want the matter discussed in a sub-committee also dealing with other constitutional matters.

National Peace Committee chairman John Hall attended the planning committee meeting to discuss co-ordinating efforts on violence with the National Peace Accord.

A meeting between the planning committee and the National Peace Committee was agreed to and will be arranged soon. — Political Staff, Sapa.
Government's free rides for politicians, other VIPs

By Chris Whitfield

CAPE TOWN — About 250 cars, including Mercedes Benzes and BMWs, are available at Government garages across the country for the use of political office bearers, judges and other VIPs; Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie has revealed.

They cost from R19 500 to R192 700 and had been purchased from 1982 to 1992, he said.

Fourie was responding to a question from the Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North, Peter Seeuws.

Those eligible to use the cars for official occasions were Cabinet Ministers, Deputy Ministers, administrators, members of the Executive Committee, judges, commissioners-general, members of the Ministers' Council, and other VIPs, including foreign guests.
Planning committee (cont.)
to suggest way ahead

Political Staff

THE 10-member planning committee will make recommendations to the Negotiating Council (NC) on Friday about the composition of the technical committees agreed upon last week.

This was said by South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, who is a member of the committee.

The committee – whose members take part in it in their personal capacities and do not represent their parties – met at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

They agreed to make recommendations on both the composition of the technical committees and the time-frames during which they will be expected to report back.

Mr Slovo said the technical committees on constitutional issues would also be expected to make recommendations on the borders of regions as well as on the powers of the regions.

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and its allies in COSAG, who want "the form of state" to be high up on the negotiations agenda, are in favour of a federal system for South Africa.

After arguing for a long time on the question of violence on Friday, the NC finally agreed to establish a technical sub-committee to look into the issue, and two technical committees to deal with constitutional issues as a package and on fundamental human rights.

The technical committee on constitutional issues will deal with the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional regional government, the future of the TBVC states and self-determination.

The planning committee’s meeting today has now been postponed to Friday.
Right wing plans ‘mass action’ campaign

THE unified right wing plans to embark on mass demonstrations of power in protest against the deteriorating security situation and the direction of multiparty negotiations.

Outlining a plan of action, former Military Intelligence chief Lt-Gen Tienie Groenewald said the right was intent on ensuring “self-determination”.

Groenewald, one of four retired generals planning to unite and mobilise various right-wing splinter groups, said there had been a groundswell of support for the plan and 19 of the 21 organisations involved, including the CP, had pledged their support for the founding principles.

He denied the grouping would include a “super white army”, but said it would negotiate with and advise the existing security forces “on behalf of the more than 90% of the right wing that we represent”. Co-operation would last “as long as they (the security forces) are controlled by the legitimate government”, not by the ANC.

The committee of generals would also co-ordinate “defence units” such as the Transvaal Agricultural Union’s Farm Watch, which he said would prevent militant right-wing individuals from undertaking “irresponsible actions”.

Groenewald said the aim was not to take over political parties’ role, but to organise joint actions such as boycotts, stayaways, passive resistance and marches. “We can do anything that the ANC/ anybody alliance does, only better, and without arson, looting or loss of life.”

CP MP Dries Brewer said the committee of generals had been formed as a result of the security situation in the country and dissatisfaction with negotiations.
Talks to break deadlock start

**Focus on technical sub-committees**:

THE planning committee for multiparty negotiations yesterday got down to discussing detailed proposals for "deadlock-breaking" technical sub-committees.

The 26-party negotiating council agreed on Friday to establish at least seven technical sub-committees.

The 10-member planning committee met at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg to discuss proposals for the composition, management, time frames and terms of reference of the sub-committees.

These will include deadlines for first sub-committee reports to the negotiating council and the names of the committee members.

Sub-committees are expected to comprise three or four people.

The planning committee will present a package of proposals for adoption at the next negotiating council meeting on Friday. The council adopted an explanatory memorandum last Friday which stipulated sub-committees "are not for negotiating substantial issues". — SAPA.
White terror and anger in South Africa has reached hysterical proportions, with many desperately trying to emigrate. Their fears scream from their daily, the Citizen’s letters page, says a Sapa-Reuter Correspondent.

“Acoef prevalence among all of us, black and white...”

“It may be better to fight than surrender…”

“My wife and I never go visiting at night. We would rather be prisoners in our home than be attacked…”

“I am sickened by all the violence in South Africa. Is nobody capable of putting an end to it?”

The voice of the white community in South Africa has never sounded so strident — or so scared.

As they lurch closer to apartheid’s nemesis, black rule, as violence soars and the economy plummets, conservative whites are not only reaching for their guns.

They are picking up their pens and writing to their favourite newspaper as never before, pawning the letters page of the conservative, mass-circulation Citizen with their worries.

“So many people are screaming,” says veteran editor Johnny Johnson, who reads every letter. “It’s the most worrying period I’ve ever experienced. People are very angry and scared.”

The 40-or-so letters that come in each day, make his 135 000-circulation tabloid a soundboard for the mood of what he calls “middle-class, ordinary, decent people”.

South Africa’s five million whites, outnumbered 5-1 by blacks, have always been prone to nervousness.

They built apartheid as a bulwark against a sea of black impoverishment lapping at their privilege.

But President FW de Klerk demolished the barrier.

White control has all but gone. Just as many whites had feared — particularly in the large working class that distinguishes industrialised South Africa from the colonial Africa of the past — violence and uncertainty followed.

More than 8 000 blacks have been slaughtered in a low-intensity civil war since De Klerk released apartheid clamps in 1990.

Violent crime has reached unprecedented levels, sweeping into suburbs and farms. Whites die daily, in defence of their property.

The recent sight of angry young blacks running riot after the assassination — by a white man — of their hero Mr Chris Hani, stoked white fears of black revolutionary terror.

Mr Nelson Mandela says the main threat to peace in South Africa comes from 800 000 conservative whites who last year voted in vain against change in a referendum. He appeals for whites with skills to stay on and make the new, nonracial country work.

The letters pages of the Citizen reflect the militancy he talks of. But, as international moving companies report a surge of demand, they also expose fright, frustration, helplessness and hopelessness.

Citing a “massacred” economy, collapsing education and highway banditry, “Packing for Perth” wrote: “Thank you Mr Mandela but we decline the offer.”

“My family and I will be moving to a country that can offer us a future, a country in which I will have a stable job, my family’s safety is much more secure and my children will obtain a satisfactory education.”

Mrs DT Schneider wrote that riot, rape and murder undercut Mandela’s pleas.

“Why should the ‘brains’ stay — to be slaughtered by brainless, uncontrolled thugs?” she demanded. “No, Mr Mandela, it is not the last
Inkatha threat to hold up talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations to the multi-party talks would withhold backing for the negotiations until their demands were met, Inkatha central committee member Mr Walter Felgate warned yesterday.

Sources at the negotiating council, which met on Friday, said they believed the two delegations were under orders from Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to move ahead on any key issue until the form of a future state had been finalised and agreement reached on disbanding umkhonto weSizwe.

Sapa reports that Chief Buthelezi, at a news conference yesterday, also insisted that violence should be the first item dealt with at multi-party negotiations. "I cannot see how anyone imagines you can have a free and democratic election when people are being killed," he said.

Pessimism

Mr Felgate said: "We cannot even put the negotiations process under way until the form of state has been sorted out. We will also not move on to discussing any substantive constitutional issues until the position of MK is resolved and we have effectively dealt with violence."

Inkatha's tough stance comes at a time of growing pessimism over chances of a summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Buthelezi. A preparatory meeting to set the date was due by March 5, but the renewed national negotiations forced a postponement.

ANC representative Mr Sydney Mufamadi said yesterday it could not be left to the multi-party negotiators to organise a summit as they did not have the "intimate understanding that has developed between the two parties". The mere fact that preparations had been under way had contributed to various peace initiatives in Natal.
Joint control of Walvis a step closer

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Movement towards joint South African and Namibian administration of Walvis Bay gained momentum yesterday with the tabling in Parliament of legislation arising from agreements between the two governments.

In terms of the Joint Administrative Authority for Walvis Bay Bill, a chief executive officer would be appointed by each government. They would head the joint administrative authority, which would include a management committee.

The Bill will give effect to an agreement between the two countries signed on November 4 last year.

In terms of the Bill, the State President may assign "the administration of any law or a provision in a law to the chief executive officer." Since Namibian independence, the continued administration of Walvis Bay by South Africa has been the source of prolonged negotiations between the countries.

Budget debate

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister, Reelof Meyer today opened debate on his Budget vote amid increasing signs that Friday's meeting of the negotiating council could be critical to the process.
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — It was essential to reach all South Africans during the coming months to explain to them the significance of the coming elections, President F W de Klerk said in Cape Town last night.

Speaking at an International Public Relations Association dinner, he said it would also be necessary to create the circumstances in which they would be able to take part freely and meaningfully in the process. The dramatic change in direction in South Africa was just more than three years ago had turned out to be "a long-distance marathon towards our goal of a new and democratic South Africa".

There were no illusions at the outset that it would be an easy race. Given the diametrically opposed ideologies at the outset, the deep-seated animosities and suspicions, and the legacies of prejudice, fear and envy in the society, it was clear there would be many difficulties.

But remarkable progress had been made, De Klerk said.

Nearly all the major parties in South Africa had been drawn into negotiations, and substantial agreement had been reached on important departure points and goals.

Apartheid victims ‘will not vote NP’

People who had been treated as second-class citizens all their lives were not going to vote for the National Party, Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC’s negotiating team warned yesterday in an address to the Johannesburg Municipal Combined Employees' Union at the City Hall.

He told about 300 members of the largely coloured and Indian union that the National Party had been claiming the support of the majority of coloured and Indian people.

Also addressing the meeting, the head of the ANC’s local government unit, Thozamile Botha, said interim local councils to replace existing councils in black and white areas should be in place by July.

These interim councils would be responsible for the rationalisation of services and the unifying of the budgets of the various local authorities in order to address the service crisis facing the country, — Staff Reporter.

Mdlalose accusations referred to Goldstone

By Helen Grange

Accusations made last month by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose that the Government was involved in a smear campaign against the IFP will be referred to the Goldstone Commission for possible investigation.

A statement by the National Peace Committee (NPC), detailing decisions made at Monday night’s NPC executive meeting, said Mdlalose had raised issues relating to criminal action which fell within the scope of the Goldstone Commission and could not be dealt with by the complaints investigating committee.

In his address last Monday to the Negotiating Council, Mdlalose said Government intelligence agencies were involved in a smear campaign against the IFP and were “involved in providing support to those seeking our demise”.

He also suggested that the police were deliberately neglecting to investigate perpetrators of violence against the IFP.

The NPC executive on Monday distanced itself from recent inflammatory statements by Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

Speaking at a press conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said the NPC was very concerned with violations of the Peace Accord, which needed strengthening to further bind signatories to its terms.

The option of affording the accord legislative power to punish transgressors was, however, not being considered.

Hall said the greatest obstacles to the Peace Accord’s success was the absence of a new political dispensation and the crippling socio-economic situation on the ground.

Action plans would, however, be launched to address immediate threats to peace in the form of mass action, political intolerance and broken-down relations between political parties.

IFP plans to force talks on violence

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party is planning a programme of mass demonstrations to demand that violence tops the agenda at multi-party negotiations.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet said yesterday that IFP supporters would march and picket in the streets from May 15.

The first march would take place in Durban.

“The IFP’s view is that violence has reached such a level that it should be tabled at the top of the agenda at the multi-party forum,” he said.

His statement echoed that by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Monday.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose attempted to read a statement on violence to last week’s negotiating council, but it was referred to a sub-committee on violence.

The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. — Sapa.
SA’s progress remarkable – FW

Political Staff

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The memorandum calls for the immediate disbanding of all private armies. — Sapa.
Media have vital role in elections – Minister

CAPE TOWN — Radio and television broadcasting had a particularly important part to play in preparing voters for the coming general election, Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte said yesterday.

Introducing debate on the Broadcasting Amendment Bill, he said the Government had proved its commitment to an impartial and credible SABC board by increasing its membership and appointing a panel of independent selectors.

The Bill under debate followed extensive negotiations with parties both within and outside Parliament.

It spells out the process of appointing a new SABC board, laid down criteria and guidelines for new board members, and expanded its membership.

The ANC had no interest in taking over the SABC where the National Party left off, Jannie Momberg (Lab Simon's Town) said.

Speaking in the debate, he said the ANC sought a fair and equal playing field where all parties would feel secure.

The expansion of the board, envisaged in the Bill, was a critically important phase in giving the country access to unsullied news. No one could deny that the way the SABC distorted the 1982 referendum against the "no" vote was a scandal.

Pieter Groenewald (CP Stellenbosch) said the only reason the Bill was on the table was because the ANC was demanding it of the Government.

"This Bill will result in the NP losing control over the media when it believes it can win a one-man, one vote election. Just as the Government used the media in the referendum to intimidate the "no" voter, so will the ANC intimidate the Government in future."

Desmond Latch (LP Northern Cape) said the Bill ended an era of flagrant interference by the Government in the electronic media. It would bring about a more democratic and representative board.

The new SABC board had the enormous responsibility of ensuring that the SABC reflected all views as fairly as possible in the run-up to the country's first nonracial, democratic election, Peter Soal (DP, Johannesburg North) said.

An ombudsman of media commission should be appointed to ensure politicians were denied control of the SABC.

It was not only the NP that was at fault. An example of ANC interference in a recent news broadcast was a demand that a speech by Nelson Mandela be aired in full. — Sapa.
Council to focus on date for all-in election

By Raizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

A commitment to the holding of South Africa's first all-in election not later than April next year is the first issue to be debated when the Negotiating Council meets at the World Trade Centre this week, according to reliable sources.

Top negotiators told The Star that the commitment, tabled in a declaration of intent towards the end of last week's meeting, would be the first item on the agenda of Friday's council meeting.

The declaration further commits the 25 parties and organisations represented in negotiations to ensuring that an exact date for the election is set within the next five weeks.

"The question of a date for elections is first on the agenda. It is one of the issues facing us. Without getting an election date, it will give the impression that the negotiations are endless," said SACP national chairman Joe Slovo yesterday.

The Democratic Party's Colin Eglin confirmed that the election date would be the first issue to be dealt with at Friday's talks.

Eglin also said he expected the technical committees agreed upon last week to be formally constituted on Friday, following recommendations to be made by the 10-member planning committee which met on Monday.

Both Slovo and Eglin are members of that committee. The planning committee, whose members participate in their personal capacities and do not represent their parties, this week agreed to make recommendations on both the composition of the technical committees and the time-frame during which they will be expected to report back.
ET in talks with Kriel

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche yesterday held an hour-long meeting with Law and Order Minister Herus Kriel on "the security situation and matters of mutual concern".

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze did not elaborate on the content, but it is almost certain the issue of recent inflammatory statements by Terreblanche would have been raised.

On Monday night Terreblanche rounded on "that small jellytot De Klerk" and told an overflowing city hall crowd that "Chris Hani was a murderer of people... a murderer who was murdered".

Kotze said the meeting had been held at the AWB leader's initiative.
US paper praises De Klerk

WASHINGTON — In a rare tribute today, the Boston Herald praises President de Klerk's apology last week for the hurt apartheid caused, saying, "There are few leaders today who so impressively combine courage, decency and perseverance in the name of peace." The paper said de Klerk rarely received credit for his efforts.

"Again and again he pushed back the outer limits of what any white politician could dare to do. He freed Nelson Mandela. He legalized the ANC. He forced Parliament to repeal laws of segregation and race classification. He appointed non-whites to his Cabinet. He named a long-time anti-apartheid activist as his ambassador to Washington. He called for—and won—a referendum on whether the abolition of apartheid should go forward.

"His heartfelt words of repentance are a rebuke to lesser men everywhere. ... If only there were more De Klerks to lead the way." — Star Bureau.
Boston tribute to F W's 'courage''

The Argus Foreign Service

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The newspaper said he was more responsible for the demise of apartheid in South Africa than any other leader but rarely received credit.

"Last Thursday, De Klerk once more showed himself a man of profound integrity.

"His heartfelt words of repentance are a rebuke to lesser men everywhere — in Serbia, in Haiti, in China, in Cambodia. If only there were more De Klers to lead the way," the newspaper said.
CP leader issues white rallying call

BRITS — Conservative Party acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg last night invited National Party supporters to join the CP’s mobilisation drive to fight for white self-determination.

He told 400 people at a public meeting in Brits that “a time will come when the laager will have to be closed in the fight against the communist onslaught”.

Hartzenberg said security force generals, scientists and labour leaders would be involved in the mobilisation drive to be launched at a mass meeting in Potchefstroom in the western Transvaal tomorrow.

He said if demands of the Concerned South Africans Group were not met at the multiparty talks, stronger steps would have to be taken in order to ward off the communist onslaught.

Hartzenberg said: “The nation had been prepared to offer blood in the past. If they are not prepared to listen at a negotiating table, they will force us to adopt the same position we had against Britain (during the Anglo-Boer War).”

He warned that unless the armed wing of the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army were banned or restricted, they would continue with their acts of violence.

He said the current wave of violence was intended to break the “spirit” of whites in this country and that the ANC was committing this violence in order to create a revolutionary climate. — Sapa.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE OF

We refer to the debate on the motion initiated by the Hon. M. V. R. C. W. M. and entitled "An Act to Amend the Local Government Act." After due consideration of the matter, we have decided to pass the motion and make the necessary amendments to the Local Government Act. The amendments are as follows:

1. The Local Government Act will now include provisions that will allow for the appointment of a new Commissioner for the District.

2. The powers of the Commissioner will be increased to include the authority to approve the construction of new roads and bridges.

3. The current system of electing the District Commissioner will be replaced with a merit-based system.

We believe that these amendments will greatly improve the functioning of the Local Government and enhance the quality of services provided to the people. The amendments will be effective from the date of this resolution.
Election in April — that’s what it looks like now

□ Talks to press for commitment

Political Staff
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Mr Slovo said the technical committee on constitutional issues will also be expected to make recommendations on the borders of regions as well as on the powers of the regions.

The technical committee on constitutional issues will deal with the form of state and constitutional principles, a constitution-making body, an interim constitution, transitional regional government, the future of the TRRC and self-determination.

Other technical committees, to be established will focus on an independent elections commission, an independent media commission, the Transitional Executive Council, with priority to be given to "the question of security forces and all armed formations" and the formation of Peace Corps.
If we get it right, please for SA.

TODAY

BLACK IN MUMS ARMS

Washington — Washingtonardware's C. G. Price

WASHINGTON — Washington hardware's C. G. Price

It's the right time — Page 2

on the market. In addition, the

march of innovation will

be driven by an ever-increasing

need to maintain a competitive

edge.

Thank you for reading, and please return to your copy of this newspaper.
The National Party hopes to obtain a majority in the country's first all-in-election, writes Angus Correspondent KAZIM AZAMABAD.

NEV "Expects to attract big vote"
ANC rejects protest Bill

THE ANC has rejected a proposed Bill governing mass demonstrations published by Goldstone commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone last week, because it was not consulted adequately, the statement said.

"The ANC believes that poor legislation is worse than no legislation at all, but that the outstanding problems with the Bill can be easily resolved," the statement said.

ANC welcomed consultations on the previous draft, many of which were incorporated in the redrafted version. However, the commission ignored the ANC's subsequent comments. The Bill is inconsistent in its approach to the right to demonstrate and is difficult to interpret. It fails to establish consistent and simple procedures for demonstrations, the ANC said.

"It imposes a wide ranging statutory civil liability on organisers of demonstrations," the ANC said.

Other problems included the Bill's restriction on demonstrations near courts and Parliament.

Goldstone would not comment yesterday.

Commonwealth rethinks SA role

THE future of the Commonwealth observer mission to SA hangs in the balance with its Durban office scheduled to close down in weeks and the strong possibility that funding for its observer force may be cut soon.

Mission head Duncan Chappell said yesterday representation had been made to the Commonwealth's London head office in an effort to change the decision to close the Durban office.

Financial constraints had led the Commonwealth to rethink its role in SA.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was scheduled to discuss the future of the mission with Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku in London yesterday, he said. It is believed he urged Anyaoku to rethink the mission.

ANC peace dossier official Sydney Mafumadi said it would be "most unfortunate" if the mission were to close its offices with elections drawing closer and violence continuing unabated.

Chappell said Commonwealth headquarters was considering replacing observers, who were scheduled to return to their home countries in mid-May, with a smaller team of "technical assistants.

A well-placed monitoring source said it was likely that the mission's Johannesburg office would be reduced to a skeleton staff.

Mafumadi said the ANC believed all international missions should remain in place.

"There was a strong possibility that violence would be stepped up by "spoilers" wanting to undermine future elections.

Mission spokesman Colleen Lowe-Morner said yesterday the 10 observers scheduled to leave in mid-May would be replaced by "a new cast of characters" to deal with changing political circumstances in SA.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that the EC has appointed an ambassador-level diplomat to oversee its observer mission which will continue to operate for at least another six months.

Former German ambassador to Addis Ababa Paul Joachim von Stulpnagel said yesterday the existing 16 mission members felt they had made a difference.

Stulpnagel said four or five of the existing observers had asked to remain in SA and the others would be replaced. They would continue to operate within the guidelines set down by a UN Security Council resolution stipulating that observers should work with local organisations to encourage peace.

Stulpnagel, who met Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha yesterday, said the existing observers had told him that their mere presence at mass gatherings had played a positive role.

Being policemen, the observers were able to contribute expertise to multiparty discussions about peacekeeping, he said.
Thaw in SA-Zimbabwe links

HARARE — Zimbabwe's policy of holding SA at arm's length appears closer than ever to being abandoned following a meeting at the weekend between hardline Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira and his South African counterpart, Pik Botha.

News reports yesterday said Shamuyarira met Botha at an ANC reception in Johannesburg on Sunday where they held informal talks.

Shamuyarira said: "Botha was very friendly and positive in his attitude towards SA," and had expressed the wish that a transitional government be established.

Since independence in 1980, President Robert Mugabe's government has maintained a policy of "no political contact" with SA — in effect banning members of his cabinet from meeting officially with Pretoria ministers while at the same time maintaining the status quo in trade.

SA is Zimbabwe's largest trading partner, exporting goods worth R239m south of the border in 1991, and importing R936m worth from what was officially termed until recently "the racist republic".

In the last year, however, the policy has weakened significantly, with a visit by Zimbabwean Transport Minister Denis Norman to Cape Town a year ago for official talks with his counterpart Piet Weigemoed.

Mugabe still maintains, however, that full diplomatic recognition of SA can take place only once a transitional government is in place.

Mugabe last year in Rome met Botha at the signing of the Mozambique peace agreement, and in February Zimbabwean Trade Minister Chris Ushewokunze held formal talks with South African Finance Minister Derek Keys in Cape Town.

Shamuyarira affirmed that the policy of "non-collaboration" would continue.

The policy would remain in force "until there is a new constitution, an interim government and changes have taken place at the top", he said.

— Sapa.
Government debating the dating game

CAPE TOWN — Debate is hotting up in government circles over whether government should specify a target election date. There had been speculation that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would name the target date in debate on his vote today, but sources last night discounted the notion.

Government has repeatedly said an agreed date for elections must be set by the transitional executive council, and that it could not be unilaterally. Its own “target date”, however, would be a different matter, and this strategy does have support, with one source saying it could help defuse calls for a date to be set.

LINDA ENSOR reports that President FW de Klerk said last night agreement on establishing a transitional executive council was “tantalisingly close”.

In a speech to the International Public Relations Association banquet in Cape Town he noted, however, that the negotiation process had been marked by frustrating and unnecessary delays and deviations caused by mass action and withdrawals.

“Recent events such as the assassination of Mr Chris Hani and the violence of the past weeks have shown how easily we might stumble within sight of the finishing line.”

De Klerk stressed that communication in negotiations had to be based on a genuine desire to find common ground. “It cannot be based on threats and pressure. The government cannot simply continue to negotiate in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of pressure or threats of unacceptable mass action. It will, under such circumstances, have to consider its position carefully.”
ET defies De Klerk

NEWS AWB leader tells whites to prepare for war

ENGLISH TERRITORY Blanche

DEFIANT RHETORIC The AWB leader

NEWS AWB leader tells whites to prepare for war • Walvis Bay connection gets weaker

SOWETAN Wednesday May 5, 1993
Dissent on what
tops talks agenda

Will it be regions or violence as groups prepare to parley?

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The Negotiations Council will on Friday consider proposals on the question of how the country will be divided into regions.

The planning committee on Monday agreed that sub-committees would prepare the proposals, along with others, on matters such as public demonstrations.

The decision to look at proposals on regions has been interpreted as a move to placate the Concerned South Africans Group, who insist on the form of the new state before negotiations can commence, and that there should be agreement on the powers, duties and functions of regions.

The decision is expected to ease the negotiation process and Friday's meeting is expected to be productive.

"I think we've got a very good chance of making real headway on Friday," SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday.

However, sources in the African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress warned yesterday that it was still too early to make a decision on regions.

The Government insists that the question of violence should top the agenda. Minister of Constitutional Negotiations Mr Roelf Meyer has said that he hoped violence would take precedence at Friday's meeting.
NEWS  Arson attack on NP member

Club is not partisan say executives

Sowetan 6/5/92

STANDING CLEAR Community

group wants to be heard loud and clear:

By Isaac Moledi

MEMBERS OF IMANI Women's Club have distanced the organisation from their president's alleged membership of the National Party.

The club's members said they had been threatened by unknown callers who said their houses would be petrol-bombed because they belonged to the NP.

A committee member, Mrs Winnie Serobe, said yesterday the situation was worse in KwaThema, Springs, where the club has its head office.

She said after their national president, Mrs Marjorie Mohlala, was quoted in a magazine interview as saying she was a member of the NP, people in KwaThema started associating the club with the party.

She said Mohlala's house in KwaThema had been petrol-bombed three times.

Mohlala told Sowetan yesterday her house was petrol-bombed on April 20 while her family, including her 14-month-old grandchild, were asleep. The fire destroyed bedding and clothes.

On April 23, when the repairs to the house were almost complete, the attackers struck again.

At 4am on Monday this week petrol bombs were hurled into her house. They did not explode.

Serobe said: "Our community organisation is non-political, non-governmental and non-racial and it does not discriminate against any religion. But we don't prevent any member from belonging to a particular political party.

"Mohlala joined the NP as an individual and not as a representative of the organisation. Her membership of a political party has no relevance or bearing on the club because we have members who belong to different political organisations," she said.
Its power and credibility eroded, the ruling NP now uses Parliament as its most important election platform. Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien examines the unfair advantage this gives De Klerk:

Indeed, when the NP can put parades simultaneously in front of Parliament’s cameras.

During the State President’s Debate last month, a particularly vituperative Mr Johannes Wessels Marre, a stalwart NP member, attacked the ANC in terms that had not been heard in Parliament since the earliest days of the Total onslaught.

Apparantly oblivious of the motivations for the ANC’s armed struggle and the very raison d’etre of the broader liberation movement, Marre gave a startling insight into the NP caucus’ views which, it has been said, differed remarkably in certain instances with that of its own senior leadership.

“Arson, assaults, murders and intimidation by the ANCYL continues unabated. Everything is planned at Shell House (the ANC head office)...”

Torture camps

“Life is cheap for the ANC. The torture camps in Africa proved this. Their actions in South Africa prove this. More than 260 Inkatha leaders have already died,” Marre said.

He talked in gruesome detail of other alleged ANC atrocities and reports that have found the movement guilty of torture and of allegedly slaughtering political dissenters in their midst.

Directing himself to the ANC’s international backers, Marre said: “The ANC committed crimes and atrocities against their own people in Africa. The reports detail this. These people (the ANC) commit deeds of violence and murder in South Africa. They burn and loot and do everything that goes against the grain of democracy...”

“I appeal to the international community, those backers of the ANC, to stop supporting them.”

Listening to Marre last week, it is quite evident that Parliament remains the only place where the NP carries any measure of clout or power or recognition.

“There is no doubt that they will use parliamentary control at all levels — provincial and national — to retain as much power as possible,” Van Eck says.

But worst still, he says: "They will play Father Christmas with taxpayers’ money for as long as they have control over Parliament and the Budget, all of which is aimed at gaining votes.”
Namibia's anomaly nears end

Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE South African enclave of Walvis Bay is moving closer towards incorporation into Namibia.

The Joint Administrative Authority for Walvis Bay Bill, which allows for a joint South African-Namibian authority to manage the area, was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

A memorandum to the Bill explains that South Africa and Namibia had entered into agreements to administer the port jointly. "Legislation is necessary to give effect to these agreements and to establish the joint administration in respect of Walvis Bay," the memorandum says.

Pretoria retained control over the enclave, situated in the centre of the Namibian coast, after that country became independent of South Africa.

The joint authority will consist of two chief executive officers and a management committee. In terms of the agreement and the Bill, South Africa and Namibia will each appoint a chief executive officer, who will operate by consensus.
SA, Russia ‘to co-operate’

SOUTH AFRICA and Russia are ready to explore many areas of co-operation, Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said yesterday after a meeting in the city with Russian Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Boris Kolokolov.

Mr Kolokolov, here as a special representative of Russian President Boris Yeltsin, also met President F.W. de Klerk and will fly to Zimbabwe today.

Mr Botha said he was confident that South Africa and Russia would move “closer and closer” together. “There is readiness not only to extend the hand of friendship but also to explore the many areas of co-operation, trade, technological exchange and cultural co-operation.”

Foreign Minister Mr Nathan Shamuyarira, whose country has avoided contact with Pretoria, for the first time in Johannesburg this week.

Mr Shamuyarira said he held informal discussions with Mr Botha on political developments in South Africa at a reception hosted by the ANC on Sunday. — Sapa-Reuters
FW: Talks ‘so close to success’

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SUCCESS in the negotiations process was "tantalisingly close", President F W de Klerk said last night.

He also said his negotiating team was in good shape and was setting the pace.

The team "has resisted the calls for early sprints. It has its eyes firmly on the finishing line and will complete the race with strength and success."

Mr De Klerk told the International Public Relations Association at a city hotel.

Recent events such as Mr Chris Hani's assassination and the violence of the past weeks had shown "how easily we might stumble within sight of the finishing line."

Mr De Klerk said the release of Mr Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other organisations were the beginning of "what has turned out to be a long-distance marathon."

"We have experienced the frustrating and unnecessary delays and deviations of unnecessary misaction and temporary withdrawals. We have had to struggle on despite our national agony of violence."

Mr De Klerk said that at the moment international perceptions about South Africa were dominated by "uncertainty and images of violence."

This was only part of a complex national picture, but they had to be addressed.

"If we can succeed with the current negotiations, if all our leaders can exercise restraint over their statements and their followers, we have no doubt that we will be able to produce the right realities," Mr De Klerk said.

Threats

He said communication in negotiations had to be based on a genuine desire to find common ground and reasonable and workable compromises. "It cannot be based on threats and pressure."

"The government cannot continue to negotiate in forums on a variety of subjects in the face of pressure or threats of unacceptable mass action. "It will under such circumstances have to consider its position carefully."

...
Chris Whitfield argues other parties should take the new image seriously

Nats aiming for SA's black vote

THE National Party's bright new flag and logo have given rise to cynical responses: can this particular leopard change its spots so easily?

Critics have been quick to argue that the very name of the party will forever be associated with apartheid, and that cosmetic tinkering does not necessarily equate with fundamental change. We can expect that parties preparing to oppose the NP in elections will adopt a similarly dismissive attitude - but they might be making a mistake in doing so.

The recent unveiling of the sunny new insignia and party paraphernalia - President de Klerk was moved to remark that they had come as a "culture shock" - to him - effectively marked the start of the NP's drive for black members. De Klerk chose the occasion to make an apology for apartheid - a move certainly not aimed at whites, and one which duly received widespread media coverage.

The NP has engaged an advertising company to run its election campaign, and is already studying surveys on potential support levels and perceptions in the black community.

The news contained in these has not been all bad, say party workers. Significantly, the NP has recently taken to stumping away from talks of an election alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party. It has discovered, that while this might be welcomed by whites, it will drive blacks away. Its research has, incidentally, shown considerable support in the black community for an interim government alliance embracing both the ANC and the NP.

The NP's strategists believe the ANC has lost its "untouchable" status in the townships and many former supporters will have to be convinced of its ability to govern before voting for it.

There must, however, be obvious doubts about the NP's capacity to recruit significantly in the black community.

Still, there are interesting political nuances to be found. At a recent NP function a Soweto businessman, asked in conversation, how he could even contemplate being an NP member, had a simple answer: "I am looking to the future... The past is past."

In addition, in Natal there is a substantial body of black people disillusioned with both the ANC and IPP. Could the NP provide them with a political home?

These disparate signals do not amount to an indication of significant black support for the NP, but the party is feeling encouraged. Those given the responsibility of running the NP campaign extrapolate from their research that no single party will get 50 percent of the vote. Publicly, they say the NP aims to be the sellout partner in a power-sharing deal, but in private are more inclined to talk about being a "strong partner."

There have been signs recently of strains within the NP and this has apparently been reflected in a weakening of the party's once awesome election machinery at grassroots level. Again, though, it would be a mistake for opponents to be lulled into a false sense of security by this.

The NP's campaign chiefs believe the country's first democratic election will be fought more through propaganda than by knocking on doors. Radio - which will surely be deregulated by then - and, to a lesser extent, newspaper and television advertising, will be the battlegrounds.

And what the NP has not lost is its ability to play the political game, coupled with a shrewd sense of timing - witness its performance in the referendum. For opponents to say the NP is a spent political force, as an ANC national executive committee member recently told journalists, could be to fall right into a trap.
Right wing at negotiations crossroads

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The right wing served warning yesterday that it is rapidly approaching a negotiations crossroads.

The Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) said it was re-evaluating its presence in the talks and the Conservative Party warned that there would be no peaceful settlement if self-determination aspirations were not met.

During yesterday's debate on the Constitutional Development budget vote, acting CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the aspirations of the Concerned Southern Africans Group would have to be accommodated.

A unitary state would never meet the ideals of all South Africans.

"Our nation was prepared to sacrifice blood in the past. Don't force us into a situation where we have to sacrifice blood again. Don't force us to take measures to make you listen to us," he said.

If negotiations continued while the ANC committed violence it would be an invitation to other participants to "also follow the rules of the game" and inevitably lead to a civil war, Hartzenberg added.

AVU leader Andries Beyers said the negotiation process was being seriously threatened by the ANC and Government's insistence that it proceed too rapidly. The AVU would request meetings with both organisations "to establish whether our continued participation in the present negotiation process serves any meaningful purpose".
Violent mass action suits

THE SPOILERS — WARS MEYER

POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

VIOLENT Mass Action Suits
Farmers to test generals' plan

By Paul Bell

Today's meeting of white farmers at Potchefstroom will be the first major test for the initiative by the Committee of Generals, led by former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, to unify and mobilise right-wing opinion around the drive for a volkstaat.

Farmers are also expected to tell the Government they will defy the extension of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act to farmworkers, and to deliver ultimatums to the Government and the ANC over attacks on white farms.

Up to 10 000 farmers are expected to converge on the AH Potgieter banqueting hall in Potchefstroom from where — if numbers require — they will march to the Olieven Park rugby stadium and converge under the banner of the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions.

Viljoen, a cattle farmer in the Ohrigstad valley, has been asked to summarise, and draw conclusions on, the discussions on farm security which are expected to dominate this morning's proceedings.

Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruwer, who is also CP MP for Lydenburg, said he expected farmers to declare "open season" on ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, whose "kill the Boer" chants at rallies after Chris Hani's assassination had inflamed farmer opinion.

Other issues on the agenda are the worsening financial predicament of farmers and the question of land use, over which farmers expect to face increasing pressure for redistribution from a new government.

The participation of Viljoen is regarded as especially significant because of his role in the Committee of Generals, which has established a subcommittee to consider strategies for the mobilisation of Afrikaners in pursuit of a volkstaat.

The generals will hold a secret meeting tomorrow.

Meanwhile, in Cape Town, Justice and Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee has also said he is unable to attend the meeting.

His decision, writes Chris Whitchfield, means that the four Cabinet Ministers who received invitations have turned them down and it is now unlikely there will be any senior Government representation.

Government sources have, however, rejected suggestions that it had deliberately snubbed the meeting and said the Ministers all had valid reasons for not attending. Other Ministers invited were Herman Kriel (Law and Order), Leon Wessels (Manpower) and Dr Krain van Niekerk (Agriculture).

➡ Interview with former intelligence chief — Page 13
Azapo to finalise stance on talks

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Azanian People’s Organisation will hold its all-important special congress at the weekend to finalise its position on negotiations. Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokap said yesterday.

The meeting, to take place at the Witwatersrand Fellowship Centre near Roodepoort on Saturday and Sunday, will review Azapo’s stance on negotiations.

So far the organisation has refused to engage in talks with Pretoria. With the PAC now represented in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, Azapo is the only well-known organisation on the Left not involved in negotiations.

Also to be discussed at the weekend congress is the armed struggle and the role it could play to force the Government to surrender power.

Although Azapo has no armed wing of its own, its sister organisation, the Zimbabwe-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, has an armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania).

Someone claiming to be an Azania cadre this week claimed responsibility for the latest attack on whites in the eastern Cape. At least five people died in the attack, with many others injured.

However, a daily this week reported that a man who described himself as a cadre of the PAC’s Apia had also claimed responsibility.
SA urged to promote its image overseas

South Africa needed to engage in a vigorous campaign to promote itself abroad instead of waiting until the country's problems were sorted out and a new government was in power, according to British communications expert Sir Tim Bell.

Bell — who was communications adviser to Margaret Thatcher for 15 years — has had a lengthy consultation with President F W de Klerk.

Addressing the Financial Mail's advertising and communications conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Bell said those who believed in SA's future had to begin now promoting the country's image abroad.

"Whoever is in power, you will have to persuade people that South Africa has an exciting future."

The challenge facing leaders, he said, was to persuade overseas opinion-makers the country was worth investing in. To this end it would be important for people here to begin communicating effectively with the outside world.

Bell had praise for both De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela for their efforts. — Political Correspondent.
Hopes run high for talks breakthrough

Negotiators snap awake to SA's agony, set limits to hasten decisions

MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

HOPES are running high that negotiations for a new democratic system — resuming in full tomorrow — will achieve major breakthroughs by the end of the month.

An important feature of the negotiations is that time frames are now being attached in an effort to speed up the talks. They are also being streamlined through a system of committees.

The Negotiating Council meets in Kempton Park again tomorrow to ratify a number of technical committees agreed on earlier this week by a 10-man planning committee.

These technical committees will deal with election matters, violence and constitutional matters, including the setting up of a 'Transitional Execu-

Eglin hopeful for meeting

The negotiation process was now getting underway in a significant way.

Following a very positive meeting of the planning committee this week, Mr Eglin was now hopeful for the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow.

There was also cautious optimism in government and ANC circles today but there were misgivings in rightwing circles.

A flurry of bilateral meetings are expected in the next few days as parties on the right and left move to evaluate their positions and shore up the talks.

The process "is balancing on a razor's edge", government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer acknowledged in parliament last night.

In a cautiously optimistic assessment, however, he added that negotiators "are on the threshold of a breakthrough".
The violence issue will be high on the agenda and the aim will also be to try and reach early agreement on an election date.

There are hopes that there could be a TEC before the end of June.

Mr Colin Eglin MP, a member of the planning committee, predicted today that there would be intense activity in the proposed technical committees during the rest of the month.

He pointed out that an important issue now was the laying down of time-frames for decisions in the next four to five weeks.

One of the main purposes of the resumed talks would be to flesh out decisions taken by the planning committee.

As the continuing high level of violence, and a fresh spate of attacks on whites, turned last night's debate into an intense and often angry exchange:

- the government gave notice that it would place mass action on the negotiations agenda in the belief that it "leads to violence",
- the Afrikaner Volksunie said it was re-evaluating its presence in the talks, and
- the Conservative Party warned there would be no peaceful settlement if aspirations for self-determination were not met.

**General's statement 'dangerous'**

In another development, the ANC described as "short-sighted and dangerous" a statement by Major-General Tienie Groenewald — one of the former SADF officers involved in plans to consolidate the right-wing — that a Boer state could break away from South Africa within months.

General Groenewald said on Tuesday: "I don't think that the South African security forces will ever fight against their own people."

The ANC responded that South Africans would not "allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia."

Violence and Afrikaner self-determination dominated yesterday's constitutional development budget debate.

Mr Meyer lashed out at mass action, warning that it could play into the hands of those who wanted to delay negotiations by violence.

He said the negotiations planning committee would recommend that a technical committee on violence be appointed.

"I am now already giving notice that the government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organs and persons responsible for it."
CP MP threatens "terror, civil war"

LONDON. — Conservative Party MP Dr Corne Mulder has threatened "acts of terror" and "full-blown civil war" if the right wing is not accommodated in negotiations.

Speaking on the BBC's Newsnight programme, Dr Mulder, said: "We'll go all the way with negotiations until we're forced into a situation where we are not being accommodated — then we are forced to go into the third phase ... civil disobedience ... then to full-blown civil war if necessary."

Also on the programme, Major-General "Tienie" Groenewald, former chief director of military intelligence, said the right wing had 500,000 trained national servicemen at its disposal for secession.

He believed the government had a list of 5,000 prominent right-wingers it intended to detain and he expected to be among these.

The government has dismissed Dr Mulder's claims as "mischievous propaganda."

The founder meeting of the Afrikaner Volksfront, an umbrella body for Afrikaner secessionists, is to be held today.

— Saps Own Correspondent (sou47)
Boer state slammed by ANC

The Argus Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — Major-General Tienie Groenewald's warning of a Boer state breaking away from South Africa within months was "shortsighted and dangerous", the ANC said last night.

General Groenewald said earlier: "I don't think the South African security forces will ever fight against their own people."

But the ANC said South Africans would not "allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia."

It said white South Africans should not be fooled into thinking General Groenewald spoke for them, and appealed to the international community to warn the general and his "bedfellows" against their planned move.

The general's apparent confidence about the possible connivance of security forces confirmed the failure of the government to act decisively against the rightwing, it said.

White South Africans should not support the perpetuation of "apartheid in a disguised form".
Cosag shuns ‘rubber stamp’ tag

COSAG was not deliberately delaying the negotiation process, but it would not rubber stamp the wishes of the ANC/ACP/Cosatu alliance, Mr Tom Langley (CP Soutpansberg) said yesterday.

In a debate on the Constitutional Development Vote in parliament yesterday he said the NP and the ANC alliance were trying to force the Declaration of Intent on Cosag.

The president, like the ANC, appeared to be intimidating it and saying that if he did not get his way he would give effect to the Record of Understanding.

The NP, the government and the ANC were trying to call the tune at the negotiations. The agenda had been suspended at the instigation of Mr Jox Slovo, just so a date for elections could be agreed. — SAPA.
DEPUTY Minister of Constitutional Development Fanus Schoeman said the National Party would rather stage a coup than hand over power to the Conservative Party had the CP won the 1969 general election, Mr Fanie Jacobs (CP Losberg) has told Parliament.

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development Vote, he said Mr Schoeman had said this, to the Labour Party MP for Northern Cape, Mr Desmond Lockey.

Mr Jacobs asked whether the NP would be willing to hand over the keys of the Union Building if the ANC won an election.

If the NP crossed the Rubicon of handing over power to the ANC it should know that it would be resisted. — Sapa.
'Nobody believed' FW's apology

NOBODY believed the State President when he apologised for apartheid but then said there had been no intention to hurt anybody, Mr Miley Richards (LP Toekommer) told parliament.

Speaking in the Constitutional Development debate, he said this was tantamount to saying there was no intention to hurt people killed in Nazi Germany's Holocaust.

The Group Areas Act had been violent, as had been the relocation of people and detention — as well as the country's isolation and sanctions against apartheid.

Dr Piet van Heerden (NP Bloemfontein North) said Mr Richard's LP had been part of apartheid structures, hurting people.

"If apartheid does hurt people, the LP was also hurting people by taking part in so-called apartheid structures. They were part and parcel of hurting people."

The mistake was often made of confusing the concepts of freedom and democracy.

Freedom should be seen as the destination and democracy the process by which it was to be achieved.

Social economic rights — such as housing, health and work — implied corrective actions which could be achieved through taxation or socialisation.

This, in turn, denied individuals the right to determine their own choices.

Negotiators should have absolute clarity on what kind of democracy they wanted.

Sapa.
Flag decision for Hani's funeral 'based on policy'

The decision not to fly the national flag at half-mast on the day of SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani's funeral was based on previous policy and convention, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

The government had no ulterior motives in deciding this, he said in reply to questions in Parliament by Mr Jannie Momberg (ANC, Simon's Town). The flag was only flown at half-mast on government buildings when a head of state or head of government died in office.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha said the South African ambassador in Washington, Mr Harry Schwarz, had used his own discretion when he decided to fly the flag at half-mast at the embassy after Mr Hani's death.
Verwoerd to head ANC drive

CAPE TOWN — Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of former Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd, the architect of apartheid, will spearhead an ANC recruitment drive to woo Afrikaners.

The ANC is to hold its first public meeting next week in the predominantly white Afrikaner town of Parow, constituency of Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel.

Verwoerd will address the meeting, regarded as a breakthrough by the ANC. It has been billed as the ANC’s version of President F.W. de Klerk’s visit to the AWD stronghold of Venterdorp.

“We feel confident and strong enough to take the NP on in their own backyard. The process will begin in the western Cape and then be carried out nationally. A number of programmes will be announced both here and in Johannesburg in the near future,” ANC western Cape assistant secretary Willy Hofmeyr said at a news briefing yesterday.

Wits ‘maintains its standards’

WITS University vice-chancellor Robert Charlton yesterday defended his institution against rumours of falling academic standards.

Speaking at a Wits Business School seminar, Charlton said the question of what standards were appropriate for SA had become the subject of hot debate, with some maintaining that talk of “high standards” was merely a device for denying access to disadvantaged groups.

He said Wits succeeded in maintaining its world class standards through the controls of the external examiner system, and regular inspection of professional disciplines for accreditation purposes.

Quoting the example of an exam taken by doctors emigrating to the US, Charlton said: “The average pass rate of all foreign graduates is 18%; in contrast, the pass rate for Wits graduates is 85%.”

Although many of the 6 000 black students — out of a total of 18 500 — had gaps in their schooling, a strong academic support programme gave them the opportunity to bridge the gap, he said.
Govt push to end mass action

CAPE TOWN — Government gave notice yesterday that it intended to demand an end to mass action when violence was discussed in negotiations — which were currently balanced on a razor’s edge.

Delivering a generally optimistic speech in Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, however, issued a stern warning on mass action.

Introducing his department's budget vote, Meyer said there were encouraging indications that in coming weeks agreements would be formulated regarding a whole series of key elements of a new constitutional dispensation. “The process is balancing on a razor edge, but we are on the threshold of a breakthrough.”

He said the planning committee of the negotiations forum would tomorrow recommend the formation of a specialist committee on violence.

Government will expect that committee to investigate and identify the causes of violence and the organisations and people responsible for it. “I am giving notice that the government will there adopt the standpoint that at the present time mass action leads to violence and gives rise to a climate of violence.”

Government would also test the standpoints of other parties on peace by the extent to which they would be prepared to give practical effect to their recommendations to the committee and their reactions to its recommendations.

However, the process had to proceed simultaneously with these discussions “in a spirit of positive aggression”, he said.

Meyer said other important negotiations issues were details of the transitional constitution and the terms of reference and composition of a commission on regional government.

On the date for an election, Meyer said only that government believed this date should be before April next year.

Acting CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg delivered a fiery response, warning that failure to meet the CP demand for self-determination would lead to bloodshed.

He said Meyer's speech was evidence that the negotiations were regarded by government as a rubber stamp for what it had already agreed with the ANC. Any group that attempted to deviate from what was already agreed with the ANC was portrayed as a spoiler.

For the CP, self-determination was a principle that should be decided on before the form of state was decided.

Although the CP was trying to avoid it, failure to acknowledge this principle would lead to bloodshed. “Do not force us to offer blood.”

Our political staff reports that Tony Leon (DP Houghton) said a "deal" that was "simply stitched together" by the NP and ANC privately could not be binding on the negotiation process until the other party had agreed to it.

While every party deserved to have its views taken seriously, a distinction had to be drawn between those negotiating in good faith and those who were not.

Leon said Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope had said there was no question of the homeland giving up its independence or control over its security forces. But Mangope’s advisors were at the negotiating table. If he had no intention of giving up independence why were they contributing to the creation of structures of which they would never be a part? he asked.

UK owes SA, says Mandela

LONDON — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed Britain for sowing the seeds of violent upheaval in SA, telling parliament members “history demands ... that you help us”.

Mandela told a bipartisan group of MPs that Britain’s Act of Union, forming the constitution which created SA in 1909, paved the way for apartheid. He said, “Your right to determine your own destiny was used to deny us to determine our own,” he said.

The ANC president, who earlier had met Prime Minister John Major, Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and Labour opposition leader John Smith, asked MPs to press the government to set a date for elections and to stem violence.

— Sapa-AFP
SHOULD SA have 1.5 million homes by 1999? Yes, housing to solve the enormous backlog of housing that SA needs: Louis Stiell, Housing Crisis Minister, stresses. Enterprise seeks to alter attitudes.
Earlier he invited former Gencor boss, Mr Derek Keys, to be Minister of Finance.

Keys’ coming into the Cabinet has impressed even National Party adversaries in the extra-parliamentary arena as a fresh approach to economic policies.

Shill is clearly also being relied on to win popular support by using business practices — rather than political rhetoric — to solve the housing problem.

He is able to chip in a reminder that property and house-building and land development have formed a substantial slice of his business interests — along with insurance and financial services — ever since he founded the Sage Group.

**Fragmentation**

Witbank born Shill faces the task of tackling an overhaul of the administration of housing affairs — which has been under severe criticism because of the fragmentation caused by apartheid.

He studied at the University of the Witwatersrand and at Stanford University in the United States.

A chartered accountant, he was one of the founders of Liberty Life in the

... solving the problem.

Shill has already put under the microscope the vital link between the actual building of houses and cash resources needed to start operations in the first place.

He is fully aware that this is the link that has often been missing when housing initiatives have ground to a halt.

He is also aware of the anger and frustration the disadvantaged communities — mostly black — have suffered as a result of banks’ reluctance to grant home loans to blacks.

“I am convinced this nut can be cracked.

“I believe it is imperative to crack it if a real start is to be made in eradicating the logjam of housing shortage,” he says.

He has already caused a flicker of hope by using his high status in the insurance industry to influence the Life Officer Association to launch a special investment development unit.

In fact, many insurance companies, including Sage Life, have shown interest in home building and other projects which provide socio-economically desirable developments.

unemployment or earning below the breadline but with longer term prospects of being able to afford a reasonable house;

- Destitute families that cannot afford to buy a home; and

- Families plagued by violence and whose houses cannot be completed because construction companies fear attacks from township radicals.

“We all have a role to play in finding ways to help destitute families,” he says, adding:

“We must not be content with living in shacks.”

He believes that all parties, including political organisations, have a role in solving the problem.

“We need new strategies to start a dynamic, immediate housing programme,” he says.

One of the first things he needs to look into is co-ordinating various housing organisations and examining the functions of all the players in both the private and public sector.

Also on his agenda will be a thorough look at all of the land property under the public works department.
LAST week I had the privilege of attending the ANC’s culture and development conference at the Johannesburg Civic Theatre. I expected tense, sharp-elbowed debates and was agreeably surprised by the relaxed mood and the festive, exuberant atmosphere that prevailed.

As a former lecturer in Afrikaans at the University of the Witwatersrand, I was particularly interested in the ANC’s language policy.

The organisation’s goal of conferring equal status on all languages could not be more fair and the lack of prescriptiveness inherent in the policy is refreshing. Only one delegate was in a utter-for-tatt mood and adamantly insisted that white schoolchildren should in future be compelled to learn an indigenous African language.

What struck me, though, was the often repeated demand for government involvement in the promotion and development of indigenous languages.

The State can only do so much. It will be up to the speakers to actively nurture the various languages. In this regard Afrikaans can serve as an example: a surprisingly positive example.

When a writer or poet uses Afrikaans as his language of choice, he or she is making a sacrifice. By communicating in Afrikaans, the writer knows that his readership will be limited. Should he decide to use English instead, his audience will increase tremendously. And after all, every writer wants his ideas and thoughts to influence as wide an audience as possible.

However, for many Afrikaans writers, the decision to write in Afrikaans is a conscious one, and taken with the express purpose of contributing to the welfare of the Afrikaans language. Black South African writers need to develop the same attitude.

There are black writers who write a superbly powerful prose — the ANC’s cultural supreme, Mr Mongane Serote, is only one example — but many of these writers are writing in English. The accessibility of their work is to the benefit of readers like myself, who are shamefully ignorant of black languages. But the indigenous languages of South Africa will only be promoted once writers use their native tongue and are willing to forgo the luxury of reaching the majority of people.

**Sets example**

Writers and poets are the artists and sculptors of a language. Their creativity provides spark and inspiration and sets the example for the entire language community.

At the conference, one delegate after another also rated against the powerful status accorded Afrikans and English, as this causes black South Africans to feel embarrassed about using their own languages.

It should be remembered that the early speak-

ers of Afrikaans had a similar problem. Under British rule, Afrikaans-speaking children were not allowed to speak Afrikaans in school. If they did, they ended up with donkey-ears and a sign around their necks proclaiming: “I shall not speak the Dutch patois.” English-speaking teachers scathingly referred to Afrikaans as a “kombuistaf.”

The response of Afrikanders was to make a concerted effort to develop a strong written literature. The editors of Afrikaans newspapers enthusiastically encouraged their subscribers, most of them uneducated people, to send in poems and other contributions.

Leaders in the Afrikaans community made every effort to instil in the speakers of Afrikaans a language pride. This was not easy, as Afrikaans also had to contend with the long shadow cast by Dutch. Many Afrikanders who enjoyed using their mother language considered Afrikaans too “platvaars” to use in church and rejected the idea that the Dutch Bible should be replaced by an Afrikaans translation.

Afrikaans is the ultimate protest language. It fuelled the movement of Afrikaner nationalism and gave the Afrikaner his identity.

I am not suggesting that black South Africans adopt the chauvinistic attitude that some Afrikanders have about their language. When Afrikanders took over from the British, their language policy can best be described as affirmative action gone mad. But there is a positive message in the Afrikaans’ refusal to be ashamed of the Afrikaans language in the face of discrimination and ridicule.

The cultural life of South Africa will be greatly enriched by the blossoming of the indigenous black languages. But more is needed than a sympathetic government language policy. It is up to the speakers. Voorwaarts!
New party calls for a 'coloured homeland'

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A new political organisation which calls for a "sovereign and independent state" for coloureds in a new dispensation, was introduced here yesterday.

The organisation, called the National Liberation Front (NLF) and headed by University of the Witwatersrand geography lecturer Malcolm Lupton, has as its main purpose the creation of an independent homeland for coloureds in South Africa.

Mr. Lupton, 29, who is the new organisation's general-secretary, criticised both the National Party and the African National Congress, accusing them of regarding coloureds "as expendable pawns" in their efforts to get their votes.

"In their hidden agendas both the ANC and the NP regard our people as expendable pawns, a mere 'minority group' whose votes are up for grabs in a violent struggle for state power.

"Coloureds should see through these organisations, reject their ulterior motives and stand on their own," said Mr. Lupton.

Flanked by fellow committee members Mr. Adrian Conway, 22, and Mr. Colin Snel, 26, Mr. Lupton said the NP was "a dying party" with a leadership "devoid of a vision", while the ANC was "a black nationalist organisation with which coloureds could never identify."

He said only "unprincipled and opportunist elements" within the coloured community would join the NP, and that the ANC would get not less than seven percent of the vote of South Africa's three million coloureds in the first all-in election.

Mr. Lupton said the NLF had about 500 paid-up members — most of whom were younger than 33 — and had so far received the support of some coloured trade unions.

The Wits University lecturer said the NLF would not endeavour to take part in the multi-party negotiations. However, it would enter into talks with either the incumbent government or any future government "over the mechanisms of a transfer of state power to the coloured state."
CP outlines mobilisation

Hartzenberg pleads on behalf of 'volk'

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party was mobilising military generals, scientists and people from across the spectrum behind the concept of self-determination, CP leader, Mr Fredie Hartzenberg said in Parliament last night.

Speaking during the Constitutional Development debate, Hartzenberg said the Government should not be surprised that there were military generals who were prepared to sacrifice their blood for Afrikaner self-determination.

Repeating previous threats made by the leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Hartzenberg said: "There will be no peaceful or lasting solution in South Africa" if the Cosag alliance was not satisfied with a settlement.

Addressing himself specifically to the Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, Hartzenberg said "self determination is non-negotiable".

He said Afrikaners had been prepared in the past to sacrifice their blood for self-determination, adding:"If we can't get freedom through negotiations, don't push us to the point where we have to do it again?"

"The CP has initiated a serious programme of mobilisation which is meant to be a 'volk's' mobilisation."

"Other groups are being provided for and now you (Meyer) are shocked by the fact that there are generals (mobilising with us). The 'volk' has generals. It has preachers and scientists and they will be in the mobilisation with the generals," Hartzenberg said.
**BC adherents racist - Meyer**

**Minister admits Afrikaner insensitivity**

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday described Black Consciousness adherents and Afrikanists as inherently racist.

Speaking during his budget debate in Parliament, Meyer also eulogised the Afrikaner people for their struggle for freedom against what he called Dutch and British domination.

"Today the Afrikaner enjoys a respected identity. We have a modern, vibrant language and culture.

"But not everything we have gained has been gained without offending other South Africans. We would be dishonest and untrue to ourselves if we were to deny that there have been times when we have been insensitive to the needs and aspirations of our black and brown fellow citizens in particular," he said.

"So-called Afrikanists or black consciousness groups have for decades fought for freedom from colonialism and have attempted to develop an exclusively African school of thought. It is not always clear what they mean by colonialism. Some of them are blatantly racist when they incite hatred against whites," Meyer said.
HARARE — Foreign Minister
Mr Pik Botha is reported to
have expressed an interest in
a role for President Mugabe
of Zimbabwe in promoting
peaceful negotiations in South Africa.
Botha is said to have told this to his
Zimbabwean counterpart, Mr Nathan
Shamuyarira, when they met for the first
time at an ANC reception in Johannes-
burg on Sunday after the funeral of Mr
Oliver Tambo.

It was their first meeting and has been
interpreted in some quarters in South
Africa as a further relaxation of the
Zimbabwean government's policy of
refusing to have ministerial-level deal-
ings with Pretoria.

Shamuyarira said on his return to
Harare that Botha had expressed an in-
terest in a role for Mugabe in peaceful
negotiations in South Africa. In Johan-
nesburg Shamuyarira also met IFP
leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He
said Buthelezi expressed an interest in
meeting Mugabe to talk about the situa-
tion.

Sowetan Africa News Service.
Marike’s visit: Cost admitted

The government yesterday admitted that the controversial visit of Mrs Marike de Klerk to Atlantis in March cost at least R3 872.66 in public funds — somewhat more than the R13 petrol money claimed by President F.W. de Klerk.

The chairman of the Ministers’ Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Kanie, told Parliament the Department of Education and Culture had spent R2 706 on invitations and R1 166.66 on catering for the visit.

The Democratic Party’s Mr Jasper Walsh said it was a gross abuse of funds for the function to have been paid for out of the HoR’s budget.
NP, ANC must drop tactics of yesterday

By WILLEM VAN VUUREN

THE transition process has often been set back by actions of the security forces that were seen as proof of the de Klerk Government's pursuance of a twin-track policy embracing both negotiations with and destabilisation of the ANC.

However, the ANC's periodic campaigns of "mass action" appear to be based on a similarly ambivalent commitment to negotiations and expose the organisation itself to accusations of a double agenda.

Various analysts have argued the need for some pax-like co-operation between the major players as an effective means of change toward democracy. And some of the greatest advances thus far indeed seem to have been as a result of agreements between the National Party and the ANC, when both acted interdependently as vital transition agents.

Such a relationship, of course, does not prohibit political rivalry. It is not a coalition in the sense of an election pact, but involves a negotiated compromise to abstain from violent strategies against each other in pursuit of democracy, and to use negotiation and compromise again as means of resolving future disputes.

New challenges

In other words, it requires a durable commitment to peaceful negotiations as an essential condition, which is incompatible with appeals to powerful forces of violence outside the pact (the military or masses) to threaten each other.

Resolutions of the ANC's 1991 national conference explicitly link negotiations to "international pressure and mass struggle" as a matter of necessity. This creates an official gap for militants who wish to reactivate the uncompromising and aggressive "struggle" spirit of the eighties, which may well have constituted a legitimate response to a repressive total strategy, but can hardly be considered a relevant and constructive reply to the new challenges of transition politics.

Mr Mandela's call for effective positive action is therefore timely. "Perhaps one of the greatest challenges facing any nation in transition is to move away from protest, defiance and resistance to building and reconstruction. Simultaneously in our own case we have to move from slogans and rhetoric to constructive and concrete programmes that will engage our beleaguered people, black and white."

Old myths

Addressing the problem of mass control currently experienced by the ANC leadership, Professor Herebert Adam stated that "the ANC, even more than the National Party, has so far failed to prepare its constituency for the inevitable politics of compromise."

If this is so because the ANC's support base still generally perceives its political role in uncompromising "struggle" terms, it is obvious where the leaders should start their preparatory work. The difficulty, however, seems to be that the leadership is divided and saddled with influential figures whose rhetoric suggests that they are themselves underprepared for the new politics.

Old struggle myths still seem to inform their thinking: vital negotiating partners are still being portrayed as incorrigible "enemies", to be defeated, not negotiated with. Unrealistic expectations of "total victory" that exclude compromises are still being projected.

The self-righteous claim that their organisation represents the "true democratic forces" simply because it represents a majority still prevails and morally justifies a religious intolerance toward the "false" democratic vision of their opponents.

Two years ago Breiten Breitenbach wrote in an open letter to Mr Mandela: "You will lose nothing but dead illusions if you were to point out the ANC is victim of its own propaganda and the creation of myths and aspirations that could never be satisfied...."

"We must own up to the unpleasant recognition that the ANC is not (yet) a democratic organisation, that it still shows a hegemonic drive based on intimidation...."

Unhistorical

"Despite the sustained moderation of Mr Mandela, there are worrying signs that powerful elements within the organisation would rather exploit played-out "struggle" myths for their own strategic purposes of mobilisation and intimidation, to try to seize power, than move away from myth toward reality in order to deal more constructively with transition requirements."

Only in terms of a very perverse and unhistorical dialectic can further radicalisation, racial polarisation and economic destruction lead to peaceful democratic reconstruction in this country.

Just as improbable as it is that zero-sum power politics, intolerance and violent intimidation through mass action can advance the cause of a negotiated transition, so it is also predictable that the promoters of such a strategy will be extremely tempted to compensate through negative means for failing to fulfil positive expectations.

That is, to try to maintain their radicalised support by showing success through counterproductive "achievements", such as applying better methods of paralysing South African economic life, issuing tougher demands and threats, organising more provocative actions, particularly against whites, and employing more effective means of demonising their political opponents for mobilisation purposes. Thus generating the kind of destructive dynamics in which the Botha regime was caught up in the eighties.

It took considerable statesmanship from government and opposition leaders to get South Africa out of that mess. But we can easily be plunged back into it — by both sides — by responding to today's challenges with yesterday's tactics."

[Professor Van Vuuren teaches in the Department of Political Studies at UWC]
By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government was covering up corruption in some of the self-governing territories, the Democratic Party charged yesterday.

DP MP for Johannesburg North Peter Soal said a response to questions tabulated by him on “Christmas bonuses”, the purchase of cars and other perks for Cabinet members in the territories was a “cop-out”.

Autonomy

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie had replied that information on “bonuses, allowances, policy and procedures with regard to the vehicles” was not readily available. He said the self-governing territories had autonomy over the issues raised in the questions and “I suggest you approach the Chief Ministers”.

An angry Soal last night said: “I know they (the Government) have some of the information. I know a number of the homelands gave themselves substantial Christmas bonuses. There were also irregularities in the selling of cars.”

Soal said he believed Fourie had “chosen not to answer the question properly because the public is angry about corruption scandals”.

Fourie, in his written reply, said that “from what I could establish motor vehicles for official use in the self-governing territories . . . were purchased by means of government contracts, tender and under the motor vehicle financing scheme.

“In most of the self-governing territories motor vehicles were sold on public auction or by tender to the public after an approved amount of kilometres and on recommendation of a board of survey.”

Soal said the response was a “dreadful indictment of the Government, because what it means is that Parliament has no control over its money.”
Rightwing 'dog' bares its fangs

Weekly Mail Correspondent

THE men who shot up East London's Highgate Hotel last Saturday night chose their target shrewdly. The rather shabby public house, situated on the city's conservative fringe, has become a rallying symbol for the right.

Throughout last Sunday, residents of Cambridge and surrounding blue-collar suburbs flocked to the cordoned-off hotel to gape and to mutter darkly together. The mood was ugly, and several minor "racial incidents" took place.

A building contractor and "ex-Nat supporter", William Leach, painted on his car an exhortation to President FW de Klerk to resign and "let loose the security forces". The gesture was applauded by passers-by, some of whom stopped to shake his hand and let off steam.

Sim Stabbert calls himself the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "southern regional commander" (the region comprising the entire Cape Province, southern Natal and the Free State). This week he acknowledged that East London had become a focal point in "the struggle", and that the AWB was paying the city special attention.

"Because it's a trick between Ciskei and Transkei, East London has become like a bone being fought over by two dogs. But a third dog will come and run away with it."

The AWB intends being that third, victorious dog. The movement boasts more than 400 trained commando members in the city, most of whom are said to be past or current police members and South African Defence Force members.

The chairman of the East London branch of the Conservative Party, Gavin Young, believes the hotel attack will blow new life into the embattled CP support in the city. "After the referendum (on reform last March), our people were less active, less fiery — but now they are coming back." — Eena
Mass of seething khaki gives
lonely Deputy Minister hell

By Paul Bell

The loneliest man at yesterday's "boere saamtrek" in Potchefstroom was Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Meyer; the farmers thanked him for coming — and then gave him hell.

He left there a worried man, the jeers and threats of 6,000 angry farmers still ringing in his ears. Today he must return to Cape Town with a message for the Government that the remaining restraints on a now dangerously militant white Right in the Free State and Transvaal may be slipping away.

To the demand by former SADF chief General Constant Viljoen — who received a rousing reception from these increasingly embattled people — that the Government halt negotiations to force the Patriotic Front to control its armies, he could only reply that this was impossible.

To the farmers' howling criticism of the Government's agricultural relief programmes, he could only say that he had listened to them, and even then, the farmers soon booted him back to his seat — after he had stood for several minutes in the teeth of a barracking that would have defied a tank.

And to their angry defiance of a future under ANC rule, not to mention their threats of death to any person foolish enough to try to occupy a white school in the platteland, Meyer could only listen, wan and impassive, and stare unseeing at the mass of seething khaki in the grandstand of the Cheetah Park stadium.

Dignity demanded that he not react to the taunts of the crowd; but at the end of it all he was clearly drained. He conceded, when asked, that it was "all very difficult."

These, after all, were his people — or had been. He might have been forgiven for wondering how in God's name it had come to this.

On the other hand, as Viljoen said of the murder of farmers, there was nothing here that was new to the history of Afrikanerdom. Rebellion, schism, death, secession: all have had their place.
Poll date could be announced on June 2

By Chris Whitfield
Katzer Nyatumbu
and Michael Sparks

CAPE TOWN — South Africa could know on June 2 when the country will go to the polls in its first democratic elections.

The Government believes that a negotiating forum meeting scheduled for that date — which will follow an intense month of talks — may be in a position to ratify an agreement on an election date.

Constitutional Development Service communications chief Marius Kleyhans said yesterday: "The forum on June 2 could set the election date."

And ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the process was poised to produce positive, dramatic results in the next "few days".

It was critical for the credibility of the process that a "complete timetable" and election date be agreed by the end of this month, said Ramaphosa.

However, some tough hurdles have to be overcome. Negotiators are bracing themselves for a showdown at the World Trade Centre today, where the 104-member negotiating council will grapple with a declaration of intent which seeks to speed up the process and ensure the holding of the election by April next year.

The declaration, which would commit all parties to ensuring "the exact date" for the election is agreed within five weeks, will be the first item on the agenda of today's talks.

It will be opposed by the Inkatha Freedom Party and its Cosas partners. IPP national chairman Dr Frank Mdilalose said the declaration was "not what we want".

Yesterday he also rejected the setting of deadlines for agreement — saying the same approach had scuppered the Cocos negotiating forum.

Mdlalose yesterday refused to be drawn on whether the IFP would accept having its controversial document on violence referred to a technical committee.

On June 2 the negotiating forum is scheduled to meet, review progress and ratify agreements following an intense month-long session of talks involving the negotiations council, planning committee and technical committees.

It is proposed that the technical committees would begin their work on Monday with a view to presenting documents to the planning committee on May 14.

The committees will deal with: the independent elections commission, the independent media commission and independent telecommunications authority, the amendment or repeal of legislation impeding free political activity, the transitional executive council and its subcouncils, and violence.

A technical committee on constitutional affairs has been approved in principle but there will be a discussion today on its "brief".

The establishing of another committee on "the peace corps" could also be discussed today.
German neo-Nazi gets funds from SA

By STEPHEN LAUER

A GERMAN neo-Nazi with links to the organisation paying the legal costs of Chris Han’s alleged assassin, Janus Waluz, has told undercover investigators that he is receiving major funding from South Africa.

The man, Manfred Roeder, has convictions for violent crimes against foreigners in Germany. His name appears on a list of international connections of the World Apartheid Movement, which is picking up the tab for Waluz’s lawyers. Roeder visited South Africa early this year.

According to Shimon Samuels, a director of the Simon Wiesenthal Centre, Roeder told journalist Yaron Svoray that he received “between $30,000 and $60,000 monthly from sympathisers in South Africa”.

The centre tracks Nazis and neo-Nazis worldwide. Samuels was in South Africa this week on a lecture tour. He described Svoray’s six-month “sting operation” which exposed links between neo-Nazi organisations in Germany and other countries.

Roeder was sentenced to 13 years’ imprisonment in 1982 for his leading role in the bombing of refugee hostels in which two Vietnamese died. He was released in 1990, and soon returned to active neo-Nazi politics.

Roeder arrived in South Africa on January 30 last year for his first visit in 18 years. In an article on his trip which appeared in Scharmacher (Spotlight), an ultra-rightist organ published in Bavaria, he reported having met "two of the leading Boer generals" organising opposition to a negotiated settlement.

In his article, Roeder attacked the negotiations process and hailed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha as a “strong force, much stronger than the ANC and Nelson Mandela”. He also lavished praise on Ciskei’s Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Roeder reports having seen Mandela at Jan Smuts airport: “He was dragging himself along, an old and sick man. He has cancer and can hardly walk. The airport was humming with crowds of people, but not one person would take notice of Mandela, nobody looked at him. He has outlived his time.”
An 'ou ooms' may conceal CP conflict

By CHRIS LOUW

THE spirit of Dr Andries Treurnicht, who had a reputation of skillfully dodging tough decisions, may prove to be alive and well when the Conservative Party chooses its deputy leader next weekend.

The choice is between reactionary Schalk Pienaar, MP for Potgietersrus, and the more moderate Dr Pieter Mulder, MP for Randfontein. Although these two are the strongest contenders, chances are that a compromise candidate may be chosen to act as deputy to Dr Fendi Hartzenberg, who is sure to be elected the new leader of the party following Treurnicht's death.

Talk in parliament has it that one of the "ou ooms" may be elected to "keep the chair warm" until the conflict within the party has been resolved.

Mulder's political approach is closer to that of the Afrikaner Volksfront, which has rejected apartheid and is campaigning for a federal system, which will allow Afrikaners some form of autonomy. They are prepared to find a solution through negotiations. Pienaar is a right-wing hardliner who has little sympathy with negotiations. In speeches, he often threatens armed resistance to a black majority government.

CP leaders fear the election of either one could lead to further polarisation or even a split.

Although Hartzenberg is also a hardliner, it is accepted that the choice of deputy leader will influence the likely direction the party will take—that of moderation or of growing militancy.

Names mentioned as compromise candidates include Frank le Roux, MP for Brakpan, and Jan Hoon, MP for Kuruman. Both enjoy the respect of party members, although they are not seen as politically astute enough to lead the CP in the long term.

Another candidate is Andrew Gerber, MP for Brits. Gerber is an old-style gentleman who would bring dignity to the leadership of a party torn by internal tensions. But observers believe he lacks understanding of the "new politics" in the country.
Threat of secession at defiant meeting of white rightwingers

Farmers reject ANC rule

By Paul Bell

White farmers in the Transvaal yesterday threw down a challenge to the ANC, saying that the ANC's policies are unacceptable and that farmers will not support the security forces.

The meeting was held in Pretoria and attended by about 1000 farmers. The mood was defiant, with farmers saying that they would not surrender to violence or intimidation.

Defiant farmers say no to ANC rule

From Page 1

The farmers said they would not accept the ANC's policies and that they would continue to resist the government's attempts to enforce them.

Gouws summed up the mood of the farmers by saying that they were determined to protect their farms and their way of life.

Viljoen warned that there would be trouble if the security forces were brought under joint command before the settlement and introduction of a new constitution.

The farmers said violence was being directed against whites and farmers because negotiations had reached a critical stage in determining the future of the state. Those behind it were trying to scare the negotiators.

Viljoen said the security forces had been set an impossible task as a result of the Government's decision to allow communists to operate freely in South Africa, and called on the farmers to support the security forces.

"If we don't, who will?" he asked.

Earlier in the day, farmers vowed to disregard the new laws that have been extended to farmworkers, and demanded that their leaders refuse to negotiate the question with the Government.

South African Agricultural Union president Boel Fourie, whom the farmers blame for not representing their views properly to the Government, was loudly booed by the crowd and denied an opportunity to speak.

The farmers also demanded a five-year moratorium on interest payments on farm debt, bans and tariffs on agricultural imports, and the lifting of VAT on red meat.
Right price for tea party

BY D. CLAYTON

The government has admitted that Marike de Klerk's controversial Atlantis "tea party" in March cost at least R3 873 in public funds—somewhat more than the R13 petrol money claimed by President FW de Klerk.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Jac Rabie, said this week the Department of Education and Culture in his administration had spent R2 706 on the printing and mailing of written invitations and R1 166.66 on catering. In reply to a question tabled in parliament by the Labour Party's Michael Hendricks, Rabie said the House of Representatives had not incurred any expenditure on the printing of pamphlets, the transportation of guests or security arrangements.

The National Party MP for Manenberg, Abe Williams, whose constituency includes Atlantis, was the key figure behind De Klerk's visit to the township. Now the Minister of Sport, Williams was Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives at the time of the visit.

When Democratic Party MP Jasper Walsh questioned De Klerk in parliament about the visit, he said the "direct cost to the state" was R13 for petrol, but if wear and tear was estimated, "the total cost to the state is R276.16".

Quoting leaked documents, The Weekly Mail later reported that the House of Representatives had paid a total of R9 232.30 for the visit. While Rabie's estimate is lower than this figure, which was based on a copy of a receipt, the amounts for the invitations was identical—R2 706.
Thunder on the right

The rightwing took advantage of a meeting of farmers to mobilise support.

By JAN TALJAARD and Sapa

IN the first real manifestation of the rightwing’s volksmobilsisie (people’s mobilisation), more than 8 000 farmers and sympathisers from the white farmers’ Union gathered for a tumultuous protest rally yesterday in Potchefstroom.

The meeting, at Olen Park Stadium, focused on farmers’ grievances, notably legislation extending basic rights to farm labourers and the financial plight of the agricultural sector.

The mood was martial: there were threats of a producer strike by farmers, of countrywide disruption of cities as happened in Pretoria last year, and a resolution that the new labour legislation would be defied.

- Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Fourie was shouted down when he tried to speak. Farmers jeered when they heard that the ministers of justice, law and order and defence had declined invitations to attend.

Although organised by the Transvaal and Free State Agricultural Unions for farmers, the meeting had a much broader political importance. Initially addressing farmers’ issues, it became increasingly politicised.

Earlier this week acting Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said the activation of the right, which had started with the CP, had grown to become a people’s movement, and that 18 different interest groups were being mobilised, including agriculture.

Significantly, the guest of honour was former South African Defence Force chief General Constand Viljoen, whose address on security matters was given a standing ovation. Viljoen is a central figure in the recently formed Committee of Generals (CoG), whose aim is to unify the right and harness it to the aim of creating an Afrikaner volkstaat, if necessary through extra-parliamentary resistance.

The CoG has sent documents to all major parties of the right, asking for their support. So far, the Herstigte Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging have declined to commit themselves.

Also present at the rally were several members of the Volksheidskomitee which gave birth to the CoG. They included Jan Groenewald, brother of former military intelligence boss General Tienie Groenewald and another key member of the CoG; former CID chief General Cobus Visser, also of the CoG; boerestaat planner Koos Reinecke; and Afrikaner Volksstaat Stigting head Professor Carol Boshoff.

Viljoen was loudly cheered when he called for the suspension of negotiations as a remedy for the country’s violence. The daily murder of farmers could not be tolerated, and commanders of private armies such as Umkhonto weSizwe and Apia had to ensure control over their militias.

Joint control of the security forces before a new constitution was agreed to was “crass stupidity”, he added, as this would mean the forces would fall under the control of communists.

Viljoen also said that while Afrikaners had been content to leave politics to “a group of people sitting on the green benches of parliament”, the time had now come for them to unite and become politically active once more.

Afrikaner unity could bring a solution without the need for the “great and unpleasant” step of armed struggle.

Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Beuver said there would be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without farmers’ co-operation.

Referring to the “unnecessary” new labour dispensation, he said: “Farmers have no choice but to disobey the law when a disloyal government wants to force it on them.”

Decisions were taken that the labour law would not be accepted, farmworkers’ strikes would not be tolerated and the agricultural minister would have to bear the consequences of farmers’ reactions if strikes occurred.

Leonard Venter of the Aksie said farmers would refuse to serve under a black majority government. He referred to the financial woes of farmers, and specifically their R21-billion debt burden, and warned that if the government refused to give them financial assistance “we will remove food from the shelves”. If this failed, South African cities would be besieged by farmers.

Demands included a moratorium on the liquidation of farms, a five-year freeze on interest rates, tariff protection and the dropping of VAT on red meat.
A speech by Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Fanus Schoeman, in which he spelled out the functions of the proposed transitional executive council, reinforced the impression that a deal had been struck between the Government and the ANC, Colin Eglin (DP Sea Point) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the Constitutional Development budget vote, he said the DP believed negotiations should not be reduced to "a rubber-stamp operation for the big boys in South African politics."
Planes While SA Burns
Brechtcase Brigade Boards
The Conservative Party was prepared to put forward concrete proposals on the borders for its proposed volkstaat once the principle of self-determination had been accepted by the multi-party negotiating forum, CP acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday. (CPSA)
Speaking during debate on the Constitution.
CAPE TOWN — a major capital project estimated to cost R18m was never approved by the Cabinet and ended up costing R33m. Parliament’s joint committee on public accounts said yesterday.

Tabling its second report in Parliament, the committee expressed its concern at the erection of a computer centre at Brakfontein in Verwoerdburg for the Commission for Administration without formal Cabinet approval. It had been approved in principle “probably by the state security council” as “no formal approval by Cabinet could be submitted for scrutiny to the auditor-general or the committee”.

“However, on the assumption that the approval in question, by whomsoever, was granted on the strength of an extremely rough estimate of R33m, that was based on another building and that was expected to escalate to R45m on completion, the committee recommends that in future Cabinet approvals not be sought or granted on so loose a basis in terms of size, shape and cost,” the report said.

It added that initial approvals should be submitted “regularly” to the Cabinet or another decision-maker for review.

“The final escalated cost of some R33m was in line with Treasury norms and costs, although difficult to justify in terms of the scaled-down utilisation of the building at present”. It recommended the amount be accepted as legitimate.
Right wing crop 1

Right wing crop 3

Right wing crop 2

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Right wing crop 4

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Strike back

threeerations to
Cracks show as govt strategy remains unclear
Election date to top agenda today

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE date for elections will be at the top of the agenda when negotiators meet at the World Trade Centre today. (See A)

However, the talks today are likely to be impeded by the issue of violence and the ANC's mass action to demand an election date.

According to decisions taken when the 26-party negotiating council met last Friday, seven technical committees will be formed to formulate proposals on violence, constitutional issues, a transitional Bill of Rights, an independent election commission, an independent media commission, a repeal of restrictive legislation and a Transitional Executive Council.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication Mr Roelf Meyer has announced in Parliament that the Government would demand an end to mass action when violence is discussed by the negotiating council.
IFP marches 'funded'

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

SOUTH African taxpayers, through the KwaZulu government, funded Inkatha Freedom Party protest marches in Johannesburg and Durban last year, Independent MP Mr Pierre Cronje claimed in Parliament last night.

Cronje produced a copy of an order form from the office of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi instructing the KwaZulu Department of Transport to "kindly provide 60 buses to transport Zulus" to take part in a march in Durban on October 10 last year.

Cronje estimated the Durban march to have cost taxpayers "up to R200 000". Another march in Johannesburg could have cost the same amount.

"Can we get the assurance from the Government that the taxpayer will not pay for the programme of mass demonstrations as announced by the IFP," he said.
The top ex-SADF man warns

NEWS

We will not be governed by ANC, SA taxpayers forest the bill for IFP marches.

Friday May 7 1999 SOWETAN
SA names ambassadors

The Department of Foreign Affairs said in a statement yesterday that Rene Franken had been appointed ambassador to the Slovak Republic; Petrus Cilliers, now in Romania, non-resident ambassador to Moldova; and Hermann Hanekom, now in Zaire, non-resident ambassador to Congo. — Sapa.
Hani's Murder Threatens to Restart the 'Chicken Run'

By Paul Taylor

JOHANNESBURG — For a man whose business has never been better, Tom Ansley can't remember feeling worse. His international moving company has been getting 100 phone inquiries a day — twice the usual number — since the assassination of black leader Chris Hani a month ago gave the country its worst bout of nerves in years.

"It's a sad state of affairs," said Ansley, 50, a fourth-generation South African who vows never to emigrate but says he is "desperately" afraid his grown daughters are about to. "Some of the callers don't even want us to come out to their homes to give an estimate. They want a quote over the phone and a moving date as soon as possible. You can hear the panic in their voices."

White South Africans have a name for this sort of behavior. They call it a "chicken run," and they've seen it before, after the Sharpeville massacre in 1961, the Soweto uprising in 1976 and other turbulent milestones of the apartheid era of racial separation.

It is too early to tell if this latest run — touched off by Hani's assassination than by the intimations of anarchy in the demonstrations among angry black youths that followed — is a passing fright or the start of a long-term flight. Yet either way, the specter of mass white Exodus already occupies a central place in South Africa's transition to black-majority rule. Politically, it operates as a blend of threat, bluff and bargaining chip. Psychologically, it's a hedge, a safety valve and a profound human dilemma.

The rule in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa has been that when blacks take power, white colonizers take their leave. South Africa, however, is different. Whites arrived in the 17th century as settlers, not colonists. As a people, they've been here nearly as long as whites have been in North America. Although they got the politics foolishly wrong, they built the most sophisticated economy on the continent. Now, they're hoping to remain economically indispensable even after they become politically disposable. "To whites, we say we want you to stay, we need your skills," African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela said recently, when reports of a new chicken run first surfaced in the local media.

Ansley says the vast majority will stay, probably even the majority of his callers. "You can tell they're not very proud of what they're doing, and lots of them are making quiet inquiries, just to have a backup plan in place," he said.

Except for a few of the most turbulent years, immigration has outpaced emigration in South Africa throughout the apartheid era. The official 1992 figures were 5,888 immigrants to 4,389 emigrants. Those statistics, however, mislead what many experts believe is a sizable unofficial flow in both directions.

Even with all its problems, South Africa is not an easy country to leave. Stringent currency exchange laws effectively limit the assets emigrants can take out with them to about $30,000 per family. "You have to cheat your assets out, and while plenty of people do it, lots of people don't want to risk it," said Gerald Steward, a real estate broker who says the current chicken run is mild compared with those of 1961 and 1976, when the financial disincentives were not so stiff and "it seemed like every second house had a 'For Sale' sign on it."

For Afrikans speakers — about 60 percent of the white population — there's a bigger problem: Where to go? Descendants of Dutch, German and French settlers, they have created their own unique language and culture here. There is no motherland to go back to.

Yet even with all these disincentives, Ansley senses a new dynamic that could tilt the calculations toward Exodus. "In the past, people left because they were afraid of political change," he said. "Now, they're leaving because they're afraid for their personal safety."

South Africa's 5 million whites are not natural candidates for sympathy. They comprise 13 percent of the population and own 85 percent of the land, control 98 percent of the wealth and have six times the average family income as the country's 28 million blacks, 3.2 million mixed-race Coloreds and nearly 1 million Asians.

Whites are frightened. The crime rate has skyrocketed in the three years since President Frederik W. de Klerk signaled the end of apartheid. So has political violence. The murder rate is 10 times that of the United States, and although most are committed by blacks, whites seem to talk of little else. Indeed, one of the unsung white rationales for supporting a negotiated transfer of power has been the expectation that a black government will keep the angry mob at bay more effectively than a white police state.

The aftermath of the Hani killing has cast some doubt on that premise. Mandela and other black leaders appealed for restraint during the period of mourning following Hani's death, but black youths looted and burned their way through places like Cape Town's downtown shopping district — the symbolic heart of the good life that whites have built for themselves here.

Despite those images, Ansley is determined to stay put. He says he is deeply ashamed of apartheid, feels guilty that he personally did not do more to bring it to an end and is looking forward to retiring in five years so he can spend the rest of his life as a kind of missionary, teaching blacks the secular gospel of entrepreneurship.

He has no illusions about what the future may mean. "Nowhere else in Africa when the blacks have taken over have they shown the slightest degree of sympathy for the whites. They will redistribute wealth as fast as they can. There will be massive taxation on people like us. The luxury of our lives will be impossible to maintain." Still, he wants his family to stay. Like many self-made businessmen, he wants to pass along what he has built from scratch — in his case, a moving company with annual sales of $25 million — to his children.

"Perhaps it is selfish, but I still think that opportunities for them here are going to be greater than anywhere in the world. For them to leave is too ghastly to contemplate."
Under orders

Last Friday's meeting of the multiparty negotiating council seemed set to implode when the IFP and KwaZulu delegates — clearly under instructions from Ulundi to tighten up their act — seemed set to dig in over settling the questions of violence and the "form of state" before anything else.

However, at the end of the day (and a long adjournment) progress — of sorts — was chalked up in the shape of a planning committee compromise. This was that the IFP document on violence (which the IFP’s Frank Mdlalose uncharacteristically insisted he should read in full, even though it had been distributed the previous Monday) would be tabled and that the violence question would receive continuous attention.

The IFP agreed only conditionally to the creation of a technical subcommittee to deal with its document, which basically accuses the ANC and government of colluding in violence against it and of refusing to act on disbanding the ANC’s armed wing, MK.

Mdlalose let it pass, but said the subcommittee could be formed only after he’d reported to his principal — that is, Mangosuthu Buthelezi. There was almost a feeling of sympathy for the IFP delegates who had to return to Ulundi, having been unable to face down what were eminently reasonable compromises on their negotiating orders.

Thus they were unable to detach “form of State” from “constitutional principles” which the planning committee report, read by Ciske’s Mick Webb, had down as one item among eight (and possibly more) on which technical subcommittees, it was agreed, are to be formed.

The others: Constitution making body/constituent assembly; transitional/interim constitution (for which Buthelezi sees no need); transitional regional and local government; fundamental human rights; transitional executive council, its subcouncils, the independent elections and media committees; future of the TBVC states; and self-determination.

A declaration of intent, which says an election date not later than April should be set within five weeks, was not adopted.
General retreat

The group of four retired security force generals currently active in rightwing politics backed away this week from suggestions that they were planning the military mobilisation of the white Right.

A spokesman for the group, former SADF Intelligence chief Gen Tienie Groenewald, said that he and three other generals were asked by rightwing factions to assist in bringing about political unity. They were not planning the formation of a private army or any violent acts.

The other three are former SADF chief Gen Constand Viljoen, former Army Chief of Operations Gen Koos Boshoff and former CID chief Gen Cobus Visser. The group was formed after a recent meeting in Pretoria attended by about 100 representatives of various rightwing organisations concerned by the lack of political unity.

Former head of SAP forensics Gen Lothar Neethling and former SAP Commissioner Gen Mike Geldenhuyse are reported to have been involved in talks with the group though they are not members.

The prominence of former generals in rightwing politics is not regarded as particularly significant. It has been known for some time that many former senior SAP and SADF officers support the CP. Viljoen, in fact, has moved slightly to the Left. He was a CP member but broke away to join the Afrikaner Volksnieuwe.

The CP is said to have strong support within the SAP but most senior officers are considered to be behind government's reform initiatives.

Military analysts say the senior officer corps in the SADF also backs reform, with one important faction wanting even quicker changes, including joint control of the security forces by a multiparty committee—a move that even government has not yet conceded in public.
Concentrating their minds

Getting elected to the new parliament won’t be easy

Nothing concentrates a man’s mind so wonderfully, noted Samuel Johnson, than the knowledge that he is to be hanged in the fortnight. With elections now likely within a year, the 308 MPs serving out the dying days of the tricameral system are restless; fewer than a third have much hope of returning. Aspirant MPs in the extraparliamentary opposition are also restless; the corridors of power are beckoning.

But most of those who can expect to get back, as well as the majority of outsiders clamouring to get in, face a tough battle simply to be nominated for possible election. There is now little doubt that SA’s first representative parliament will be elected under some form of party list system.

Details are still being considered but current talk is of a 400-member constituent assembly, with 200 elected on a national list and the rest from regional lists. Parties with strong regional support — such as the Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal and the National Party in the western Cape — stand a chance of winning more representation than they would in a purely national poll.

The cut-off for representation is likely to be low — possibly as low as 1% nationally and 3% regionally. In an 85% poll, drawing on an estimated 21m voters, a party would need 178 500 votes to qualify for representation — which would be two seats.

This means that only the leadership elements of the ANC, the NP and the IFP are assured of election. Those three are likely to have no trouble securing the minimum vote.

The first group of new MPs will, therefore, include the likes of ANC president Nelson Mandela, President FW de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Walter Sisulu, Pik Botha, Frank Mdlalose, Thabo Mbeki, Dawie de Villiers and Ben Ngubane.

Conventional wisdom gives the ANC about 60% of the vote, the NP 20%, the IFP 10% and various smaller parties the rest. On this basis, in a 400-seat parliament split equally between national and regional lists, the ANC would hold 240 seats, the NP 80, the IFP 40 and smaller parties 40.

But the ANC alliance’s projected total is by no means assured. It could be more; it could easily drop to 200 or even fewer if current forecasts are incorrect. So far, we have only the dubious results of opinion polls to go on; political developments between now and the election could have a dramatic effect on party performances. Either way, the ANC will struggle to accommodate the demands for seats from thousands of loyal officials.

Even those who do get on to the ANC list will be vulnerable at around the 190-210 mark. Most of these are likely to be middle-level leaders from the regions, people who don’t make the headlines but work hard for the party — and whose loyalty and commitment are important.

It appears that the ANC may be able to deal fairly effectively with the apparent problem of accommodating its SAPC and Cosatu alliance partners on its lists. Though details have not been finalised, it is understood that the list will be compiled following a full consultative process beginning at local level.

Regional conferences will vote for candidates, whose names will go forward to a national nomination conference. The final list will be ratified by the national executive committee.

Criteria for nomination are likely to include issues such as local popularity and expertise. It’s also probable that each block of 50 names on the list will have to be representative of race and sex. The ANC’s election campaign platform is being co-ordinated with its alliance partners, mainly the SAPC and Cosatu. These groups will not nominate their own candidates but allow their members to stand for nomination. However, all candidates will be accountable to the ANC and have to campaign within the parameters of ANC policy, regardless of which organisation they belong to. It will be interesting to see how the more radical communists and unionists adapt to this discipline; if they do not, the contradictions in ANC campaigning will be readily exploited by the Nats and Inkatha.

There should be no problem in getting alliance leaders like Cosatu’s Jay Naidoo and Chris Dlamini and new SAPC chief Charles Nqakula high on the list. The difficulty will come lower down, when place number 200, for example, is allocated.

The ANC’s list will also need to appeal to communities in which it struggles for support, such as coloureds in the Cape and whites nationally. Cape regional leader Allan Boesak, though not the drawcard he was expected to be when first chosen, is likely to be high on the list, as are the ANC’s five white MPs: Jan van Eck, Jannie Momberg, David Dalling, Pierre Cronje and Rob Hassell.

The NP faces possibly the most difficult task in drawing up its lists. Rhetoric about winning power aside, it can’t be sure of more than 80-100 seats. This would be barely half the number the Nats now hold in all three chambers of the tricameral parliament.

The NP’s campaign efforts will concentrate on coloureds in the Cape; Indians in Natal and the Transvaal; and blacks in the northern and eastern Transvaal, where it believes it can win significant support. It assumes that most whites will vote NP.

Putting coloured, Indian and black faces high on the lists will be important — but at the moment there are very few leaders from those communities backing the NP. No credible black or Indian leader openly supports the NP. Coloureds high on the list will include the two new Cabinet Ministers, Jac Rabie and Abe Williams. However, fortunately for the NP, most coloureds (and probably most Indians) apparently consider De Klerk’s leadership as more important.

By the same token, it appears that the NP hopes to use Pik Botha as the main vote-catcher in the northern Transvaal, where he is said to hold sway with traditional leaders in rural areas. It might just work.

The NP has appointed a special committee of its Federal Council, under the chairmanship of Chief Whip Alex van Breda, to determine the most appropriate way to compile its list. The general approach is that the process must be democratic within party structures. Candidates are expected to come from the party ranks following some sort of nomination procedure. The final composi...
tion of the list is likely to provide for regional balance, with some mechanism to ensure appropriate representation for all communities within the party.

The IFP's lists are likely to focus on Zulus and whites. The party is said to be losing support among Zulus — but gaining among whites. High on the list will be its three white MPs — the former Nats Jurie Mentz and Hennie Bekker, and Mike Tarr, formerly of the DP. It is possible that more white MPs from both the DP and NP will cross to the IFP before the election. Other whites high on the list could be negotiator and spokesman Walter Felgate and media director and former journalist Suzanne Vos. Mass white support for the IFP is probably the biggest single threat at this stage to the NP.

The smaller parties face the worst dilemmas. Only three are likely to make even the lowest cut-off mark: the DP, CP and the PAC.

Though it is aiming high, the DP would probably be lucky to win two seats on the national list. Depending on who stands for election they are likely to go to two from Zach de Beer, Ken Andrew, Colin EGLIN, Tony Leon, Peter Gastrow, Roger Burrows or Peter Soal.

Nominally, the DP will have to include blacks, coloureds and Indians fairly high on its lists. They are likely to be people such as former Labourites David Curry and Chris April, former University of the Western Cape rector Richard van der Ross and current delegates MP Mahmoud Rajab. Regionally, particularly in the PWV and western Cape, the DP could do relatively well, perhaps winning another four or five seats. However, the NP is likely to target DP voters for special attention and score most of them into supporting a strong opposition grouping behind De Klerk.

The tragedy of the DP, as it has been for years, is that the party undoubtedly possesses the best brains in parliament and would probably continue to do so under a democratic system — but the trouble is that most of them just won't be elected under the DP banner. This kind of perception probably influenced Mike Tarr's decision to defect to the IFP, where he will have a much greater chance of being elected.

The DP also has a committee examining the compilation of its lists. Issues being considered include how nominations will be made and who will vote for nominees. The party's leaders are due to meet this weekend to hear a report back.

The PAC faces similar problems to the DP and is not expected to win more than a few or five seats. Top of the list are likely to be people such as PAC president Clarence MASEKUWE, secretary-general Benny Alexander and former deputy-president Dikgang MOSCASE.

The CP, if it contests the election, could win about 10 seats at most — if its supporters aren't frightened into either the NP or IFP camps. Because it does not have to structure lists to suit interest groups, the party's current hierarchy will probably be listed in order of seniority, starting with Ferdi Hartzenberg.

For traditional white parties, the list system will pose new challenges and culture shocks. Instead of rival candidates contesting geographically defined constituencies, with the winner being the one who wins the most votes (which could be a minority of the total in a contest between three or more candidates), voters are asked to choose a party which is then entitled to MPs in direct proportion to the number of votes it wins.

It's a simple and theoretically equitable system, when contrasted with the anomalies produced by the Westminster-style constituency system but party lists pose greater difficulties for aspirant candidates and for smaller parties.

Parties with concentrated regional support tend to do better under a constituency system. The DP is a prime example; in the last election it won more seats in parliament than its proportion of the total vote. The CP, on the other hand, won fewer seats than it would have under a list system.

Perhaps the best SA example of how skewed the constituency system can be is the 1948 general election. The NP came to power by winning 52.7% of the seats in parliament — but only 42% of the votes. The United Party alliance won 51% of the votes — but only 47.3% of the seats.

Under a constituency system, a locally popular figure is better placed for nomination than under a list system, where the favour of party bosses plays a far more important role (Currents April 30). But compiling the list goes well beyond simply choosing favourites and strongmen. The lists will be critical in maintaining balance within party structures and in attracting voter support. The composition of a list — the names as well as the order in which they are placed — could sway voters as much as broader policy and image.

Where, for instance, would the ANC be prepared to place its Youth League leader, Peter Mokaba? Too high, and he could scare moderates; too low, and the youth vote might be alienated.

In the regions, the minimum number of votes needed for representation would vary considerably and would have to be adjusted to compensate for fractions of seats.

A detailed proposal on how this could be achieved was included in a President's Council report on proportional representation published last year. The report, most of which is understood to be based on the ideas of Stellenbosch University political scientist Hennie Kotze, is regarded as one of the most worthwhile exercises the PC has ever undertaken. The research is expected to form the basis of whatever proportional system is finally adopted.

With the multiparty conference scheduled to announce an election date within the next six weeks, negotiators will probably be grateful for the hard work that's already been done.

The announcement of a date will concentrate the minds of all politicians with an eye to election. For those who are fairly senior within the ANC and the NP, the best option is obviously to stay put. Relatively junior ANC members are likely to be prepared to work their way up the ladder of the majority party. Inkatha members are also likely to stay where they are, both for ideological reasons and because they expect a strong showing for the IFP in Natal.

It is the DP and CP that will be watched with particular interest. Some of the younger DP members, in particular, must be seriously considering their options. Assuming they could adapt ideologically, they must calculate what chance they would have of being elected for the ANC, the IFP or the Nats. It is not impossible that, by the time the election takes place, the CP will have disappeared as an electoral entity.

The CP is less likely to suffer defections by MPs but its voter support might collapse under it if conservative whites, resigned to the loss of white supremacy, decide that De Klerk needs all the support he can get. At the last white general election in 1989, and indeed until the referendum in March 1992, rightwingers genuinely believed in the possibility of taking power and somehow reversing De Klerk's reforms. Now that vision — always a mirage — has vanished. It seems that De Klerk could draw many thousands of white voters who did not support him in 1989; the main counteraffection to the Nats will not be the CP or the DP, but Inkatha.
LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Topping up

The Democratic Party has entered the growing debate on the future of local government by rejecting key aspects of the proposals put forward by government and the ANC.

DP local government spokesman Jasper Walsh says his party can't accept either a qualified, property-based franchise on a second voters' roll, as suggested by government; or the scrapping of existing local councils and their replacement, as an interim measure, with political appointees as proposed by the ANC (Current Affairs April 9 and 30).

Walsh says that while the DP recognises in principle that people who pay more rates should be entitled to a greater say in local affairs, SA's "abnormal society" has given a minority of residents an edge in accumulating wealth.

A qualified franchise would perpetuate artificial disparities created by apartheid and is "morally indefensible." He says whites will simply have to accept this as a "cost of apartheid."

Walsh says that while the DP accepts the need for interim measures to give disenfranchised communities a voice in local government, it cannot accept the ANC's proposal for the replacement of existing councils with individuals appointed by the major negotiating parties.

"No matter how inadequate and undemocratic the existing system is, it will be a retrogressive step to replace it with political appointees. A compromise will, therefore, have to be sought." He says if progress towards a settlement is quick, elections could be held soon. Alternatively, a structure similar to the proposed Transitional Executive Council at national level could be considered at local level.

The DP also rejected government's proposed ward council system, the aim of which would be to retain the "own character" of communities and to give them a say in their "residential environment". Their powers and functions would include regulating "norms and standards", the use of property, the supply of community facilities, security and civil protection. They would have the authority to levy additional rates on residents within the ward to finance their own structures.

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

and specific projects within their areas of jurisdiction. Walsh said the DP was concerned that such a system would encourage a "voting community" which would not be subject to the needs of the broader community.

"Local government's aim is to provide an equal appropriate service to all residents. Need for additional or better quality services can and should be met by the private sector."

ROBERT CHARLTON

254A

254A
Tough lessons from apartheid stand legislator in good stead:

African roots take hold in US Congress

JIM FISHER-THOMPSON

WASHINGTON — Democracy and equality are not just abstract theories of human behaviour for Elizabeth Purse, the only member of the US Congress born and raised in Africa.

The newly elected representative learnt democracy first-hand in the streets of Cape Town, where she began a life of social activism as a teenager demonstrating against racial injustice.

Now she is bringing a concern for minority rights, women’s issues and the environment, learnt in an African setting, to her job as one of 535 national representatives and senators who write the laws for 260 million Americans.

It is about 15,000 km from Cape Town to Portland, Oregon — the district the lawmaker was elected in 1992 to represent in Congress — but it was not that long ago that a young Purse braved the scorn and worse of her fellow whites as she, her mother, and Black Sash demonstrators marched in Cape Town protesting against apartheid. Her mother, Barbara, helped found the Black Sash in the mid-1960s.

The new congresswoman reminisced amid the books and papers of her new office on Capitol Hill, which husband John Platt, a lawyer and vineyard owner in Oregon, was helping to organise.

Sparked her outrage

“I come from a family of six girls and my parents raised us to believe we could become anything we wanted,” said Purse. Born in Kenya, she moved as an infant with her family to South Africa in the 1960s. Her father was a British naval officer.

The lawmaker said she felt fortunate as a child growing up in South Africa “because my parents knew that apartheid was wrong and taught us accordingly”. But at the same time, she added, “I had very little contact with blacks. We lived in very separate establishments. For example, there were no girls of colour in my school.”

Purse credited her mother with having the greatest influence in sparking her outrage at social injustice and an eventual interest in conflict resolution.

Speaking of her mother, who is 95, she said: “She has been a very strong civil rights activist all her life. She was always involved in issues of social justice, especially in District Six in Cape Town. Her principled activism was always an inspiration to me.”

Purse married an American doctor who she met in London, where she was a student, and moved to the United States in 1968. While raising two children — Amanda and John — she again became involved in community organising and activism for human rights.

Dedicated to peace

Purse first settled in Los Angeles, where she worked on a self-sufficiency project for low-income women and did volunteer work with one of the largest agricultural unions in California — the United Farm Workers. She later moved to Oregon and from 1980 to 1985 worked with Oregon’s Indian tribes in their quest to regain their land.

There “she was instrumental in helping draft three pieces of Indian rights legislation and lobbying Congress for their passage”, her husband said.

In 1985 Purse founded the Oregon Peace Institute, an organisation dedicated to teaching peace and non-violent conflict resolution.

Purse noted that she would back a plan presented in Congress last year to help Africans establish a conflict resolution centre somewhere on the continent. “People can’t solve other people’s problems,” Purse said, because “they don’t have the proper background of knowledge and experience essential in problem-solving — what may seem like a solution to me might not be a solution in an African context.”

Asked what she thought of prospects for a peaceful South African political transformation, Purse responded that she was very optimistic. Ten years ago, she said, “If you had asked me, I would have said there was no chance, but now I’m very impressed with the fact that Mandela and De Klerk are trying to work their problems out.”

At the same time, she added: “I am concerned that there be enough education done before the elections so that many people, especially blacks, who are fearful that it is a trick, will be encouraged to come in and vote.”
Only 20% of whites trust Mandela

ONLY one in five South African whites believe that ANC president Nelson Mandela is sincere about wanting to solve the problems in South Africa.

This is the outcome of a survey by Research Survey's Omnicon division which interviewed 500 black men, 500 white men and 300 white women early in March.

The respondents were asked how sincere they thought each of the leading politicians was about wanting to solve the problems of the country.

While most whites did not believe Mr Mandela was sincere, 82 percent of black men believed he was.

President De Klerk surfaced as the only leading politician seen by both black and white South Africans as being sincere, according to the poll.

Two-thirds of all respondents saw Mr De Klerk as being either totally, or quite, sincere.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi enjoyed the confidence of most whites (to almost the same extent as Mr De Klerk). However, four in five black men felt he was not at all sincere.

Conversely, while most whites doubted the sincerity of PAC president Clarence Makwetu, he, too, succeeded in convincing black men he meant what he said.

Common ground was also found by the two race groups in their assessment of Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party. The DP will be concerned to learn their leader was considered by half the sample to be not at all sincere, undoubtedly a blow to their hopes for the coming election.

— Sapa.
Rightwingers unite to form Afrikaner front

LOUISE MARSLAND

RIGHT-WING groups claimed "a great victory" in Pretoria yesterday when 18 organisations agreed to form a popular front — the Afrikaner Volksfront — to pursue a common goal of self-determination.

The organisations reached agreement, after a five-hour meeting at the Transvaal Agricultural Union offices, on a founding document and the establishment of a working committee to facilitate a plan of action and common strategies. The working group will report back on May 18.

The meeting was chaired by the Committee of Generals (COG), COG chairman and spokesman for the meeting, former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, said that never before in South Africa's history had such unity been achieved between Afrikaner leaders.

"It is a great victory. We are very happy... We have united on the importance of the nation's unity. We had many hours of detailed discussion between people worried about the boerevolk."

Viljoen insisted that the right-wing unity movement would be part of the democratic process and not a part of a military process.

Reading a brief statement, the general said it had been decided to concentrate on the major points of agreement between the organisations, while allowing the different organisations to continue with normal activities.

"This meeting is united in rejecting the present negotiation process in so far as it is aimed at robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination. We can differ on certain aspects."

The 169 all-male delegates, dressed predominantly in blue and grey suits, then stood up and gave a rousing rendition of Die Stem.

Noticeably absent was Afrikaner Weerstandsbevewing leader Eugene TerreBlanche, although he represented a coalition of Afrikaner leaders known as the "Colonel" Servaas de Wet.

The AWB said in a statement on Thursday that it had not been consulted and would play no part in the Volkfront.

Viljoen was flanked by Conservative Party acting-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, Professor Carel Bosshoff, CP MP Dr Pieter Mulder, Afrikaner Vryheidsfront MP's Jan Grosseswalt and the World Apartheid Movement's Koos Vermeulen.

Viljoen said the involvement of himself and three of his military colleagues was not a co-ordinated military strategy. "We are professional soldiers and not professional politicians. We have an independent role and a coordinating role, rather."

He stressed emphatically that he would not advise armed action as a last resort, but would also not speculate on alternative ways of achieving the front's aims if the right wing
Whites-only at City Hall

By Justin Pearce

IT was whites-only war talk at Cape Town's City Hall on Monday night.

Despite the Cape Town City Council's stated commitment to non-racialism, AWB guards made sure that "people of colour" remained on the pavement.

SOUTH photographer Vilius Mohamed was among those that the armed, khaki-clad guards tried to keep out.

"No people of colour are allowed in," he was told.

Mohamed had to argue his way in, saying he was there as a photographer doing his job. Eventually the AWB guards let him in, threatening to take no responsibility for anything that might happen to him inside the hall.

Other black journalists — and one olive-skinned white journalist — were denied the opportunity of covering the meeting.

A handful of people who attended confirmed to the popular stereotype of beady thugs with no foreheads and no necks. But the majority represented a fair cross-section of the white population of Cape Town.

They listened enraptured as AWB chief Eugene Terre'Blanche called President FW de Klerk a "jellytot", welcomed Chris Hani's murder, and urged armed action to maintain the supremacy of "the white man" in Africa.

- South African National Civic Organisation regional vice-chairperson Mr John Neels said the City Council had made an "unforgivable decision" by letting the AWB use the City Hall.

Cape Town's deputy mayor, Mr Clive Keegan, told SOUTH the City Council was opposed to the exclusion of people from the City Hall on racial grounds. He promised to raise the matter with the City Council executive.
Generals lining up on the right

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

THE emergence of a military-type "junta" of former generals in rightwing politics could help to control wild and trigger-happy elements who are threatening to start a race war.

This is the view of some strategists. But they warn that a further rise in the level of political violence could lead to uncontrollable conflict and a slide towards anarchy.

The entry of former Defence Force chief General Comand Viljoen into rightwing protest politics at a Potchefstroom rally of up to 6 000 white farmers was seen as significant.

It was in direct contrast to the highly emotional and aggressive stance of far-rightwing leaders like the AWD's Mr Eugene TerreBlanche.

Professor Mike Hough, director of Pretoria University's Institute for Strategic Studies, said the emergence of a military grouping in rightwing politics was significant in that it was occurring at a time of a leadership crisis in the Conservative Party.

General Viljoen was a man with much influence. His participation at Potchefstroom showed that he could play a role in unifying the fragmented rightwing political groupings.

While it seems unlikely that rightwingers would opt for an armed rebellion or civil war of sorts at this stage, such a possibility could not be ruled out if the level of violence were to deteriorate further.

Threats of a violent rightwing backlash against aggression from the left became more menacing this week. Can such polarisation be stopped? And where will it end?

Dr Booyse said he did not regard this as a move towards warlike military action by rightwingers but rather as a bid for better leadership and for more security on farms.

The protest at Potchefstroom -- the largest gathering of whites since the beginning of the reform process -- was significant in that it reflected the "mood on the ground".

The involvement of former generals was not new and had in fact been a phenomenon in rightwing politics since 1990.

For some time there had been the formation of military or semi-military groups on the right accompanied by the establishment of self-defence and communication units in farming areas.

Dr Booyse said it was clear that if the attacks and killings on farms -- seen by farmers as "political murders" -- were to continue, more defence action by farmers would follow.

Initially such action was likely to be confined to vigilante-type action, but if the situation continued to deteriorate, organised action on a larger scale could be expected.

In addition to the ex-generals, many former and serving members of the security forces were said to be in sympathy with the right wing.

According to Dr Booyse, they are part of a generation of militarists and security officers -- "the product of 30 years of indoctrination."
Generals form rightwing military front

From page 1

The 180 delegates, dressed predominantly in blue and grey suits, then stood and sang "Die Stem." Notably absent was Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, although the organisation was represented by AWB Wenkommando leader Colonel Servaas de Wet. Asked whether Mr Terre'Blanche had been invited, General Viljoen replied that all political groupings had been invited to yesterday's meeting.

The AWB said in a statement on Thursday that it had not been consulted and would play no part in the Volksfront.

General Viljoen was flanked by Conservative Party acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais, Mr Andries Beyers of the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU), Professor Carel Boshoff, CP MP Dr Pieter Muider, Colonel Servaas de Wet (AWB), Mr Jan Groenewald (Afrikaner Vryheidsunie) and Mr Koos Vermeulen of the World Anarchist Movement. The meeting was also attended by white trade union representatives.

General Viljoen said the involvement of himself and three of his military colleagues was not a co-ordinated military strategy.

"We as professional soldiers are neutral, politically. We have an honest-broker role and a co-ordinating role, rather." He stated emphatically that he would not advise armed action as a last resort, but would also not speculate on alternative ways of achieving their aims if the rightwing refused to take part in multiparty negotiations.

"Personally, I have the view that a political solution is the answer and I do not advise armed action. I'm not here to advise on a white army... when civilized people run into conflict, we try to solve it in a civilized way." He said that as long as there was a threat of Afrikaner freedom being denied, rightwing unity would prevail.

General Viljoen said the forum had not considered whether it would seek a seat at the multiparty negotiating forum.

One of the Volksfront's first priorities would be to draw up a timetable to achieve its goals. The 16-member working committee would complete yesterday's meeting and report back to members.

Mr Beyers said the group would be applying pressure on the government.

"We are promoting reasonable self-determination — the delimitation of a state in which Afrikaners will be the majority." Mr Beyers said they had not given the government an ultimatum.
Generals form rightwing military front

From page 1 (cut)

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General Viljoen said it was not for him to say whether the goal of self-determination was an Afrikaner state, but it was for all the rightwing parties to decide what option was best for the Afrikaner nation.

He said self-determination need not stop with the Afrikaner nation and again expressed concern at the amount of ‘indetraction’ to which black people had been subjected by the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress.

Mr Beyers said the group would be applying pressure on the government.

“We are promoting reasonable self-determination – the delimitation of a state in which Afrikaners will be the majority.”

Mr Beyers said they had not given the government an ultimatum.
Election date will be set within four weeks.
Verwoerd to address Parow ANC

By Quentin Wilson

WILHELM VERWOERD was two years old when his grandfather and apartheid's architect, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, was assassinated in 1966. Now the 29-year-old Verwoerd is taking ANC politics into the heart of his late grandfather's stomping ground: Parow.

Next week, the ANC is to hold its first public meeting in the traditionally white conservative town, and Verwoerd, together with ANC publicity officer, Mr Carl Niehaus, will address the Parow locals.

"I grew up hearing only positive things about my grandfather," says Verwoerd, who joined the ANC last year. "But my beliefs began to change when I spoke to people whose lives had been wrecked as a consequence of apartheid."

"It is not enough for us as white Afrikaans-speaking South Africans to apologise for the mess apartheid has created. We have to take on a large part of the responsibility of building a new nation," he said.

Verwoerd says his ANC allegiance has effectively cut ties with many family members.

But, says Verwoerd, his political home in the ANC has also "liberated" him from "a very narrow, impoverished view of life" and he is happy "being part of the South African majority".

Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairperson, said it will be the first time in ANC history that the organisation has planned a public meeting in a traditionally conservative white suburb. It is time for the ANC to move into the northern suburbs and to educate conservative whites about the ANC."
Fresh hope on date for election

KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Correspondent

**In a major breakthrough yesterday, negotiators gave millions of South Africans a ray of hope when they adopted a declaration of intent calling for the holding of elections not later than April next year and for the setting of a date for the elections within the next four weeks.** The declaration, which was initially tabled before the end of the April 30, Negotiating Council's meeting, was supported by the overwhelming majority of the 56 parties and organisations represented in negotiations, with Ciskei and the Conservative Party expressing reservations.

"This is the victory of the negotiation process at work," said elated ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa when the declaration of intent was adopted.

The declaration says that, given the urgent need to inspire confidence in the negotiations process and offer a clear vision of the milestones reached in the process, parties represent in the talks commit themselves to:

- Reaching agreements on binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process, in terms of which an election will be held,
- Providing for an adequate time-frame for the implementation of decisions on these matters and procedures for elections,
- Ensuring that the negotiations move forward sufficiently over the next four weeks, "at which stage, to set the exact date for an election that should take place not later than the end of April 1994, subject to the two points mentioned above.

Supporting the declaration of intent, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had always been the Government's position that elections should be held only once binding agreements had been reached on constitutional principles and a transitional constitution which would be written by the negotiations forum and passed by Parliament.

"We believe that four weeks is a sufficient time within which to reach an agreement," Meyer said, thanking Freedom PAS.
Serious tension has developed in the National Party caucus over the rationalisation plans for teachers by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives (HoR).

A delegation of MPs has met President FW de Klerk and talks with the Minister of National Education, Mr Piet Marais, were planned for Thursday.

A stand-off has developed between HoR and House of Assembly caucus members.

A number of NP MPs in the HoR confirmed that friction arose in the Monday night caucus meeting when HoR MPs said they could not justify the rationalisation measures which affected their constituencies.

They also felt it complicated their urgent task of canvassing new NP members.

The MPs did not want to be named, but said they hoped the issue would be resolved soon.

"We are here in Parliament to serve our communities, and right now we cannot explain to them why the NP is going ahead with this," one MP said.
Ray of hope for millions

violence, constitutional matters, fundamental rights during the transition, the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Media Commission and the Independent Telecommunications Authority, the Independent Electoral Commission and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

Supporting the declaration of intent, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had always been the government's position that elections should be held only once binding agreements had been reached on constitutional principles and a transitional constitution which would be written by the negotiations forum and passed by Parliament.

The government's view is that we should move forward as expeditiously as possible to reach agreement on an interim constitution and constitutional principles.

"We believe that four weeks is (adequate) time within which to reach an agreement," Mr Meyer said.

Inkatha Freedom Party delegation leader Mr Joe Matthews said although the IFP wanted an election around September next year, it found the declaration "sufficiently flexible" and therefore supported it.

Also supporting the declaration were Bophuthatswana's Minister of State Mr Rowan Cronje, South African Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo, Afrikaner Volksunie MP Mr Chris de Jager and National People's Party leader Mr Amiehla Rajbansi.

However, Mr De Jager supported the declaration on condition that private armies were disbanded, violence was curbed, all forms of intimidation were eliminated and "Afrikaners' reasonable demand for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation" were attended to before elections could take place.

The NC also accepted the planning committee's recommendations that only political parties and organisations which had "proven substantial support in a national-regional context" and intended to participate in the first all-in election in their own names could be allowed to join the negotiations process.

Non-political parties or organisations would not be allowed to join the process.
Time for Shock Treatment

Photo: AP

South Africa's Agony: In a nation gripped by violent psychoses, drastic measures are needed to enforce peace on the intolertant
De Klerk: ‘No private armies in a free and fair election’

SADF (President FW de Klerk)

The South African Defence Force said their viewpoint on multi-party control of the security forces was spelled out in President FW de Klerk's budget speech last month. De Klerk said:

"The government has indicated its willingness to negotiate the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) even before the finalisation of all transitional constitutional arrangements.

"The government remains prepared to establish such a council as soon as possible.

"If this, however, only do so once there is sufficient consensus among participants in the negotiation process on the following: the TEC's composition, its terms of reference and the nature of its authority in respect of levelling the political playing field to ensure a climate conducive to holding free and fair elections.

"This clearly also applies to its role in respect of defence and law and order.

"It is clear from the agreements reached at Codesa that the relevant sub-councils will focus their activities mainly on levelling the playing field.

"It is the government's view that this would call for political co-operation and involvement at multi-party level to ensure that all the parties may participate freely and fairly in the election process.

"If that is what those who ask for joint control want, then I do not foresee any problem in our reaching an agreement.

"How this may best be achieved will have to be the subject of negotiation. However, multi-party involvement obviously cannot imply non-governmental control of the security forces.

"The government also insists that the principle that no political party should be entitled to its own private army also be addressed with a view to ensuring free and fair elections."
Thousands of Africans opposed to support secession

SAVE SA FROM COMMUNISM

Generals back rightwing to
A NEW Electoral Act must still be drafted and it is premature to speculate as to what the new one will entail, but it is useful to examine the electoral system in operation.

The wording of South Africa's old Electoral Act is a forceful reminder of the structures and cold-blooded manner in which black people were excluded from meaningful participation in the government of their country.

The purpose of the Electoral Act of 1979 is stated as follows:

"To consolidate the law relating to the franchise, the registration of voters and the election of members of the House of Assembly and of provincial councils, and to provide for incidental matters."

In the section of the Electoral Act listing definitions of terms occurring in the Act, an "adult" is defined as follows:

"Adult person includes a white person of or over the age of 18 years."

Under the heading, "Franchise," the following:

"Every white person who is a South African citizen, is of or over the age of 18 years and is not subject to any of the disqualifications mentioned in section 4(1) or (2), shall, on compliance with the provisions of this Act, be entitled to be registered as a voter.

"Every person who was classified as a European on any voters' list in existence at the commencement of the Franchise Law Amendment Act, 1931 (Act No. 58 of 1931), and was not otherwise classified on any earlier voters' list, shall be deemed to be a white person.

The Electoral Act of 1979 therefore considers "adult persons" to be white by definition. The Act clearly states the exclusion of all people classified white.

So, which whites did not qualify for the vote? Most disqualifications were based on criminal offenses.

The first category of offenses was conviction of any of the following: to be voteless for the purpose of the non-racial, democratic elections. Significant changes need to be made to include all South Africans.

Depending on whether all the standards are met, the voting will be "true," "false," or "invalid." Depending on what type of electoral system is used, voting may be "true," "false," or "invalid." The definition of what constitutes "true," "false," or "invalid" will be made by the people who have been excluded from voting on the basis in the past will be allowed to vote again.

REGISTRATION: Namibian citizens wait to register for the country's elections in November 1989

- Convicted of an offence under the Abuses of Independence-producing Subsections and Rehabilitation Centre Act resulting in imprisonment without the option of a fine;
- Subject to a court order declaring them mentally ill;
- Detained as mentally ill under the Mental Health Act, 1978;
- Convicted under the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977, to detention in a reform school;
- Found guilty of any corrupt or illegal practice at an election.

UNLESS a court declared people mentally ill, they could not be stopped from voting.

Monitors crucial for credibility

LOCAL and international observers could play a crucial role in ensuring the success of the coming elections, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Dylan Gorkow, said last week.

He said the acceptability of the poll and perceptions that it was free and fair and just as important as the result itself.

"If there is any doubt, it could lead to more instability than before," Schuster said.

However, foreign observers would not be called on to verify the result as being free and fair. It was important that the result be done by South Africans themselves.

The government would not decide on its own whether and how observers should be used. This was a matter for negotiation.

It was envisaged that negotiations on, among other things, the accreditation of observers, would be drawn up by the Electoral Commission and be submitted to the multi-party conference before being enacted by Parliament.

The National Peace Secretariat could play a major role in appointing observers.

Schuster said the Department of Home Affairs was issuing 60,000 identity documents a month, and this rate would be increased to 70,000. A total of 82 percent of eligible voters already had ID books.

Thousands of voting booths were also being manufactured.

Mr Peter Gaskew (DP Durban) said that if there were to be 10 observers — including local, international and party political representatives — at each of South Africa's seven thousand polling stations, identifying and co-ordinating them would be a massive logistic exercise.

Someone needed to start planning this so that even if negotiations were dragging their feet, a practical programme could be in place when the election date was announced.
FW to speak on national crisis

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk will issue today what Government sources say will be a “major and very important” response to the mounting political crisis.

It is understood a statement will be released this evening and the sources said it would deal with a “wide range of issues”. There was speculation in political circles that de Klerk was poised to take action on security issues. However, sources refused to be drawn on this.

Among the issues likely to be addressed are the growing unease from sectors of the agricultural community over attacks on farmers and the wider security situation.

The Government has already signalled that it intends taking steps to beef up farm security, but these would not include giving “arms” to farmers.

Other points de Klerk might address are growing bellicosity from both the far Left and far Right of the political spectrum, and the education crisis. He could also touch on constitutional issues.
New Afrikaner front rejects negotiations

PRETORIA—The founding meeting of the Afrikaner Volksfront has rejected unanimously multiparty negotiations aimed at "robbing the Afrikaner of his freedom and right to self-determination".

The meeting also agreed to create unity among Afrikaners and bring about self-determination and created a working committee to report back on these matters at the next meeting on May 19.

The meeting, held in Silverton, Pretoria, yesterday was chaired by the Committee of Generals (CoG) and attended by acting-leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg, most CP Members of Parliament, most right-wing political leaders, AWB observer "Colonel" Servaes de Wet and labour union representatives.

CoG chairman General Constand Viljoen told the media afterwards that the national front would concentrate on creating solidarity and finding common ground between the fragmented right wing, which was one of its most important tasks.

"We believe the Afrikaner will stand up in unison in the period that lies ahead," said Gen Viljoen, a former SADF chief.

The different political parties would continue with their activities but a united strategy would be developed on certain unspecified aspects, he said. — Sapa
Cosag keeps talks on track

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A secret meeting of the Concerned South Africans Group in Ulundi on Wednesday, called at the initiative of acting leader of the Conservative Party Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, played a key role in keeping negotiations on track this week. After last Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Council at which Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) officials were prevented from reading a lengthy document on violence, an angry IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated on his return from London, that he might not be prepared to accept the decision to refer the issue of violence to a committee.

"If Chief Buthelezi had insisted that the issue be debated in the Negotiating Council yesterday, the process could once again have become bogged down. Observers said yesterday it appeared the IFP move had kept the IFP in talks.
VENTERSDORP. — The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging yesterday declared it would hold a volksverkiezing (people's election) for whites at the same time as a general election was held.

The organisation's executive council said in a statement it would not participate in a general election because it would result in "Free nations losing their sovereignty and being forced into servitude under a communist government".

The AWB said white South Africans would instead be called on to support a volksverkiezing in which they could vote in existing constituencies.

 Candidates for the volksraad (parliament) will be appointed by the white electorate in each constituency. Candidates for the post of president will be appointed by the total electorate," they said.

"Following the election, the president will appoint and announce his shadow cabinet."
They were asked how they
thought women would be
represented in the House of
Representatives. And their
response was only 50% of
white women. A third of
white women in the House
of Representatives were
democrats. The result of the
poll was 9% of black men
and 11% of white men. The
democratic Party leader in
the House of Representatives
was a woman. Only 2% of
black men were members of
the House of Representatives.

By Barry Steen

Only credible leader for all
surveys.
A ray of hope for millions

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Weekend Argus Political Staff

IN a major breakthrough negotiators gave millions of South Africans a ray of hope when they adopted a declaration of intent calling for the holding of elections not later than April next year and calling for the setting of a date for the elections within the next four weeks.

The declaration, which was initially tabled before the end of the April 30 Negotiating Council's meeting, was supported by the overwhelming majority of the 26 parties and organisations represented in negotiations, with the Ciskei and the Conservative Party expressing reservations.

The 104-member Negotiating Council also formally set up seven technical committees to do the spadework on important and sometimes controversial issues in an effort to speed up the negotiations process.

"This is the victory of the negotiation process at work," said political editor Cyril Ramaphosa when the declaration of intent was adopted.

The adopted declaration has a few amendments which were suggested by the 10-member planning committee, which this week made a lot of progress in its deliberations.

The declaration says that given the urgent need to inspire confidence in the negotiations process and offer a clear vision of the milestones reached in the process, parties represented in the talks, commit themselves to:

- Reaching agreements on binding constitutional principles, the constitutional framework and the constitution-making process in terms of which an election will be held.
- Providing for an adequate time-frame for the implementation of decisions on "these matters and procedures for elections".
- Ensuring that the negotiations process "moves forward sufficiently" over the next four weeks, at which stage to set the exact date for an election that should take place not later than the end of April 1994, subject to paragraphs 3.1 and 3.2."

The paragraphs referred to are the two points mentioned above.

Members of the seven technical committees are scheduled to meet the planning committee at the World Trade Centre on Monday to be briefed on their mandates.

The technical committees will be asked to each submit an initial report to the planning committee on May 14, so that these can be tabled when the NC meets four days later.

These committees, which will each consult with experts on any issues they might consider necessary, will look into

To page 3
AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

THE 10 middle-aged men — seated around a rectangular table on the first floor of the shabby World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — are collectively known as the Planning Committee.

Their job is to smooth the talks-path for the 26-party negotiating council that haggles over SA’s future in the full glare of the world’s spotlight.

But each one of these men has a mandate from his leader — to cut the best deal possible for his party. And it is here that the compromises that will dictate the course of this country are hatched out before being scrutinised in the public forum.

When the 10 men enter the room, they leave behind them the rhetoric and antagonism that has become the daily fare of the press.

In their "personal capacities" they represent the main political forces in the country.

They are the Concerned South Africans Group consisting of the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party — but not the CP, the government, the ANC alliance with the Transkei and the Transvaal, and Natal Indian Congresses.

On the sides, watching the first round of the government and the ANC struggle to convince the Cosag lobby that their deal is the best course for the country, are the PAC and the DP.

The Planning Committee has less than a month to produce the goods.

Leader of the Cosag lobby is Inkatha’s Frank Mdlalose, a medical doctor, the party’s national chairman and the planning committee’s self-appointed elder statesman.

Stubborn

Dressed in his trademark suspenders, which serve little purpose other than to adorn his robust belly, Dr Mdlalose stands back during much of the debate, graciously allowing his two partners in the Cosag alliance to get hot and sweaty over points that concern his party in particular, regionalism and violence.

He then timely intervenes to settle the debate, with the DP.

Cyril Ramaphosa

He gives a point while he scores an advantage

Colin Eglin

The DP man who is able to bring squabblers to heel

When trying to convince the participants, he seldom raises his voice and often uses a self-effacing manner.

Across the table is the ANC’s secretary-general and chief negotiator, Fikile Mbalula, who sometimes finds the contents of his electronic diary more interesting than the proceedings.

When his intervention is necessary — and in a manner too smooth every for a marginal advertisement — he slowly and patiently explains his party’s viewpoint.

He will meekly concede an insignificant point to a Cosag opponent and then shrewdly score a major advantage in the second breath.

His sometimes patronising style is offset by the Transkei’s chief legal adviser, Zam Tshumi, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei’s position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

He is admired for his thoroughness, meticulous care for detail and honest approach in seeking compromises.

His calm facilitating style is similarly found in the representative of the Indian Congresses and former Operation Vula operative Pravin Gordhan.

The picture of kind reason and wisdom, he is always tuned in to spotting the inacceptable compromise and soothing raised hackles. However, when necessary, he can display the steely resolve of an underground cadre.

The DP’s representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and
On the edges, watching the first round as the government and the ANC struggle to convince the Coasg lobby that their deals the best course for the country, are the PAC and the DP.

The Planning Committee has less than a month to produce the goods.

Leader of the Coasg lobby is Inkatha's Frank Mdlalose, a medical doctor, the party's national chairman and the planning committee's self-appointed elder statesman.

**Stubborn**

Dressed in his trademark suspenders, which serve little purpose other than to adorn his robust belly, Dr Mdlalose stands back during much of the debate, graciously allowing his two partners in the Coasg alliance to get hot and sweaty over points that concern his party — in particular, regionalism and violence.

He then timely intervenes to settle the feathers with the kindly voice of Coasg reason. He can be stolidly stubborn and maintains a tolerant but dignified silence at the waves of hilarity that often convulse the room.

Seated on his left is his Coasg ally, Mick Webb, the overweight and red-faced adviser to Ciskei leader Cupa Gqozo and a King Williams Town lawyer. He is quick to raise his hand to question any perceived slight, over-anxious to go on the attack and is undoubtedly the most dominant voice in the proceedings.

He is bolstered in his querculousness by Bophuthatswana minister of defence Rowan Cronje, a former minister under Rhodesia's Ian Smith and brother-in-law to CP MP Tom Langley.

Meticulously toupeed, he is smooth and articulate, always agreeable to ensuring the continuation of negotiations but careful to reserve the tiny homeland's right to abstain from binding decisions.

Separating the Coasg lobby from the government representative is the PAC's Benny Alexander, neatly dressed in his suit and tie, having forsaken his red, green and yellow wrestling outfit and uncompromising rhetoric displayed at the talks forum last month.

The youngest participant in the proceedings and with Silonga scores a major advantage in the second breath.

His sometimes patronising style is offset by the Transkei's chief state law adviser Zum Title, who rarely participates unless he makes a considered legal point, places the Transkei's position on record or suggests a logical solution to a problem.

He is admired for his thoroughness, meticulous care for detail and honest approach in seeking compromises.

His calm, facilitating style is similarly found in the representative of the Indian Congresses and former Operation Vula operative Pravin Gordhan.

The picture of kindness and wisdom, he is always tuned in to spotting the acceptable compromise and soothing raised hackles. However, when necessary, he can display the steelly resolve of an underground cadre.

The DP's representative Colin Eglin plays a similar facilitating role in his peculiar crusty and diligent fashion, but without the keen sensitivity to nuance that the other facilitators display.

**Logical**

Often forgetting to switch on his microphone, he irritably bemoans what he sees as the most no-nonsense approach to a particular issue, and for some reason, the rest of the squabblers come to heel.

Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo, habitually dressed in his tired red socks, makes his points best by leaning forwards on his crossed arms.

His arguments are always calm, reasoned and logical, never disregarding principle for consensus, but neither sacrificing progress for political gain.

The proceedings of the 10 are kept for the record by Gillian Hutchings, a seconded employee from the Consultative Business Movement.

Ever watchful on the proceedings is the CBM's Theuns Elloff, head of administration for negotiations who constantly anticipates the moment which will spell either breakthrough or chaos.

— Edyth Bulbring
Homelands live beyond their means

THE independent and self-governing homelands are spending five times more than they earn.

Revenue shortfalls are particularly acute in the independent TBVC states, which collectively owe R3,8-billion. Transkei’s revenue last year, mainly from taxing public servants, was only R280-million compared with spending of R5,2-billion.

Bophuthatswana, the best-off financially, collected revenue of R1,7-billion last year and spent R4,5-billion.

Bophuthatswana this week cut its company tax from 30% to 20% when announcing that its budget had increased from R4,1-billion to R4,5-billion.

The TBVC and self-governing states last year collected R3,8-billion from their own sources and spent R24,4-billion.

By KEVIN DAVIE

The shortfall was partly made up by transfers from the SA Government of about R2,8-billion, R2-billion in payments from the SA Customs Union, tax transfers of R206-million and rand monetary area payments of R10-million.

These transfers were topped up by borrowings of R4-billion by the TBVC states, mostly from the SA Government and the Development Bank.

Homeland finances are in the spotlight because of SA’s R2,5-billion Budget deficit and disclosures of widespread corruption in the homelands and in the infamous Department of Development Aid.

The SA Government, which has budgeted to increase transfers by 21% to the TBVC states and 12% to the self-governing territories, has been attacked by the Democratic Party for not being accountable for homeland spending.

The TBVC states audit their own spending. The Auditor-General’s office audits the self-governing territories, but these reports are not tabled in Parliament.

A document produced by SAPRO, the secretariat set up to oversee structural adjustment programmes in the homelands, says spending has increased significantly since 1989-90 because of political and socio-economic considerations.

“Further contributing factor was the neo-colonialism of the TBVC governments to the originally agreed guidelines,” the document says.

“The situation has subsequently deteriorated to the extent that R2,5-billion is needed during 1992-93 to cover the deficit of the TBVC states,” the document says.

Deon Richter: Most white elephant spending is over Picture: CHRIST

DEON RICHTER: Most white elephant spending is over

Disparities

About 40% of SA’s population — the poorest of the poor — live in these areas. Many are of school-going age or pensioners.

Mr Richter says homeland spending was increased this year to equalise pensions. He says there are huge disparities between the level of services provided in the homelands and other areas.

The Democratic Party’s Len Andrew says the homelands are a sham. He says it is unacceptable that the government will not take responsibility for the taxpayers’ money & transfers to the homelands.

“Rationising will get rid of duplication so that services can be provided at a lower cost.”
Homelands agree on joint services

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE government will introduce, within 10 days, a law which allows the joint administration of services in the six homelands.

The legislation was approved by representatives from the six homelands at a meeting with Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Pourie in Pretoria this week.

It will effectively leave the political structures of the states intact, but will remove the administration of a large number of its functions — like the provision of health services and pensions — to the provinces.

Also in draft form is legislation which will allow State President PW de Klerk to proclaim the reincorporation of the TBVC states once agreement has been reached in negotiations.

This legislation, which will go to the Cabinet shortly, will be introduced before the end of the parliamentary session and allows Mr de Klerk to amend their status by proclamation in a parliamentary recess.

Mr Pourie said this week the legislation concerning the six territories would allow Mr de Klerk to proclaim the joint provision of services once agreement had been reached with the provinces.

Lebowa, Gazankulu and the Transvaal Provincial Administration have already had their first steering committee meeting to agree on what functions can be jointly administered to do away with duplication in the region.

There is also a bilateral arrangement with the TPA and KwaZulu while discussions for the setting up of steering committees for KwaNdebele still need to be finalised.
1992 a busy year for Home Affairs

SINCE President F W De Klerk announced the unbanning of all political organisations in his landmark February 2, 1990 speech, 16,000 exiles have returned home.

These are among the interesting statistics contained in the annual report of the Department of Home Affairs for last year tabled in Parliament recently.

According to the report, since November 1990, 10,040 extraordinary travel certificates had been issued to exiles who had applied to enter the country. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees took over the task of repatriation from the Department in 1992 during which time 5,947 exiles returned.

The report reveals that a total of 5,737,790 voters' names appeared on the voter's roll by December 31 last year.

Of the total, 3,545,186 had been registered under the House of Assembly, 1,783,440 under the House of Representatives and 604,164 under the House of Delegates.

ID documents

The report also revealed a total of 1,841,614 identity documents had been issued during 1992. These included first applications and re-issues.

The report said that between February 25 and March 12 last year, in the run-up to the March 20 whites-only referendum, 154,280 identity documents had been issued of which 36,629 belonged to whites.

An average of 10,285 documents had been issued a day in 15 working days which represented an increase of 47 percent.

The implementation of legislation making it obligatory for drivers on a public road to carry their driver's licences also led to a considerable increase in applications for the re-issue of ID documents.

During 1992, 860,710 birth certificates, 61,946 marriage certificates, and 65,571 death certificates had been issued.

Altogether, 220,932 deaths had been registered.

Furthermore, 493,046 SA passports were issued compared with 436,831 in the previous year.
THE FILIPINO CLEVER LITTLE GIRL WHO WROTE A BOOK AT 8

CAN STOP US

EW: NOBODY

SA WILL NOT BECOME ANOTHER BOSNIA, HOTTHEADS WARNED

BY EDITH BULBULING

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK LATEST NEWS

STILL 4 GFLA

STILL 4 GFLA

STILL 4 GFLA
The government was trying to push through the security forces' powers, while the opposition was demanding a referendum on the question. The security forces were backed by the right-wing, which was determined to prevent any return to the status quo. The government had said there was no alternative to the current situation.

However, in attempting to form a 'voluntary' force, the government had been forced to consult with the security forces. The security forces were now in charge of the government's plans to combat terrorism.

Hellenic's (Formed) Villiers, a former President, said the government's plans were simply a cover-up for the security forces. It was feared that the government would use the security forces to maintain its power.

A 17-member working team was elected to form the security forces, and the next meeting was scheduled for May 10.

In the meantime, the government had said it would not allow the opposition to sit outside its discussions. It was clear that the government was determined to keep the opposition out of the decision-making process.

The opposition was determined to hold the government to account for its actions. It was clear that the government was determined to keep the opposition out of the decision-making process.
CASE: Tries to Flex Negotiating Muscles

The Jakarta Post 10/14/93

BRIDGING

[Image of a person in a suit, possibly a photo related to the news article]
Negotiate deviation of conflict and partition will follow, writes Simon Jenkins

Great Barrier continues
First cracks in new Volksfront

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

South Africa's fledgling multiparty right-wing movement got off the ground in Pretoria on Friday — but already the AWB, the most important player in the field, is not sure how to handle it.

The organisation's military wing, the Wenkommando, attended the meeting in defiance of a directive from the AWB's Venterdorp headquarters forbidding attendance and making derogatory remarks about the new Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

The self-styled commandant-general of the Wenkommando, former SADF colonel Servaas de Witt, defiantly took his place on the podium along with retired military and police generals, leaders of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party, the World Anti-Apartheid Movement and certain Afrikaner organisations.

Asked why, De Witt said: "We must be represented."

De Witt then said he had not been able to contact AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche to advise him of his (De Witt's) attendance, and said that if there were any disciplinary action taken against him, he would face it head-on.

He believed strongly that the AWB should be present.

At least one other active member of the AWB, in full military dress, mingled with journalists in the garden outside the meeting venue — the headquarters of the Transvaal Agricul-
tural Union — before a press conference.

About 130 representatives of right-wing groups — many of them also involved in commerce and industry, and in all-white labour unions — took part in the founding meeting of the AVF.

They heard former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen tell the press conference that Afrikaner unity was being threatened and that the new group had been formed to promote unity among Afrikaners. There was no mention of whether English-speaking South Africans would be welcome in the AVF.

Viljoen, who, with four other retired generals, had been locked in right-wing unity talks for almost three weeks, said in answer to questions that the AVF would not at this stage be seeking a seat at the constitutional negotiations table. Members of the AVF such as Cosag, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie already take part in the negotiations.

He added that a further meeting on May 19 would ratify decisions taken at Friday's meeting and that the organisation's aims would only then be laid out.
Election timetable agreed

By Kaizer Nyatumbi
Political Correspondent

South Africans will know within the next four weeks when the country's first all-in election will be held, according to a major agreement reached in multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

In what political observers have hailed as a major breakthrough since negotiations began in December 1991, the 164-member Negotiating Council (NC) adopted a declaration of intent calling for the holding of elections not later than April next year and the setting of a date for elections within four weeks.

The declaration, supported by the overwhelming majority of the 26 organisations and parties represented in negotiations, means that a date for elections will have to be set before June 4.

Observers expect the date to be announced on June 2 when the 156-member Negotiating Forum (NF) — each of the parties has four delegates and two advisers — is scheduled to meet.

Unlike the NC, which is the body which does the negotiating, the NF receives and confirms reports and proposals from the NC for submission to the plenary, which formally adopts agreements.

Only Ciskei and the Conservative Party expressed reservations about the declaration of intent, and their reservations were noted after they had failed to get the NC to amend the declaration to make no reference to a time by which the election should be held.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager supported the declaration on condition that private armies were disbanded, violence was curbed, all forms of intimidation were eliminated and "Afrikaners' reasonable demands for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation" were addressed.

The declaration says that, given the urgent need to inspire confidence in the negotiations process and offer "a clear vision of the milestones" reached in the process, parties represented in the talks commit themselves to:

- Reaching agreements on binding constitutional principles and the constitution-making process in terms of which an election will be held.
- Ensuring that the negotiations process "moves forward sufficiently" over the next four weeks, "at which stage to set the exact date for an election that should take place, not later than the end of April 1994."
National Party media director Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk said the party was in the preliminary stages of an election campaign, seeing that certain basic structures were in place and raising funds.

The party did not want to start an all-out campaign at this stage because it wanted to peak at the right time.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the party's campaign was going flat out.

One of its main concerns was to raise money.

Staff had been increased and more people could be appointed, depending on fundraising.

It was important that the DP was in a new government as a fragile coalition between only the ANC and the NP could fall apart.

Confirming that the party was gearing up its election campaign Mr Jurie Mentz said Inkatha had not gone out of its way to try to beat the ANC to a meeting in Parow. The meeting had been planned long in advance.

Mr Mentz said there was growing interest in Inkatha.
AWB split on move to unite right

PRETORIA — The AWB's military wing, the Wenkommando, was represented at last Friday's Pretoria meeting of the right in defiance of a directive from the AWB's Venterdorp headquarters forbidding attendance and making derogatory remarks about the new Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

The self-styled commandant-general of the Wenkommando, former SADF Colonel Servaas de Witt, defiantly took his place on the podium along with retired military and police generals, leaders of the Conservative Party and Herstigte Nasionale Party, the World Anti-Apartheid Movement and other Afrikaner organisations.

Asked why, Colonel De Witt said: "We must be represented."

He said he had been unable to contact AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche to advise him.

At least one other active member of the AWB, in full military dress, mingled with journalists in the garden outside the meeting at the headquarters of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.

About 130 representatives of right-wing groups took part in the founding meeting of the AVF.

They heard the former chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, tell 70 representatives of the international and local media that Afrikaner unity was being threatened and that the new group had been formed in order to promote it.

There was no mention of whether English-speaking South Africans would be welcome in the AVF.

General Viljoen, who had with four other retired generals been locked in rightwing unity talks for nearly three weeks, said in answer to questions that the AVF would not at this stage be seeking a seat at the constitutional negotiations table. Members of the AVF, such as Coasig, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront were already taking part in the negotiations.

He added that a further meeting on May 19 would ratify decisions taken at Friday's meeting.
ANC bid to avoid fanning right-wing ire

The ANC has called a three-day bosberaad this week to thrash out new strategies “to take the negotiating process into its next phase”, with the perceived right-wing threat topping the agenda.

Senior negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday a central focus of the national working committee meeting would be to look at ways of ensuring that “our members do not play into the hands of the right-wing counter-revolutionary forces”.

Slovo said ANC members often fuelled or encouraged right-wing backlashes, and the meeting would try to thrash out an internal code of conduct. “We will be looking at the finer details of how our members conduct themselves in all facets of their lives, the slogans we have been using and statements made at our meetings.”

He identified a growing concern that mobilisation efforts by the group of retired generals could be aimed at a coup. Slovo did not believe the generals had a strong enough base to carry out a coup successfully, “but they are desperate and we know that anything is possible — and there is potential for them to do a lot of damage”.

The ANC was encouraged to some extent by President FW de Klerk’s weekend statement which showed “he is not allowing himself to be terrorised by the right wing, and that swift movement to a settlement is the only way to proceed.” However, “one problem we have is that De Klerk seems to be contemplating interfering in democratic rights of other people.”

Friday’s negotiations, he said, had virtually cleared the way to agreement on substantive constitutional matters. With a view to smoothing the path, the ANC would be taking a closer look at several issues, including refining its stance on regionalism. It would discuss the powers, functions and duties of regions, with the main focus on regional operations during transition. Finally, on regional powers would be decided by an elected constituent assembly.

Another NWC member said it was time Inkatha and the Concerned SA Group saw clearly how far the ANC had moved on regionalism. “There are going to be regions with entrenched powers and functions within a unitary structure with strong central control.” The bosberaad would have to look at ways of increasing pressure on government either to cut its ties with Inkatha or to drag it into agreement. “Government cannot continue trying to have an alliance with Inkatha while also trying to move with us into a government of national unity. De Klerk must exert pressure on Inkatha and withdraw the funding which allows them to continue operating as spoilers.”

Slovo said the ANC was still insisting on some form of joint control of the security forces. But it was not interested in day-to-day control at the level of the SAP’s crime control operations. The joint structure “must have the power to influence the command levels so that we can ensure the security forces do not interfere with political process”.

Friday’s negotiations were considered successful as parties now had a target to work towards, following agreement that an election date be set within four weeks.
Key players miss birth of Volksfront

THE Afrikaner Volksfront, established in Pretoria on Friday, is already showing signs of strain with prominent right-wingers not being invited and others considering it to be a CP plot.

The AWB and its leader Eugene Terre'Blanche were absent from the launch, decided upon after five hours of discussion. Terre'Blanche said he had not been consulted, but added he had been in the Cape for two weeks.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said he had opted to join the Volksfront, but felt setting it up was a CP plot to force the rest of the right wing to fall behind it.

The CP would have about 60 of the 76-80 central management committee members, he said. All of the participating organisations at Friday's meeting had been told to send one or two delegates, but half of the CP caucus had been there.

Volksfront founder and committee of generals chairman Constant Viljoen said Terre'Blanche had been invited.

AWB Werkenkommando chiefly "Colonel" Servaes de Wet was there, but not to represent the AWB. Right-wing sources yesterday said a split in the AWB hierarchy was on the cards.

Terre'Blanche yesterday denied this: "There can never be a split in the ranks of the AWB. None of the generals were consulted. I have not spoken with De Wet yet and I do not know what he did there."

He was not prepared to say whether there was a possible split between the AWB and De Wet.

Marais said he had held up the launch for three hours, insisting that the political implications of such a body be considered first.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader and MP for Potchefstroom Andries Beyers had agreed with him, he said, and had told the meeting: "You are establishing a new political party with a party structure and political aims."

In the end, the group agreed not to accept the proposed structure of the Volksfront. Rather, they took the proposals as a "point of departure" while a working committee, comprising members of all of the major role-playing organisations, were asked to hammer out a better proposal before May 19, when they had to report back.

Viljoen yesterday said he did not wish to comment because he had to consult with the other Volksfront members first.

However, he said some in-fighting had to be expected at this early stage. The body was not intended to create complete political consensus.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday it was not policy to speak to the media on a Sunday. The CP has agreed to disband its own mobilisation action in favour of the Volksfront.

Support for literacy drive

A KEY NUM demand at this year's wage bargaining with the Chamber of Mines that the elimination of worker illiteracy within the industry during the next five years is broadly supported by the industry.

NUM assistant general secretary Moeol Golding says that the success of any productivity or profitability scheme depends on work organisation and skills development.

However, as 90% of unskilled miners were functionally illiterate, this was a major obstacle to attaining high levels of production and therefore profit.

He said mining houses had indicated their willingness to co-operate on eliminating illiteracy and educating workers in the fundamentals of business.

"It is difficult to persuade workers to work harder if they don't understand figures and the interpretation of them," he said.

NUM proposals on adult basic education included employers and the state providing facilities for classes, paid time off for workers attending and assistance in paying for teachers and the costs of developing teaching materials.

Randgold's human resources executive Richard de Villiers said this was a constructive demand, and would be wholeheartedly supported by the group.

He said its mines already operated basic adult education programmes, which were well attended.

Gengold spokesman Andrew Davidson said the group's adult education programmes had the "objective of ensuring more than 80% of its 55,000 workforce were able to read and write by 2000".

Davidson said workers were helped to understand facts and figures concerning the business activities in which they were involved.

Anglo also ran adult basic education in literacy and numeracy, said spokesman James Duncan. There was no uniform approach to this project, and each region approached the project in its own way, he said.

For example, Anglo's West Rand region had launched a project which would also benefit surrounding communities and taught skills related to the work, technological, economic, political and social spheres of life.

At the start the main medium of teaching was the vernacular. The English content of courses increased as candidates progressed.

"The aim is to put 25,000 illiterate and innumerate employees, numbering about 25,000, through the programme by 2000," Duncan said.
A Way out of the Impasse

By HARRISON JORDAN

If it is impossible that nobody has
Boost for
Swatara negotiations

Some of the country's top academic and legal minds from across the political spectrum have been put together to oversee seven technical sub-committees to aid negotiations (204a).

These would report to the 16-member negotiations planning committee with recommendations by May 16 on violence, constitutional matters, fundamental rights, transitional justice, council, independent media commission, independent electoral commission and repeal of discriminatory legislation.
Real breakthrough at talks

Some leaders explore a possible deal

NEWS

Election date announcement expected soon • EXPRES FOR SUBCOMMITTEES

Compiled May 1993 SOWTAN

By Thomas Mulcair
Accord at talks will end violence

OPTIMISTIC VIEW Senior politicians praise De Klerk for planning to deal with extremists:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The essence of violence in South Africa can be dealt with as soon as multiparty agreement can be reached on its causes and ways of stopping it can be identified.

This is the view of senior politicians across the spectrum who commented yesterday on President FW de Klerk’s statement on Saturday night that Government had a duty to stop violence from the extreme left and right in the country “and would do so” incisively.

After a week of intensified militancy, especially from the far right, De Klerk said in his late-night statement on Saturday that negotiations would proceed swiftly despite threats from both ends of the spectrum to thwart the process.

“Extremists on the left or right should not underestimate the Government’s power and its resources. Nor should they doubt its determination to use these”, De Klerk said.

The buildup last week to the De Klerk speech was also significant during last week’s parliamentary debate by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, who yesterday repeated his position on multiparty agreement on the violence.

“The technical committee on violence (established last Friday at the multiparty negotiations forum at the World Trade Centre) will act as a facilitator and will advise the negotiations council on how to deal, specifically, with violence,” Meyer said.

In terms of agreements reached, the technical committee on violence will deliver its report on Friday at the multiparty planning committee and thereafter at the negotiating council on May 18.

This and the setting of a date for elections, possibly on June 3, according to agreements reached at the World Trade Centre last Friday, will give impetus to efforts which could curtail the violence in the country “significantly,” political leaders canvassed for their views yesterday said.
Threat 'from radical left'

RIGHT-wing leaders said yesterday that the threat of a Bosnia-style civil war in SA would come not from the right, but from the radical left.

However, reacting to President FW de Klerk's statement on Saturday threatening action against the left and the right, they said that to ignore the Afrikaner's right to self-determination was a recipe for strife.

Gen Constant Viljoen, the retired general commanding attempts to unify the right, said it was clear the Afrikaner Volksfront established on Friday had been branded radical and extremist.

He was not prepared to enter into a mudslinging contest with De Klerk, but called on him to 'keep his door open' to the Volksfront. If De Klerk could talk to the ANC, which by its own admission was radical, he should talk to the Volksfront.

He said multiparty negotiators, in their rush to create peace, were ignoring the Afrikaner's right to self-determination. That was the real threat to peace.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said if De Klerk had intended to hit the left and the right with the same blow, he had missed the right completely.

"The violence is coming from the left, but he does not have the courage to speak frankly with them."

HNP leader Jaap Marais said there was no comparison between the left and the right, as the right wing had only threatened war and De Klerk had "nothing to react to. Every time De Klerk hits out at the left, he has to look over his shoulder at what the ANC's reaction will be."

See Page 2
Comment: Page 6
While mass action may be a democratic right, ordinary South Africans are praying that the bombardment from left and right does not roll into anarchy. Thembaphandle Molefe explores the avenues:

He said pressure was necessary to create a climate conducive to productive negotiations.

"The Government thought it would weaken us by trying to persuade us to abandon arms. Of course, we still say there has still to be a substantive move towards democracy."

"We agree that we need to have a negotiated settlement but say that in order to do that we also need to maintain pressure on the regime. Mass action is one such pressure," said Ebrahim.

Although the PAC sees the negotiations forum divided into four distinct "groupings", it is surprisingly the ANC which says there are two sides at the table.

Ebrahim said the distinctions were of the ANC alliance, the NPG/Government alliance, Cosas and the Africans.

Phosa said it was in fact the liberation movement (ANC alliance and PAC) on the one side and the Government and its supporters on the other.

Said Phosa: "Although De Klerk supports the idea of an interim constitution and transitional executive council, he has not said he opposes a white state. Has he?"

In South Africa mass action — mass protest — is synonymous with the African Congress and its allies and dates back to the days of the United Democratic Front/Mass Democratic Movement in the 1980s, to demand the unbanning of political organisations and release of jailed leaders, for example.

Today, charged up by the assassination of Chris Hani, the ANC alliance wants elections now and mass demonstrations, marches and general protests are the tools with which to hasten the negotiations process.

The ANC’s critics, notably the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party on the other hand, argue that apart from being out of step with the negotiations tide, mass action breeds violence and destruction.

State President FW de Klerk last week said the Government would consider its participation in negotiations if mass action continued. On Saturday he issued a strong warning against "extremists".

Chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said in Parliament that the Government would demand an end to mass action when violence is discussed at the World Trade Centre.

"I am giving notice that the Government will therefore adopt the standpoint that mass action leads to violence and gives rise to a climate of violence," Meyer said last Wednesday.

This means the Government is to demand that the ANC should not make demands.

The IFP, a leading partner in the Concerned South Africans Group of anti-Constituent Assembly/unitary state parties, has also begun its mass demonstrations to back various demands, including "fair" television coverage.

Already, the IFP has succeeded in drawing attention to a lengthy document titled "Death List" which it submitted at the negotiating council. In it the IFP accuses the Government and ANC of collusion in assassinating its leadership.

An IFP walkout was averted at the World Trade Centre two weeks ago when the negotiating council decided to refer this document to a subcommittee on violence for recommendations.

But as indeed hopes are still pinned on the World Trade Centre ordinary South Africans pray mass action from either the left or right does not roll into anarchy.
Volksfront showing strains

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Volksfront, which was formally set up on Friday, was already showing signs of strain at the weekend with prominent right-wingers not being invited and others calling it a CP plot.

The AWB and its leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche were absent from the launch, which was set up after five hours of discussion. Mr Terre'Blanche said he was not consulted but added that he had been in the Cape for two weeks.

And HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said he opted to join the Volksfront, although he felt setting it up was a CP plot to force the rest of the right-wing to fall in behind it.

The CP would have had about 60 out of the 75 to 80 central management committee members. All the participating organisations at Friday's meeting had been told to send one or two delegates. But half of the CP caucus had been there.

Volksfront founder and Committee of Generals chairman General Constant Viljoen said Mr Terre'Blanche was invited to the launch.

AWB Venikommando chief "Colonel" Servaas de Wet was there, but not to represent the AWB and right-wing sources yesterday said a split in the AWB hierarchy was on the cards.

Mr Terre'Blanche yesterday denied this. "There can never be a split in the ranks of the AWB. None of the generals were consulted. I have not spoken with De Wet yet and I do not know what he did there."

He was not prepared to say whether there was a possible split between the AWB and Mr De Wet.

Mr Marais said he had held up the launch for three hours, insisting that the political implications of such a body be considered first.

He said Afrikaner Volksunie leader and MP for Potchefstroom Mr Andries Beyers had agreed with him and told the meeting: "You are establishing a new political party, with a party structure and political aims."

In the end the group agreed not to accept the proposed structure of the Volksfront. Rather, they took the proposals as a "point of departure" while a working committee, comprising members of all the major role-playing organisations, were asked to hammer out a better proposal before May 19, when they had to report back.

CP acting leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday it was not policy to speak to the press on a Sunday.
Whites asked to stay and rebuild

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has appealed to whites frightened by violence and economic recession to stay in South Africa and help rebuild a nation shattered by apartheid.

"Don’t give up... now is not the time to go. You have the skills to help make a difference," he told a young white couple at a meeting here.

Mr Ramaphosa condemned whites who fled as soon as their privileges were threatened.

"That attitude is cowardice. They are still just looking after themselves," he told school teachers Mrs Gwynne Arlow and her husband Keith, who have accepted posts in Malawi.

Mrs Arlow told Mr Ramaphosa she wanted to leave because she felt threatened by township anarchy and the anger of black youths who are increasingly turning their fury on whites.

"I see these things on TV and I am terrified. How do they know I never supported the government? We have a lot to offer, but how do I know someone is not going to kill me?"

**Restore order**

Her husband added: "How can we be sure that the youths with the guns can be controlled?"

Mr Ramaphosa said almost every family had been touched by the violence that has killed about 8,000 people in four years, but the ANC was working hard to restore order.

He said Friday’s commitment by main political groups at democracy talks to hold the first all-race election within a year would help to stabilise the country.

"Now we all know where we are going, we can set a course, and we know we will reach our destination. Please believe it will make a difference," he said.

Mr Arlow said he was encouraged by Mr Ramaphosa’s commitment, though he said they would still go.

"I feel more hopeful. I think maybe we will come back sooner," he said. — Sapa-Reuter
ANC backs FW
No Bosnia in SA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday backed President FW de Klerk's tough warning to fringe elements not to plunge South Africa into a Bosnian-style civil war.

But, the ANC said, the president's warning should be addressed primarily to right-wing "racists" and not to the left-wing.

In a blunt statement this weekend Mr De Klerk said only a speedy conclusion to negotiations and a government of national unity could steer the country from a bloody, Bosnia-like civil war.

Reacting to the mustering of right-wing forces under the "committee of generals" and to the deepening crisis at black schools, Mr De Klerk said buckling to left- or right-wing extremism held profound implications for the country, dragging it back into international isolation.

It was learnt yesterday that the ANC believes Mr De Klerk plans to call an all-race referendum to shore up support for negotiations and a transitional government of national unity.

This is stated in a secret draft document which is to be presented to the ANC's National Working Committee, possibly at the ANC's "boebersad" this week.

Although the ANC conceded the danger of extremists blackmailing the country into "another Bosnia", it said the threat was mainly from the right and not the left.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said from the ANC's head office in Johannesburg that the organisation was concerned that Mr De Klerk was trying to create the false impression that the National Party was standing in the middle of an equivalent threat from both the left and the right.

He said the threat from "some individuals and smallish groups" on the left could not be compared to the growing radicalism on the right against which the government has shown no inclination to act decisively.

In his weekend statement Mr De Klerk warned extremists to the left and right that the government would not hesitate to use the power and resources at its disposal.

Mr De Klerk said that he rejected the "false impression" that the government was considering giving up control of the security forces.

The president's get-tough statement comes amid growing criticism, from jittery whites, including members of his own party caucus, that he was failing to act decisively in dealing with extremists.

*ANC talks to focus on right-wing threat* — Page 5
'Don’t panic' — Zach

Political Correspondent

IT was "understandable and proper" that South Africa should be afraid given the circumstances prevailing in the country at the moment, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

"But reasonable fear is one thing, and foolish panic is another. Let us take sensible precautions, but let's not be stampeded into silly, dangerous activities," he said.

The DP leader told a public meeting in Maritzburg that there was "a general feeling of anxiety and depression in South Africa".

"Politicians of the far left and far right have been issuing dangerous threats," he said, but added that the vast majority of South Africans were not extremists.
PRETORIA.—President F W de Klerk's fear of the ANC had caused him to lose perspective of reality, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday.

Mr Marais said in a statement that if Mr De Klerk "acted against the ANC's violence and restored law and order", the right would support and encourage him and there would be no danger of right-wing extremism. The HNP leader said Mr De Klerk's weekend statement attacking left- and right-wing extremists in the same breath was done clearly out of fear "because he is scared to only address the ANC's violence".

Mr De Klerk had made no comparison between left- and right extremism, Mr Marais said.

"It is the ANC/SACP/Cosatu (alliance's) lawlessness, violence, and deliberate disruption that is busy steering South Africa to chaos," he charged.
Shift in Azapo thinking
Soweto 10/5/93

Delegates could find themselves at Kempton Park:

By Lulama Luti

THE Azanian People's Organisation will announce its decision today on whether or not to join the multiparty talks.

This follows the organisation's two-day special congress which ended yesterday at the Wilgespruit Community Centre (20/4).

The decision, the agenda at the congress — convened on the recommendation of the organisation's National Council meeting in Bloemfontein last month — was whether or not to uphold the decision not to join the 26 parties.

This position, adopted in 1990, was endorsed at Azapo's 11th congress held in Port Elizabeth last year. A related issue that invoked vigorous debate by delegates was the retention of Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of the Central African Province of the Anglican Church as facilitator between Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the one hand and the Government on the other.

Referring to the "Makhudu option" some delegates voiced their reservations that bilateral talks with the Government could actually lead the organisation to Kempton Park where multiparty talks are being held.
Azapo rejects negotiations

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has decided against participation in the multi-party negotiations, arguing that the forum as constituted is undemocratic.

Announcing the decision at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Azapo president Professor Kamele Sehunye Mosala said although his organisation was not opposed to negotiations in principle, it would not participate in multi-party talks. This was because the negotiations forum as presently constituted was "undemocratic and incapable of delivering a lasting political solution for our country and people".

However, Azapo would engage the Government, which was the negotiator wielding power in the country, in bilateral talks in Botswana soon when discussions would focus on a constituent assembly and a transfer of power to the majority.

The decision was taken at a special two-day national congress at the Wilgespruit Fellowship Centre in Roodepoort at the weekend, attended by 1500 delegates.

Mosala said the meeting with the Government, arranged by Azapo's Botswana-based facilitator Archbishop Khotso Makhudu, could take place "very soon".

Azapo's Zimbabwe-based sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, would attend.

Mosala said Azapo, which was opposed to a government of national unity, would like the Botswana meeting with the Government "to decide more specifically" on general elections for a new government.
Hani suspect Gaye seeks bail

By Anna Louw
East Rand Bureau

Gaye Derby-Lewis, who faces a murder charge in connection with the assassination of Chris Hani, yesterday applied for bail in the Boksburg Magistrate’s Court.

This was her second court appearance since her arrest.

Derby-Lewis’ husband, Conservative Party President’s Councillor Clive Derby-Lewis, and suspected assassin Janus Waluz will appear in court again tomorrow.

During the hearing, Mrs Derby-Lewis wore a blue dress and showed no trace of emotion.

Her legal representative, Harry Prinsloo of Pretoria, applied to magistrate Jurg Viviers to have Derby-Lewis released on bail.

The application was referred to the Attorney-General of the Witwatersrand, Klaus von Lieres, who will make a decision within 14 days.

Boksburg’s senior prosecutor, Jan Ferreira, appeared for the State.

Clive Derby-Lewis is also waiting for a review of his bail application, which was lodged on Friday.
Reality tempered the optimism

Battle lines are forming amid talks of settlement, writes Patrick Lawrence
Minister's video joke irks CP

Political Starr

CAPE TOWN — Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok is in trouble with the Conservative Party because of an incident in which he showed members of the parliamentary Joint Committee on Correctional Services on a recent trip to Robben Island.

The five MPs saw a short film of Dimitrio Tsafendas, in jail for the murder of former Prime Minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd. It was prepared by Correctional Services staff.

The MPs disliked the video because they thought it was a bid to soften them up for the possible release of Tsafendas.

But what really annoyed the MPs on the trip was a "joke video" Vlok showed, in which the Afrikaaner Weerstandsbeweging laid siege to the Union Buildings and occupied the State President's office.

The MPs stormed out of the hall, refused all food, and demanded to be taken back to Cape Town — at a cost of R930.

This happened about two weeks ago, and was reported in the Afrikaans press at the weekend.
FORMER GENERALS COMMITTED TREASON,

POLITICS
ANC also to be confronted soon on demand

The government and the National Party will face demands from the right wing today for support of its ideal of self-determination for Afrikaners in their homeland.

The ANC, too, will be confronted with this demand soon. The Afrikaner Volksunie, one of the more moderate right-wing groups which broke away from the Conservative Party, is demanding active support for a "volkstaat" idea instead of just the opportunity to state its case at negotiations.

This was emphasised today by the leader of the AVU, Andries Beyers MP. General Constand Viljoen, former SADF head who now leads the Afrikaner Volksfront, a new coalition of rightwing movements, will also be in the delegation.

The government and NP side will be led by Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer.

Mr Beyers said the AVU was talking to the government and the ANC to ascertain whether it would be worth its while to continue in negotiations.

It did not only want to have the opportunity to put its case during negotiations without it being supported by the two main participants, the government/NP and the ANC.

Mr Beyers said the AVU feared the negotiation process was being hurried along without any notice being taken of even the moderate approach of his party.

The AVU did not want to create false hopes among its followers and if it could not get an assurance on fair self-determination for the Afrikaner it would have to consider withdrawing from the negotiations.

At today's talks, the government is expected to try to reassure the right wing.

While it cannot promise totally separate states for various race groups, the National Party is trying to mollify the right wing and many of its own supporters with the promise that a high degree of federalism and local government will be built into a new constitutional system.
Front must not allow itself to be misused.

The recently-launched Afrika-ner Volksfront would make a great mistake if it allowed itself to be misused by radicals and other fringe elements, Mr. Cehill Plenaar (AVU, Heilbron) has said.

Speaking during debate on the Housing and Works Vote, he said the Afrika-ner's cause would be harmed if the new movement allowed itself to be misused.

Mr. Plenaar called on rational Afrikanders not to give publicity to "all sorts of political and religious cranks."

Replying to the debate, the Minister, Mr. Adriaan Vlok, said home ownership was a cornerstone of stability.

There would be no peace in South Africa until many more people owned their own homes. — Sapa.
Volksfront against negotiations ‘haste’

Pretoria — The rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront had been formed to protest against the “unnatural haste” with which the government had entered into negotiations for a new constitution.

This was said on SATV last night by the acting chairman, former chief of the Defence General Constand Viljoen.

Speaking on the Agenda programme, General Viljoen said the Volksfront demanded that the negotiating process, as it was at present, be stopped immediately and that Afrikaner self-determination become part of future negotiations.

He said this demand had to be seen in the light of the current security situation.

“We want to go back to the drawing board. How can we negotiate without peace? In terms of the present conditions we need a constitution acceptable to all. That’s the bottom line,” said General Viljoen.

But he said he would not call on the Conservative Party or the Afrikaner Volksunie to withdraw from multiparty talks.

He added that a tiger had been let loose in townships as a result of the constitutional negotiations. Daily there was intimidation, murder, robbery and destruction of property.

The Volksfront believed that nothing positive was being done to stop the violence, and that to do something would involve all parties.
A cross section of top Natal businessmen and other individuals were entertained by the National Party at a Durban restaurant last night in a secretive recruitment drive—with State President de Klerk as the guest speaker. Over a hundred influential businessmen and community leaders attended the function at the Langoustine By The Sea restaurant, which was by special invitation only. The press and photographers were barred. — Own Correspondent.
Azapo rejects multiparty negotiations

AZAPO yesterday reaffirmed its opposition to multiparty talks and its commitment to all forms of struggle for liberation, including an armed struggle.

The organisation told a news conference in Johannesburg that it would seek the emancipation of the masses through bilateral talks with government.

Azapo president Tumeleng Mosala said the weekend congress had concluded that the current multiparty negotiating forum was "undemocratic and incapable of delivering a lasting political solution."

Publicity secretary Gomoemo Moke said a democratic negotiating forum would be the one in which only liberation movements and government took part.

Mosala said Azapo's constituency rejected the current multiparty talks as they had failed to resolve the political impasse.

"For that reason, Azapo resolved to limit itself to bilateral talks — on neutral ground — with the regime through the facilitating structure already set up."

Mosala said Anglican archbishop for central and southern Africa Khoza Makholu had been appointed by Azapo to facilitate talks between itself and government. A meeting between the two parties would be held in Botswana soon.

Azapo wanted the agenda to include activities of all armed formations, a constituent assembly acceptable to all people and the transfer of power to the majority.
Simon Barber in Washington

Neo-apartheid American Style

And welcome, again.
Row threatens split in AWB

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and AWB Wemkommando chief "Commander General" Servaes de Wet loomed yesterday, as De Wet accused Terre'Blanche of "childish behaviour".

De Wet sparked talk of a possible split in AWB ranks by attending the launch of the Afrikaner Volksfront in his "personal capacity".

"I did my duty by attending the launch. This is a white Councill and we must be there," De Wet said.

He said it was "childish" of Terre'Blanche to allow a "junior general" to make a statement over the weekend that every AWB member who attended the launch had to expect disciplinary action.

Terre'Blanche said he was not prepared to discuss De Wet with the media but the issue would be raised tomorrow when the organisation's "generals" met.

Many AWB supporters were represented by other organisations, such as the CP and the Mine Workers' Union who would rethink their 'AWB' membership if Terre'Blanche was not part of the Volksfront.

Gen Constant Viljoen had the support of not only the right-wing but almost the whole Afrikaner community, De Wet said. Terre'Blanche on the other hand, would only have the support of "the few generals whom he pays salaries".

"But I will not resign from the AWB. If Terre'Blanche wants to get rid of me, he will have to boot me out. I am the leader of the Wemkommando, not he."
SA poised for breakthrough on accord for the future.
No to Malta talks

Police lobbyist denies any

In a 25 October address, the President of Malta, Dr. George Vella, denied reports that the government was in talks with the United Nations to discuss the possible return of the Maltese islands to the country.

Dr. Vella said that the government had been receiving suggestions from various sources about the possibility of Malta joining the European Union, but that these were not official discussions and that the government had not made any formal proposals in this regard.

The President also said that Malta was committed to maintaining its independence and that the government was not looking for any external support to achieve this goal.

Dr. Vella said that the government was focused on improving the quality of life for its citizens and that it was committed to ensuring that Malta remained a stable and prosperous nation.

In answering questions from the media, Dr. Vella said that Malta was a member of the United Nations and that it was not seeking to join any other international organization.

He said that the government was committed to upholding the principles of freedom and democracy and that it was determined to protect the country's sovereignty at all times.

The President also said that Malta was committed to promoting peace and stability in the region and that it was prepared to play a constructive role in any international negotiations.

Dr. Vella said that the government was committed to ensuring that Malta continued to be a reliable and responsible member of the international community and that it was determined to uphold the principles of democracy and human rights.

The President also said that Malta was committed to maintaining its national identity and that it was determined to preserve its cultural heritage.

Dr. Vella said that the government was committed to ensuring that Malta continued to be a prosperous and competitive nation and that it was determined to protect the interests of its citizens.

In conclusion, Dr. Vella said that the government was committed to ensuring that Malta continued to be a stable and prosperous nation and that it was determined to protect the country's sovereignty at all times.
Govt-Inkatha gap narrows

The yawning gap between the Government and Inkatha Freedom Party in negotiations appears to have been narrowed by a weekend meeting. Sources at the meeting on Saturday said it had succeeded in getting rid of “misunderstandings” between the two organisations. The IFP negotiators will report to leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi today. — Political Staff.
Racist fervour: ANC ‘hypocrisy’ slammed

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE National Party has accused the ANC of hypocrisy for calling on the government to act against right-wingers who incite racial hatred.

The NP's director of media, Mr. Martinus van Schalkwyk, said the ANC calls were ironic because prominent ANC members were guilty of "this dangerous and inflammatory practice".

ANC spokesman Mr. Carl Niehaus said at the weekend that President FW de Klerk should stop using kid gloves with right-wingers who incite racial hatred.

Mr. Van Schalkwyk said that when ANC members used slogans like "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" they went undisciplined and the "limp excuse" was given that the slogan did not represent official ANC policy.

"These racist slogans, used by prominent ANC members, certainly contributed to the equally racist remarks and slogans at the meeting in Potehofstroom of right-wing farmers. It is the typical pattern of right- and left-wing extremists relying on each other for their strength."

Mr. Van Schalkwyk said the solution lay in organisations' disciplining their members instead of trying to find scapegoats.

"The NP supports stronger action against all who incite racial hatred."
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — South Africa is on the "brink of a breakthrough", President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

And, he added, he believed his "vision of a just, stable and prosperous South Africa" would soon become a reality.

Addressing an international agricultural symposium here, he said he believed that in the wake of this would come even closer co-operation with countries in Southern Africa.

At this point, "the dream of a Southern African economic community will become a reality", he said; the foundations for this were already in existence.

Mr De Klerk said agriculture would play a major role in this process.

To ensure that food security and adequate economic activity would provide a livelihood for a growing population, agriculture would have to be developed to its full potential in the region.
Halt talks, demands general

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront had been formed to protest against the "unnatural haste with which the Government had entered into negotiations for a new constitution." This was said on SABC TV last night by the acting chairman, former chief of the SAPF General Constand Viljoen.

Speaking on Agenda, Viljoen said the Volksfront demanded that the negotiating process as it is at present be stopped immediately and that Afrikaner self-determination become part of future negotiations.

Viljoen said this demand had to be seen in the light of the "current security situation in the country."
Experts called in

THE negotiations planning committee yesterday met the country's top academic and legal minds who will serve on seven technical sub-committees to aid negotiations. The experts are to begin work immediately and will report to the 10-member planning committee with recommendations by May 16.
Church leaders plan code of conduct for elections.

Ray Hartley

Church leaders are planning to draft a code of conduct for political parties during elections. A Johannesburg seminar on electoral justice, whose convenors include the SA Council of Churches and SA Catholic Bishops' Conference, will draft the code this week and outline a procedure for getting it adopted by political parties and other relevant organisations, organisers said.

Canadian political science professor Douglas Anglin, who served as an election observer in Namibia and Lesotho, said yesterday the code could be signed by political candidates and parties.

"A commitment to the code of conduct should be a prerequisite for party registration," he said, adding that penalties including the disqualification of candidates and parties who breached the code should be considered.

"An illegitimate election would be "disastrous" for investment and international confidence in SA, he said. Churches had a "unique and special contribution" to make to the election by defining standards of morality and justice and "selling the election to the voters". SA should avoid the "administrative chaos" which characterised recent elections in Lesotho, where some polls had opened up to a day late, he said.
TOP negotiators said yesterday right-wing demands for self-determination could be resolved at multiparty talks.

"We can (resolve the issue). The willingness is there. The sincerity is there," Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said before the 10-man planning committee met at the World Trade Centre.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "The best workable options for the country will be put forward by the technical subcommittees... and questions like self-determination will in my view be addressed in the correct way (but) not necessarily in the way the right-wing parties are putting it. Self-determination, for instance, has to be seen in its holistic context, not in a very narrow (way) that the right-wing parties are putting across."

He was confident self-determination could be accommodated within a single SA state. "It should be self-determination for the people of SA, not self-determination for a certain ethnic group."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the question of SA and a separate state was something different to the accommodation of self-determination in one state. "This means basically a difference in approach as far as the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie are concerned. The CP is proposing secession... while the AVU is talking about accommodating Afrikaner self-determination within the framework of a federal state."

He said perhaps the CP was in the same position as Bophuthatswana. "Bophuthatswana is an independent state... but they are participating here also to find out how exactly republicanism is going to be structured. That means they are thinking of the possibility of reincorporation — giving up their independence with a view to forming part of a broader federal structure in SA."

"Maybe the CP can be convinced of the same thing in the negotiating process."

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the solution could possibly be found by looking at what people wanted to protect. For instance, instead of talking about federalism and unitarism, negotiators should rather look at the powers and functions of regions or provinces to protect people's interests. The unitarists don't want a dictatorship and the federalists don't want a dictatorship. They are both united on what they don't want, therefore they should be able to find a solution."

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the seven multiparty technical committees were landed yesterday with an avalanche of work and tight deadlines to produce draft legislation to form the basis of negotiations. The committees were briefed by the planning committee on their tasks, mandates, time scales and operating methods.

They were instructed to prepare their first report by Friday. It will be evaluated by the planning committee before it is forwarded to the negotiating council on Tuesday next week.

"The technical committees' task is to find the common ground as much as possible and draft proposals that will take into account the varying positions of parties with the view to facilitating agreement," a senior negotiator said.

The ground to be covered by the committees includes constitutional issues such as the form of state; human rights during the transition; violence; an independent election commission; an independent media commission; legislation impeding free political activity; and a transitional executive council. — Sapa.
DP unveils draft Bill of Rights

By Chris Whitfield
Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party yesterday unveiled its draft Bill of Rights which included provision for affirmative action — but with strong protection for individual rights.

The DP believes its draft straddles an emphasis on equality in the ANC's version and on individual rights in the National Party's charter.

The Bill's clause on equality would outlaw discrimination on the basis of "race, ethnic origin, colour, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, creed or conscience".

But it acknowledges the need for affirmative action programmes to undo existing inequalities, saying, "Differentiation ... shall be presumed unjustified unless it is part of a rational programme intended to remedy substantial inequality."

The document recognises that there exists what its explanatory notes describe as a "sphere of privacy" in which decisions to differentiate need not be justified.

It entrenches freedom of conscience and religion, saying the State "shall not favour one religion over another". Freedom of the press and of unarmed and peaceful assembly are also protected.

Its clause on "right to life" does not express itself for or against capital punishment. But, under the "right to liberty", it prohibits "cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment" of persons. It leaves the decision on the legality of abortion to the courts.
CAPE TOWN — His role in the newly forged Afrikaner Volksfront was not to create a white army or “lead any rebellion”, former chief of the SADF General Constand Viljoen said yesterday. And the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) would stay in negotiations after the Government yesterday said it had “no objection in principle” to the party’s vision of self-determination, he said.

Viljoen told the conference — after taking part in AVU discussions with the Government — that he was known as a responsible person. “I don’t see why I should all of a sudden become irresponsible.”

His role was as a co-ordinator and he had said in the past that armed action was always a last resort.

AVU leader Andries Beyers described the Government’s statement on self-determination — made after two hours of AVU-Government discussions — as an historic breakthrough.

It also implied “that we can now tell all Afrikaners that, if our cause is formulated realistically and rightly, then we have a substantial chance to achieve our ideals”.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who headed the Government delegation at yesterday’s talks, said the Government was convinced that its own constitutional plan could accommodate “a feasible form of self-determination for all, including Afrikaners”.
Election date is next step

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

Following last week's adoption by the Negotiating Council (NC) of a declaration of intention calling for elections to be held not later than April next year, the most important event in the negotiations process will be the announcement of a date for the country's first all-race election.

The date, expected to be announced within the next four weeks, is expected to exercise the minds of the major political players in the country, and to lead to more visible electioneering by the different political parties and organisations.

Although the four-week period within which the date has to be announced ends on June 4, political observers expect the date to be made public when the Negotiating Forum (NF) meets at the World Trade Centre on June 2.

The 156-member NF - each one of the 26 parties and organisations represented in the multi-party talks has four delegates and two advisers - receives and confirms reports and proposals, with or without amendments, from the NC.

The NC, in which each organisation has two delegates and two advisers, is the body which does the real negotiating. The next time it meets will be next Tuesday, when it will receive recommendations from the 11-member planning committee and the seven technical committees formed last week.

The most important week in the talks in May will be the one before the end of the month, in which two meetings of the NC will take place.

The meetings, on May 25 and 26, will review progress made by the technical committees; and might even announce the formation of the long-awaited Transitional Executive Council. They will then prepare reports for the all-important June 2 meeting of the NF.

The planning committee, which facilitates negotiations and makes recommendations to the NC, will meet twice a week between now and the end of the month.

No session of the plenary, which is attended by leaders of the parties and whose function is to formally adopt agreements, is scheduled to take place before June 2.

None has taken place since negotiations resumed on April 1.
Threat to negotiations from extremists is growing
Threat to negotiations from extremists is growing
DP unveils its 'libertarian' Bill of Rights

CAPE TOWN — The DP yesterday unveiled a “truly libertarian” Bill of Rights, which includes measures to give constitutional effect to socioeconomic rights.

DP MP and drafting committee chairman Tony Leon described the proposal — no mere “laundry list” of specific provisions — as a radical departure from traditional Bills of Rights.

A key difference is that it does not propose that constitutional issues be decided in the first instance by a special constitutional court.

The proposed Bill has provisions regarding equality and the outlawing of “unjustified differentiation” — differing from the ANC’s and government’s proposals.

It contains a provision not included in any other Bill of Rights dealing with “second generation rights”, which proposes a mechanism to make “essentials of life” justiciable. The article provides that every citizen shall be entitled to food and water necessary for survival, shelter, basic health care and basic education. Government would decide on how to realise these entitlements, but should its decisions not be reasonable, practicable and affordable, these would be justiciable.

Leon said the effect of the provision would be that the courts could review policy choices by legislators in this limited category, and on application, issue directives insisting that government attend to the issues.

While second generation rights are normally regarded as unenforceable and thus not justiciable, Leon said their inclusion was necessary because otherwise the Bill would be “empty, cruel words echoing in a wasteland of deprivation and denial”.

The Bill provides for an array of enforcement mechanisms, including provisions to secure information from the state, rights to administrative justice and easy

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Bill of Rights

procedure. It includes articles on the right to equality, which contains a provision protecting but limiting “private choice”, the right to life, liberty, privacy and property. The right to property includes authorisation for the state to expropriate property subject to “proper payment of equitable compensation”. The right to life leaves the question of abortion and the death penalty to Parliament to decide in the first instance.

Leon said a Bill of Rights alone could never solve all of a country’s problems. He quoted US Judge Learned Hand as saying: “Liberty lies in the hearts and minds of men and women — and when it dies there, no constitution, court of law or Bill of Rights can save it.”
This is an edited version of a speech given by Professor Itumeleng Mosala, president of the Azanian People's Organisation, at the organisation's meeting at Wilgespruit, Roodepoort, at the weekend:

**Not a crime**

This freedom is to be exercised everywhere and all the time. We think and let think. We do not have a history of ideological labelling as a strategy for criminalising our own members. That practice is not about to start or to be tolerated.

The contrary can only obtain at the cost of a fundamental change in the nature of the organisation and of its relations to some of its members, the present speaker not excluded.

Today, as in 1990 when De Klerk emerged with his strategy of short circuiting the Azanian revolution, the real issues that affect freedom of black people are still being sidelined.

It is instructive to examine the language of politics.

No one, except ourselves, speaks of liberation any longer. There is not even an attempt to disguise the deep-seated reformism.

Not even freedom is envisaged for our people. Today, as in 1990, only Azapo continues to insist that (President PW) De Klerk has a constituency that he is answerable to and that he elected him. To expect him to serve any other constituency is downright stupid and makes for unforgivably bad politics.

Today, as in 1990, white people continue to denigrate black people not withstanding what their international cousins say on their behalf.

They continue to act purely on the basis of white interests and refuse to come to terms with the reality that they have overstayed their welcome in Azania and abused the hospitality of their hosts. It is time plain language is used in talking to white South Africans and in preparing them for a future under black majority rule, if they care to stay.

Unless the settler-colonial mentality of the likes of Roelf Meyer changes, the future may be less than pleasant for the white settlers in this, our land.

It must be said loud and clear to all white people here and abroad that Azania belongs to the Azanians.

Non-Azanians are welcome here to visit or to settle on terms set by the Azanian themselves. But before that, the situation of the land and the resources of the Azanian land and people must be corrected.

Therefore call on the masses of our people from all walks of life and in all organisations to deal a death blow to the white arrogance which continues to dominate life in occupied Azania.

Our people must fight with all means necessary to take power to rule their country, to rule their land, to rule their economy, to rule their culture, to carve out their own future, to be people in their own land, through their own culture, on their own terms.

It is the pervasive arrogance of white people which threatens the future of this country. It is an arrogance which displays itself everywhere. It is there in areas of employment; it is there in the schools; it is there in academic circles and especially at universities; it is there in general social relations; it is there in the media; it is there in the entertainment industry; it is there in the economy and in the department of education: it is there on the streets of cities; it is written everywhere.

Everywhere and in everything they do and say white people preserve their superiority. Their arrogance is in the churches and if there is a heaven, I will be very shocked if white arrogance does not permeate that area as well.

Our congress takes place at a dangerous time in our country and in the world. There are crises everywhere. And in this country it is our people, black Azanians, who are bearing the brunt of these crises.

There are extremely dangerous flash points around the world today. These include occupied Azania. What is happening in Yugoslavia cannot easily happen in our country. It is not funny, it is dangerous.

What is happening in Angola can easily happen in our country. And, again, it is the majority of black people who are and will suffer from these crises.

**Flash points**

We have to be careful not to be party to an attitude of mind that allows our country to slip into chaos, only because white arrogance will not forego the reins of power.

We have a responsibility to save our country by liberating it, by acting rationally and responsibly to save our country by liberating it; by putting the interests of our people and the future of our country above all else.

There is a challenge facing all Azanians which is more than the sum of all our policies and ideologies.

We will not allow the imminent burial of tyrannies for whom the sun is now inexorably setting to go down with our land and our people. Azania must be saved. Azania must be liberated.
Is consistent?

Spokesperson CRIE KOTZE says the ANC’s argument

The president: PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK and police

multi-party control of the defense force and police.

The president, for his part, explains why the government opposes

JACO MAERE, Director of Information of the Federal

In response to the ANC argument last week in favor of

Keeping control.

The coast must

South 8/15 - 1993

Armed forces!

CROSS TALK

May 8 to May 12, 1993

OPINION SOUTH
Parties say no to spoiling tactics

Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties yesterday undertook not to disrupt meetings held in the Western Cape following a special conference convened by the Western Cape Peace Committee. (204) (534)

At the conference, the executive of the committee, the police and the African National Congress said they wanted to ensure that both international and local peace monitors attend two meetings — to be hosted by Inkhata and the ANC — in Parow this week.

It will be the first time the ANC holds a meeting in the traditionally conservative area. The Peace Committee will also meet with non-signatories of the Peace Accord to discuss police tolerance at meetings in the area.

The ANC called on the government to "seriously take issue with threats by the right-wing".

ANC regional assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr said both he and Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni had received anonymous threats related to their involvement in the meeting.

Mr Hofmeyr said extensive security precautions had been taken to ensure the public’s safety at the gathering.
Right-wingers kept in fold

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The government yesterday succeeded in keeping right-wingers in the negotiations process by supporting the principle of Afrikaner self-determination within a federal system in which race discrimination was outlawed.

The long meeting in the city yesterday — between the government, the spokesman for the newly-formed Afrikaner Volksfront, General Constand Viljoen, and the leader of the Afrikaner Vosunie (AVU), Mr Andries Beyers — ended with Mr Beyers proclaiming "an historic breakthrough".

Former Defence Force Chief General Viljoen emerged saying he had no intention of leading a "white army" or doing "anything illegal or irresponsible".

Mr Beyers said the breakthrough at yesterday's talks "makes it worthwhile to proceed with our participation at negotiations".

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the government was convinced that a "feasible form of self-determination" for all could be accommodated in its own constitutional plans.
The Conservative Party is responding to occupation of white schools. News in brief.

Wednesday May 12 1993

**NEWS**

Conservative Party responds to occupation of white schools.
Right wing convinced to stay in talks

CAPE TOWN — Government succeeded yesterday in keeping right-wingers in the negotiations process by supporting the principle of Afrikaner self-determination within a federal system in which race discrimination was outlawed.

A meeting between government, Afrikaner Volksfront spokesman Constand Viljoen and Afrikaner Volksbeurs (AVU) leader Andries Beyers ended with Beyers proclaiming "a historic breakthrough".

Viljoen, former SADF chief, emerged from the meeting to say he had no intention of leading a "white army" or doing "anything illegal or irresponsible". He told a news conference: "Armed action was always the very, very last resort — that is what civilization has taught me."

Beyers said the AVU would not withdraw from multiparty talks, and praised the statement by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer that government's position on Afrikaner self-determination had been "refined" during the meeting. Meyer said: "Government and the NP have no objection in principle to the AVU's ideal of Afrikaner self-determination as part of a federal dispensation in which no form of race discrimination is allowed and in which citizens' rights are extended to all inhabitants."

But Meyer questioned the feasibility of AVU plans for a region where Afrikaners would become the majority. He said government was convinced a "feasible form of self-determination" for all, including Afrikaners, could be accommodated in its constitutional plans.

The CP rejected the statements at the news briefing, with chief negotiator Tom Langley saying government's paramount concern was "to have something to talk about". He said a meeting was necessary to satisfy a "next level" of government's position on Afrikaners.

Meanwhile, BILLY PADDOCK reports that government responded swiftly yesterday to Mandela's call for government to act against the "very serious threat" from the right wing.

A government spokesman stressed that government would not shy away from acting against the right wing. President F W de Klerk was very serious about "taking them on", he said.

Mandela said: "We hope government is going to carry out its duty of maintaining law and order and of ensuring that people carry out their activities in a peaceful atmosphere. We must take the threat from the right wing very seriously because they are firmly entrenched in government structures." He hoped government would concentrate on the real threat to negotiations, the right wing.

The government spokesman said de Klerk was firm in his commitment "not to tolerate any illegal or unconstitutional pressure from extremists on the left or the right". De Klerk and government did not see the main threat as coming only from the right, but government would monitor right-wing initiatives and act accordingly.
30,000 monitors needed for first poll — Bizos

SA WOULD need at least 30,000 monitors to ensure elections were free and fair, ANC legal and constitutional official George Bizos said yesterday.

Bizos said the monitors could be recruited from the SA public and would need elementary training in election procedures and monitoring. Political parties would need to appoint their own observers at each polling station, he told a Johannesburg conference on electoral justice.

Bizos called on religious leaders present to encourage members of their congregations to volunteer to assist with the election process.

The conference was convened by the SA Council of Churches, the SA Catholic Bishops’ Conference, the World Conference on Religion and Peace, and the Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

The ANC envisaged the appointment of an electoral commission comprising between seven and 11 independent people who were not members of political parties.

Bizos said the appointment of members of the commission would have to be negotiated, but representatives of the UN, EC, OAU and Commonwealth should sit on it.

The commission should have its own budget and the power to pass legislation and draw up an electoral law, he said.

It would be naive not to expect some trouble at a first election, Bizos said.

SA Centre for Intergroup Studies speaker Laurie Nathan said continuing political violence could lead to elections being delayed substantially. "Political violence is the most extreme form of intimidation we are experiencing now and we may experience it during elections," he said.

Planning for the integration of the security forces needed to begin now and a multiparty council with executive powers was needed to deal with security during an election, Bizos said.

Speaking at the same conference, Angolan director-general of elections Onofre dos Santos warned that the euphoria of elections could easily be transformed into anguish if results were not accepted.

"Elections without real democracy may drive one party to power, but also return the country to flames," he said.

Dos Santos said voting patterns in SA, as in Angola, would probably follow ethnic patterns.

Zimbabwean election supervisory committee chairman Prof Walter Ramba said his government's refusal to extend the powers of the electoral commission had limited its ability to operate.

"Free and fair elections are the centerpiece of democracy, but democracy is not an end in itself — it is a means to get to a just and equitable society," he said.
The current stalemate in Congress need not reflect on any SA Federal system.
ID books for all, pledges minister

Political Staff

NEARLY everybody aged 18 and over will have an identity document by early next year, according to Minister of Home Affairs Mr Danie Schutte.

And people would need them to vote in the general election expected next April under a new constitutional system.

Mr Schutte said the tempo at which ID documents were issued had increased significantly in the past two years.

In some weeks 60,000 were issued.

The ID documents were suited for use in an election because they largely eliminated the possibility of forgery, and their use is an alternative to registering voters, which would have cost a further R420 million.

Mr Schutte appealed to everybody to get ID documents, and to political parties to motivate their supporters.

Applications could be made at any office of the Department of Home Affairs, or at magistrates' courts.

The first issue of an ID book is free.
Victorious Right unthinkable

Self-determination does not mean what youonder believes it does, says Stanley Lys.
Victorious Right unthinkable

Self-determination does not mean what Yanan believes it does, says Stanley Vu
CAPE TOWN — The Government would not allow young "chappies" from Cosas or the lunatic fringe to disrupt negotiations, President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

He was replying to a question from J M Beyers (CP Virginia), who asked how long mass action and the murder of whites had to continue before the Government called a halt to negotiations.

Beyers said De Klerk had reportedly warned earlier this month that the Government was not prepared to negotiate under the threat of mass action, and that since then both negotiations and violence had continued.

De Klerk said that, as usual, the CP had read reports selectively and quoted what suited it. In the last week he had made it clear that the Government would not allow a few organisations and violent individuals the power to veto negotiations.

If there were elements on the Left and Right who committed acts of violence, the Government would meet them with security measures and other action.

"We will not allow young chappies from Cosas, or any members of the lunatic fringe for that matter, to disrupt negotiations," he said. — Sapa.
A BILL OF RIGHTS

DP Tackles the

ALAN FINE

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A NOTE TO THE

current documents

and data collections

available for analysis

and interpretation.
Securocrat control of govt absolute nonsense

CAPE TOWN — It was absolute nonsense to claim government was a captive of the security forces or securocrats, President PW de Klerk told Parliament yesterday.

Sapa reports that, replying to a question from A S Akoob (NP Lauder), he said the suggestion that SA was controlled by a military junta was an example of distorted and untruthful ANC propaganda.

Government and the security forces had an open and balanced relationship, and one did not dominate the other. The security forces accepted that they had to operate within the framework of the policy of the day, and government accepted the security forces were specialists, and that they should be able to act according to their judgment within the framework of the law.

Suggestions government had bound the hands of the security forces were simply not true.

De Klerk said he could cite instances where the security forces had said government was going too far when it contemplated strong action.

Our Political Staff reports that Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel yesterday reiterated there could be no joint control of the SAP at this stage.

He said the ANC wanted only a supervisory role.

Durban Central MP Peter Gastrow said joint control implied joint responsibility and joint accountability.

Gastrow asked why government clung to control of the police. Unless there was some form of joint control the chances of the police being able to act with legitimacy and the support of others were nil.

The ANC wanted to be in a position where it did not have to accept joint responsibility — a position “where they can blame the police”, he said.

He asked how the playing field for an election could be levelled when the police were under the sole control of government.

Opposing joint control, the CP's Schalk Pienaar said it would effectively mean ANC-SACP control, adding that every incident involving the police would, in any case, be exploited.

In a separate statement, DP law and order spokesman Lester Fuchs called for establishment of a transitional committee on law and order with members appointed by the President on recommendation by the multiparty negotiating forum.

Sasco call for mass action

Savin du Venage

The SA Students' Congress (Sasco) yesterday called for a nationwide 'week of action' in protest against the closure of the University of Bophuthatswana (Ubo).

The call came as the homeland's government was meeting the university's senate in a bid to resolve the crisis.

The university was shut indefinitely on Tuesday after clashes between members of Bophuthatswana's security forces and students and staff.

Sasco president Robinson Ramaitse said the week of action would begin next Monday. Sasco would stage mass rallies, occupy Bophuthatswana embassies and hold demonstrations.

If this did not bring about the re-opening of the university, Sasco would consider "higher forms of mass action".

The Union of Democratic University Staff Associations said it would support Sasco's campaign.
Church Leaders Recommended 16 as Voting Age.
Negotiators set against an Afrikaner homeland

NEGOTIATORS and diplomats yesterday warned it would be impossible for the Afrikaner Volksunie or the new Afrikaner Volksfront to establish an Afrikaner homeland without apartheid-style forced removals.

They were responding to Volksunie leader Andries Beyers' optimism following discussions with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on Tuesday.

Beyers hailed the meeting as a breakthrough because Meyer said government and the NP supported "in principle" Afrikaner self-determination in a federal system.

An ANC source reiterated secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's weekend statement that it supported self-determination for all South Africans, but he questioned the viability of an Afrikaner-dominated homeland. Government supported the principle as long as there was no racial discrimination, but "how can one avoid discrimination when talking of an Afrikaner", he said.

A senior foreign diplomat said there was no easily definable region in SA at present — or in any proposed regional dispensation — where whites were in the majority. "How then can Beyers proclaim that there would be no forced removals in establishing his homeland?"

On Tuesday, Meyer also questioned the viability of establishing an Afrikaner homeland but encouraged the Afrikaner Volksunie to fight for it in negotiations.

Government's position on self-determination had not shifted at all, sources said. At least a year ago President F W de Klerk made the same pronouncements.
Leaders at 'mercy of NP'

THE leadership of the ANC, PAC and SACP who have been returning to South Africa since 1990, remain in the country at the mercy of the National Party.

They would not receive absolute indemnity until they had abandoned the armed struggle, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetzee, said in Parliament last night.

"They (the ANC) have only suspended the armed struggle, they have not abandoned it," he said.

He was defending a motion placed before Parliament yesterday which, if passed, will give President FW de Klerk the power to extend indemnity to leaders of liberation movements for another year.

In simple terms, only De Klerk can decide whether the leaders of the liberation movements are arrested en masse.

ANC aligned Independent MP Mr Dave Dalling said last night the motion was particularly outrageous as it gave the Government a hold over the leaders of the liberation movements, probably in an effort "to make them more pliable in negotiations".

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tive Party President's Councillor Mr Clive Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye and Polish immigrant Mr Janus Walmsley were said they had found a "hit-list" in his home...
May 21: Remand

Hans Hidet

No charges put to Walus and Derby-Lewis pair as case is postponed
Codesa came to an abrupt halt in May 1992 when, refusing to accept the democratic will of its fellow participants, the ANC walked out of negotiations, presenting a series of untenably radical demands, and recommenced a programme of mass action to back these up with force. Included in this was the overthrow of certain administrations, including the KwaZulu government, which opposed the ANC's attempts to author the negotiations process on its own.

The IFP proposed that a multiparty conference be convened to review the failure and success of both the Codesa and the peace processes so that negotiations could resume.

This was rejected outright by the ANC and later by the Government which, since the conclusion of Codesa, had decided both to appease the ANC and to try, through selective implementation of only certain parts of the earlier Codesa agreement, to engineer a deal for joint ANC-NP rule for up to five years before introducing a democratic constitution and democracy to the land.

The IFP rejected both the bilateral nature of the agreement and the agreement itself, arguing that negotiations had to be the product of multiparty agreement and inclusivity, stating in addition that the people of South Africa could not be expected to wait so long for democracy.

In early 1993 the IFP renewed its calls for greater inclusivity in the negotiation process and for a review of Codesa's agreements. Despite opposition to both these principles by the ANC, this was indeed the decision reached by the planning conference when it first met in early April.

Of great significance is the fact that it has been agreed by all negotiations that the multiparty forum will prioritise the key issue impeding rapid resolution of the constitutional debate — that concerning the form of the future state. The real debate and the real divide is between those favouring federalism and those favouring a unitary state, and little progress can be made until this is resolved.

This was why Codesa broke down: because the ANC was not prepared to even discuss the issue in a forum where those in favour of federalism were the majority and would automatically block the ANC's desire for a centralised, unitary state. The KwaZulu government, on December 1 1992 adopted a proposed constitution for the State of KwaZulu-Natal as a state within a Federal Republic of South Africa. This constitution is a model of liberal democracy, whose clauses embody the very best that the world has to offer on the entrenchment of individual liberty and the State's obligations to the welfare of its citizens.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi gave his party's perspective on Codesa in an address to the Save the Date Foreign Press Association in London recently:

"The KwaZulu government and the IFP argue that the people of the regions of South Africa should determine for themselves — by means of a popular referendum — their future relationship with the central government. It is their view, as well as that of a number of other participants in the multiparty forum, that the negotiating process should be enriched by a process paralleling deliberations at the national level on the federal constitution, and that this can best be achieved by a bottom-up approach to complement the top-down approach.

The proposed process sees a marrying of the two, such that State constitutions representing the popular will of the people of the regions are drafted at the State level and, in so far as they are compatible with the federal constitution, are subsequently endorsed by the multiparty forum. The IFP believes that, instead of waiting up to five years for the drafting and implementation of a new constitution (the Codesa route), the entire negotiation, transitional and electoral processes can be finalised by late 1994 at which stage elections will be held and the new democratic governments elected. The noble mission of political liberation from oppression and apartheid for all the people of South Africa will be finally and emphatically achieved.

Other than persuading certain parties of the merits of this vision over alternatives — which is the IFP's goal in the multiparty talks — the only serious impediment to the realisation of this dream lies in the intolerable levels of political violence destroying the country, and geared towards the destruction of the IFP. This, of course, was why the IFP argued after Codesa that both the negotiations and peace processes had to be reviewed.

According to the IFP, there is no way in which a transition to democracy can be premised upon escalating violence and in particular violence linked to an undemocratic political agenda intended to render one major party imminent in the next elections.

There is a low-intensity civil war under way in which the IFP is both the major target and the major victim. Of particular concern to the party is that the forthcoming elections — which it welcomes — be fair and free. Unfortunately, politics in South Africa represent the complete antithesis of this necessary condition, and it is instead best characterised as the politics of hegemony through modern weaponry in the hands of private armies and a government unwilling to deal with the problem for fear of upsetting the bilateral deal it reached with the ANC.

The IFP believes the interest of peace can best be served by the disbandment of private armies, by the cessation of the military training of gue-rilla cadres; by the handing over of arms caches to an independent authority and the cessation of arms smuggling, and by the reintegration into normal life of such cadres. Unless this happens, the peace process will fail, and if the peace process fails, negotiations will also fail. Since neither can succeed without the other, the IFP is convinced that negotiations at the multiparty forum must do everything possible to address both the new constitution and violence.

This is the basic position it has adopted in the multiparty talks and which it is confident will be accepted by the forum as the best path to a democratic South Africa."
The medals have been confiscated and will be returned to relatives of the dead war veterans.

**Leaders at 'mercy of NP'**

THE leadership of the ANC, PAC and SACP who have been returning to South Africa since 1990, remain in the country at the mercy of the National Party. **Sowetan 131593**

They would not receive absolute indemnity until they had abandoned the armed struggle, the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said in Parliament last night.

“They (the ANC) have only suspended the armed struggle, they have not abandoned it,” he said.

He was defending a motion placed before Parliament yesterday which, if passed, will give President FW de Klerk the power to extend indemnity to leaders of liberation movements for another year.

In simple terms, only De Klerk can decide whether the leaders of the liberation movements are arrested en masse.

ANC-aligned Independent MP Mr Da de Dalling said last night the motion was particularly outrageous as it gave the Government a hold over the leaders of the liberation movements, probably in an effort "to make them more pliable in negotiations".

**Sowetan regrets the error**

IN a report in Sowetan yesterday on the closure of the University of Botswana, a sub-headline inadvertently referred to Turfloop University having been closed until further notice. Sowetan regrets the error.
have been told they will have
significant concessions:
The ANC and its allies have
told the only way forward is for
them to accept a plan protecting the
rights of minorities and regions,
ensuring clear constitutional
rules before an election.
Inkatha and its allies have been
noted that they will have to
accept that an elected body will
South Africa's first
consistently.
The Conservative Party's
for a white homeland, were
dismissed as a non-starter.
The blueprint will be
presented to the "group of
10" planning committee
tomorrow and to the 26
parties participating in the
World Trade Centre talks
on Tuesday.
The report concludes
that "the key to unlocking
the differences that exist
and enabling the process to
move forward is to develop
a set of constitutional
principles".
These should be suf-
ficient to offer assurance
to those who are concerned
that their interests will not
be adequately protected if
the constitution is drawn
up by an elected constitution-making body without
being so detailed as to pre-
empt the work of the elec-
ted constitution-making
body.

The technical committee's report comes in the
context of significant shifts
by the ANC and the IFP
this week.

**Formula**

Inkatha's central commit-
ete last Sunday resolved to
explore ways of
accommodating a suitable
power-sharing formula a
concept it had been
firmly opposed to.
The ANC in turn accep-
ted that the boundaries of
the regions for the pur-
oposes of elections would be
decided at the multi-party
talks forum and that the
forum would decide the
powers, functions and
structures the regions will
have after the first non-
racial elections.

But their shifts, the tech-
nical committee says, do
not go far enough.

It suggests that detailed
and stringent regional
safeguards contained in a
definitive principle binding
the constitution-making
body should include:

- That regions may take
  the central government to
court if it punishes regional
  opponents or intervenes in
  local matters beyond the
  scope of a list of criteria
  setting out when and how it
  may do so.
By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Several leading ANC members could expect full indemnity from prosecution for politically motivated crimes only if the organisation abandoned the armed struggle, Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee said yesterday.

His remarks came after sharp criticism in Parliament from ANC Sandton MP Dave Dalling, who said several top members of the organisation had a sword of Damocles hanging over their heads because the Government had not granted them full indemnity.

Coetzee said: "The sword of Damocles is made of ANC reluctance to abandon the armed struggle... They have only suspended the armed struggle.

Indemnity Star 13/5/93
sword over ANC leaders' heads" MP

Complete amnesty can only go hand in hand with the abandonment of the armed struggle.

Several members of the ANC national executive committee have temporary indemnity in terms of the Indemnity Act of 1990.

According to Dalling they include Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander in chief Joe Modise. Yesterday's exchanges came during a debate in Parliament on a notice of motion tabled by Coetzee calling for the extension of the Act for another year.

Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon said the motion had been tabled because half the ANC executive would be locked up if the legislation were not extended.

"They will not accept the Further Indemnity Act and, to the credit of those who have chosen not to shelter behind the (Act), we support this motion," Leon said.

Dalling said that while he supported the motion, it was outrageous that many among the top leadership of the ANC had not been granted permanent indemnity. He said Coetzee was trying to hold the ANC leaders "hostage".

The extension of the Act was accepted by all parties.
MP's bid to lift ban on food firm

BY HARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE controversiaI Johannesburg food firm, Protol, and its managing director, Mr Chummy Lempke, had been restricted from all state business — but a National Party MP tried to get the ban lifted.

While the MP, Mr GC Oosthuizen of Pretoria Central, tried to help the company to secure government contracts, NP MP for Queenstown, Dr Manie Schoeman, made representations to President FW de Klerk to intervene against them.

The restrictions on Protol were disclosed yesterday by the Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Amie Venter, when he replied to questions tabled in Parliament by Mr Mahmoud Rajb (DP, Springfield).

He said Protol had been restricted from all state business and was not limited to the supplying of food to the former Prisons Service. Protol, which used to supply food to prisons, was blacklisted two years amid allegations of corruption, including payments to officials.

Protol recently tried to regain the contract and the Sunday Times reported that information about new specifications for soy products had been leaked to Mr Lempke and drawn up in such a way that only his company could meet them.
Experts at talks begin

THIRTY legal and academic experts, appointed to serve on seven sub-committees to aid negotiators begin work at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

Known as technical sub-committees of the negotiations planning committee, their function is to make recommendations on the seven questions at the heart of the multiparty talks. They will also function as deadlock-breakers. The issues are violence, constitutional matters, fundamental rights, a Transitional Executive Council, an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission and the repeal of racial legislation.
Moving capitals cost R3m

Political Staff

The taxpayer coughed up R2.77 million to transport personnel, equipment and documentation of government departments between Pretoria and Cape Town for last year's two Parliamentary sessions.

President F W de Klerk told Schaufelville MP Mr Michael Hendrickse, in reply to a question yesterday, that an additional R9.88m was spent on accommodation for sessional personnel and ministers during the two sessions.

This included rental, levies, municipal services, maintenance on buildings and gardens, cleaning services and buying and upkeep of furniture. Some 800 units are involved.

A further R8.1m went on maintaining this accommodation, while it was not in use.

The most "expensive" department was Foreign Affairs.
Get IDs before elections

Political Staff

The government yesterday appealed to all political parties to get their supporters to urgently apply for identity documents to qualify as voters for South Africa's first non-racial poll.

The Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, said, in a statement that up to 50,000 new identity documents were being issued every week and that if this tempo was increased more than 90% of the population over 18 would have appropriate documents by early next year.
Wits/Vaal violence reduced – Gildenhuys

CAPE TOWN – There has been a general reduction in violence in the Witwatersrand and Vaal areas, which has permitted increased emphasis on violence prevention and social reconstruction, according to Pretoria-based Peace Secretariat (NPS) chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

"There is generally a significant drop in political violence, particularly in the number of deaths," he said in the NPS annual report tabled in Parliament yesterday.

Peace rallies could be a successful instrument in promoting peace. Efforts were being made to get parties at loggerheads to meet on a grassroots basis as a first step towards reconciliation.

"Joint rallies are the next step in the progress towards peace," the report said.

Peace structures in these areas had been severely tested by political activities which followed the assassination of Chris Hani.

Negotiations between the ANC and SAP on steps to keep marches and gatherings peaceful had prevented the Wits/Vaal region being declared an unrest area.

Tension still remained high in the Natal region, where the regional peace committee had focused on mediation and the resolution of disputes on a reactive, rather than preventive, basis.

The regional peace committee had been active in the region.

Broeders praise ‘open’ selection

By Jacqueline Mbyungu

"Two former Broederbinder leaders during their time in the open and transparent process welcomed the ‘open’ selection process," said Dawie de Villiers, former Broederbinder chairperson.

"In my opinion, this is a positive step," he said.

"It is important that we have an open selection process," he said.

"I am looking forward to the new board," he said.

Immunity for observers

International observers have been granted immunity and privileges similar to those enjoyed by diplomats.

The announcement was made yesterday in an extraordinary Government Gazette.

"In terms of the announcement, international observers have been granted immunity and privileges similar to those enjoyed by diplomats," the Gazette said.

"Visas are also to be issued to them free of charge."

James Cass, spokesman for the UN Observer Mission, said yesterday that foreign observers were "delighted" to hear about the announcement.

Dawie breaks the ice

By Gerald Ainge

Zimbabwe’s crumbling policy of refusing contact with South Africa at ministerial level will be virtually abandoned today when Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Public Enterprise, goes to Harare to sign an arrangement to build a power line to Botswana from Matimba power station in the eastern Transvaal.

The policy which was to have been enforced until apartheid was irreversibly abandoned, has been made impracticable by Zimbabwe’s dependence on its neighbours for transport and power.

The signing will represent a big advance in the EC’s plans for a power grid across southern Africa.

The Matimba-Botswana project has been pushed forward earlier than planned to give Zimbabwe access to Southern African power if drought again cuts generation in Zimbabwe, as it did last year.

The line will act as a back-up until another line is built to Zimbabwe from the Cahora Bassa Dam in Mozambique. It will also enable Zambia to draw power through its link with the Mozambikan grid.

Botswana will also sign the agreement in Harare because, although it will not initially draw power from Matimba, the line to Botswana passes through its territory.
24-carat day for JSE buyers

Finance Staff

Gold continued on its bull run overnight — briefly touching a 17-month high of $370 in New York — as the first words of caution about the "unsustainable" surge in the price were sounded.

After touching the $370 level, gold fell back slightly to a close of $363.55. It eased further in Hong Kong this morning to open at $362.95.

Nevertheless, it was a 24-carat day for investors in gold shares on the JSE yesterday as the market exploded in reaction to the gold's surge, which was accompanied by a rise in the platinum price to a 10-month high.

Within 20 minutes of the opening bell yesterday, gold shares had rocketed by more than 10 percent on average and as the gold price remained buoyant the surge in values continued.

At the close, the gold index had soared by an astonishing 192 points to 1636 — more than 13 percent.

The euphoria spilled over into the industrial sector which added 44 points to 4449. The all-share index rose by 124 points to 3858.

"I can't remember when last I saw such hectic activity at the opening bell," shouted stockbroker Tim Michel above the din.

Trading volumes rocketed as institutions, private investors and foreigners placed huge buying orders for shares in short supply.

Gold's renewed surge since Wednesday was caused by heavy buying of gold by US-based fund investors, rekindling the fire started in the market by high-profile investors Sir James Goldsmith and George Soros three weeks ago.

Additional factors include fears of higher US inflation.

But there were words of warning, particularly from overseas analysts.

The Financial Times in London, quoting analysts and bullion dealers, described the market as "explosive" and "having lost contact with reality".

Ted Arnold, analyst at Merrill Lynch, said: "It will all end in tears, although, in the short term, the weight of fund-buying can push gold prices up to virtually any level."

Andy Smith, analyst at the Union Bank of Switzerland, said the rally was inspired by options activity while buying of physical gold was dropping steeply.

Gold has now risen by more than $40 since it hit seven-year lows of $326.50 just two months ago. The gold-share index has more than doubled after bottoming on November 10.

AWB set to join Volksfront

By Norman Chang

Reversing its earlier opposition to the Afrikaner Volksfront, the AWB says it will link up with the new organisation after all.

Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, told a public meeting in Witbank last night the AB's decision had been made to "mobilise the volk ... to resist the Government's capitulation".

It was also announced at the meeting that the Mine-workers' Union and the Iron and Steel Labour Unions were joining the Volksfront.

TerreBlanche told 2,000 supporters he expected the announcement of the AWB's decision to be a "great shock to both the Government and the African National Congress".

The AWB boycotted the founding meeting of the Volksfront in Pretoria last Friday. The only representative attending was its Wemkommando leader, "Commandant-General" Servaas de Wet.

Sources in Pretoria said today TerreBlanche had been persuaded not to take action against De Wet.

Ten days ago, TerreBlanche said the Volksfront would splinter the right-wing movement.

A right-wing meeting at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on May 23 will be addressed by TerreBlanche, General Constand Viljoen, the interim chairman of the Volksfront, and Dries Bruwer, president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.

No tax on PC pay packages

Members of the President's Council, which is to be abolished on June 30, would be compensated according to precedents set at the dissolution of the senate and provincial councils, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He said the amounts, which he did not specify, would be tax-free.

The packages would be paid out on June 30 and would not include the five percent salary increase envisaged for political officials from July 1. — Sapa

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Negotiators to discuss reports

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Negotiating Council's 10-member planning committee meets today to discuss six reports dealing with various aspects of the transition process. The planning committee will mainly be discussing ways in which the reports can be handled in the meeting tomorrow of the 26-party council.

It is understood that the report by the technical committee on constitutional matters makes several suggestions to maintain momentum in the negotiations process.

Reports

Negotiators were tight-lipped yesterday on details of the suggestions. But it is understood that the committee requested more details from proponents of a confederalist state, including the Conservative Party.

The report is based on submissions by all the participants — apparently identifies two scenarios for the transition. The first is supported by the ANC and the Government who believe that an elected body is best suited to draft a new constitution.

Others want the negotiating forum to draft the constitution.

The technical committees themselves are not involved in negotiations, but their reports are aimed at facilitating discussions in the Negotiating Council.

The second reports by six of the seven technical committees were compiled after they had received all the submissions from all the groups on Wednesday.

The technical committee on discriminatory legislation is still compiling its second report.

The six reports deal with a transitional executive council, an independent media commission, an independent electoral commission, fundamental human rights during the transition, violence, and constitutional matters.

The planning committee will discuss candidates for a commission on regionalism.

The commission will delineate regions for elections for an interim government.

Tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting will also discuss these reports.
Thunderclap from the Right

Attacker consolidation is rearming politically, writes Patrick Lawrence and Paul Bell
Short-lived day of the generals?

UNITY on the far-right — apparently clinched for the first time with the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) last week — may prove more mirage than reality.

Headed by a committee of former South African Defence Force and South African Police generals, the movement has provisionally succeeded in forging all the important parties into a coalition striving for what it terms "self-determination of the Afrikaner".

Beneath the surface, however, confusion, differences of opinion, mutual suspicion, a battle of semantics and animosity are pushing a fragile alliance to its limits.

The khaki-laden "self-determination" does not smell as sweet to everyone connected to the AVF.

To General Tienie Groenewald, seen by many as the driving force behind the formation of the AVF, it means a completely independent volkstaat, the "so-called "Eastland".

To Andries Beyers, of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVU), it means the highest degree of regional autonomy in a federal system. Other volkstaat proponents, such as Avatig's Professor Carel Boshoff, are in favour of "Westland".

The Herstigte Nasionale Party's Jaap Marais sees self-determination as a return to Voerwerpoort grand apartheid, while handliners inside the Conservative Party want the same thing but call it "partition".

Adding to the confusion are those who view the generals — especially Groenewald, with his history of military intelligence, front organisations and dirty tricks — with some apprehension, if not downright suspicion.

In some right-wing circles, fears are widely expressed that Groenewald is a state agent tasked with enticing and neutralising the far-right.

So it was that in the week before the formation of the AVF, CP hardliners caucus into the night, even seeking out the previously shunned Marais in order to head off what was sensed to be a coup by the volkstatters or the government.

But that was before the huge protest meeting of farmers on May 6 at Potchefstroom.

As former SADF chief Constant Viljoen walked into the stadium to the roaring acclaim of about 8 000 farmers, the Verwoerdsians must have realised that the odds were stacked against them.

Neatly stepping into the power vacuum caused by vacillating right-wing policies and the recent death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht, Viljoen had become the Moses of the right-wing.

Ironically, many of those who hailed Viljoen as the newaviour of old-style partitionists, or from farms outside the proposed boundaries of an exclusive Afrikaner region.

Viljoen's own politics are more in line with that of the AVU, and his Ohrigstad farm falls within the boundaries of "Eastland".

Temporarily, at least, the volkstatters are in the driving seat.

The original initiative that led to the formation of the AVF can be traced to Groenewald, a former intelligence adviser to PW Botha and a volkstaat ideologue.

An ex-fighter pilot in the South African Air Force, he became chief director of the SADF's military intelligence before the reform process drove him to request early retirement in 1990.

After retiring, he founded the Institute of Strategic Analysis. Initially suspected in some circles of being an SADF front organisation, it later appeared to be a private attempt to interpret the "African National Con-gress/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions" in terms of "total onslaught" counter-strategies.

Groenewald's brother Jan, a former security policeman, was a member of the Afrikaner Weerstands beweging's executive council before he and another leading figure were purged from the AWB in early 1989.

Together with other disgraced AWB members, he founded the Boerevyrebehebeweging (BVB), an organisation actively propagating the establishment of an Afrikaner homeland wedging northwards from Pretoria.

Jan Groenewald was also involved in the formation of the Pretoria Boerokommando in early 1992. Organised along the lines of a community watch, it is about 1 000-strong and is strongly volkstaat-orientated.

On November 8 1991, a meeting of a so-called "Volkstaat" (Volksvolkstaat) was convened in
Romancing the Whites of Parnow

By Gabe Davis: Cape Town
Rabie's white 'ooms' rule CP
By IAN CLAYTON
COLOURED cabinet minister Jac Rabie hurt and embarrassed the all-white Conservative Party this week when he disclosed that two of his uncles were active members of the CP.

The dark-skinned leader of the National Party in the House of Representatives had to answer for the government, in his capacity as minister of population development, to a CP call for an investigation into an allegedly low fertility rate among whites to see if this posed problems for the Afrikaner volk.

Nominated CP MP Harold Pauw, who made the call to deal with the Afrikaner birth rate, interjected: "If you are not a member of the volk, you don't understand it as a problem."

That stung Rabie. He knew perfectly well what a volk was, he retorted. "Two of my uncles are white members of the CP. The one uncle has five children and the other four. So I know what the volk's needs are," Rabie said.

Rabie could have stirred the racial pot even further; one of his "white" uncles has been a CP branch chairman for years.
CP MP defends letter about Holocaust

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A Conservative Party MP has defended a letter to a right-wing American publication in which he lauded a controversial historian, who questioned whether the Holocaust took place, as a “hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times”.

Louis Stofberg, the MP for Sasolberg, said he was not “anti-Jewish”.

In the letter to the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) Newsletter he congratulated Canadian author Ernst Zündel after that country’s Supreme Court had overturned a conviction for publishing a revisionist booklet about the Holocaust.

Stofberg said in the letter to the November 1992 issue of the newsletter that he had just received the “good news” about the court finding. “Our enemies have done everything, and their worst, to stop him.

“They have failed, and revisionism can go forward with greater confidence than ever before that victory will be ours,” he wrote.

He told The Star yesterday that his interest in the case stemmed from his desire for press freedom, and claimed that such august publications as the Washington Post had also welcomed the court decision.

He admitted that, being of German descent, he would like to believe that the Holocaust had not taken place. However, he understood and sympathised with the strong feelings of Jewish people about the issue.

Zündel, a German-born, publisher living in Toronto, was convicted in 1985 under Canada’s so-called “false news” law for publishing the booklet.

He was sentenced to nine months in jail. He appealed and last year the Supreme Court found that the legislation violated the freedom of speech provisions in that country’s Charter of Rights.
CP's Stofberg linked to neo-Nazis

SENIOR Conservative Party MP Louis Stofberg has publicly linked himself to international neo-Nazi organisations by writing in praise of those who deny the reality of the Holocaust.

This follows disclosures that another CP luminary, Clive Derby-Lewis, has links with several ultra-right organisations in Europe.

The Weekly Mail has a copy of a letter Stofberg sent to the Institute for Historical Review (IHR) in California, in which he praises Canadian Ernst Zundel as "a hero of the truth unsurpassed in our times".

Zundel's name appears on the official US government Watch List of people prohibited from entering the United States. He is the author of The Hitler We Loved and Why, UFOs: Nazi Secret Weapons?, and Secret Nazi Polar Expeditions, among other works glorifying the Nazis.

Zundel has also been arrested in Germany under anti-Nazi laws. In a recent interview, he said of the statute: "Because of the draconian nature of Germany's Allied-imposed, undemocratic laws, no writer could express an opinion other than one of major irrelevance."

But he challenged the authorities to try him for "so the enemies of truth, freedom and justice get the initial headlines, and I get to prove my points about history once again".

Interviewed this week, Stofberg told The Weekly Mail that although he had never been to Europe and had therefore not seen concentration camp sites, "it looks like what we've heard is not exact. Everything we've heard about the Holocaust doesn't seem correct."

"I am not an expert, but I've read a lot, and I don't know whether Auschwitz and the Holocaust existed. I accept that my Jewish friends would say they did, but it seems to me there's more to this."

Asked whether he felt the IHR was neo-Nazi, Stofberg said: "I know you are trying to smear me down as a Jew-hater and bider. Frankly, I hate nobody - but I don't like people who hate us either. I'm a rightwinger, we had our concentration camps too, you know."

The IHR, which published Stofberg's letter, is the focal point for a group which calls itself "the Revisionists". Operating under the guise of scholarship, they seek to revise historical perspectives on the Holocaust, in which six million Jews died, arguing that it did not happen or wasn't as bad as reported. They have claimed that Auschwitz and other death camps were built by the Allies after the war in an attempt to smear the Nazis.

Contributors to the organisation include British historian David Irving, a frequent visitor to South Africa with close links to a major neo-Nazi publishing house in Munich; and Robert Faurisson, a former literature professor at the University of Lyon. Faurisson was twice convicted for promoting racism and denying the reality of the Holocaust.

Also involved in the IHR are former Rhodesian politician and apartheid activist Ivor Benson and the Swede Ditlef Felderer. Benson reported to the 1990 IHR conference on "the crime, and the cover-up of the century: the murder of Russian Tsar Nicholas II and his entire family by a distinctly non-Russian cabal ... and its implications for nationalism and internationalism under the shadow of Zion".
Buoyant Volksunie planning own area

By CHRIS LOUW  14/5/93

THE Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) is in a buoyant mood. After getting the National Party to concede to the principle of "the Afrikaner's right to self-determination", plans are already under way for an Afrikaner-dominated area with Pretoria as its centre.

The next step is to get the African National Congress to also endorse this principle, the AVU's chief negotiator, advocate Chris de Jager, said this week.

Contact has already been made with the ANC to find a suitable date for discussing the issue.

De Jager — who is also the AVU's spokesman on justice — conceded that his movement's ideals would only be achieved if they, unlike most of the volksraad demands, were practical. He disclosed that an Afrikaner-dominated area is now being planned to stretch from Pretoria into the eastern Transvaal. Afrikaners will be in the majority in this area, he said, but there would be no racial discrimination or forced removals.

De Jager refused to disclose the exact boundaries of the Afrikaner area, saying that the AVU was still discussing the details with "countries which we expect to be our future neighbours". However, a map of the area was being drawn up and would be made public soon.

The Afrikaner-dominated area "will not necessarily be a federal or confederal state within the country", according to De Jager. "We don't want to give it a name or limit it to a specific concept. It will be something uniquely South African and its relationship with the rest of the country will also be unique."

Representatives of the AVU had a meeting with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on Tuesday in which, they say, Meyer conceded the "right of the Afrikaner nation to self-determination". The concession followed AVU threats that it would walk out of negotiations if its aspirations were thwarted before they could be discussed around the negotiating table.

Meyer's stance — he told a joint press conference that the National Party had no objection in principle to the AVU's ideal of Afrikaner self-determination as part of a federal dispensation — was afterwards described by AVU leader Andries Beyers as "an historic breakthrough".

However, the AVU is aware that it will need the support of other parties to the negotiations, including that of the ANC. According to De Jager, discussions were already on track with what he termed "the Natal area", which includes Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's kwaZulu.

Asked whether he expected to receive a sympathetic hearing from the ANC, De Jager said it was not the AVU's aim to "create revolution".

They would rather achieve their goal to get a "home base" for Afrikaners through negotiations. "If the ANC is not prepared to accept the reasonable aspirations of Afrikaners, there will not be peace in South Africa."

De Jager said the AVU could now claim to be the party representing Afrikaners. The National Party was "open for all" and could not serve the interests of a single population group any longer. "They stand for one new South Africa and one nation."

AVU youth leader Vorster Gutsche told The Weekly Mail from Pretoria that there had been noticeably more public interest in the AVU in the last week and a half. He ascribed it to the influence of the four generals who have taken it upon themselves to mobilise the right, as well as to the more militant mood in the CP, which tended to drive moderates away to the AVU.

Rightist parliamentarians are also taking renewed interest in the activities of the AVU.

Independent MP Koos van der Merwe said the concession that the AVU wrung from Meyer could not be underestimated. "I am really excited," he said.
Shards of Optimism Grow out of Grapes

By David Ewell

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

May 1, 021999

The Guardian Weekly
Hartzenberg tipped as near certainty
TIm COHEN

CAPE TOWN — CP deputy leader Ferdi Hartzenberg is almost certain to be elected leader of the party when CP delegates meet for a special congress in Pretoria tomorrow.

A three-way tussle for the deputy leadership is on the cards.

Parliamentary sources said yesterday Hartzenberg would be elected by delegates from the 116 CP constituencies.

The 75-odd members of the national executive, who will vote for a deputy leader if a vacancy occurs, would probably have a choice between the pro- and anti-negotiations wing of the party. These were represented by Schalk Pienaar and Pieter Mulder.

A compromise candidate would be Cape leader Jan Hoon, who is regarded as an "elder statesman" by the party members.

After the elections, the new leader would set out the party's vision in a speech to the congress, which follows the death of Andries Treurnicht last month.

Meanwhile MP and former CP information chief Koes van der Merwe said the CP was "finished". He expressed the hope that former SA Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen would lead the "genuine Afrikaners" to self-determination.

The Afrikaners had a credible leader in Viljoen and the CP's influence was no longer an issue, he said.

The new formation held out great promise.
Lawyers allege Von Lieres cover-up of police brutality

LAWSYERS for Human Rights (LHR) suggested yesterday that Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Witkau SC and the SAP were attempting to cover up acts of police brutality by denying monitors access to dockets.

Earlier this week, LHR national director Brian Currin also accused Transvaal Attorney-General Jan D'Oliveira SC of similar actions.

Both Von Lieres and D'Oliveira have denied strongly they are involved in a deliberate cover-up and say the claims are grossly defamatory and unjustified.

The row has prompted the national peace secretariat to make the issue a priority item on the agenda of its May 22 peace committee meeting.

The LHR assertions followed an SABC Agenda programme this week on police brutality in which police reporting officer Jan Munnik claimed his investigations were being frustrated by the SAP and Von Lieres, who refused to give him access to dockets he asked to see.

"The refusal of the SAP to allow him (Munnik) access to dockets was based on an opinion received from the attorney-general of the Witwatersrand.

"This smacks of a cover-up and renders Munnik's appointment useless and a waste of taxpayers' money," Currin said in a statement.

Munnik, an advocate, was appointed a police reporting officer in terms of the national peace accord.

Von Lieres said yesterday his involvement in the matter had been to supply the SAP with a legal opinion on the interpretation of existing laws and provisions of the peace accord. He added that the issue of police brutality had been discussed at the peace committee.

Forum date postponed a day

THE negotiations forum at which the date for national elections is expected to be announced has been postponed a day and will now meet on June 3.

The rest of the Kempton Park negotiations schedule has also been reorganised.

And it was learnt yesterday that four members of the secretariat had been seconded to the new technical committee dealing with violence. They join the ANC's Sydney Mafumadi and Inkatha's Walter Felgate on the committee, which also has a government member sitting on it.

Yesterday was the deadline for parties to submit proposals to the seven technical committees, which were briefed for their tasks on Monday.

The committees report to the planning committee today. The planning committee facilitates the process.

Sources said government's proposals were "merely a refinement" of the constitutional proposals released by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee at the beginning of the year. They dealt primarily with principles to be included in an interim constitution and those that should remain in the final Constitution.

The technical committees have until May 25 to deal with an avalanche of work to prepare recommendations and draft legislation which will form the basis of the negotiating council discussions on May 25 and 28.

The council will then negotiate on key issues and reach a common ground as possible in time to report back to the negotiating forum on June 3.

Negotiators do not believe they will have reached agreement on details of the transition process by this date, but are aiming for the setting of an exact election date and obtaining agreement on broad principles for the way ahead.

Meanwhile, an important bilateral meeting between government and Bophuthatswana that was due to take place this week was cancelled. No firm date for a future meeting was set. Two government meetings with the CP this week failed to make any progress and were described by government sources as "difficult.

However, in a meeting with Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer managed to make headway and kept the right-wing party in the process after threats that it might withdraw.

Beyers hailed the meeting as a "breakthrough" and said he saw a future for his party remaining in the process and making a meaningful contribution to it.
Immunity granted to observers

PRETORIA — SA had granted diplomatic immunity and privileges to about 100 UN, Commonwealth and OAU observers, deputy Foreign Affairs director-general Jeremy Shearer confirmed yesterday.

As SA was not a signatory to the UN convention on diplomatic immunity, a Government Gazette extraordinary had been issued to cover the international observers operating in SA, he said.

The immunity and privileges granted to the observers were similar to those enjoyed by foreign diplomats. In terms of the announcement, the international observers had been exempted from all forms of taxation, would be issued with free visas and had been granted legal immunity in the fulfilment of their official duties.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte told a news briefing that at least 1,000 international observers would be necessary to monitor SA’s first nonracial election. The ANC has estimated that at least 30,000 monitors would be needed to ensure that the elections are free and fair.

The Minister later told Parliament that more than 90% of South Africans entitled to vote were expected to have the required identity documents by the time the election took place.

He said 18-million to 22-million people would be entitled to vote and that an average of 43,000 identity documents were being issued to prospective voters every week.

Government was opposed to the registration of voters as this would cost the taxpayer an additional R420m.
President's Councillors miss out on pensions

CAPE TOWN — A row broke out in the Nationalist-dominated President's Council last night after an announcement that most of the 60-member body would not qualify for pensions and gratuities.

President F W de Klerk announced that only members who had served for five years or more would receive a pension for life, prompting angry councillors to claim that they had been betrayed.

It is understood that NP caucus members were promised on at least four occasions that they would be "properly looked after" when the 12-year-old council was disbanded.

De Klerk last night insisted that the compensation offered to the 60 members was "fair".

The members face retrenchment after the council is disbanded on June 30.

De Klerk offered some flexibility, saying members' benefits would be calculated to the year-end.

Council members who have served for less than five years are likely to receive a single payout amounting to twice their pension contributions, plus 5% interest.

About two-thirds of the members fall into this category.

Members who have served for more than five years will get one-third of their current salaries for life plus a gratuity.

Labour Party members are considering consulting Cosatu with a view to instituting legal proceedings against government.

CP President's Councillor Clive Derby-Lewis will receive a pension and gratuity. As a former provincial councillor, Derby-Lewis will qualify for a golden handshake as well as a life-long pension.
ANC uses celebrities to woo Afrikaners

THE ANC will today announce a major drive, to be backed by personalities such as ponytailed folk singer Anton Goosen and Wits scientist Johan Prins, to win the hearts and minds of Afrikaners.

Goosen, whose songs include the cynical Boy van die Suburbs, writer Madelein van Niekerk and several others are expected to shock the Afrikaans cultural world by publicly proclaiming their ANC membership at a media briefing.

A spokesman for the personalities said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus would launch the initiative at the briefing.

An advertising campaign calling for democratic elections and demanding government action against the right wing would also be launched in the Vrye Weekblad newspaper today, the spokesman said.

The advertising campaign, which was not an ANC initiative, would be endorsed by prominent Afrikaner personalities who were not necessarily ANC members, including actress Grethe Fox and offbeat musician Johannes Kerkorrel.

The spokesman said many Afrikaners had joined the ANC after the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani, but no precise figures were available.
Women in Parliament

OUR CHOICES

Women elect their Ministers for the future non-sexist South African government:

By Pearl Majola

SOUTH AFRICAN women, especially black, have over the years looked envviously at the Margret Thachers and Contras Aikonos of this world. Should we have a democratic, non-sexist government that will give women equal opportunities to take up cabinet posts, which women should be in Parliament and why? Sowetan spoke to some women leaders across the political spectrum and from community-based organisations to find out.

Ms Gill Moon of the Democratic Party said new portfolios would have to be created because the present ones did not represent all the needs and interests of the women.

Her choice is Ms Dene Smuth, a DPPM. Her portfolio would be Youth Empowerment and head of Constitutional Courts.

"Deon Smuth has done a lot of work in youth empowerment. The idea of constitutional courts would be to guard against the violation of human rights," she said.

Ms Angie Motshekga of the Cancer Women's Association of South Africa emphasised the need for affirmative action and the need for women in Parliament who will be able to work with grassroots women and develop them.

Her choice is Ms Anne Lethebe for Social and Community Services.

Lethebe is a lecturer in the School of Social Work at Witwatersrand University. She is the convener of the National Women's Coalition and president of the South African Black Social Workers' Association. She is knowledgeable and has a genuine concern and commitment to gender-related issues and the welfare of the community. Ms Nomjana Della of the Imbokodwe Women's Organisation said she would select any woman who would be able to do the job.

She prefers women who communicate with grassroots women.

Suggested by Ms Thandeka Mgcina, a psychologist, is Minister of Health and Social Welfare and Ms Majumdar, constitutional affairs secretary for the ANC Women's League. She is an advocate and director of the Black Women Lawyers Association's Legal Education Centre.

"Ms Lindwa Zulu of the ANC Women's League said South Africa had a wealth of capable and qualified women leaders."

Her choice is Ms Tsilwane Milane of the NPC's Human Resources and Social Welfare Portfolio.

"She has been interested in the welfare of our people. In Tzanele she encouraged ministers to get to local schools and universities," she said.

Her choice is Ms Braamveldt, who would be in the Ministry of Agriculture and Environment. Noje is one of a few women who have a special interest in agriculture. She has worked with the ANC's rural commission.

Ms Winnie Sibiya of the National Women's Coalition said her choice was education. These are her candidates:

Ms Elennie Kupara, well known for her community work, would be in charge of education. "Kupara pays a lot of attention to education, both for the young and the old and is involved in, among other projects, adult literacy," Ms Shapulana said.

Mrs Albertina Sisulu as State President. "Sisulu has a cool head, is respected, committed and able to listen. Those are the most important leadership qualities," she said.

Ms Nomzamo Zunguza of the African Women's Organisation stressed the importance of sound economic and justice systems for the new South Africa.

These are her choices:

- Ms Nokuthula Mhlanga, an attorney from Butterworth, Transkei. She would take the portfolio of Finance and Justice.
- "She understands and can interpret every facet of South African law and policy. She is determined, decisive, disciplined and straightforward woman," said Zunguza.
- Ms Nomzima Simelane of the National Women's Coalition and president of the Finance Ministry. Though a South African, Simelane is head of Economics at the University of Swaziland.
- "The use of land for economic balance has been one of her main emphases. I feel she would be able to rescue us from the present economic crisis," she said.
- Ms Suzanne Vos of the Inikuda Freedom Party said there were many women worthy of consideration for jobs in Parliament, both within the ANC and outside.

She would elect Professor Hilda Nkomo of the University of Cape Town for the Department of Women Affairs.

"She understands the issues facing women and can make a valuable contribution in changing things."

Mrs Bhekuzule Khubeka of the Women's League which was formed to educate women on the new constitution and who wants to fight for non-sexist South Africa. She is the convener of the National Women's Coalition and head of the ANC's research department. Ramapha is the vice-rector at the University of Cape Town and well known for her community work.

Women face stiff penalties

Sex selection of babies may be outlawed.

Sowetan Correspondent

DOMINICA, India - Lota is an Indian housewife with three daughters and a growing desire for a son. She is pregnant again and determined this time to ensure that her fetus is a male.

But women like Lota may not be able to do so legally, to avoid themselves of abortions induced in sex selection for much longer.

A national law to regulate the misuse of amniocentesis and other tests that can detect the sex of a fetus could be passed in the next three months.

In amniocentesis, a hollow needle is inserted through the abdomen of a pregnant woman to withdraw fluid from her womb. It is usually performed to detect genetic abnormalities. The procedure carries a small risk of miscarriage.

The law's most controversial aspect has been its penalising of women, as well as doctors, who use the test to detect and then abort female fetuses that face up to three years in jail, although no fine has been changed.

"A woman should not be punished," said Dr Prem Chauhan, a gynecologist in Delhi.

"Her children are determined by family pressures and society.

"No family feels complete unless it has more children," said Dr Prem Chauhan.

A 32-year-old woman attending a clinic faces typical family pressure. The woman, who has two daughters, had four abortions after she found out that all the fetuses were female.

Even since it was introduced in parliament in 1990 the draft legislation has been debated by both sides - falling government, political upheavals and religious divisions.

"Every time, something more important comes up," said Dr Prem Chauhan. The present version, a revised version of the 1989 legislation, was drafted.

- Under the revised version, a doctor or nurse who performs a sex selection test following the draft legislation would be liable to a fine of up to 1,000,000 rupees (about 1,000,000 dollars) and a prison sentence of up to five years.

- A woman who performs a sex selection test following the draft legislation would be liable to a fine of up to 1,000,000 rupees (about 1,000,000 dollars) and a prison sentence of up to five years.

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News in brief

Bodies unearthed
POLICE in the Northern Cape have found the bodies of a young woman and her five-month-old baby boy in a shallow grave at Middelputs in the Kuruman district.

Police spokesman Captain SM Slingers said yesterday Griet Obya (22) and her son Jan were from the farm Springbok in the Middelputs district.

New trade links
TRADE links between South Africa and Nigeria moved a step closer to being formalised with the arrival in Johannesburg yesterday of a high-powered delegation representing Nigerian business and government interests.

Under the auspices of the recently formed Nigerian-Southern Africa Development Consortium, the delegation proposes to increase economic activity between the oil-rich West African state and Southern Africa with South Africa playing an important role in creating a strong African economy.

Golden handshakes
MEMBERS of the President’s Council, which is to be abolished on June 30, will be compensated according to precedents set at the dissolving of the Senate and the provincial councils, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk said two considerations valid for the dissolution of the Senate would also apply. These were that members were prevented from finishing their terms and being elected for another term. Retirement packages would be paid out on June 30 and would not include the five percent salary increase.

Council to make call
CAPE Town householder will be encouraged to run bed-and-breakfast establishments.

The Cape Town City Council says residents will benefit financially, tourism will be enhanced and architectural heritage preserved. A pamphlet says more tourists in Europe stay in bed-and-breakfast and self-catering establishments.
Billion will flow in if violence stops.

President's Council pension deal fair — FW

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has announced what he describes as fair compensation for members of the soon-to-be abolished President's Council, but some members are unhappy.  

Only those who have been on the council for five years will get pensions and gratuities when the council ceases to exist on June 30.

Mr De Klerk said members would be compensated according to precedents set when the Senate and provincial councils were dissolved.

Those who had five years or more pensionable service qualified for reduced pension and gratuity benefits calculated according to years of service.

December 31 would be taken as the retirement date, notwithstanding that the council would be dissolved six months earlier.

Members who had fewer than five years pensionable service would be given a single amount.

Some Nationalist members have complained that Mr De Klerk promised them a better deal.

A concession has been made in that they qualify for a reduced pension after five years while members of parliament get pensions only after 7½ years.

Council member Clive Derby-Lewis, who has been charged with the murder of Chris Hani, qualifies for a pension and gratuity.

A council source said the exact amounts to be paid out were still being worked out.

Councillors were members of the parliamentary pension fund where they paid full premiums.

Members who did not qualify for pensions would get back their pension contributions along with a premium as a retrenchment deal.

Pensions would be roughly R20 000 a year, about one-third of an MP's annual salary.

Gratuities were likely to be about R154 000.
86 percent of 22 million eligible voters have ID documents

7,000 poll stations planned

SOME 7,000 polling stations will be set up throughout the country for next year's general election under a new democratic system.

Meanwhile, the issuing of identity documents is going full tilt and have been issued to about 86 percent of the 22 million eligible voters.

According to the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Danie Schutte, more than 90 percent will have ID documents by early next year.

He said his department was acquiring the necessary equipment needed for the election.

Some 11,000 polling booths had been delivered and another 5,700 were being manufactured.

About 5,500 ballot boxes had been delivered and another 4,700 were being manufactured.

So far, 10,000 ultra-violet lights had been delivered and another 8,200 were being ordered.

Mr Schutte said it would be virtually impossible to forge the ID document. A special lamination process and laser printing was used.

The department was liaising with the TBVC countries.

Although Mr Schutte would not comment it appears as if little is being done in these areas.

The Director General of Home Affairs, Mr Piet Coyn, dismissed allegations that large numbers of illegal immigrants in the Northern Transvaal had acquired ID documents which would make them eligible to vote.

He said that at most there could be about 10,000 such people.

ID documents issued to foreigners usually stated they were not South African citizens.

Mr Schutte said that, as there would be so many polling booths, a large number of foreign observers, probably more than 1,000, would be needed.

In the government's view the national peace secretariat should be drawn in to monitor the election and to handle the accreditation of all monitors.

Mr Schutte disclosed that Russia had asked for information about the way the referendum was run last year. This was given through diplomatic channels.

Lunch with his wife as Archdeacon ends fast

Staff Reporter

A FORTNIGHT of fasting and prayer in the crypt of St George's Cathedral has ended for the Anglican Archdeacon of Athlone, the Venerable John Freeth.

Weighing about 6 kg less than he did two weeks ago, Archdeacon Freeth said his fasting was prompted by deep concern about the negotiating process which he believed was "the only viable way forward to peace".

During his fast he was constantly in contact with the World Trade Centre in Kemptown Park, being kept up to date on talks.

From there he heard of the breakthrough in constitutional talks a week ago when an agreement was reached that an election date would be set within a month.

He said he felt involved personally in that breakthrough.

"During this time I have prayed with my mind, concern and on newspaper articles, reporting specific debates and on different role-players."

"But I have also given myself over to spiritual prayer. It was this kind of prayer which allowed me to empathise on an incredibly deep level with different people, even those with whom my personal politics do not agree."

About seven years ago Archdea-

BREAKING THE FAST: The Archdeacon of Athlone, the Venerable John Freeth, ends his two-week fast for peace by lunching with his wife Jilly in the Crypt Restaurant at St George's Cathedral.

con Freeth fasted in support of the End Conscription Campaign and last year he fasted for two weeks after the Boipatong massacre.

"I'm lucky because I am physically very fit and I have a tough constitution," he said.

He drank water during his fast and his health was monitored by his doctor.

He said he was grateful for visits by about 120 people.

He met his wife Jilly for lunch in the Crypt Restaurant yesterday afternoon.

What did she have?

"I'd love some bacon, but it might be a bit much for me so soon after the fast."

Man killed in N1 crash

Staff Reporter

A MAN was killed and three were injured today when their car left the N1 freeway near Kraaifontein.

The injured were taken to hospital after the accident about 4 am near the bridge at Klapheuwel. The accident happened while the car was travelling towards Paarl.

The dead and injured have not been identified.

F-word robbery suspect sought

Crime Staff

PENINSULA Murder and Robbery Squad detectives are searching for alleged F-word bank robber Allan Roger Hiebner after he failed to appear in court yesterday.

A warrant was issued in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday for the arrest of 45-year-old Mr Hiebner of Kenilworth and his R5,000 bail was provisionally forfeited to the State.

The warrant took immediate effect and the bail forfeiture order will be made final if Hiebner fails to appear in court on May 28.

Mr Hiebner, who is facing charges of armed robbery, was arrested in March after a report in the weekly Argus series Unsolved Crimes.
This is a speech delivered by
Aggrey Klaaste, Editor of
Sowetan, at the Liberty Life VIP
convention held at Sun City:

Sowetan 14/5/93.

As a newspaper we are able, or have a choice (adifficult one in fact) to stay clear of ideological definitions that narrow or limit the creativity of the idea. The idea itself is common sense. Unless the majority of blacks are turned into useful, productive, healthy and satisfied parts of our society, there will never be peace in South Africa.

We can and must do it together. It will need the commitment and the combined resources of all South Africans. We have done some of the spade work. We have traversed the difficult terrain of matching white financial resources with black manpower. We have traversed and in a special way overcome the age old race problems involving co-optation at the best of times and selling out at the worst.

We have to a large extent succeeded in impressing politicians from the entire spectrum of black politics. We have not been able to impress our ideas on Afrikaners or other white right-wingers. But we will.

We wish to educate all South Africans that blacks in particular need to be developed economically, spiritually and otherwise for our united survival. That will lead to a diminution of political and criminal violence.

Finally, we will tell our Afrikaner fellow South Africans and others who might be fearful of blacks that people who are proud of who they are, who have a grip on the essential ethical ideas like Ubuntu in their armoury, will not necessarily wish to crush the self-determination of others.

We will tell them it is perfectly in order for them to have their "Boerestaat or Volkstaat" but to have them rather as a colourful and effective part of the total South African race tapestry; a rainbow coalition of black, Asian, so-called coloured, Afrikaner, English and other races.

The Nation Building ethos finds the social engineering of the apartheid architects as distasteful and unacceptable as that which wishes to force the various South African tribes, black, white and brown, together in a multi-racial melting pot.

We have excellent Asian communities that should be an example to the type of diverse ethnic and even exotic, if you like, communities that can make up the South Africa of the future.
No tax on PC pay packages

Members of the President's Council, which is to be abolished on June 30, would be compensated according to precedents set at the dissolution of the senate and provincial councils, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He said the amounts, which he did not specify, would be tax-free.

The packages would be paid out on June 30 and would not include the five percent salary increase envisaged for political officials from July 1. — Sapa
AWB set to join Volksfront

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Reversing its earlier opposition to the Afrikaner Volksfront, the AWB says it will link up with the new organisation after all.

Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB, told a public meeting in Witbank last night the AWB's decision had been made to "mobilise the volk... to resist the Government's capitulation".

It was also announced at the meeting that the Mineworkers' Union and the Iron and Steel Labour Unions were joining the Volksfront.

TerreBlanche told about 2,000 supporters he expected the announcement of the AWB's decision to be a "great shock to both the Government and the African National Congress".

The AWB boycotted the founding meeting of the Volksfront in Pretoria last Friday. The only representative attending was its Wemkommando leader, "Commandant-General" Servaas de Wet.

Sources in Pretoria said today TerreBlanche had been persuaded not to take action against De Wet.

Ten days ago, TerreBlanche said the Volksfront would splinter the right-wing movement.

A right-wing meeting at the Union Buildings, Pretoria, on May 29 will be addressed by TerreBlanche, General Constand Viljoen, the interim chairman of the Volksfront, and Dries Bruwer, president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union.
Talks: Initial reports today

Political Staff

THE initial reports by the seven technical committees set up at the multi-party talks last Friday are to be presented to the Planning Committee today.

The first reports are to be considered by the committee and presented to the Negotiating Council when it meets on Tuesday.

The hectic schedule of meetings agreed to last Friday is aimed at announcing an election date on June 3.

Despite the rapid-fire setting of deadlines there is still doubt whether the promised breakthrough on constitutional issues will be achieved.

Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said on the SABC yesterday that predictions of an imminent breakthrough were extravagant.

Although the IFP would prefer a speedy settlement, several hurdles remained, he said.

The continued violence and the need for agreement on fundamental constitutional principles had yet to be debated. It was also imperative that private paramilitary forces be disbanded.

Dr Mdlalose also warned against raising the expectations of the nation.
'Thousand monitors'

At least 1,000 international observers would be needed to monitor South Africa's first non-racial elections, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr. Danie Schutte, said yesterday.

The ANC has estimated that at least 30,000 monitors will be needed.

Mr. Schutte told a media briefing in Cape Town that at least 1,000 observers would be needed to watch the 70,000 polling stations.

In a special gazette yesterday, President F.W. de Klerk granted international observers immunity and privileges similar to those accorded to diplomats.

Mr. Schutte later told Parliament that more than 80% of South Africans entitled to vote were expected to have the required identity documents in time for the election.

He said that 18 to 25 million people would be entitled to vote and an average of 43,000 identity documents were being issued every week.
BILL OF RIGHTS

Deeply sensible

Not only is the Democratic Party's proposed Bill of Rights (published this week) mercifully brief and devoid of ideological jargon, it is framed in a way that final interpretation is placed where it belongs — with the Supreme Court.

The document is a liberal beacon that government and the ANC should consider using to light paths through their own tortuously detailed and contentious draft Bills published in recent months (Current Affairs February 14).

Chairman of the DP's drafting committee, Tony Leon, says the document is a serious attempt to create a balance between equality and the liberty of individuals.

The drafters deliberately avoided cramming DP policy into their document — a charge that has been made repeatedly against government and the ANC — in the belief that most policy claims (jobs, minimum wages, access to land and so on) are not constitutional rights.

The Bill is rooted firmly in the liberal philosophy of the DP and its predecessors. Among other things, it guarantees equality, freedom from discrimination, the right to life, dignity, privacy and liberty, freedom of speech and religion, the right to buy and sell movable and immovable property, entitlement to the "essentials of life", the right to administrative justice and information and freedom of learning and education.

"Unjustified" discrimination on the grounds of race, ethnic origin, colour, gender, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, creed or conscience is not allowed. Differentiation will be considered justified to preserve "personal autonomy" such as the choice of friends or marriage partners and other actions to secure privacy.

It will also be justified, especially in the short term, to undo past inequalities through affirmative programmes, but only for as long as is necessary to assist the beneficiaries.

The drafters note that however palpable it might be, the same criteria that brought about the inequality (that is, race in most cases) will have to be used to remedy it. Differentiation could also be justified, for example, to give separate religious education or to segregate lodgings by gender to protect women against sexual harassment.

The Bill outlaws attempts to use the right to privacy or freedom of association to "private" apartheid by the creation, for example, of racially exclusive clubs or residential areas.

The same principle could apply to the barring of certain groups, such as Jews or women, from private clubs. However, the drafters accept that the boundaries of privacy are constantly shifting and cannot be defined by a Bill of Rights or the Constitution. Therefore, the court entrusted with interpreting the relevant clauses of the Bill would have to define and redefine the boundaries over time "as society's conception of that idea matures and develops."

Perhaps the most controversial aspect of the Bill is the clause providing for "entitlement to the essentials of life". It is the DP's proposal to accommodate the so-called second and third generation rights (such as the right to housing, education, health care and jobs).

The drafters argue that certain basic conditions, such as the means of survival, are necessary for democracy and should be protected by the Constitution. However, the manner in which the entitlements are realised is a matter for the legislature and executive.

But such decisions must be justifiable, honest and rational.

Where a decision is not justifiable — for example, failing to supply essential services to a particular community for no good reason — it can be challenged in court, but the court will not be required or permitted to make policy choices. It will simply review the choices made by legislators and officials and effectively force them to justify their decisions. They will be morally obliged to rethink unjustified actions.

The right to administrative justice places a similar obligation on government. It entitles people or classes of people — who are adversely affected by government action to a lawful, reasonable and procedurally fair decision on the action and guarantees that reasons for the action will be given by government.

The drafters believe this clause will foster a governmental process that is accountable and participatory and will require public officials to thoughtfully and deliberately consider their decisions.

The Bill also protects the right to life, but takes no stand on capital punishment, preferring to leave parliament to legislate on the issue and the court to determine whether such legislation infringes any entrenched right.

Provision is made for the Bill to be suspended as a consequence of the declaration of a state of emergency and then only under certain conditions.

Leon points out that at least half the Bill deals with enforceability mechanisms, including "novel" provisions to secure information from the State and ease of procedures to allow the poor and inarticulate to approach the courts for relief.

"Fundamental to our Bill is recognition of the fact that without effective means of enforcement, legal rights will become little more than moral claims, readily ignored when the forces of government find it convenient to do so."

The DP's proposals will now be circulated as a discussion document to stimulate further debate and also referred to a panel of experts — not all DP supporters — for further refinement.

There is little doubt that the document provides a number of important possible compromises on key issues contained in government's and the ANC's Bills and is, therefore, worth serious study.
Afrikaners break from NP

Staff Reporter

AFRIKANERS were "coming out of the closet" to break from the National Party and the right wing, prominent Afrikaners said yesterday.

Afrikaans musicians, academics, theatre personalities, politicians and lawyers are to meet the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, at the ANC's headquarters in Johannesburg today, and address the media.

They are to do so under the banner of "the hijacking of the image of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans by the government and right-wing organisations".

Afrikaners present will include songwriter Anton Goosen, University of the Witwatersrand material sciences lecturer Dr Johan Prins, Afrikaans and Nederlands lecturer and author of the acclaimed novel As Die Nood Hoog is Mr Wilhelm Liebenberg, theatre director Mr Chris Leach, Mr Andries Nel of Lawyers for Human Rights, freelance theatre director and the event's organiser Ms Anzie Kamffer, and ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

Dr Prins said he saw it as a "rebirth" for Afrikaners.
involved in opposition committees in a formal capacity.

Otherwise, civilian personnel face a different set of the same considerations that constantly affect our military establishment. It is no coincidence that those who are now active in opposition committees have been involved in those bodies for a considerable period, and that they have worked energetically to build a strong foundation of support for their cause.

The American Council for an Islamic Democracy (ACID) is a group that has been working actively in the United States to promote the values of democracy and human rights. They have been instrumental in organizing protests and rallies against the government's policies and have been providing a platform for marginalized voices.

ACID's objectives are to promote democratic values and human rights, and to provide a platform for marginalized voices. They have been actively involved in organizing protests and rallies against the government's policies and have been providing a platform for marginalized voices.

In my opinion, the opposition committees are an important part of the democratic process. They provide a platform for marginalized voices and help to hold the government accountable. It is important that we continue to support these committees and to ensure that they have the resources they need to continue their important work.
The political breakthrough for which both government and the African National Congress tell us we are poised is wonderful news, coming after much mayhem, indiscriminate slaughter and pervasive fear.

Division rather than unity is the more usual outcome of such morbid situations. Indeed, with the farmers massing in Potchefstroom and black schoolchildren turning on their teachers and almost everyone besides, there is certainly evidence of growing social strain in our broader society.

Why, therefore, should we take seriously the “something wonderful” that President F W de Klerk says is emerging from the constitutional talks? The answer is that, for some time now, despite the frequent setbacks and the obvious obstruction from reactionary and radical fringes, the leadership of the National Party and the ANC have been enlarging their common ground.

Both sides know that whether they gain power or not in an election based on universal franchise, both would be irrelevant if anarchy should consume the country.

Both know that the prospects for peace and democracy are critically dependent on the performance of an economy that experienced a decade of declining growth in the Eighties and has shrunken during the first three years of the Nineties, with new fixed investment now so low that we are consuming our future means of sustenance.

Both know that black education has to be improved if what Lord Macaulay called the race between education and democracy to produce responsible citizenship is to be won.

Both feel the constraints of a common impotence — the government, because it cannot move towards either democracy or economic revival without the explicit support of the ANC, and the ANC, because it does not have the legitimacy of responsibility in government.

Both lack the moral rigour and political cohesion of their former ideologies: socialism for the ANC and apartheid for the Nats. They are both ideologies that have been exposed as socially and economically bankrupt.

The ANC has watered down its collectivism to demands for anti-trust laws and a policy of affirmative action. Both have had such dubious utility in the US that they are unlikely to be vigorously pursued.

The Nats are embracing capitalism with all the rigour of recent converts — but implementing the reforms necessary for its achievement with what might be considered circumvention by some and cunning subversion by others.

In addition, the ANC has a leadership that is lacking in vigour and is fearful of losing support in a demographic situation that does not necessarily favour its often assumed dominance.

Should most Indians and coloureds, some Zulus and nearly all whites vote for the Nats — and with a significant proportion of young ANC supporters below voting age — the ANC will have a tough election fight on its hands.

For their part, the Nats are understandably reluctant to use their former instruments of oppression to enforce social order, in case such action should fan an already inflammatory social fabric and erode their reform credibility.

The elites on both sides have something else in common — a shared inclination for individual power and prosperity.

Almost all fundamental dissent between the two has either disappeared or is disappearing. Common cause is greater across the narrowing leadership gap — though ostensibly it is widening at grassroots level.

The prospects are robust for rapid agreement. With them goes a tacit understanding that speed is important if they are to become tangible.

The outcome will most likely be a government of national unity, embracing ruling elites who are more class-conscious than race-conscious and who increasingly seek to make common cause with business rather than the trades unions.

The attitude of the ANC to the first Derek Keys Budget made that very clear: what criticism there was came from the unions, not from the mandarins in Shell House, who claimed they would have conceived something similar.

Once the elites are united in government, sharing in the responsibilities inherent in that role, many of the demands for education, housing, electrification and other social facilities will assume a new — and less daunting — proportion. For current aspirations extend far beyond the deprivations caused by apartheid and are as much the consequence of industrialisation and urbanisation as they are of that unfortunate social experiment.

Where social policy falls short of calming rebellious youth, the governing elites will draw on their legitimacy by election to justify whatever authoritarian measures might be required.

Increasingly, the dissenting groups and ideologues, the radical or conservative minorities will be stigmatised as disruptive of good order.

The great potential for their marginalisation seems to have penetrated with precision to neighbouring and client capitals, especially Ulundi.

There is nothing novel in this interpretation. In similar circumstances, the outcome of independence in countries like Kenya and Malaya was much the same. What is required of a new administration if order is to triumph over anarchy is the capacity to recognise the public interest in the broadest sense and the determination to pursue it with vigour, honesty and good government.
Consensus breaks out

After a month of stress and tension triggered by the HaM assassination, last Friday's meeting of the 26-party negotiating council ended on a note of high optimism, pulling SA back from the jaws of disaster and leaving it staring at a settlement instead.

Little wonder that President F W de Klerk has since been sounding so upbeat about the future. "Something wonderful is happening in the country," De Klerk said, referring to a possible breakthrough in the talks, when he addressed delegates at an international science and technology conference this week.

The political centre appears to be firming - not least because of threats from the extreme Left and Right to trash negotiations and bring on a race war. The danger in April's events seems to have had a chastening effect on all the players, hardening their resolve to find each other across the negotiating table.

"This has been one of the most constructive meetings ever at the World Trade Centre," chimed the leader of the NP delegation, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, after the May 7 indaba. "I noticed an urgency to get on with it. The whole spirit was good." It was indeed, and seemed to have rekindled the bonhomie that marked the early days of Codesa.

Even the Inkatha and KwaZulu government teams, in contrast to the previous week, seemed far more relaxed and in tune with the flow towards consensus. The way now seems clear, after weeks of procedural wrangling, to resolving substantive constitutional issues, based on draft formulations by technical subcommittees, the first of whose reports are expected at today's meeting of the planning committee.

De Villiers's sentiments were echoed by government's chief negotiator, Reoff Meyer, who said the agreements had vindicated his optimism in the negotiations process, the PAC's Benny Alexander (who has taken so well to the process after his time spent dissembling over the activities of Apla), and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Said Ramaphosa: "We see the resolutions on the formation of technical subcommittees and the setting of an election date within the next four weeks for elections to be held not later than April, as a clear victory for the negotiation process, whose stature is raised. It will inspire confidence among our people." For, aside from the national interest, progress - specifically towards one man, one vote elections - is vital to the ANC's leaders. They need to contain the mass action hotheads in the organisation who argue that three years of negotiation have not advanced the cause.

Ramaphosa said the resolutions adopted would ensure speedy progress. Describing the decision to set an election date within a month as a "gigantic step," he said announcement of the actual date would "shoot like a star across the SA sky ... We've now come to grips with the real negotiating process and are proceeding with urgency."

Regionalism, too

Another important development was unanimous agreement to a late suggestion by Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje for the planning committee to consider appointing another technical committee to look into the boundaries, functions, and powers of regions. This, said De Villiers, was something the NP had urged in bilateral talks. "Unless there is agreement on this issue, progress won't be forthcoming. This is therefore a very constructive decision," he explained, adding that the day's events augured well for the future.

Ramaphosa, asked if the gap could be bridged with the CP on regionalism, said that "negotiations are about trying to find one another and reaching compromises." He looked forward to negotiating with the CP on the regional question.

Meyer, who singled out the agreements on setting up technical committees charged with constitutional matters and on the question of violence, said important outstanding issues concerned: how a transitional constitution would function; the decision-making procedure and functions of a transitional executive council; regionalism; and power-sharing. It was not possible to expect final detailed agreement on a constitution, but, rather, on principles and the ways of taking the process forward. The decision on setting an election date had shown that consensus could be developed within a few meetings, across a spectrum ranging from the CP to the PAC.

The CP's Tom Langley and Ciskei's Mick Webb, however, reserved their positions on the declaration of intent that includes setting an election date.

The Afrikaner Volksunie supported the declaration on condition that: a decision was reached accommodating "the Afrikaners' reasonable demand for self-determination and a strong regional dispensation"; violence was curbed and intimidation ended before an election is held; and private armies were disbanded.

Asked why consensus had broken out, Meyer said all 26 parties had indicated their commitment to the process. "The feeling I got was of urgency to make progress and overcome the difficulties of this period."

Of concern to the press after the meeting was the question of the rightwing mobilising under retired generals, following their Potchefstroom saamtrek the previous day at which the Afrikaner Volksfront was launched under a bewildered-looking former SADF chief, Constand Viljoen.

The closer we moved to a settlement, said Meyer, the more we can expect this kind of thing - which is aimed at preventing one coming into being. It was a danger from Left and Right extremes and partly reflected uncertainty as to the next step. The best way to cope with it was to ensure clarity in the process. Ultimately, it was only through a negotiated political settlement that a solution would be brought about, said Meyer, adding that the extremist had to be brought in to the process.

The CP and AVU, as representatives of the right wing, were part of the process and both had indicated in parliament that they wanted bilateral talks with government. The AVU was meeting De Klerk on Tuesday and the CP's Ferdi Hartzenberg had agreed in principle to a similar meeting. As to groups such as the AWB, "the security forces are always in a state of preparedness," AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche had last week met Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel - suggesting that matters were under control.

Don't incite

De Villiers emphasised the need for all political leaders to reduce inflammatory statements and create a climate conducive to tolerance.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo - who, it emerged this week, might be on an assassination hit list - said the ANC alliance supports a government of national unity "precisely as a way of clipping the wings of such (rightwing) forces. We must be careful not to play into the hands of the Right by demagogy. They will be only too ready to..."
CURRENT AFFAIRS

explore the odd diversion of people caught up in the heat of emotion rather than talking sense." This seemed to be a reference to the war talk of people like ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba.

What about the ANC's rolling mass action plans, in view of the progress at the talks? The campaign had been announced after Hani's death to inject urgency into the process, Ramaphosa explained. However, "we also said we would keep the matter under review." Such a review will presumably be part of the three-day lekota of the ANC's national working committee, which got under way on Tuesday somewhere in the Cape. It was to be presided over by Nelson Mandela, who returned on Tuesday from his trip to London and Bonn.

The ANC leadership has deep misgivings about launching into another round of mass action — and succeeded in judiciously containing and "channeling it constructively" in the wake of Hani's death.

There was also cause for optimism in Ramaphosa's response to questions about the education crisis. "While we support the students' struggle, the ANC has always said that classes and schooling should not be disrupted.

"They have sent a clear message to government and the Cabinet's announcement (on setting up an education forum) is a clear result of the protests."
HELPLESS: Doreen Sakayi helps her ailing father, Martin Qwanyashe, to get dressed

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

NP in ‘money tricks’ in Atlantis

By Christelle Terreblanche

After Mrs Marilee de Klerk’s expensive “state” visit to Atlantis, it now seems as though the taxpayer could be footing the bill for the National Party’s (NP) membership drive in this constituency.

Picture this: Outside a government building in Atlantis dozens of desperate unemployed people line up for emergency aid from the Department of Welfare in the House of Representatives’ (HoR) aid scheme — often their only income.

The department has good news for them — a letter is distributed to inform them that government aid has been increased to more than R200 a month per adult and more than R60 for a child.

The catch? This is printed beneath an NP letterhead showing the party’s new colours and sun logo.

And it is signed by the NP’s MP for Mamre, Mr Abe Williams, also the Minister of Sport and of Welfare.

The money, the Department of Welfare in the HoR says, has been allocated from the department’s budget.

The Democratic Party is incensed. Mr Jeff Leonard, the party’s chairperson in Atlantis, wrote to state president FW de Klerk this week, asking him to repudiate Williams in public.

“I would like to convey in the strongest possible terms the DP Atlantis branch’s dissatisfaction and disappointment with this extremely disgraceful behaviour of the NP, using taxpayers’ money as though it belongs to your party,” Leonard wrote.

Williams could not be reached for comment.
SA set to spread diplomatic wings

SOUTH Africa's acceptance back into the mainstream of international affairs is leading to a rapid expansion of diplomatic missions abroad.

A total of 26 new missions are planned in the near future. Most of the new missions will be in the Middle East, Africa, India and Pakistan.

Rusty Evans, Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, said recently that SA was on the threshold of a new era in international relations. He said the department's priority in terms of communication strategy should lie with Africa, and southern Africa in particular.

At present, SA is represented in 79 countries, either by embassies, consulates, honorary consulates, trade missions, representative offices and a cultural office. From the middle of the year, foreign relations policy is expected to be decided by a multiparty sub-council under the authority of a transitional executive council.
49 bodies found as mine toll increases

SECUNDA. — The bodies of 49 miners have been lifted to the surface following the worst mining disaster to hit the country in six years and the second major disaster to hit Middelburg Colliery, where 33 miners lost their lives in 1976.

Specially-trained teams are working against the clock in a search for four miners still missing following the methane gas blast which rocked the Middelburg Colliery near Secunda on Thursday afternoon, but hopes of its...
Multi-party talks still on track for elections in a year

KEMPTON PARK, — Multi-party negotiations are still on track for all-race elections to be held within a year, senior negotiators said after receiving interim reports from seven technical sub-committees.

"Considering the technical sub-committees were only appointed last week and then briefed on Monday afternoon, it is our view they've done a remarkable job to produce interim reports," said Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party and the chairman of yesterday's planning committee meeting at the World Trade Centre.

The reports, which are intended to facilitate negotiations in the 20-party negotiating council, will be debated by the council on Tuesday.

This will mark the start of the "substantive process of negotiations", Mr Eglin said.

"All the rest has been procedural. We now move out of procedure into substance."

"We are now beginning to lay the blocks in terms of building this house (new South Africa)," ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said after the planning committee meeting.

"I am very optimistic, even at this stage."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that if the negotiating council focused on three key areas — binding, constitutional principles, constitutional process and the constitutional framework in the next few weeks — "I really think breakthroughs are possible."

Mr Meyer said the issue of violence in all its facets would also have to be dealt with "satisfactorily". — Sapa.
How accurate are election polls?
Waiting for a new and fair Electoral Act

There are still a number of outstanding matters to be resolved in negotiations before elections can actually be held.

One is the drafting of a new Electoral Act. This will involve the creation of a suitable structure to do so, and the nominations of individuals to perform the task.

After examining the present Electoral Act last week, we have an idea of the areas a new one will have to cover.

Reports indicate the new electoral act will be drafted by the Independent Electoral Commission, which still has to be created.

People nominated to this structure will have to represent as broad a spectrum of opinion as possible, so all views are considered in the process.

It has also been suggested such a structure should run the entire election process. However, none of these issues have been formally agreed to yet.

Elections in South Africa have been supervised by the Home Affairs Department. Since Home Affairs is controlled by the government, many believe it should not preside over elections.

Some of the concrete agreements acknowledged in the media are:

- The electoral system will be based on proportional representation;
- There will be “universal franchise” — all citizens over 18 may vote.

It has also been recognised that in order for elections to be free and fair there will have to be impartial control of the media.

The SABC in particular, since it is state television and the only television service the country has, will have to fall under impartial control.

The fact that proportional representation will be the system used means the emphasis will be on political parties rather than candidates. Parties will draw up lists of candidates and voters will not get to pinpoint a specific person. When they vote for the party, they automatically vote for the candidates on the list.

Candidates are then allocated seats in the order they appear on the list. So if a party has a list of 60 names, and wins 40 seats, the first 40 names, in the order they appear on the list, gain seats.

Whether there will be both national and regional lists is not clear. Neither is it clear how national and regional lists would work simultaneously for one election.

We also do not know what system of identification will be required at the polls.

Another question that arises is that of geographical demarcation.

The present Electoral Act applied in “South Africa the former South West African, and the self-governing territories”. In addition, it applied exclusively to whites.

So, what decisions are going to be made in connection with the TBVC states — the “independent” homelands?

The provisions of the present Electoral Act bar some from voting or registering as voters either indefinitely, or for a set period, for conviction of certain criminal offences.

A major redefinition of treason will have to be written, because this is one of the crimes which resulted in people being barred from elections under the present Act.

The new Act will also have to clearly specify what constitutes unfair electoral practices.

This will involve regulations governing the amount of money parties may spend on election campaigns, and legal and illegal funders.

The new Act will have to stipulate how parties must register themselves, because there are a number of ways of registering.

Another important issue will involve access to people on private property. How do parties gain access to black farmworkers living on a farm owned by a white farmer, for example?

It is obvious that apart from redefining the framework of the present Electoral Act, many new issues will have to be considered which might affect the freedom of the election process before election day.

The fact that the country is still demarcated largely along group areas lines, the existence of independent bantustans with their own laws and the fact that large numbers of black voters live on privately owned property makes one wary of an election process that does not take these problems into account.
SOLIDARITY... Wilhelm Verwoerd acknowledges chants of support after he declared apartheid 'a failure and an injustice' at an ANC meeting in Parow.

Wilhelm breaks apartheid mould

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

If the old ideologue and apartheid patriarch, Dr Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, had heard his grandson, Wilhelm, on Thursday might proclaiming the virtues of the ANC and denouncing the NP, the onhaas would surely have turned in his grave.

At Parow Wilhelm came to bury the past and declare his grandfather's apartheid policy a failure and an injustice. And, some would say almost "miraculously", the victims of apartheid accept
in the wake of Weekend Argus reports last week about a wave of recent high-level resignations that plunged the secret society into a survival crisis.

The resignations — including rector, professors and top management officials at several Afrikaans universities in the Transvaal and Free State — resulted in new pressures at Stellenbosch on Professor Van Wyk to quit.

He confirmed yesterday that he had resigned from the Broederbond.

In a brief statement issued through a spokesman in his office, Professor Van Wyk said: "I confirm that I have already, some time ago, begun to reduce my outside connections and that I am at present not a member of any secret or confidential organisation. I have no further comment."

Campus sources said all indications were that Professor Van Wyk resigned on Monday. They noted that he, like other Broeders who resigned recently, apparently was reluctant to say exactly when he quit. This may be part of a strategy to conceal the extent of the Broederbond's mounting crisis.

indicate the pattern of things to come in a new South Africa.

National Party MP for Newton Park, Mr Sakkie Louw — an outspoken critic of the Broederbond — said: "The time has come for the Broederbond to disband. For too long it has been a source of division among Afrikaners."

"The fact that so many prominent people now suddenly resign from the Broederbond proves that the organisation has become totally irrelevant in the new South Africa."

Mr Louw also has been quoted as saying that when people of Professor Van Wyk's stature resigned from the organisation, the writing was on the wall.

Professor Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics at the University of Stellenbosch and a former Broeder, said: "The resignation of Professor Van Wyk is welcomed, but it is a pity it did not happen a year earlier."

"I suspect that with the Van Wyk resignation the Broeder-

used that in the new South Africa there simply will not be room for such an organisation."

"It is time that senior politicians, and virtually the whole Cabinet, also should realise this," said Professor Terreblanche.

A row about Professor Van Wyk's Broederbond membership erupted last year after his appointment as the new rector and vice-chancellor of Stellenbosch University with effect from July 1 this year.

In July last year, 77 academics from 23 university departments called on him in a petition to quit the Broederbond.

In October, Stellenbosch students also circulated a petition calling on him to resign from the Broederbond.

The calls were backed by the campus newspaper, Die Matie.

While the controversy raged openly, hardly any public response came from Professor Van Wyk. Until this week's disclosure, the general impression was that he doggedly refused to quit the secret society.

Further confirmation of the Broederbond's crisis came yesterday in the form of a National Pers report quoting top Broederbond sources.

The report said the organisation "most probably" would cease to exist in its present form before the end of this year.
Nat MP speaks out against teacher cuts

By Lorelle Bell

A National Party MP has signed a memorandum criticising the government's rationalisation programme for teachers in the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

Mr Leslie Sampson, NP MP for Diaz, added his signature to a memorandum issued by the George Regional Education Board.

The memorandum said rationalisation will affect the education of children, increase teachers' workload, create tension between teachers and departmental officials and add to unemployment.

It suggests that if any group is called upon to make sacrifices and face rationalisation, it should be white teachers.

"It is publicly known that I am against the rationalisation," said Sampson, referring to his support for the memorandum.

Sampson is one of a group of NP MPs in the House of Representatives objecting to rationalisation.

"We are busy negotiating with the government to try to work something out.

"It's our children's future and we want calm in the communities," he said.
Afrikaner homeland still a hurdle

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A negotiations crunch over self-determination for Afrikaners in their own territory is still looming in spite of support by the Government for the principle.

The two major players in the process — the Government and the ANC — have their own ideas about self-determination, and both will provide cold comfort for Volkstyle.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this week that the Government was "convinced that a feasible form of self-determination for all, including Afrikaners, could very well be accommodated within its own constitutional plans".

This was a reference to the "checks and balances" to protect minorities that the NP wants built into a new constitution, and by no means stretches to a Volksstaat.

He went on to announce that the Government and National Party "have no objection in principle against the Afrikaner Volksunie's (AVU) ideal of Afrikaner self-determination as part of a federal dispensation in which no form of race discrimination is allowed and citizen rights are extended to all inhabitants".

In effect, Meyer — speaking after heading a Government delegation's meeting with the AVU on Tuesday — was agreeing that the issue should be aired at negotiations and that the Government would support such discussion.

The ANC's Carl Niehaus also agreed that self-determination should be on the agenda at talks, but the AVU and others in favour of self-determination would have to accept the "rules of democracy" in negotiations.

Conservative Party negotiator Dr Pieter Mulder contended that Meyer's "in principle" agreement was anything but an "historic breakthrough", as AVU leader Dr Andries Beyers had felt moved to comment.

He pointed out that the Government had already placed self-determination on the talks agenda before Codesa broke down in May last year and it was now being addressed by a negotiations technical committee.

However, Beyers did point to a positive spin-off when he said the Government's stance "makes it worthwhile to proceed with our participation in negotiations".

Some observers believe the lifting of hopes in right-wing circles by Meyer's statement may also have been a shrewd move to boost the moderate AVU over the increasingly militant CP.

They point out that the AVU'sprofile has been sharply raised in recent weeks by its role in the Afrikaner Volksfront and, in particular, its association with former SADF chief General Constant Viljoen.

They also say the AVU's softer approach towards attaining an Afrikaner homeland may find a more sympathetic hearing from the ANC in a meeting being arranged at present.
Groundwork laid for nitty-gritty negotiations

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

The foundation has been laid for the first substantive negotiations to take place on Tuesday.

Discussions will be shaped by the preliminary reports of seven technical committees. The reports were discussed yesterday by the planning committee.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer cautioned that the Negotiating Council would not be able to take decisions — "with very few exceptions" — at Tuesday's meeting.

After yesterday's planning committee meeting, negotiators were unanimous in their praise for the work of the technical committees.

It was understood that most of their preliminary reports contained details of the Codesa agreements and reports.

Not all the 26 participating groups have yet sent their submissions to the technical committee. The deadline for submissions is Wednesday.

Interim reports will be sent to all negotiators today to enable them to prepare for Tuesday's meeting.

The previous Negotiating Council meeting, three weeks ago, was marked by complaints that negotiators received documentation only an hour before the meeting began.

The chairman of yesterday's planning committee, Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin, said the agenda for the Negotiating Council would not be cluttered with procedural matters. It would focus on violence and constitutional issues.

The technical committee on constitutional matters has recommended that a commission be appointed to consider regional boundaries.

The issue will be discussed on Tuesday.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it was still possible to reach agreement by the end of the month on transition.

He said a three-day meeting of the ANC's national working committee focused on the organisation's approach to the negotiations process and ways of dealing with the right wing.
ANC frowns on PC payouts  

THE announcement by President De Klerk that members of the President's Council (PC), which is to be abolished at the end of June, will be entitled to tax-free retirement packages "continues the practice of golden handshakes for those who upheld apartheid," the African National Congress said yesterday.

In a statement in Johannesburg the ANC said it did not see the need for such payouts for members of the "discredited President's Council because of its dissolution".

"Is the precedent being created whereby, as apartheid institutions are dissolved, those who ran them are rewarded for the rest of their natural lives?" — Sapa.
Academics and lawyers take over — and real debate beckons

At the World Trade Centre

The politicians stayed away from the World Trade Centre this week and, for
the first time since the negotiations council first sat three weeks ago, real
debate beckoned.

Having last week agreed that they
would, in the course of this round of talks,
set a date for an election, the parties were
still to far away from civilly dis-
cussing the myriad issues which have to
be settled before this can happen.

But during the week, delegations of lawyers
and academics moved into the warren
of offices in Kompton Park and began sit-
ning through the rhetoric of pontificating
and previous agreements.

Recruited to groups with
the no-nonsense name of
technical committees,
they set about,

The discussion is informal, brief and
fruitful. In minutes rather than months,
the constitutional issues group has a
clearer picture of bottom lines and points
of possible compromise.

It was able to produce one of the few
concrete suggestions to emerge this week —
that the country’s regions be discussed by a regional demar-
cation commission.

The constitutional issues report, in par-
cular, earned the praise of the committee
chairman — the planning committee
which attempts in its own way to struc-
ture the debate and nurse in private the
grudges of delegates.

As thorough and professional a docu-
ment as could be worked for after less
than a week’s work, it was produced by a
group which included two men, Professor
Marinus Wiesbers and seargent Arthur
Chauke, who are constitutional
teeth in Namibia.

They are so adept at sorting out the
from positioning that they had to restrait
themselves from drawing up a quick
draft constitution this week. The commit-
tee could not restrain itself from offering
to do so — “if we receive instructions to
that effect” — in its report.

Two other reports are in for a sub-
mitter, the transitional executive coun-
cil’s report — the setting up a transitional
council — “there is a need for
TCCs.”

The COSATU parties, who believe that this
thing will not lightly forgive such an
error in judgment by the TCC, which went a step further than merely
structuring the debate as it was asked to
do.

‘The violence committee put its brief
right — but that is about all it did, listing
little more than the members present and
the task before them, turning in what
one delegate called a juvenile re-
port. Alone among the TCCs, the vi-
olen ce committee has as a member a
man who also sits on the nego-
tiations council —

For the rest, an intellectual honesty —
and an absolute refusal to pander self-
serving leaks the way of the press — has
set the stage for the first real debate this
week.

The delight at the prospect was not
shared by all. At least one COSATU delegate
has already branded the coming debate a
phony debate and the progress as lat-
eral at best.

While the TCCs have presented an out-
line for what must be debated, COSATU is
stuck on the order in which the form of
state, violence and race relations be
be addressed.

Once again, the fear has been raised
that momentum — or even a suspected
secret, cut-and-dried deal between the
government and the ANC will force the
smaller parties.

Once again, they play in private their
bloody trump: predictions of no threats,
of violence if their needs are not met in
debate.

The reports from the seven technical
committees were rushed off to the 26
delegations yesterday. On Tuesday, they
will be asked to debate the reports.

The TC members will observe this de-
bate, receive further written input from
the delegations the next day and, judging
by present form, once again sort it all out
for the politicians on the negotiations
council by the next week.

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON
The DP unveils its plan to win the last war

THE overriding need to stabilise this society before it slides into irreversible conflict means, necessarily, that the new South Africa will be born a less-than-perfect democracy. Whatever Mrs Winnie Mandela may say, three years has simply not been enough time for constitutional debate.

We have before us three rival bills of rights — from the ANC, the government and the Democratic Party — offering three rival visions of the future, and they are all, to some degree or other, flawed.

Of the ANC’s bill of rights I can do no better than echo Business Day’s perceptive commentator, Alan Fine — it seeks to entrench ANC policies in the constitution so that even its opponents will be committed to carrying them out. The NP’s ideas, purportedly modelled on the work of the Law Commission, which has already repudiated that claim, are beneath discussion.

The DP’s version is better, but it also falls short of satisfying the liberal agenda, which is to cast the free individual as the centrepiece of a system based on just law. It sets out not primarily to secure liberty, but to undo the injustices of apartheid. It is a plan to win the last war.

Any good bill of rights begins with a profession of faith, preferably but not necessarily in its preamble, which acts as a guide to its interpretation in the future. The American profession of faith is to be found in the famous words of the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and the American courts uphold these ideals above all else.

The German constitution calls on all Germans to achieve the unity and freedom of Germany. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights begins by recognising that the inherent dignity and the equal rights — not the equality — of all human beings are the foundation of “freedom, justice and peace”.

The DP version is subtly, but importantly, different from all these. It transmutes the universality of rights — equal rights for all — into “equality”, undefined and unqualified, which is then elevated to a position of primary alongside human dignity, in the hierarchy of rights.

Liberty comes a poor second. While the bill of rights guarantees the standard freedoms — conscience, speech, press, assembly — it puts forward a view of liberty which is parsimonious and grudging, hedged about with qualifications, and it leaves no doubt that the primary purpose of the new South Africa will be to ensure equality, not of rights but of outcomes.

In effect, it tries to build into the constitution a system of reparations for past discrimination and, distorting the mechanisms of a free society, it is forced to entrench bureaucratic procedures in the very foundations of the state. The only way to do this is by authorising reverse discrimination, using the very criteria that apartheid used to select its victims.

Here the DP finds itself in the same dilemma as that used to bedevil Verwoerdian ideologues: how does one define victims by race? The problem is the same whether one wishes to discriminate against them in their favour, and the procedures are obscene. The DP, embarrassed by its own cleverness, finds the same answer as Verwoerdians did: change the terminology.

Bad, old apartheid is labelled “discrimination”; good new apartheid is labelled “differentiation”. It’s Tweedle Dum and Tweedle Dee.

Similarly, the DP gets into tight corners when it seeks to entrench “entitlements” — the right to food, water, shelter, basic health care, a clean environment — and again it casts itself on the bureaucracies and the courts to decide what, in any given circumstance, is “basic” health care, or “reasonable” entitlements, or even decide which courts will make it up as they go along.

What courts? The Steyn court which the DP’s predecessors criticised so bitterly for conducting an eccentric assault on English influence in the law? The Rabie court, which it accused of being “executive-minded” or “security-minded”? The Corbett court, which I would establish — establishment-minded?

Personally, I would prefer an independent constitutional court, but if we must be subjected to the whims and prejudices of “nine wise men”, we should at least, as liberals, direct them to value liberty above else.

Otherwise, when the struggle for liberty resumes, as it must do, the bill of rights itself will become what the communists call “a site of struggle”.

KEN OWEN
Training for democracy

ANTHONY HOLIDAY surveys the debate on what the term 'university' ought to mean in a South African context.

BEHIND the intriguing question as to which political groupings will have the lion's share of power in the forthcoming government of national unity lurks a series of more profound and profoundly troubling dilemmas.

How, and in what sort of intellectual environment, can an elite corps of governors and administrators be educated to run South Africa's first non-racial democracy?

This issue, or cluster of related issues, is being discussed at various levels and in a variety of forums. But it is being addressed with special intensity at the University of the Western Cape, where plans to develop a school of government have been announced.

The school's main task would be to train high-quality personnel for democratic government so that people with highly-developed analytical abilities and moral sensibilities can be channelled into elected, appointed or career positions in executive departments, legislatures, trade unions and the like.

Because much of this training would take place at a post-graduate level, it would ride tandem with the aim of generating critical research into political theory and practice with the broad objective of strengthening democracy.

These ambitions make it clear that UWC rector Jakes Gerwel and his team of planners envisage an institution which goes well beyond the managerialist banalities of training in public administration. They aspire to create an ethos of service.

All this is very laudable. But, as Marx observed, "the educator himself must be educated". The ultimate milieu in which the governors of the "new South Africa" will receive their education in governance is doubtless the "community" — local, national and global. However, the immediate environs in which this training must take place are those of a university — and there is considerable debate as to what the term "university" ought to be taken to mean in the South African context.

Into this debate is pouring a plethora of offerings, some inspired by theories — liberal, Marxist and post-modernist — which paint pictures of what a university ought to look like, with varying degrees of clarity.

For the liberal, the university is a place where an individual person's "useful" capacities are allowed to flourish. For the Marxists, it is a "site of struggle" where "hegemonies are established and contested; where research "produces" knowledge as a factory produces commodities.

For the post-modernists, it is a concatenation of "discourses" or "texts".

From this theoreticians' point of view the "power of I Thab" will emerge in the arena in which those charged with preserving the nation's integrity — its claims to be governed for and by its people — will be schooled in their trade.

Now it is true that the word "university" does not have a fixed meaning in the way that words like "dog" or "cat" have (more or less) fixed meanings. Its meaning may change over time to include new features and dispense with old ones. But it does not follow that we may change its meaning to suit our pet theories or that we do not have any notion of what it means.

We have some idea of what it is to be educated at a university because we are willfully heirs to a tradition which includes this form of education. That tradition includes such things as loving subjects for their own sake and seeing the spin-offs in the form of acquired "skills" which the study of such subjects may also confer, as incidental to that love.

Our sense of what a university ought to be — like our sense of what life in a state governed in accordance with the principles of justice ought to be like — may be a fuzzy one. But it is not the worse for that. The picture's lack of definition may deprive our procedures of confidence. But confidence in politics and in educational matters is often a dangerous thing.

We need, perhaps, to remind ourselves that the tradition of educating people for government stretches at least as far back as Plato's Socrates, who said that in his ideal republic, the love of contemplation of the Form of the Good for its own sake would be so strong that there would be "as much competition among good men to avoid power as there now is to get it".

ANTHONY HOLIDAY teaches philosophy at UWC.
CP chooses a moderate as Hartzenberg's deputy

BY CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE Conservative Party yesterday elected moderate Pietersburg general practitioner Dr. Willie Snyman as its deputy leader in what is seen as a compromise.

While there were no surprises in the election of fiery Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg to succeed the late Dr. Andries Treurnicht, the choice of Dr. Snyman as vice-chairman was unexpected.

After several votes involving five candidates, ranging from hardliner Schalk Pienaar to the pro-negotiations Schweizer-Reeks MP Dr. Pieter Mulder, Pietersburg MP Dr. Snyman got the nod.

Dismissing any split, Dr. Snyman, an old friend of Dr. Hartzenberg, said he was "completely behind the leader".

The new leader — only the second in the party's 11-year history — was rapturously received by about 300 delegates at the extraordinary congress in Vereeniging yesterday.

In his acceptance speech, a visibly moved Dr. Hartzenberg reinforced his party's commitment to securing "self-determination and freedom" for his Volk.

"Negotiations are on the go and we are there with one goal — to negotiate for self-determination. If we cannot get this, we will not negotiate for anything else.

"We are prepared to negotiate for a future, not a funeral."

Although a compromise candidate for the deputy leadership was predicted in some quarters, Dr. Snyman's name was not mentioned. However, delegates were pleased with the respected centrist.
ANC captures Afrikaner hearts

In the Cape this week the ANC invaded the NP's heartland and proved itself capable of providing a viable political vehicle for Afrikaners. It also proved it was able to mount a serious challenge to the NP among both the white and coloured communities of the western Cape by addressing their concerns for the survival of their Afrikaans heritage.

Wilhelm Verwoerd, spoke in conservative Parow, commanding everyone's attention much like his grandfather did. But the message was as different as the occasion - bringing together the very people his grandfather had tried to drive apart.
Something snatched in the man:

Something snatched in the man:

Repression

PWS Road

A sense of isolation of SA

Inciting isolation of SA

and events that led to the

boiling-pressures talks.

Crocker book hits on

Crocker book hits on

N JANUARY 12

South Africa's recent

Crocker book,
Mandela and FW to share US medal of freedom

PRESIDENT FW, de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will hold a historic joint meeting with President Bill Clinton when they visit the US to receive a joint honour on American Independence Day, July 4.

The two South Africans Philadelphia's famed Liberty Bell to receive gold medals struck in honour of leaders and organisations deemed to have followed in the traditions of America's founding fathers.

The ceremony — near the spot where America declared its independence in 1776 and where its founding Fathers gathered to write its constitution in 1789 — will be rich in symbolism, linking South Africa's transition to the birth of America's democracy.

Agreement

On a more practical level, President Clinton will see both leaders as he prepares for his first summit with the seven major industrialised countries in Tokyo on July 7.

It is hoped he will carry with him a powerful message that South Africa must be helped over the daunting economic hurdles to democratic transformation.

Key to the success of this will be agreement by South African parties on a transitional executive and an election date that will have enabled Mr. Mandela to call for the removal of remaining sanctions.

The Philadelphia ceremony and the meeting with Mr. Clinton will focus American attention on South Africa and could be a powerful vehicle for impressing on state and local politicians that the time for sanctions is past.

The Philadelphia Freedom Medal has also been awarded to Polish leader Lech Walesa, former US President Jimmy Carter and late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, the driving force behind the American Supreme Court's historic 1954 decision on desegregation of schools in the southern states.

A South African government spokesman yesterday confirmed that Mr de Klerk would travel to the US in July to accept the award. However, he said, the details of the meeting with President Clinton had not yet been finalised.
Military Front!

Generals behind new right-wing force
DP aims for 15pc in poll

HERMANUS — The Democratic Party is aiming to win 15 percent of the vote in South Africa’s first democratic election. DP national chairman Ken Andrew told a media briefing at the weekend that reports forecasting a poor DP performance in elections “fly in the face of the evidence available to the DP from voter research”.

Research indicated dropping levels of support for the NP in all communities, a trend he believed would continue.

He added that the DP had a solid support base and was growing fast.
Hartzenberg takes reins of Conservatives

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was on Saturday elected leader of the Conservative Party and successor to party founder Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Hartzenberg (37), a former Minister of Education and Training in the National Party Government, left the Cabinet of President P W Botha with Treurnicht in 1982 when the National Party split over the issue of power-sharing.

Hartzenberg’s hard-line attitude manifested itself in the 1980s when, as Minister of Education and Training, he refused to authorise repairs at schools involved in education boycotts, with the result that several schools in the Cape and Free State had to close.

Born at Samleshof, in the western Transvaal, on January 8 1936, Ferdinando Hartzenberg studied agriculture at the University of Pretoria, from where he graduated with a masters degree; later completing a doctorate with a thesis on early growth in beef cattle.

He became Member of the Provincial Council for Lichtenburg in 1965 and MP for the same constituency in 1970.

He was appointed chairman of the Bantu Affairs Commission in 1974 and became Deputy Minister of Bantu Development in 1976. He was appointed Deputy Minister of Development in 1978 and in 1979 was appointed Minister of Education and Training. He held the post for three years before resigning from the NP.

Hartzenberg... the new CP leader.
Moderate
Star Nashes
chosen
as Deputy

By Chris Whitfield
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN - The
moderate Dr Willie Sny-
man got the nod at the
weekend as the Conserv-
avative Party's deputy
leader. (CPH)

CP insiders say a
major consideration in
choosing Snyman was
his new party leader Dr
Ferdi Hartzenburg's fire-
brand image. Many felt
the moderate element of
the party should also be
represented in the lead-
ership.

Snyman, a medical
doctor and Pietersburg
MP since 1975, is de-
scribed as "deceptively
mild-mannered, he can
be tough."

The new leadership
team is not thought like-
ly to change the party's
approach to negotiations.

Snyman was one of 22
National Party members
who in 1962 had voted
against a caucus motion
of confidence in PW
Botha, its leader.

After being expelled
from the NP he became
a founder member of the
CP. He became the
party's defence spokes-
man last year after sev-
eral years as health
spokesman.
ANC wants right poll

Tony Yengeni

Yengeni says change would send out wrong signal

ANC a political party

Tony Yengeni

ANC in Cape

Secretary for the Western Cape.

Yengeni: ANC wants right poll

Tony Yengeni

ANC in Cape

Secretary for the Western Cape.

Yengeni: ANC wants right poll

Tony Yengeni

ANC in Cape

Secretary for the Western Cape.
DP expects to run third in poll

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party believes it will get more than 18 percent of the national vote in next year’s all-in elections.

On the basis of opinion surveys so far, party strategists believe the DP will come third after the ANC and the National Party.

DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said that although the party rated its present support at seven percent of the total vote (three percent of the black vote, 18 percent of the white, 14 percent of the coloured and 13 percent of the Indian), he believed its potential was at least 13.3 percent.

The party aimed to hold the balance of power in the new parliament and wield significant influence on post-transition policy-making.

The DP wanted to shake off its image as a liberal opposition-cum-mediator and planned in an election campaign to sell itself as a more aggressive contender for power in the new parliament.

According to Mr Andrew’s assessment of opinion surveys, the ANC will win 49 percent of the total vote (70 percent of the black, two percent of the white, 15 percent of the coloured and 15 percent of the Indian), the NP 17 percent (seven percent black, 42 percent white, 49 percent coloured and 43 percent Indian), the DP 15 percent (eight percent black, 24 percent white, 40 percent coloured and 40 percent Indian) and the IFP seven percent (seven percent black, eight percent white, one percent coloured and one percent Indian).

Mr Andrew gave the PAC six percent overall and the Conservative Party four percent.

But, he cautioned, his figures were based on a summary of recent independent opinion surveys, which left sentiment among rural blacks almost unexplored.
Award ‘will symbolise new SA’

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — In the eyes of many Americans, South Africa’s government of national unity will begin on July 4 when President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela jointly receive the 1993 Philadelphia Liberty Medal and the accompanying $100,000 (R310,000) prize.

The announcement of the award followed agreement from the two leaders to attend the award ceremony together, according to members of We the People 200, the organisation sponsoring the event.

Whether or not there has been agreement by then on an interim government and a date for South Africa’s first nonracial elections, many Americans now closely monitoring events in the country believe that the joint visit to the US will symbolise the sort of national unity which many here hope to see emerge from current negotiations.

De Klerk and Mandela are virtually certain to meet President Clinton during their visit, but whether they do so jointly or separately has not yet been decided and may well depend on the degree of progress in negotiations.

Clinton is expected to attend the ceremony which is to take place at Philadelphia’s historic Independence Hall, where the Declaration of Independence was signed 217 years ago. It is likely to be the focal point of the US’s national day celebrations on July 4.

A traditional July 4 parade will take place before the medal is awarded.

The Philadelphia Liberty Medal and prize was established in 1868 to honour “an individual or an organisation — from anywhere in the world — that has visibly demonstrated leadership and vision in pursuit of liberty of conscience or freedom from oppression, ignorance or deprivation”.

The international selection panel which chose De Klerk and Mandela includes prominent leaders in the fields of politics, business, science, and the arts.

Commenting on the award today, South Africa’s ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz, said: “Many people have, and continue to contribute towards the democratisation process in South Africa, but none more than President de Klerk and Mr Mandela.”
Suspect in court today

**LODDY COUTTS**

A MAN suspected of masterminding a plot to assassinate SACP chairman Joe Slovo is expected to appear in the Johannesburg Magistrate’s Court this morning.

Police spokesman Capt Nina Barkhuizen confirmed yesterday that John Beck, a 38-year-old former SA Air Force radio technician, would be charged with conspiracy to murder.

According to reports, Beck was arrested at his flat in the Johannesburg suburb of Parktown North on Thursday following claims by a Hungarian immigrant, John Paesak, that Beck had tried to recruit him as a getaway driver.

A police informer alleged the plot involved shooting Slovo from an Air Force communications tower in Observatory, Johannesburg, as Slovo emerged from his home.

The assassination was to have been carried out between May 15 and 21.

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**Parties to debate concrete proposals**

**BILLY PADDOCK**

FUNDAMENTAL progress can be made at tomorrow’s negotiations council meeting because parties will have before them a comprehensive document on the future form of state and constitutional principles to be included in a transitional constitution.

A source in the 10-man planning committee said the technical committee dealing with the myriad of proposals on constitutional matters had been able to get straight down to work and “they really produced something substantial that the council can discuss fruitfully and systematically.”

The other committees had not made as much progress because they had not had enough input from parties to fully exercise their briefs.

Apparently the committee dealing with the transitional structures will submit a fairly substantial report recommending that a transitional executive council and sub-councils be established.

This is likely to result in censure from the Concerned SA Group, and possibly the negotiations council as a whole, because it is not part of the committee’s business to make such recommendations.

The committee on constitutional principles also believes it has made such good progress that it could draft an interim constitution right away. The committee includes Unisa’s Marius Weichers and advocate Arthur Chaskalson who both were involved in drafting Namibia’s first constitution — Weichers on the side of the DTA and Chaskalson for Swapo.

This committee has also put forward a recommendation that the sensitive issue of drafting regional boundaries be sorted out by a regional demarcation commission.

Negotiators said yesterday they were impressed by the progress made in the constitutional committee, where the members managed to piece together an outline and a foundation document to be used by politicians as a basis to negotiate.

The committee had considered a variety of proposals from different parties and looked to find where compromises were possible and drafted these into its report.
Keys announces tariffs review
Role of SA’s diplomats to ‘change fundamentally’

PRETORIA — SA’s re-entry into the international community would necessitate a fundamental change in the role of its diplomatic staff, Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans said last week.

The defensive public relations function adopted in the past by SA’s 1,000 overseas diplomats was already virtually obsolete as SA’s political situation changed and the private sector moved in to attract investment and trade.

With the increasingly sophisticated communications technology now available, diplomats would also no longer be required to undertake extensive political reporting and analysis tasks, he said.

"Why write up a report and send it to Pretoria in a diplomatic bag when we have direct computer access to all our embassies?" he said.

Communication between governments was now taking place at the highest level so attempting to elicit a change in the attitudes of governments through their minor officials was also becoming less important, Evans said.

"President F W de Klerk is our best diplomat. His relations with the Clinton administration and with European and world leaders is critically important to our standing in the international community."

Instead of these increasingly obsolete roles, SA’s diplomats would have other tasks on which to focus.

A priority was the establishment of economic relations with other countries providing information for potential investors and support for SA businesses wanting to expand overseas.

A second shift in the role of the diplomat was participation in multilateral international bodies such as the UN, EC, Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, the IMF and the World Bank.

"Countries which are members of the UN, for instance, must provide staff to the organisation’s secretariat on a quota basis," said Evans.

"We are going to be asked more and more for SA officials to be seconded to these international bodies."

These new emphases, together with the prospect of opening up to 40 new diplomatic missions over the next few years, meant the whole nature of SA’s foreign service is going to be transformed", Evans said.

Critical to this metamorphosis was adequate training as well as the broadening of the service into a more representative organization.

The Foreign Affairs Department confirmed that up to 27 new diplomatic missions were expected to be established in the next 18 months.

The focus of these new missions was the Far East, Africa and the Middle East.

"Foreign affairs will be a whole new ball game in the not too distant future presenting a tremendous challenge for this department and for the country as a whole", Evans said.

Telkom plans to lift capex by 7%

TELKOM is budgeting to spend more than R2bn in capital expenditure in the current financial year — a rise of 7% from last year.

Telkom acting senior GM finance Peet Bierman said at the weekend some of the projects planned this year were the installation of a detailed billing system at a cost of R87m and R50m on community services projects. Other projects planned were upgrading existing client services and establishing 75 new client services at a cost of R20m. An "income integrity project" was also planned at a cost of R10m.

Bierman expected operating expenditure (including finance charges) to rise 13% to about R7.5bn.

He said pre-tax income was expected to be about R600m from the estimated figure of R560m previously. Telkom expected to pay tax of about R400m this year compared with last year’s bill of about R450m.

Telkom did not plan to raise any new loans in the current year, although loans of about R1bn would be refinanced.

Bierman said budgeted average debt of R9.3bn, consisting of R2.5bn foreign loans and R6.8bn domestic loans, would not rise when compared with last year’s figure.

Telkom’s debt equity ratio improved to 2.0 from 2.3 at the end of March last year.
Yengeni says change would send out wrong signal

as a political party ANC won't right poll

YeYenga Cape Times 2001
Volksfront set for formal launch

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The largest right-wing grouping in the country, the Afrikaner Volksfront, is to be formally established in Pretoria this week.

Lacking the majority of the major conservative organisations — the Herstigte Nasionale Party is no longer involved — the Volksfront will press the Government and the ANC to heed demands of Afrikaners for self-determination.

It plans to unify the Afrikaner nation and to seek a volkstaat.

The Volksfront meeting on Wednesday is expected to appoint a management committee, to be named the general mobilisation council, which will direct day-to-day activities and, according to sources, be the political arm of the organisation.

The Volksfront was formed as a result of efforts made by retired defence force and police generals — the so-called Committee of Generals (COG) — who had decided the Afrikaner was losing political influence.

The driving force behind COG is retired Chief of Military Intelligence General Hennie Groenewald.

OGG and the Volksfront are temporarily headed by General Constand Viljoen, former Chief of the SADF.

Viljoen and Groenewald held meetings throughout the country prior to the Volksfront's founding meeting in Pretoria.

Representatives at the meeting were the ANC, Conservative Party, World Apartheid Movement, Iron and Steel Workers' Union, Afrikaner Volksnieuwe, Afrikaner Volksweg, Afrikaner Vryheidstigting, Volksheidseemkomsie (Vakbond), the all-white Mine Workers' Union, Boreerivierbegaande, Pretoria Beetsers Kommando, Orange workers, Church of the Brethren, Free State Agricultural Union, Transvaal Agricultural Union, and organised business and industry groups.

The Afrikaner powerbase, beweging officially boycotted the meeting, although its military wing, the Westkommunia, was present. The AWB has since announced its intention to join the Volksfront.

The HNP has withdrawn because its leader, Jaap Marais, believes that "it won't work because of differences of opinion over self-determination".

He also says the general mobilisation council will be entering the political arena and deciding on policy "although it had been said that each organisation can retain its own identity and its own policies. How is this then going to work?"
New CP boss elected

DR FERDI Hatzenberg was elected unopposed as the Conservative Party's new leader at the weekend.

"Compromise candidate" Dr Willie Shymanski MP for Pietersburg is the party's new deputy leader.

This was the outcome of a special congress in Verwoerdhurg following the death last month of CP Leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.
Election needs to be 'free and fair', Dhlomo warns

DURBAN. — The executive chairman of the Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy, Dr Oscar Dhlomo, said a new and unfamiliar electoral system will be used in the coming elections in South Africa.

He said there was an absolute need that the election be seen to be free and fair.

Dr Dhlomo was speaking at the conference on election monitoring in Durban, where more than 100 political, civic and religious organisations have gathered, reports said.

He said effective monitoring and observing were crucial.

The unconditional acceptance of the result of the election was of utmost importance, especially to minority parties and those who would lose their privileged status, he said.

The historic lack of a democratic culture of political tolerance, the continuing violence and the likelihood of intimidation emphasised the need for credible, acceptable and impartial monitors, he warned.

Election monitoring experts from countries like Kenya, the Philippines and the United States are participating in the conference. — Sapa
DP seeks balance of power in new Govt
Mandela, FW win medals

PHILADELPHIA. — President F.W. de Klerk and African National Congress president Mr. Nelson Mandela were named winners of the 1993 Philadelphia Liberty Medal and will receive the prize on July 4, organizers said on Saturday.

The two leaders were cited for their efforts to reform South Africa's apartheid system. In the spirit of the medal, which honours the ideals behind America's founding (quoted), "they have mutual goals for South African peace and understanding among their people," said a selectors' spokesman. — Saga-Record
CP chooses Snyman as Hartzenberg's deputy

PRETORIA: — Dr Fædi Hartzenberg was chosen unchallenged as the Conservative Party's new leader at the weekend.

"Compromise candidate" Dr Willie Snyman, MP for Pietersburg, was chosen as deputy leader, defeating moderate Dr Pieter Mulder and fiery Dr Schalk Piennar.

This was the outcome of a special congress in Verwoerdburg which followed the death last month of CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Addressing the congress, Dr Hartzenberg, MP for Lichtenburg, said the CP only participated in the negotiation process to negotiate for self-determination because it would not submit to ANC rule in a unitary state.

The CP stood for a confederacy, and its caucus was already drawing up a constitution for the volkstaat.

The CP would claim as the minimum land for its volkstaat all parliamentary constituencies held by them.

— Sapa
Whites' optimism now at 'record low'

White optimism in a new South Africa plummeted to record lows after the assassination of Chris Hani last month, according to the findings of a recent survey.

"With black-on-white violence apparently increasing, it seems unlikely the spirits of the white electorate will lift significantly in the foreseeable future," the Omnichek division of Research Surveys said yesterday.

It conducted a study among 800 white women in the metropolitan areas during the week of Hani's death.

It said 62 percent felt less optimistic about a future South Africa than they had six months before.

"The assassination of Chris Hani had a profound impact on the mood of whites in the country, taking levels of optimism, which were already at a record low, even further down," Omnichek said.

"It said the first attack on whites by the Azanian People's Liberation Army in September 1992 had caused levels of optimism "to plunge to hitherto unrecorded lows".

"These results lend urgency to the need for an election date to be set; and for the politicians to be seen to be reaching agreement on the vital issues facing the country," Omnichek director Binky Kellas said.

Hani . . . "profound impact on mood of whites".

Sixty-six percent of Afrikaners compared to 60 percent of English-speaking white women were less optimistic, but measurement among 800 black women in major metropolitan areas did not show a similar plunge.

"It seems black households are stuck in a Slough of Despond and that their mood cannot become any less negative than it already is. Further contributing to their apparent resilience and ability to weather any storm is undoubtedly the fact that they are surrounded daily by violence and destruction." — Sapa.
CP 'won't plan own funeral'

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party would only stick to negotiations as long they led to self-determination, but would pull out once this option was closed, leader of the Opposition Dr Ferial Hârtzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the Administration’s Vote, he said the CP would not stay at the negotiating table to make its own funeral arrangements.

It seemed that negotiations were being used to rubber-stamp agreements between the National Party and ANC, he said. (ColA)

The CP had to mobilise to achieve the freedom of the volk.

The CP invited all NP members to join, other than four who had initiated the inevitable slide to revolution and blood-letting.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela’s call at the weekend for its followers to join Umkhonto we Sizwe, and his offer to give them guns had amounted to a declaration of war. — Sapa.
Broeders

to move
more into
the open

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

AFTER operating in secrecy since the 1920s, the exclusively white male Afrikaner Broederbond is to move more into the open and could admit women and blacks as members.

It could also change its name, possibly to the Afrikanerbond, chairman Professor Peter de Lange said today.

A process of reform to enable the organisation to remain relevant under changing circumstances was taking place and a new draft constitution had been distributed to more than 1,400 branches, he said in an interview.

He denied that the Broederbond, which is 75 years old, had been a sinister political pressure group, but conceded that its secret membership and the secrecy of its operations had led to this image.

It had not been a secret movement when it started in 1918, but intimidation of members at work in the 1920s had led to a decision to keep its membership and operations secret.

"It is, in fact, a think-tank responsible for exploratory and experimental thinking in the 1980s, that political changes that had become necessary.

"In its early days it had planned especially on economic issues affecting Afrikaners and the urbanisation process in which Afrikanerdom was involved.

"But the interests of Afrikaners were not seen in isolation from those of others.

"Its members are dedicated people willing to work without recognition. The Broederbond has not acted as a pressure group."

It was not specifically tied to the National Party, although most of the top members of the government were members. It also had members in the Conservative Party and the Democratic Party.

Professor De Lange confirmed that a number of prominent members had resigned recently.

Among them are Professor Andreas van Wyk, rector-designate of the University of Stellenboech, Professor Filip Smit, rector of the University of Pretoria, Professor Cas Crouse, rector of Rand Afrikaans University, Dr Willem de Klerk and Mr Hendrik Sloet of the PAK.

Meanwhile the student representative council of the University of Stellenboech has praised Professor Van Wyk for his decision to resign from the Broederbond, according to the Education Reporter.

Professor Van Wyk had confirmed his loyalty to the university and shown it was his top priority, SRC chairman Mr Andre van der Spuy said yesterday.
De Klerk set for July meeting with Clinton

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will meet US President Bill Clinton in July. De Klerk yesterday confirmed he had accepted an invitation to visit the US, along with ANC president Nelson Mandela, to receive a joint award on July 4 for promoting the traditions of the American founding fathers.

"I plan to attend the function," he said outside Tuynhuys yesterday.

The ANC has indicated that Mandela will visit the US, thereby setting the stage for a joint meeting with Clinton shortly before he attends his first G-7 summit with the seven major industrialised nations in Tokyo on July 7.

The ANC said yesterday Mandela would visit the US for 12 days from June 25.

If sufficient progress is made in negotiations, the two SA leaders could make a joint plug for the lifting of sanctions and the need for investment in SA.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports from Philadelphia that Clinton has agreed to present the 1993 Philadelphia Liberty Medal to De Klerk and Mandela.

Clinton confirmed earlier this month that he would attend the ceremony on Independence Day, mayor Ed Rendell said.

The Liberty Medal, established in 1888, honours an individual or organization that has demonstrated leadership and vision in the pursuit of liberty or freedom from oppression, ignorance or deprivation.


Last year, the medal went to former US Supreme Court judge Thurgood Marshall, the first black to sit on the high court.

Martin Meyerson, president emeritus of the University of Pennsylvania who chaired the international selection panel, praised De Klerk and Mandela for their tireless work to reform SA.

"They have mutual goals for SA peace and understanding among their people," Meyerson said. "They are men of vision and determination, and they epitomise the ideals behind the Liberty Medal."

SA ambassador to the US Harry Schwartz said the joint award was a fitting recognition of their work.

"The joint award symbolises the determination of South Africans to not only hold a universal franchise election and a government of national reconciliation as soon as possible but to create a just economic system and meaningful improvement in living standards," Schwartz said.

"Independence Day in the US will this July 4 have a particularly important meaning for most South Africans."

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UK editor 'open' to Lonrho paper offer

LONDON — The editor of The Observer, Donald Trefford, confirmed yesterday that if his boss Tony Rowland made him a formal offer to start an SA newspaper, he would give it "serious consideration".

Trefford said the Lonrho chief — who has vast investments in Africa — had mentioned Press projects in SA and Nigeria, adding that he would "like me to stay on with Lonrho and look after their media interests."

However, he scotched reports that anything definite had been decided for SA.

"I'm still editing the Observer and I haven't thought of what I'm going to do afterwards — Tiny mentioned that this might be the kind of thing I would like to have a look at [setting up an SA newspaper]," Trefford said.

While Trefford did not contradict Rowland's assertion at the weekend that he had "an editor available from London" to launch an SA newspaper, he said reports that "anything is definite" were "way off beam."

He had met the ANC's Pallo Jordan several months ago, gaining the impression that the organisation was "not ready to own or have any direct association with a newspaper yet."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the ANC would have no editorial control over a proposed new newspaper financed by Lonrho.

Niehaus said any such publication would be totally independent, with the ANC merely "facilitating" its establishment. The organisation would also not own shares in the publication, Niehaus stressed that the project was still in the investigative, speculative stage.
ANC shifts its stance on regionalism

A BREAKTHROUGH in constitutional negotiations is on the cards following significant shifts on regionalism by the ANC in its submissions to multiparty negotiations.

The ANC's new position would go a long way towards accommodating the anxieties of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), and in particular Inkatha, political observers said.

One source said the development was of such a nature that "Inkatha, and maybe even Bophuthatswana, would have difficulty in rejecting it easily".

The ANC's new stance was contained in a submission to the technical committee compiling documents on the various parties' policies on constitutional principles. Attempts to obtain a response yesterday from Inkatha on the ANC's submission were unsuccessful.

The negotiating council must now consider reports of the seven technical committees and it is expected that parties could start substantive talks on constitutional principles, including the future form of state and regional powers. The Cosag parties have insisted that these items top the agenda.

The ANC's submissions to the "technical" committee on constitutional principles call for national, regional and local governments to be set up democratically—with each having legislative and executive powers and functions. It implies that regions would also have their own constitutions and that their powers, functions and duties would be entrenched in the new national constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer is so optimistic at the new development that he says there is no longer any substantive difference on regionalism at the talks.

Meyer said negotiators were at the point "where a regional dispensation which has the hallmarks of federalism is in sight. It is something SA has never had before."

One source close to the committee working on the submissions said parts of the ANC document came "straight from the Consultative Business Movement's report on regionalism and they have moved much further from the position they held after their national conference on regionalism".

One negotiator on the 16-man planning committee said yesterday the constitutional committee's report was extremely comprehensive and provided a good basis to start negotiating substantive issues. The report would provide a "workable and real compromise that could lead to a breakthrough in the talks". This would clear the way for the outstanding issues to be tackled more quickly than anticipated.

ANC SHIFT

He said the ANC's submission would go "a long way to lessen the fears for Cosag even though it would not accommodate the CP's position of a confederal dispensation". It was now up to negotiators to "grasp the nettle and make good what the technical committee has started".

One issue that would have to be negotiated carefully was the relationship between central and regional governments. Inkatha and others in the Cosag fold were demanding, among other powers,
Whites' optimism reaches rock-bottom

WHITE optimism about a new SA plummeted to record lows after the assassination of SACP general secretary Chris Hani last month, a recent survey found.

"With black-on-white violence apparently increasing, it seems unlikely the spirits of the white electorate will lift significantly in the foreseeable future," Research Surveys Omnichek division said yesterday.

In a survey of 800 white women in the metropolitan areas during the week of Hani's assassination, Omnichek found 69% of respondents felt less optimistic about a future SA than they had six months before.

This was after the first attack on whites by Apia last September had caused levels of optimism "to plunge to hitherto unrecorded lows".

"These results lend urgency to the need for an election date to be set, and for the politicians to be seen to be reaching agreement on the vital issues facing the country," Omnichek director Binky Kellas said.

A survey among 800 black women in major metropolitan areas did not show a similar plunge.

"It seems black households are stuck in a slough of despond and that their mood cannot become any less negative than it already is," Omnichek said. — Sapa.
FW, Mandela to meet on crisis

Meanwhile, the South African Teachers Union has cancelled both meetings with the Department of Education and Training and the National Education Department.

But in a major effort to defuse the volatile situation resulting from the education crisis, State President PW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met yesterday, possibly within days.

SABC was scheduled to meet with the PEF today and another meeting with the PEF was to be held tomorrow.

SABC said yesterday they had already communicated their displeasure on salaries and rationalisation to De Klerk’s office.

Minister of National Education Dr Neiliba Mzimela was expected to step in yesterday “as a matter of urgency” to avoid a deepening of the education crisis.

The National Peace Committee yesterday has also moved to stem the tide of destruction of the past weeks.

The chairman of the NPC, Mr John Hall, yesterday said he was prepared to help any attempt to defuse any further incidents of conflict and wrangles around education.

“I am disappointed that opportunities for win-win solutions may have been missed through lack of communication and the structure of the peace accord will continue to offer their facilities to try to overcome shortcomings and difficulties,” Hall said yesterday.

Consulate cigarettes are available in tins and regular packs of 20’s and 30’s.

Sowetan Reporters and Sapa

Meanwhile, the Southern Transvaal region of Congress of South African Students said the march through Johannesburg today would go on as planned, whether or not permission was granted.

Cosas spokesman Mr Vilatto Ntshiba said: “It is the right to gather, it is freedom of assembly. It is not an acquisition of permission being granted or not a question of discipline.”

The build-up to the national students’ strike next month got off the ground yesterday as pupils and teachers in major cities took to the streets to protest against the education crisis.

Durban at standstill

In another development, about 2,500 technologists and university students brought Durban’s city centre to a standstill yesterday.

This was during a march to protest against the education crisis in general and the problems at the University of Durban-Westville in particular.

Meanwhile, students at the University of Zululand and Ezemvelo yesterday protested outside the University of Zululand, in particular.

Students claimed that Mvula’s appointment was undemocratic and was against the views of a high executive body of the university.
I nursed my hostage. Renthim, Renthim.

Negotiations at ANC camps

**Possible inquiry told**

Abuses in ANC camps

Biko charges still to be decided

**By Peter Wing**
A Shield... and a Word

The DP Bill of Rights could bridge the divisions in SA, claims Tony Leon

OPINION
Boom in DP Cape branches

Political Staff

THE number of operational Democratic Party branches in the Western Cape had quadrupled since the beginning of last year, DP regional director Mr Stuart McLoughlin said yesterday. “It is going better and better for us in the Western Cape,” he said. At the beginning of 1993, the DP had 14 operational branches in the Western Cape. It now has 56 branches in the region.
THE CP should realise the only place that it could fight for self-determination was at the conference table. DP MP for Constantia Mr Roger Hulley yesterday said.

Speaking during the debate on the Budget of Ministers Council chairman Mr Adriann Vlok, he said self-determination should be correctly seen as the “free expression of individual will.”

But his statement came as CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the CP would only negotiate as long they led to self-determination, but would pull out once this option was closed.

Dr Hartzenberg said the CP would not stay at the negotiating table to make its own funeral arrangements.

He added it seemed that negotiations were increasingly being used to rubber-stamp agreements between the NP and ANC.

Also yesterday, CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said the party would have no other choice but to reconsider participating in part-time military service if members of uMkhonto weSizwe were absorbed as an organisation into the SADF.
whites hopes plummet — survey

JOHANNESBURG. — White optimism in a new South Africa plummeted to record lows after the assassination of South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani last month, according to the findings of a survey.

"With black-on-white violence apparently increasing, it seems unlikely the spirits of the white electorate will lift in the foreseeable future," the Omnichek division of Research Surveys said yesterday.

It conducted a study among 800 white women in the metropolitan areas during the week of Mr Hani's murder.

Impact

It said 65% of the respondents felt less optimistic about a future South Africa than they had six months before.

"The assassination of Mr Chris Hani had a profound impact on the mood of whites, taking levels of optimism, which were already at a record low, even further down," Omnichek said.

Sixty-six percent of Afrikaners were less optimistic, compared with 60% of English-speaking white women. — Sapa
Optimism as ANC shifts position

Own Correspondent

Johannesburg. - A breakthrough in constitutional negotiations is on the cards following significant shifts on regionalism by the ANC in its submissions to multi-party negotiations.

The ANC's new position would go a long way towards accommodating the anxieties of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and in particular Inkatha, political observers said.

The ANC's new stance was contained in a submission to the technical committee compiling documents on the various parties' policies on constitutional principles.

Attempts to obtain a response yesterday from Inkatha were unsuccessful.

The negotiating council meets today to consider reports of the seven technical committees and it is expected that parties could start substantive talks on constitutional principles, including the future form of state and regional powers.

The ANC's submissions call for national, regional and local governments to be set up democratically — with each having legislative and executive powers and functions. It implies that regions would also have their own constitutions and that their powers, functions and duties would be entrenched in the new national constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer is so optimistic at the new development that he says there is no longer any substantive difference on regionalism at the talks.
Mr Colin Eglin, a senior member of the Democratic Party’s negotiations team, says an election date for South Africa’s first inclusive elections cannot be set yet, writes a

Sowetan Correspondent:

Colin Eglin ... no election date yet.

"If we are to follow the present process as agreed to at Codesa, we believe checks and balances have to be built into the constitution now."

Eglin said it had to be considered that a year or two after the elections the constitution-making body or parliament may not have arrived at a new constitution.

A clear majority could even just adopt the existing constitution as a final one with whatever flaws it contained.

The DP therefore believed the process should first agree on constitutional principles which must form the basis of the first democratic constitution and any subsequent amendments to it.

National unity

The MPNP must then draw up such a constitution incorporating the concept of an interim government of national unity.

The MPNP must agree on the procedures and percentages whereby a new parliament can amend it to produce a “final” constitution, on the body which will adjudicate whether any amendments are in keeping with the principles and a time scale to ensure the new parliament will in fact produce a “final” constitution.

According to the DP’s proposals, agreement on a Transitional Executive Council and its sub-committees, directed at levelling the playing fields for the election, should be reached at the same time.

Only once agreement on all these elements had been achieved, can the TEC be brought into being and an election date announced, formally starting the election process.

After the elections the new parliament and interim government of national unity could be installed and the regional and local government structures phased in, Eglin said.
HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

PROCEEDINGS OF THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION


 Honest of Education Since the Education Act of 1912

The Education Act of 1912 was the first education legislation in the country, which aimed to improve the quality of education and ensure that all children had access to a basic education. The minister has been working hard to implement this act and has been successful in increasing access to education for all children. However, there is still a lot of work to be done to ensure that every child has access to quality education.

The minister has been working closely with the local communities to ensure that they are involved in the decision-making process and that their needs are met. He has also been working with the private sector to ensure that they also play a role in providing education to the children.

The minister has been working hard to ensure that the education system is modernized and that it meets the needs of the 21st century. He has been working closely with the ministry of finance to ensure that there is enough funding to support the education system.

The minister has been working closely with the teachers unions to ensure that they are involved in the decision-making process and that their needs are met. He has also been working with the parents to ensure that they are involved in the decision-making process and that their children's needs are met.

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New-found seriousness at negotiating council session

Meeting on substantive issues goes off without a hitch

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The negotiating council’s session at the World Trade Centre was mostly characterised by a new-found seriousness but it had its lighter moments.

Delegates were clearly relieved yesterday that the first meeting to discuss substantive issues went off without a hitch.

This prompted Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo to commend Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose on his handling of the meeting.

"If your conduct and your political acumen match one another, the future is bright," Mr Slovo said. But Dr Mdlalose was quick off the mark and jokingly remarked: "I don’t know if that is a kiss of death."

Just before this exchange, Conservative Party negotiator Thomas Langley told the meeting in Afrikaans that at the next meeting he would speak only in Afrikaans and his party’s documentation would be presented in the same language.

This led Communist Party delegate Dr Essop Pahad to remark that from now on he would be speaking only Gujarati.

As the meeting was nearing its end, Mrs J Gouws of the Afrikaner Volksunie told delegates that when she first joined negotiations she was anxious about the "rush" to reach an agreement. But now that she had witnessed the "amicable relationship" between Dr Mdlalose and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa her fears had been allayed.

It appears that Members of Parliament seem to forget that they are at the World Trade Centre and not in Cape Town. Some bow to the chairman when they leave and return to the council chamber. Some also refer to the "honourable members".

The last chuckle came at an African National Congress Press conference. Mr Ramaphosa, Mr Slovo, Mr Mac Maharaj and Mr Carl Niehaus were sitting in front of a huge television screen.

Suddenly the colours blue, white and orange appeared behind them.

When they noticed this, one of them said: "It’s the NP colours." But Mr Niehaus said: "It is the flag."

Then the technician responsible explained that the orange was actually red. At this point Mr Slovo showed renewed interest and jokingly said: "Is there red?"

In the short negotiations tradition, it was decided that only blue would appear on the television screens.

After the joint government-National Party conference, government spokesman Marius Kleynhans inadvertently said: "The PAC will now take over from the government."
Canada will step up aid for SA

JOHANNESBURG. Canada today reaffirmed its commitment to help ease the transition to democracy in South Africa by announcing it was pumping an additional R14,4 million into its support programme.

External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said this after talks with African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

She said assistance for public sector reform was being increased by R14 million to R21 million and R420 000 had been provided to support community-based policing in South Africa.

"Canada is very encouraged by the recent and significant progress in the multiparty negotiations in South Africa," said Mrs McDougall.

"Canada will continue to provide both political and practical support to the process we expect to lead to a new democratic and non-racial South Africa."

Mrs McDougall is on a three-day visit to South Africa. She will meet President De Klerk in Cape Town today. — Sapa.
Tutu to meet Clinton today over SA

HUGH ROBERTON
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON, — President Bill Clinton will have a 30-minute meeting with Archbishop Desmond Tutu today.

It will be Mr Clinton's first private meeting with a prominent South African since his inauguration four months ago.

Before the meeting, Archbishop Tutu will have extensive discussions with other senior US officials, among them the Assistant Secretary of State, Mr Clifton Wharton, and the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Mr George Moose.

Archbishop Tutu will also meet members of congress and today he will speak at a banquet to mark the opening of a conference on southern Africa organised by the African American Institute.

The major part of the archbishop's discussion with Mr Clinton will focus on developments in South Africa.

However, part of his mission in the US is, with other Nobel Peace Prize recipients, to focus international attention on continuing repression in Burma and the imprisonment there of leading opposition figures.
Survival 'depends on clear vote result' -

BUSINESS had to push for a "definite result" in the country's first democratic elections if it wanted to survive, a conference on voter education was told in Johannesburg yesterday.

Consultative Business Movement executive member Leon Cohen told the conference organized by the Continuing Education Programme that a clear cut result was needed to avoid polarization, which would lead to violence and ultimately the collapse of the economy.

"The issue is not to influence people's vote, but to influence employees to exercise their vote," he said.

Engen human resources consultant Mel Palmer told the conference that business had clear cut reasons for getting involved in the election process.

By encouraging employees to vote, a decisive victory for the winning party would head off the "Angola option", Palmer said.

Getting people to accept the result would also be difficult, but by promoting voter education, people would be encouraged to cast their ballots and accept the final decision.

With 8.8-million prospective voters, business would have to help with logistical arrangements, and give time off to workers who were involved in education programmes, as well as marshaling at polls.

Employees represented an influential force in their communities, as they had jobs, skills and respect, he said.

Promoting voter education among workers would have positive effects in the larger community.

However it was important that business was not perceived as biased to any party.

The emphasis had to be on education, and not on politics, he said.

In this respect, the trade unions could play an important role in the education process.
ANC clears way for talks breakthrough

THE ANC yesterday backed down on its demand that an elected constituent assembly be the only body to decide on the powers, functions and duties of regions — clearing the way for the most significant breakthrough in negotiations in the past two years.

Yesterday at the World Trade Centre the ANC accepted a resolution giving the technical committee the go-ahead to formulate recommendations on the structures, powers and functions of regions.

"The effect of this is that we have shifted the decision-making process forward and are showing doubters that we are serious about moving speedily forward," one ANC negotiator said. If the details were properly negotiated in the council, the elected body could approve them.

The aim of the ANC's decision is to accommodate the fears of, among others, Inkatha. It also signals acceptance that the multiparty forum could decide on such issues. Negotiators speculated that the trade-off the ANC sought was for Inkatha to accept the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Senior Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said that taken with the ANC’s concession that regions should have original powers and that central government should have overriding powers only in areas where there were concurrent powers, Inkatha should have very little problem in accepting this position.

He welcomed the move but cautioned against overoptimism. Until these were written in stone and a constitutional court had been established to prevent the ANC from "changing its mind during the inter-

im government stage", his party would be suspicious.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said: "The concession by the ANC on original powers is very significant and once we have decided on the constitutional principles, it is effectively written in stone."

The 28-party negotiating council yesterday urgently instructed the technical committee to complete this work as the powers and functions of regions were "crucial to issues such as the form of state and self-determination, and will be a fundamental part of the constitution."

The committee was also instructed to make recommendations on constitutional principles and the constitution-making process. The resolution binds the council to getting a commission on regional boundaries off the ground by next week, to report back within six weeks.

The council also accepted what ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa termed "a major breakthrough on self-determination that will give certain parties great comfort." This was the technical committee acknowledging that self-determination was a right.

The committee said it was a right in the sense of making one's own choices, developing potential, securing one's well-being and not being subject to undue external pressure and domination.

Indications from other negotiators are that the CP could walk out of the talks as its demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland would not be accommodated.

It is also understood that government...
Talks at a point of ‘no return’

Moment of truth has arrived for Conservative Party:

The ANC and the government last night agreed that negotiations were reaching a point of no return after yesterday's successful meeting of the 20-party negotiating council.

The key players were confident that a date for the first democratic elections would be announced before the end of the negotiating forum meets.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the "moment of truth" for the Conservative Party had arrived because it was clearly seeking a "cessationist option".

The key points to emerge were the "demystification" of the right of self-determination and consensus that all constitutional principles were inter-related and could not be dealt with separately.

Negotiators said this meant that the Concerned South Africans group had effectively waivered their insistence that the form of state be decided before anything else.

The main achievements were:

- A report be drafted on constitutional principles which will form the broad outline of a new constitution;
- Draft legislation be prepared for an independent media commission and an independent electoral commission; and
- A regional elections commission submit recommendations within the next six weeks on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The debate was overshifted by the first item on self-determination in the constitutional technical committee's report.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the NP's Mr Dawie de Villiers proposed that the report from the constitutional technical committee be dealt with in a "balancing manner".

They argued that the principle of self-determination had an impact on other constitutional principles such as regionalism, the form of state and a fundamental Bill of Rights.

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1992/3 BOOKINGS NOW OPEN
Talks at ‘point of no return’

By Esther Waugh
and Kaizer Nyatombu

The ANC and the Government last night agreed that negotiations were reaching a point of irreversibility after yesterday’s successful meeting of the 25-party Negotiating Council.

The key players were confident that a date for the first democratic elections would be announced before June 2, when the negotiating forum meets. And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the “moment of truth” for the Conservative Party had arrived because it was clearly seeking a secessionist option.

The key points to emerge were the “demythicisation” of the right to self-determination, and consensus that all constitutional principles were interrelated and could not be dealt with separately.

Negotiators said this meant that the Concerned Southern Africans Group had effectively waived its insistence that the form of state be decided before anything else.

The main achievements were that:

- A report be drafted on constitutional principles which will form the broad outline of a new constitution.
- Draft legislation be prepared for an independent media commission and an independent electoral commission.
- A regionalism commission submit recommendations within the next six weeks on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.
- The debate was overshadowed by the first item on self-determination in the constitutional technical committee’s report.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers proposed that the report from the constitutional technical committee be dealt with in a “holistic manner”.

They argued that the principle of self-determination had an impact on other constitutional principles such as regionalism, the form of state, and a fundamental Bill of Rights.

Many delegates echoed Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan’s view that the technical committee had dealt with an emotional issue in a clinical way.

Afrikaner Volksnieuwe negotiator Chris de Jager said he was happy that self-determination was a right and not a favour.

But CP negotiator Thomas Langley said he did not share the euphoria of the others.

He claimed that a unitary state was the point of departure of the technical committee’s report. In fact, it was a classic Soviet view, he said.

In its submission the CP said a number of states — and at least two, an Afrikaner state and a new South Africa — should be negotiated.

However, Meyer warned that the time had come for the CP to submit its constitutional plan so that all delegates could evaluate the implications of the party’s secessionist option.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said afterwards that no party could disagree with self-determination in a national context, (but) the PAC would never agree to the creation of many states within one country.
ANC backs down on
Mandela, FW meet

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will hold a crisis summit in the city today in a bid to defuse the education crisis sweeping the country.

The meeting — coupled with 11th-hour talks between ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak and National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais on Friday — prompted the government to postpone a major education news conference for today.

A senior government source last night said there were “very encouraging developments” which may help to defuse the mushrooming education crisis.

CALL TO BACK TEACHERS’ STRIKE

The emergency meetings will take place against a background of two days of sharp clashes in education debates in Parliament.

Yesterday, following the cancellation of a Johannesburg march by chief magistrate Mr O de Meyer, the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) said it would not apply for permission to stage mass protests, opting instead to replan strategies.

Also, church leaders in Johannesburg yesterday agreed to request an urgent meeting with Mr De Klerk after meeting representatives of the South African Democratic Teachers’ Union (Sadtu) and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee.

Other indications of turmoil include:

- Opposition MPs in the House of Delegates (HoD) and House of Representatives (HoR) this week walked out in protest at the crisis.
- A walkout by Labour Party MPs in the House of Representatives.
- A mass march by HoR teachers through the city centre today.
- The cancellation of mid-year examinations at DET schools.

Government and opposition MPs yesterday clashed on how the crisis should be handled.

The chairman of the Minister’s Council in the House of Assembly, Mr Adriaan Vlok, denied that the “lost generation” was the creation of the NP and accused the ANC of consistently abusing pupils “as part of the struggle to overthrow the regime”.

The HoR Minister of Education, Mr Pieter Saaiman, last night said the Ministers Council would not allow organisations with “political motives” to tell them how to manage education.

He said the “negative mass hysteria” in education circles had nothing to do with education, but the propaganda had affected teachers who had “swallowed ghost stories” about mass dismissals as truth.
**Goodbye packages**

About half the 60 members facing retrenchment at the end of June, when the President's Council will be abolished, have not served long enough to qualify for pensions and tax-free gratuities.

They will simply be paid back their pension fund contributions — now about R650 a month — plus 5% and an equal amount paid by the State. Members who have served for five years or more will receive pensions calculated in terms of the law on political office bearers.

The only concession is that the minimum period of office to qualify for a pension under the law has been reduced from seven-and-a-half years to five. All members have also been allocated an additional six months' service for the purpose of calculating payouts.

In terms of the arrangement, members who have served at least five years will receive a tax-free gratuity of some R96 000 plus a monthly pension of about R2 600.

Those with more than five years' service will receive higher amounts pro rata up to a maximum of 15 years' service in the case of pensions, but with no limit for gratuities. Service accumulated elsewhere, such as parliament, will be added for the purpose of calculating payments.
One form of oligarchy for another

Full democracy in New SA might be postponed. Reports Carrier Thomson
but few enjoy the view
Sun sets on own affairs
Mirror Image of SA Nighthorse

A woman in line for a top legal post is fighting an apartheid battle for US blacks

Inkatha move delays talks on settlement

By THEMBA KHUMALO

DESpite some progress made in multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre on Friday, Inkatha has warned that it might pull out if the negotiating forum pressed ahead with a constitutional settlement without properly addressing the question of violence.

The warning came through a lengthy document which Inkatha general-secretary Dr Frank Malalose unsuccessfully tried to read to the delegates on Friday.

Other delegates objected strongly to Inkatha being permitted to present the paper to the forum because of the serious allegations it contained which would warrant a response from the government, the ANC and the Transkei government.

After a two-hour delay it was agreed that the document be referred to a special technical committee which will report to the forum next Friday.

The detailed document on violence, which Inkatha said was spurred by the ANC and the government "convenience" to sideline it, said it would be folly for the negotiating forum to hasten the fixing of an election date while violence continued unabated.

Killed with AK-47s

The fact of the matter is that the IFP can't see its way through to negotiating a settlement if this forum continues to pretend that the violence only needs to be sorted out later.

"When is the end of the road? What happens in between? Are we to lose another five or 15 or 25 leaders? Is there to be a repeat of the nine massacres in Natal/KwaZulu that took place in the last few months of last year, mostly committed by hit squads in uniform?" Inkatha asked in the document.

It maintained that 270 of its leaders have been systematically killed with modern weapons, including AK-47s.

Among those who allegedly called for the killing of Inkatha leaders was the late SACP leader Chris Hani and several ANC leaders in Natal, the movement claimed. It said Hani had in the past publicly called for the murder of Buthelezi and members of the IFP Central Committee.

Inkatha said it found it strange that despite the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Accords and the National Peace Accord, the government was party to an agreement permitting the continued training of the "self-same cadres that are being deployed against us in SA".

It accused Pretoria of being party to another pact that put all the blame on political violence on Inkatha, whose hostel supporters were to be fenced in like animals while totally exonerating those attacking them.

The document also called for the banning of private armies, both from the left and the right and called on Pretoria "to stop treating MK with kid gloves".
US ready to help, says Tutu

PETER FABRICIUS

WASHINGTON. — President Clinton has indicated he will be ready to give South Africa an economic “kick-start” once a multiparty transitional executive has been installed.

And this could happen by the end of this month, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said yesterday after a 30-minute meeting with Mr Clinton — the first he has had with a prominent South African since he took office in January.

Archbishop Tutu said details were not discussed, but Mr Clinton had expressed willingness to help a transitional government off to a good start — partly because the South African economy would be the engine that drove the economy in Southern Africa and further afield.

Archbishop Tutu was said he was confident enough with the progress in negotiations to expect that by the end of May he would be able to call on Mr Clinton to lift remaining sanctions — especially those that blocked South African access to International Monetary Fund and World Bank loans and facilities.

If South Africa were to wait until a final government was installed before investment began, people’s expectations would have “gone through the roof.”

“The world is waiting to help us and what we heard in the Oval Office is that the US is ready to give us a kick-start. We need investment and we have very considerable sympathy from the president.”

During his meeting with President Clinton and his staff, vice-president Al Gore raised the possibility of South Africa joining a wider effort to bring aid to war-torn Southern Sudan, Archbishop Tutu said.

This effort could help weld together South Africans who had grown apart because of apartheid.

Mr Gore’s suggestion came after Archbishop Tutu complained that Africa was being marginalised and pleaded for those African countries pursuing democracy to be rewarded.
Malan daughter pro-ANC

JOHANNESBURG. — The daughter of former Defence Minister Magnus Malan, Ms Madelein Malan, would prefer to be led by leaders in the ANC than by right-wing extremists.

"I've been feeling like that for quite a while," Ms Malan said yesterday.

"I felt like writing to these people (right-wingers) and hearing their comments, but I didn't get to writ ing."

"When I see them on TV, I feel resentment about their talking about Afrikaners because they're trying to speak for a whole group and they don't speak for all Afrikaners.

Ms Malan said she was "positive" towards the ANC.

"There are some people who are really good leaders and they could lead this country into a very good future."

— Reuters
Canada to raise its stake in democracy

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

Canada's announced yesterday that it would provide an extra R20 million rand to facilitate the transition to democracy in South Africa.

Canadian External Affairs Minister Mrs Barbara McDougall said after talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday that her government was injecting an extra 10.3 million Canadian dollars (about R24.72m) into the programme.

She said assistance for public sector reform was being increased by 10m dollars (about R24.72m) to 15m dollars (about R32m), and 500 000 dollars (about R720 000) had been provided to support community-based policing in South Africa.

Sapa reports that Mrs McDougall, who is also the chairwoman of the Commonwealth Committee of Foreign Ministers on Southern Africa, said: "Canada is very encouraged by the recent and significant progress in the multi-party negotiations in South Africa.

"Canada will continue to provide both political and practical support to the process we expect to lead to a new democratic and non-racial South Africa."}

Mrs McDougall will meet President F W de Klerk at Westbrooke this morning and will fly with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to Johannesburg on Friday. The two will address a joint press conference at Jan Smuts Airport.

"Mr Botha will visit Egypt, which is about to assume the chairmanship of the Organisation of African Unity, next week.

While in Cairo Mr Botha is expected to meet with the foreign ministers and heads of state of several African countries."
Congenial talks... US President Bill Clinton meets Archbishop Desmond Tutu in the Oval Office at the White House.

US offers economic boost

By Peter Fabian
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton has indicated that he would be ready to give South Africa an economic "kick-start" once a multiparty transitional executive authority had been installed — and this could happen by the end of this month.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said this on Wednesday after a meeting with the American president.

"Tutu said no "nitpicky" details were discussed. But Clinton had expressed willingness to help a transitional government get off to a good start, partly because, once the South African economy was running, it would be the engine driving the economy of southern Africa.

The conference, devoted to an examination of the ways in which the US could aid Africa, is to be addressed by prominent Americans, including Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

"Aid has made little difference to the lives of those who it was intended to help, finding its way far too frequently into the coffers of the thoroughly corrupt and grossly inefficient ruling elites intent on a fast buck, of tinpot military dictators who have cared not one iota about human rights and civil liberties," Tutu said.

He said Africa should demilitarise as quickly as possible.
Generals launch a leaky ship of unity

BY JAIN TAALIRED

SHAKY at the gate... The African National Congress (ANC) yesterday launched its new youth orga

nisation, the battle for African self-determination could be linked on the high seas of broader South African politics, the front was already shipping water.

While a jet-jawed Constand Viljoen and his fellow generals were seemingly still standing firm at the helm of the ship's Good Ship AFW, definite changes were afoot on its lower decks and engine room.

As smaller opportunities such as the Kook Vermeulen of the World Apartheid Movement were forced to the plank in the work leading up to the official launch, Wednesday's meeting was marked by attacks by the Conservative Party in assembler within the front.

CP MPs constituted the majority of delegates and voters at the meeting and duly elected their leader, Pieter Botha, as chairman of the AWB's executive council. Although.

18 different groups took part in the founding meeting, five CP members were eventually elected to the eight-man council.

"The odds may shift even more in favour of the CP, carrying the move to support the HNP executive has discarded the matter. If he stays out, Marais' position will be taken by another CP MP, Andrew Steyn.

But it is almost a foregone conclusion that Marais and the HNP will not become part of the AFW. Marais has young reservations about the role of the generals in the front, while his interpretation of 'self-determination' differs vastly from that of the others.

Even more significant is the fact that no member of Andries Beens' Afrikaner Volksfront (AVU) was elected to the executive council of the front.

The AVU also refused to support a clause in the founding document applicant to the rejection of a unitary State in which other nations will rule.

While the AVU agrees with the broad principle of the clause, the real issue on which they differ with other parties was the granting of citizenship in the future Afrikaner region.

However, who would dearly love to sell a morally acceptable policy in the world, but no objections to the granting of citizenship to other races in an area already dominated by Afrikaners.

The role of the African Workers' Congress and its leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, in the front remains something of an enigma. Terre'Blanche has not attended a single AWB meeting in person, but was elected to its executive council.

The AWB was represented at the meeting by the relatively unknown Fred Randle.

Until recently, Randle was not an AWB member, having been more deeply involved in the CP in Johanneburg, where he was a regional organiser for the party.

But as Viljoen and the other generals try to navigate the AVF through the treacherous founding shallows, it would be premature to forecast the possible demise of the AWF.

Small groups may rise off along the way, taking the ideal of complete rightwing unity with them. But the chances are that the AVF will consolidate itself in the near future as the major power bloc to the right of the government.
NEGOTIATING fatigue among ordinary people gets little attention from media too absorbed by the interesting debates at the World Trade Centre.

However, events following the death of Chris Hani — the increasing defiance of orders from African National Congress by various sectors of the mass democratic movement, the seriousness of the right-wing threat with the emergence of the Committee of Generals, Inkatha’s version of mass action and the increasing popularity of the Pan Africanist Congress on account of Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apla) rhetoric on armed struggle — all highlight the growing crisis of confidence in the negotiation process.

This has nothing to do with the celebrated achievements of the process so far: the release of political prisoners, return of exiles, lifting of some of the repressive laws or even the lifting of some sanctions, reintegration of South Africa to international sport and academia; and the many medals and support for ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk as messengers of peace in South Africa. These have fallen short of the real thing — a lasting political settlement. The result is a nation losing patience with, and increasingly less confident in, the negotiation process.

With no by-elections taking place, it is difficult to assess adequately white support for De Klerk. However, there is evidence of a strong right-wing consensus among those opposed to the negotiation process — enough to suggest that if a whites-only general election were to be held today, the National Party would lose.

Mobilised behind this group includes:
- The disgruntled white working class whose frustration with lost trade union power was expressed in their request that their members attending Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht’s funeral should be accorded the same treatment by employers as their black counterparts during Hani’s funeral.
- Farmers who are increasingly uncertain about their future and incensed by Apla’s racist attacks.

On the other hand, De Klerk can count on the old Democratic Party support-base of the mainly English-speaking middle class, industrialists and business. These stand to benefit from an internationally integrated South Africa.

In the absence of scientifically reliable and quantifiable frame of analysis, these indicators point to strong support for the anti-negotiations group among whites. This is probably more so as the negotiation process has failed, certainly so far, to sow a rift between the ANC and South Africans. Communist Party, or diminish Mandela’s or the ANC’s standing in the black community.

Among blacks, there is a sense in which the continued support for the ANC is more a function of both the stature of its leader, Mandela, and the absence of a serious alternative, than its performance in the theatre of struggle since February 1990. The organisation has survived many unpopular policy decisions and errors in political judgment that would not have been possible by others.

These include the suspension of the armed struggle at the height of what was perceived to be state-sponsored violence; the seeming inability to provide adequate responses to the violence that saw many of its supporters killed; its review of many of its socio-economic policies, proposing increasingly more reformists and gradualists policies than previously was the case. At the negotiation table, similarly, the organisation seems enthusiastic for a compromise.

The negotiators are thought to be unaccountable and not reporting back sufficiently to the grassroots.

There is also a growing criticism of the ANC for engaging in substantive constitutional issues even before the election of a constituent assembly. These include issues to do with regional structures or federalism, economic policy (which should be party policy rather than a constitutional matter), a Bill of Rights and others. True or otherwise, the disquiet on these matters can cost the organisation critical votes.

The strongest challenge to the ANC negotiating strategy is its abandonment of all other forms of struggle. The armed struggle, although suspended, is in fact abandoned. The sanctions campaign is being relaxed programmatically in line with progress at the negotiation table. Mass action is embarked upon only when there are hitches at the negotiation table. All of this for the success of the negotiation strategy.

The consequence of this has been the demobilisation of organised grassroots support structures, which has had a negative effect on the branch and regional structures of the ANC. Only regions like Bophuthatswana, Natal and Border have been able to sustain their strength as they have been organised against the violence of the Bantrybush regimes.

Hani’s murder did not only anger the black community, it also unleashed the previously dormant frustrations with the negotiation process. For the first time, the understandably passionate plea for peace from Mandela was not uniformly heeded by his supporters.

Contrary to suggestions that the organisation is losing control of its members, evidence suggests that only those organisations who received a different message from their regional or sectoral structures and leaders acted against the sentiments of Mandela’s statement.

These developments point to a lack of control of even internal divisions, than an irreversible movement for mass involvement in the politics of transformation through mass action.

However, recent public differences between the ANC on the one hand and the South African Democratic Teachers’ Union and the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) on the other show the difficult challenge facing the organisation in trying to calm down the masses.

The open defiance of ANC western Cape chairman Alan Boesak by pro-bantustan Cosas students was one of the early signs of this schism. The public tongue-lashing of Peter Maposa by Mandela and the subsequent threat of disciplinary action was not well received by youths. The anger of the masses is reaching bursting point.

The deep rumblings outside the World Trade Centre highlight the urgency of the political settlement. The voice of reason is increasingly losing ground. The theatre of war is becoming more attractive. Its consequences are dire for a country that holds a ray of hope for socio-economic recovery of not only southern Africa, but the continent as a whole.

The obvious case for a negotiated settlement is not so obvious to those uncertain about the future holds for them and those implicate with racial oppression and unduly prolonged process of change.

This is a challenge to South Africa’s leadership to move fastly before it is too late.

@Sipho Mdlalose is a political sociologist at the University of Fort Hare.
Is the Volkstalist idea so crazy?

We should take the Right's ideas more seriously, argues Chris Whittlefield.
Keep talking – Commonwealth

By Helen Grange

The Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) has called on politicians not to let recent events, including the PAC arrests, derail the negotiations process.

The appeal was made yesterday by visiting Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

He was present at the release of Comsa’s second report on violence in South Africa, and announced the pending arrival of another group of Commonwealth observers — including experts in elections monitoring — in July.

“Part of the reason for my current visit is to consult broadly on how the Commonwealth can contribute to the success of the negotiations,” the chief said.

Anyaoku, who arrived on Tuesday, has already met ANC leader Nelson Mandela, President de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

He said speculation that the Commonwealth was considering withdrawing from South Africa was unfounded.

Comsa chairman Duncan Chappell called for a concerted effort to build a culture of political tolerance, especially as violence would probably escalate in the run-up to the elections.

Summarising Comsa’s report, covering the period from February to May, Chappell said it noted that “some of the worst forms of political intolerance” had been witnessed after the murder of Chris Hani.

The report pointed out that until the Hani assassination, there had been a marked decrease in violence in the PWV area.

Positive developments noted are, among others:

- The resumption of negotiations with a far broader participation than in the past, and indications that an election date would soon be set. The report commends the broad consensus that negotiations should not be held hostage to violence.
- Greater respect for Peace Accord structures, and their increased efficacy.
- Some hopeful beginnings to building a culture of political tolerance, including the restraint called for after Hani’s assassination.

The report, however, notes that graffiti, slogans and chants “underscore a rise in intolerance at the very time when it is crucial that inflammatory remarks give way to considered political debate”.

It recommends that practical suggestions be made on the holding of marches, which should be better planned. It is critical of the draft legislation put forward by the Goldstone Commission on public gatherings, which it views as “unduly restrictive”.

The report also recommends banning the display of weapons at public gatherings and a comprehensive policy for dealing with weapons, including a buy-back scheme.

The TBVC states should also be reincorporated at the earliest possible date, with Pretoria using pressure if necessary, the report suggests.

The report is highly critical of the State’s correctional system, which it says is “bursting at the seams”, yet which is expected to cope with ever-increasing numbers of inmates.”
Ministering to women’s needs

SISTERS have decided to minister to themselves — at a conference earlier this month, women’s delegates decided to lobby for a women’s ministry.

Their demand was fuelled by the technical committee membership lists of the negotiating forum announced on the same weekend. Of the 43 members, only five are women. And there are no women on the constitutional committee.

“I am ashamed of my organisation,” said the African National Congress’ Precious Gwava at the conference. “How are a bunch of men going to produce a non-sexist constitution?”

Only after a long struggle was it agreed earlier this year that each of the 36 teams negotiating the country’s future should have at least one woman member.

About 200 women representing business, academia, labour and the rural areas met a fortnight ago to map out a parliamentary road. They decided that a women’s ministry would free resources and give gender issues clout. A women’s minister would sit in the cabinet and be at the cutting edge of policy and law-making.

But, many delegates were concerned that gender issues would be “ghettoised” by creating a separate ministry.

They warned that, depending on the commitment to this ministry, it could evolve into being under-resourced and under-staffed.

It could also go the way of the women’s ministry in Malawi, which is little more than Kamuzu Hastings Banda’s entertainment wing, serving tea and embalming public functions.

For some conference delegates, therefore, women’s desks in government departments and in regional and local government structures were a popular option. “These desks would... look after women’s interests within a department,” said Cathi Albertson of the Gender Research Project at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Other likely mechanisms in a new government are state-funded parliamentary committees — to check all draft legislation for its gender sensitivity — and independent advisory councils to research, review and report on gender issues to parliament.

But, as Gwava says, these “beautiful models” are useless without enforcement mechanisms. Means of enforcement include an equal opportunities commission which would investigate discriminatory employment practices; a human rights commission to probe human rights abuses and an ombudsman.

Legal enforcement could be assisted by clauses guaranteeing women’s equality in a Bill of Rights, a women’s charter and a women’s litigation fund, which would fund test cases.

These are lofty concepts which need to be debated. More essential is the building of a strong women’s movement, says Pregs Govender, the project manager of the Women’s National Coalition.

“There has not been a sustained, nationally co-ordinated movement focusing on gender-specific issues, like violence against women and the right to control one’s own body,” she says. Instead, women have organised around political issues. The 1956 march on the Union Buildings and the Crossroads women who stripped to shame policemen bulldozing shacks are etched in the country’s history books.

To break the silence of women in the negotiations process, the WNC has started a campaign “to help women identify their needs and to (make an) impact on the constitutional-making process”.

It is an ambitious project, touted as the “biggest participatory research project ever”. Fieldworkers will go out this year and find out where women are in the country, and which organisations they belong to. In a Freedom Charter-like exercise, they will document the diverse needs of South Africa’s women.

From the conference, it emerged that these may include demands as diverse as water for the women of Moutse to tax reform for professional women.

After sifting through the demands, five key needs will be determined and campaigns around each of these planned, to get women involved in the transitional process.
DP sure of seven percent of vote

By CHRIS LOUW

THE Democratic Party has unveiled its highly optimistic voting projections for South Africa’s first non-racial elections:

Based on independent research and polls on voter attitudes, the DP believes it is sure — even before starting to campaign — of seven percent of all the votes cast, and has the potential to secure 18 percent.

Current trends show that the African National Congress’ support is growing steadily; the National Party is consistently losing support; support for the DP is growing among whites, coloureds and Asians; the Inkatha Freedom Party is losing black support while gaining white support; the Conservative Party has grown by 30 percent among whites; and the Pan Africanist Congress stands on a steady nine percent of urban black support.

However, the DP admits these figures are based on limited information and ignore voter sentiment in the rural areas — almost half the country’s voters.

Accepting that 400 members will be chosen on a proportional basis for the constituent assembly that will double as parliament, the DP’s projections are that the ANC will win 197 seats (49 percent of the vote), the NP 69 seats (17 percent), the DP 60 seats (15 percent), the IFP 26 seats (seven percent), the PAC 22 seats (six percent), the CP 17 seats (four percent) and other parties eight seats.

If a cabinet of 20 members is formed representing all the parties proportionally, the DP’s projection is that the ANC will have 10 cabinet members, the NP four, the DP three and the IFP, PAC and CP one each.

The DP is hoping to draw at least five percent of the African vote. Its ultimate aim, according to national council chairman David Gant, is to hold the balance of power in the cabinet.
NP strategists steal the constitution

The drawing up of a new constitution by stealth— that is what South Africans experienced this week. Yesterday, National Party strategists were satisfied that they are setting “in stone” the conditions under which a future government will rule the country.

At the same time, they are ensuring that the NP’s effective participation in a transitional government of national unity will be protracted for as long as possible. Decisions by the negotiating council on Tuesday to refer crucial issues to technical committees have given reality to the spectre — as recently predicted by political analyst Frederik van Zyl Slabbert — that real democracy may only arrive in South Africa by the year 2000.

Although the first countrywide non-racial elections for a constituent assembly will probably only take place early next year, the outline of the future constitution for a democratic South Africa is already taking shape at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Major concessions by the African National Congress this week helped not only to ensure that the process continued, but also to set the parameters of the new constitution. The effect of these concessions was that the present multi-party negotiation forum will have a much greater influence on the shape and substance of the ultimate constitution than the ANC would have liked.

Decisions such as the determination of constitutional principles before a constituent assembly is elected will ensure that the parameters in which the ANC can manoeuvre will “effectively be written in stone”, to quote Democratic Party negotiator Colin Eglin.

In the process, the NP is succeeding in laying down conditions which will prolong its hold on power for another few years. The ANC is sure to win a considerable majority of representatives to the constituent assembly. This would ensure that the organisation has a decisive say in the formulation of the new constitution.

However, NP strategists — pre-empting a landslide victory for the ANC in the constituent assembly — are determined to curb as far as possible the powers of the elected constitutional body. This week they scored a major victory when the ANC agreed to refer, among others, decisions on the structures, powers and functions of regions to a technical committee.

The effect of the ANC’s concession is that the final decisions on regions will now be taken by the multi-party forum representing 26 different parties — not by the democratically elected constituent assembly, where the ANC would have been in a position to force through its decisions.

In March, the ANC’s mouthpiece, Mayibuye, when explaining the movement’s official regional policy, stated that the constituent assembly “will have full authority to decide the boundaries, powers, functions and structures of the regions”.

It was also expected the transitional executive council would appoint a delimitation commission to settle the electoral boundaries and to make recommendations on the final powers and functions of the regions to the constituent assembly.

But this week’s decisions by the negotiating council preclude the constituent assembly’s authority, and mean that the multi-party forum will now have the final say.

The ANC’s concession on the issue is seen as a determined effort to keep the Inkatha Freedom Party locked into the negotiations. The IFP demands strong regional government, insisting that the form of government be determined before the election of the constituent assembly.

The ANC was also playing straight into the hands of NP strategists. Commenting on decisions taken by the 26-party negotiating council this week, Stellenbosch political scientist Rocky Gagiano said the process of incrementally writing a constitution for the country was well under way.

“The NP’s strategy is to lock as many conditions in as possible so that the ANC will not be in a position to dilute them once it is the majority party,” he said. “In the end, it will basically be left with filling in the detail of a new constitution, while the parameters within which it can manoeuvre are set by the multi-party forum, which is not an elected body.”
PUPILS will be ordered back to school if the meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — which was in progress until late yesterday — produces tangible results.

This assurance was given yesterday by Congress of South African Students president Mr Moses Maseko.

But the SA Democratic Teachers Union said it would not commit itself because the meeting between the two leaders would not reach finality. It would only lay the groundwork for a meeting between the union and the Department of National Education.

"They (the leaders) can agree on broad education issues such as the education and training forum but the salary issue is an employer-employee question," said Sattu general-secretary Mr Thulas Nxesi.

Cosas has called on all pupils to report to school on Monday so that they could get their regular briefing from their leaders.

The leader of the United Nations observer mission, Miss Angela King, had earlier called on pupils to use demonstrations sparingly and urged them to go back to school and register.

Responding to this, Maseko said they would call an urgent meeting with the observer mission to "clarify the issue": "I think they don't understand the underlying issues. Their call for pupils to register is cause for concern. It makes us question their neutrality," Maseko said.
DET suspends matric exam fees

Govt, ANC smooth over schools crisis

CAPE TOWN — Nearly 10 hours of talks between delegations led by President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have laid the foundations for a resolution to the education crisis.

Government and ANC delegations emerged last night with a "potential breakthrough" after their scheduled two-hour meeting on Wednesday stretched over two days in two cities — Cape Town and Pretoria.

Among the most significant agreements reached was a government undertaking that education departments could suspend the R48 matric examination fee while efforts to resolve the crisis continued.

Sapa reports the Department of Education and Training immediately announced the suspension of fees for the November matric exams. Candidates who had paid would be reimbursed as soon as possible.

Government also, for the first time, set a target date for the establishment of the education forum and said the plight of the poorest paid teachers would be addressed during this financial year.

No joint statement was issued after the meeting, with the ANC delegation rushing to Johannesburg to brief the SA Democratic Teachers' and Support Staff in Education (Sadtu). But deputy government spokesman Richard Carter said: "The parties have drawn a lot closer on all three problem areas (the education forum, exam fees and teachers' salaries). They have agreed to work together."

A government statement after the meeting said: "The government is at present considering all the inputs of the role-players it has consulted during the past weeks. We welcome constructive proposals made by the ANC in this regard."

It welcomed the ANC commitment to promote the establishment of the education forum as quickly as possible, and expressed the hope that the discussions would remove the perception that government was not seriously committed to this goal.

It said that with the necessary co-operation of all role-players, such a forum could be established before the end of June. "We believe that a properly constituted education forum would be the appropriate mechanism to address the many complicated issues."

Government also backed down on its insistence that examination fees be paid, saying ANC proposals provided a good basis to resolve the problem without compromising the user-charge principle. "Against this background, government has decided that any education department can suspend the payment of exam fees for 1993 pending negotiations."

Government acknowledged that the proposed 5% salary increase was inadequate and that there were special categories in the teaching profession and the public service that merited sympathetic attention. While government remained firm that it could not move materially beyond budgeted amounts, it was prepared to take a fresh look at the plight of "certain limited categories". This would include teachers at the bottom end of the salary scale.

Given the successful continuation of overall cost-cutting plans and an improvement in the economy, government expected it would be possible to make funds available later in the financial year.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus described the meeting as "constructive", but added that it remained to be seen how far government was prepared to go in meeting the demands of pupils and teachers. The ANC and government had agreed that the forum should meet by the end of June and that further negotiations needed to be held to clear up remaining obstacles.

The final decision on the teachers' strike remained with Sadtu, he said. Sapa reports that Sadtu welcomed government's decision "to open negotiations on the education crisis", saying the possibility existed that the strike could be called off. It would meet education authorities tomorrow.

Also at the two-day talks were Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer, Education Co-ordination Minister Piet Marais, Planning Minister Derek Keys, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and ANC education head Cheryl Carolus.
AFRIKANER Volksunie (AVU) leader Andries Beyers has dubbed the CP-dominated Afrikaner Volksfront "racist".

Beyers said yesterday the AVU had joined the Volksfront to "remain in contact" but would have no power in determining its course of action as the executive committee was dominated by the CP. He claimed it wanted to reinstate racism and apartheid, and his party could not go along with this.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said it was becoming clear that the CP was using the Volksfront to launch a right-wing "coup".

While the only thing unifying the right wing was its opposition to government, he said the Volksfront was not prepared to engage in "open battle" with government. "There is no agreement about the form self-determination should take, but the CP is trying to force down its ideas."

The Volksfront seemed set on negotiating an Afrikaner volksstaat. The HNP could not become a member because it was opposed to negotiations and did not want a volksstaat only for Boere-Afrikaners but for all SA's different peoples.

Beyers signed the Volksfront's official founding document on Wednesday, but recorded his opposition to a clause implying that only conservative white Afrikaners could become citizens of a future volksstaat. "This is not self-determination but domination. We cannot go along with that."

The Volksfront's executive committee, chaired by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, is made up of five CP members, two representatives of organised white labour, four former generals, AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and the HNP's Marais.
If you thought you were seeing the last of President FW de Klerk in this year’s election, think again—the National Party has devised a way of keeping him in the government of national unity, without his being deemed to hold the same office. The plan is to set up a council of state to “advise” the new president, the leader of the opposition party, who will probably be Nelson Mandela, and to let this council meet weekly. De Klerk will then make his usual speech to the nation at 9.30 am, as he has done for the last 14 years.

As things stand, the National Party and the ANC have tentatively agreed that elections should be held before the end of the year, and the election of Mandela will be announced on the day of the election. The only problem is that the ANC will not campaign on the issue of democracy, and this could cause problems for the government.

The government is demanding that every party with more than 15 percent of the vote will be invited to form a cabinet. Ten percent of the cabinet seats would be reserved for the Opposition.

In addition, the government is demanding that every party with more than 10 percent of the vote will get a seat on the council of state, and this is a modification of the NP’s original constitutional proposal of a small cabinet. If the government of national unity cannot agree, the election will be held on the constitution of the councils.

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Slowly negotiating a marriage of mixed minds

As Bill Clinton acts as FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela’s best man in Philadelphia, negotiators at the World Trade Centre are haltingly moving towards democracy.

By PHILIP JAN NIEERK

The wedding, or rather the marriage of mixed minds, was a breakthrough. The Afrikaner Volksspreker, Chris de Jager, agreed with Ramaphosa, saying he was glad that the African National Congress (ANC) had been given recognition at the meeting with the government. The Afrikaner leader, Chris de Jager, said he did not share the euphoria. In fact, he said, what he had read in the newspapers was a “false victory” for the ANC.

The government has gained a clear victory over the ANC. The ANC has agreed to its demands and the government has gained the support of the ANC.

The definition of “self-determination”, drawn up by the ANC and the government, is a clear victory for the ANC. The definition is a “false victory” for the ANC.

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The government is demanding that the council of state will be allow...
Who will man the ministry?

While it's easy to predict who's going to be the next president of the country, candidates for a future women's minister are more hotly debated.

Sisa-clad Feme Giliwala, the head of the African National Congress' Research Department is a favourite. Giliwala is a lawyer by training and the convenor of the Women's National Coalition. She has shown herself to be unafraid of rapping the boys on the knuckles when they ignore the interests of the sisterhood.

Lydia Kompe, of the Women's Rural Movement, is also a frontrunner. Described as a "woman with oomph", she has worked for decades with dispossessed communities with the Transvaal Rural Action Committee. Kompe recently turned her attention to organising women in rural areas into self-help projects and into the Women's Coalition. "She has a strong sense of the feelings of grassroots women," was one comment.

Zanele Mbeki was nominated because she is concerned with "social and economic upliftment". As the head of the Women's Development Bank, she also has the skills to wring money from depleted state coffers. Mbeki is Thabo Mbeki's wife (not that this is important). As he's tipped to be future minister of foreign affairs, the state would not have to fork out money on two ministerial residences and entourages—they could share.

Mamphele Ramphele was also nominated. Her seminal works on poverty and on policy initiatives to combat it, are her most glowing references. But this woman also knows how to break through glass ceilings—she is the first black woman vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town, "She is the sort of person who will ensure she is accountable to women," said her nominee.

Although young, Pregs Govender, project manager of the Women's National Coalition, is another candidate. A former official of the South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union, she has tackled her WNC job with the vigour of a seasoned unionist and is intent on breathing life into such oft-touted concepts as "empowerment" and "grassroots control". Govender helped establish the Worker's College, South Africa's largest permanent training institution for workers and unionists, at the University of the Western Cape.
Natal hawk's remarkable rise on high as NP dove

Chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer took a Natal NP rightwinger on a hunting trip, totally mesmerising him and setting him on a new, more promising political path.

By FAROUK CHOTHIA

A ONE-TIME National Party rightwinger in Natal, Johan Steenkamp, has emerged as the strongest ally of chief government negotiator Roelf Meyer in the province.

As Meyer takes the NP towards power-sharing with the African National Congress, he is facing stiff opposition from senior Nats in Natal, including provincial leader George Bartlett and MPs Piet Matthee and Jaco Mare, who would prefer a close relationship with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Steenkamp — together with Danie Schutte, a potential challenger to Bartlett for the provincial leadership — is acting as a counterbalance.

What sets Steenkamp apart are his vicious attacks on the IPP leadership, against the backdrop of his past reputation as an NP "hawk".

Parliamentary sources say his conversion is largely due to the efforts of Meyer, who once took him on a hunting trip and had "totally mesmerised" him. Since last year, Steenkamp has held the key post of national vice-chairman of the NP's study group on constitutional development, and is a rising star within the party.

Lavishly praising Meyer in an interview this week, Steenkamp said: "He is a brilliant, hard-working and devoted person with an extremely difficult job. He needs all the support he can get."

In contrast, he said of Bartlett: "He is my provincial leader and I respect him. If I have differences with him, I will discuss those with him and not with newspapers."

In an unprecedented broadside in parliament last week, Steenkamp accused IPP national chairman Frank Mulaloze of being "childish". He also told IPP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to behave like "a cornered rat" in the negotiations.

Steenkamp is unrepentant: "I was speaking in my capacity as the vice-chairman of the NP study group on constitutional development, not as part of the parochial Natal debate.

"In the past 10 days, nothing has happened within the ranks of the NP to repudiate my statement."

After pushing hard for a pre-election alliance with Inkatha, the Bartlett faction is apparently coming to terms with the fact that this will not happen. But they still prefer a conciliatory approach to the IPP, again in sharp contrast with Steenkamp.

"I will not take a paternalistic approach to Inkatha," he said. "With an election looming, Inkatha has been trying to undermine the NP's support base. It's appropriate that the NP defends itself."

But why ditch Inkatha for the ANC?

"Inkatha is no longer regarded as the main spokesman of the disenfranchised. Political events have placed Buthelezi on the back burner. This has led to frustration, but it is not our problem," Steenkamp said.

He added that "more synergy" had developed between the ANC and the NP in the past two years than between the NP and the IPP.

"This is a good development. It is essential that the two good players understand each other."

He also stressed that the ANC, unlike Inkatha, was committed to a government of national unity. "Inkatha wants to govern on its own — if it can."

Steenkamp sees the IPP as playing the role the Conservative Party has traditionally played: "It is capitalising on white anxieties, concentrating on that. It won't last, the CP has shown us this."

He is also on record as saying: "The CP are the verkrampes in monoculture. It is my prayer that the IPP won't become the verkrampes in technicolour."

An MP since 1987, Steenkamp's about-turn from being an NP hawk is remarkable. He was one of the last Nats parliamentarians to accept the demise of the Group Areas Act, and campaigned against "infiltrators" in whites-only areas. In 1988, he expressed his opposition to a "unitary one-man-one-vote South Africa"; in other words, black majority government.

With a doctorate in nuclear science, he has remained consistent in one respect though: his long-standing opposition to Inkatha.

While Steenkamp is a thorn in Bartlett's flesh, the NP leader's major challenger in Natal is Schutte, who is regarded as a close ally of President FW de Klerk.

With effect from the beginning of last month, Schutte was appointed Minister of Home Affairs. As the only Natanill in the cabinet, other than Bartlett, De Klerk has put him in an ideal position to emerge as the successor to Bartlett — a man with whom the state president is becoming increasingly impatient.
The most interesting area of activity in government work now must be the foreign service, which is poised to establish up to 27 new missions abroad in the next 18 months — probably 12 in the next nine months, mainly in Africa, the Middle East and Asia (see box).

Many more countries are on the verge of setting up diplomatic missions here. The trigger will be establishment of a transitional executive council (TEC) which could be in place within a month.

Depending on how far the negotiations have gone, SA could, in September when the UN General Assembly sits, make a return to the world body after a 20-year effective exclusion. Leading SA’s return to the UN is said to be close to the heart of Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who was SA’s UN representative when it was suspended from the General Assembly in 1974. Botha, the world’s longest-serving foreign minister, could thereafter bow out of the post — and perhaps take over Defence, a seat being kept warm by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

Crucially, in terms of the ANC’s policy of a “phased maintenance” of sanctions, which is tied to the transitional process, people-to-people sanctions were lifted in October 1991. All other sanctions except military and oil, it has said, would be lifted after the installation of a interim government of national unity. Military and oil sanctions should go after an elected democratic government is installed.

In February the ANC decided the following sanctions should be lifted after the establishment of the TEC and independent electoral and media commissions, as well as enactment of a “transition to democracy Act,” diplomatic relations, gold coins, trade and trade credits, new investment, loans and other financial links.

However, it added that no representatives of the “white minority regime” should be granted accreditation by any international organisation, “this being a matter which can be resolved only once the interim government of national unity is established.” Multiparty TEC structures would be the appropriate governmental institution with which to enter into any official agreements, it said.

It is likely that the TEC will also include a subcouncil on foreign affairs. Whether this would simply ensure that the department is even-handed and does not favour one political party over another, or whether it will be able to dictate to government where it may establish foreign missions, are presumably matters yet to be resolved in negotiations over the powers of the TEC.

SA missions abroad have doubled since 1989. Pretoria is now represented in 79 countries (88 career missions) with:

- Embassies in 52, of which nine are non-resident missions, and there are 17 consuls-general in 10 of them;
- Consulates in eight countries where SA has no embassies or consulates;
- Trade missions in three countries — Mozambique, Swaziland and Zimbabwe;
- Honorary consulates in seven countries where SA has no other representation — Bolivia, Colombia, Guatemala, Iceland, Ireland, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico and Pakistan.

A cultural office in the People’s Republic of China, the SA Centre for Chinese Studies.

In deciding where to set up missions, says a department spokesman, evaluation has to be made of where SA’s interests lie. The trade and investment potential of such links are most important. Another consideration is cost; so, in certain areas, one mission could be accredited to two or more countries.

Foreign Affairs’ budget (excluding the aid channel to TBVC states) is a modest R900m, about 0.6% of the national Budget. An increase would be more than justified in view of potential economic gains.

Foreign Affairs Director-General Rusty Evans observes that “to the extent that there is a process of political transformation taking place in SA, it has had an inevitable impact on SA’s international position and status. Over the past two years, the department has been confronted with a whole range of opportunities.”

“In the first place, SA’s relations with Africa have opened up to the extent that almost all countries have established some form of dialogue with us and we have had to review our priorities vis-à-vis the continent.”

Normalisation of foreign relations, Evans adds, is directly linked to the political negotiations process. Hence the OAU and other regional structures such as the Southern African Development Community have not yet changed their basic policy on SA. “But the point could shortly be reached where constraints will no longer exist and we will have to determine how we will conduct our relations with those organisations.” The same applied to a number of other international areas such as the Arab countries, the UN and its agencies.

Though normal relations with Africa are vital for political reasons, the main motivation is trade, investment and commercial gain — especially with the Middle East and Far East.

Japan, for example, will soon resume its position as SA’s main trade partner, says Evans, and there will be an increase in trade with other Pacific Rim countries.

**EXPANDING ABROAD**

Possible South African missions to be established in the next 18 months include:

- Bahrain, Congo, Cyprus, Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Indonesia, Iran, Ireland, Jordan, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Philippines, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sri Lanka, Syria, Tanzania, Tunisia, United Arab Emirates, Uganda, Venezuela.

**Established embassies:** Albania (nonresident ambassador — NRA), Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bophuthatswana, Brazil (embassy in Brasilia and consulates in Sao Paulo), Bulgaria, Canada (embassy in Ottawa with consulates in Montreal and Toronto), Chile, Republic of China (Taiwan), Ciskei, Ivory Coast, Croatia (NRA), Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia (NRA), Germany (embassy in Bonn and consulates in Hamburg, Munich, Frankfurt and Berlin), Finland, France (embassy in Paris with consulates in Marseille and Lille), Gabon, Greece, Hungary, Israel (embassy in Rome and consulates in Milan), Japan, Latvia (NRA), Lesotho, Lithuania (NRA), Luxembourg (NRA), Malta, Malta (NRA), Netherlands, Norway, Paraguay, Poland, Portugal, Republic of Korea, Romania, Moldova (NRA), Russian Federation (embassy in Moscow and consulate in St Petersburg), Slovak Republic, Slovenia (NRA), Spain, Switzerland (embassy in Berne and consulates in Geneva and Zurich), Transkei, Turkey (embassy in Ankara and consulates in Istanbul), United Kingdom (embassy in London, United Kingdom (embassy in London), United States (embassy in Washington and consulates in New York, Chicago and Beverly Hills), Uruguay, Ukraine, Venda.

**Diplomatic relations established — missions not yet opened:** Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan.

**Legation:** Sweden.

**Other diplomatic missions:** Angola, Botswana, Kenya, Madagascar, Morocco, Namibia, European Community in Brussels, UN in New York, Geneva and Vienna, Nauru, Zambia.

**Consulates without diplomatic representation:** Cape Verde (nonresident consul — NRC), Hong Kong, Mauritius, Rwanda (NRC), Seychelles (NRC), Sao Tome and Principe (NRC), Singapore, Thailand.
Buthelezi, Mandela to meet

Political Staff
APRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela has accepted Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's proposal that he and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should meet to discuss an end to violence.

Mr Mandela asked the king to facilitate the meeting "as soon as possible".

Responding to King Goodwill's call last week that the two leaders meet, Mr Mandela said he wanted to express his and the ANC's "profound understanding" for the concern shown by the king for a speedy end to the violence which had claimed thousands of lives in the country.

Observers have interpreted the king's call as an attempt by him to rise above party politics and distance himself from the IFP, an organisation with which many thought he had close links.

Chief Buthelezi has expressed his satisfaction with the positive reply by Mr Mandela to the proposed meeting between the two leaders, reports Sapa.

An IFP statement in Ulundi said yesterday the meeting was a necessary step towards reducing violence in South Africa.
Egypt sets conditions for SA to join OAU

CAIRO. — South Africa must form a transitional government and distance itself from white minority rule in other ways before it will be welcome in the Organisation of African Unity, Egypt's foreign minister said yesterday.

Egypt hosts the next OAU summit on June 23. Foreign Minister Mr. A. M. Mousa said the agenda would include discussions on whether South Africa could join. Upon formation in 1963, the OAU called upon members to sever diplomatic ties with apartheid South Africa.

Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha arrives here on Sunday on the first official visit by a South African foreign minister in 35 years. — Sapa-AP
SA 'needs Marshall Plan’

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Tokyo Sexwale called on the world this week to put together a Marshall Plan for South Africa to defuse what he called a ‘time bomb’.

Mr Sexwale, leader of the ANC's Johannesburg region, said the ANC leadership had stepped in to control outrage at the murder of Mr Chris Hani.

"What we did was merely to delay what I consider to be a time bomb. We are in control, but there is a potential for getting out of control," he told reporters.

"The Marshall Plan is the critical element," he said, reminding the world of its moral responsibility to rehabilitate a country ruined by what had been condemned as a crime against humanity, apartheid.

In the short-term he believed constitutional negotiators would succeed in putting together a democratic constitution.

In the medium-term political leaders would have to battle to institutionalise a democratic culture and instill a sense of legitimacy in the new institutions.

The long-term, delivering the hopes and expectations of a majority immersed in poverty, was the real problem, he said.

"We're not going to achieve that alone in South Africa without assistance from outside," he said. — Sapa-AFP
the potential to increase its share to just over 18%.

Andrew has "no doubt whatsoever" that the DP will comfortably exceed the 5% need-
ed to be allocated a Cabinet seat. This is based on the assumption that it can attract
5% of the black vote (about 380 000 votes) and 10% each of white (306 000), coloured
(183 000) and Asian (55 000) voters. This means a total vote of 924 000 based on a
total potential electorate of 21.3m and an 85% poll. To win 15% of the seats the party
will need to attract 2.7m votes. (In the 1989
"whites-only" election the DP won 451 000
votes (21%) in the 103 constituencies it con-
tested (out of 166).

Andrew says trends over the past year indi-
icate:

☐ Throughout metropolitan blacks, ANC sup-
port is holding steady at 80%. Nat support
has dropped from 11% to 5% and DP support
from 5% to 3%.

☐ For whites, ANC support is steady at 1%.
NP support has dropped from 60% to 47% and
DP support has risen from 14% to 18%.

☐ Among coloureds, ANC support has in-
creased from 8% to 22%, NP support has
dropped from 84% to 59% and DP support
has increased from 3% to 13%.

☐ For Indians, ANC support has increased
from 10% to 18%, NP support has dropped
from 75% to 69% and DP support has in-
creased from 11% to 13%

He also says the research shows that the
IPF is losing black support (down from 3% to
2%) and gaining white support (up from 6%
to 9%). The CP is gaining white support
(up from 13% to 20%) and the PAC is
holding steady with 9% of black support.

Based on a combination of current sup-
port, potential support and trends, Andrew
says a possible 1994 election result could be:
ANC 197 seats (10 Cabinet posts); NP 69
(4); DP 60 (3); IPF 26 (1); PAC 23 (1); CP
17 (1) and eight for other parties that could
win seats on the regional lists. However, he
concedes that the margin of error could be
significant.

DP leaders acknowledge that it is an un-
precedented challenge to win a substi-
tial number of seats but they are convinced the
party is increasingly perceived as a serious
contender. They say the DP needs to develop
an image of being more than merely the
"nice guy," a public watchdog and a facilita-
tor. The party needs to project itself as an
important part of the next government, in-
stead of simply a good opposition party.

Differentiating between the DP and the
NP in the minds of many voters might be a
problem but party strategists believe they
can convince potential supporters that even
though the NP has moved away from apar-
theid and embraced many DP policies, it
remains incapable of good government.

They also believe that the legacy of apar-
theid will be a far greater burden to the NP in
black, coloured and Asian communities than
it generally believed. The DP's campaign is
likely to be a combination of "NP bashing,
projecting the DP as capable and trustwor-
Schlemmer warns of fragmentation in SA

PRETORIA - The "locomotive" of SA's negotiated transition might be wobbling on the tracks, rattling and blowing off steam, but its pace and direction are being maintained, says Human Sciences Research Council vice-president Lawrence Schlemmer.

Writing in the HSRC publication Prospects, SA in the Nineties, he said the transition process would almost certainly continue "if for no other reason than the negative 'constraint' of nowhere else to go".

However, Schlemmer warned that SA could slide into the kind of fragmentation which could lead to civil war.

"For all its faults and problems, a coherent De Klerk administration is the only effective guarantee of basic order in a society with a proven capacity to tear itself apart."

The prospects of avoiding further fragmentation depended to some extent on the success of President F W de Klerk's 10-point plan to quell violence, and particularly attacks attributed to Afrikaans.

Realism suggested, however, that the 10-point plan would not succeed completely.

Some kind of dramatic response from government was essential to reassure parts of the political spectrum.

Had right-wing parties been able to produce a coherent and achievable alternative to De Klerk's agenda they would probably have split the government after the Codesa breakdown, Schlemmer said.

Observers were beginning to ask whether the governing party and its support structures could hold together long enough to enter the new government of national unity.

If, for example, serious dissent were to emerge in the public service or the security forces, or if a large contingent of NP MPs were to defect to Inkatha, government's credibility and ability to secure a deal with the ANC would be prejudiced seriously.

As government prepared to enter what promised to be the final round of negotiations before an open election, most of the reassertions which comforted its constituents in 1990 and 1991 had faded away.

The recent Budget, bringing VAT and fuel price increases, tax bracket creep, cutbacks on public spending on middle class services and a meagre 5% pay rise for public servants would ensure the final 15 months of the recession would be most painful.

The "bastion of reassurances", the SABC, had started to anticipate a new order.

A new board was likely to lean away from government and no longer emphasize the establishment's position in the news.
Deadline drives multiparty debate

The seven technical committees at the multiparty talks are under intense pressure to finalise their second reports by the end of today so that the negotiating council can debate them next week.

It is expected that the council will start discussing substantive issues on Tuesday.

The committee dealing with violence will have a tough job trying to fulfil its brief of suggesting ways to lessen violence, while the constitutional principles committee will have to shoulder a considerable task in trying to find ways of accommodating vastly different viewpoints on the future SA.

This week the council instructed the constitutional committee to act with urgency in drafting a report on constitutional principles, as well as a report on the structures, powers and functions of regions. It also has to present proposals on how the constitution-making process should be tackled, including an agenda of how items should be debated to achieve maximum efficiency.

The committee will be taking the full CP proposal on self-determination into account in its second report. In the first report, the CP set out its argument.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has challenged the CP to come forward with a workable position. He said this week that the summary of the party's argument indicated the CP was threatening secession.

The committee dealing with the independent electoral commission, media commission and telecommunications authority are expected to have draft legislation prepared in time for Tuesday's meeting.

The committee dealing with the repeal of discriminatory legislation is expected to have made substantial headway in identifying which legislation, including that of the TBVC states, should be repealed.

Parties also have until this afternoon to submit nominations for members of the commission that will investigate regional boundaries. On Tuesday the council is expected to give the commission its mandate to start work and instruct it to report back within six weeks.
US government ready to set up aid package for S'Africa transition

Washington — President Clinton yesterday hosted a meeting of ambassadors of 10 African countries in Washington to discuss the transition in South Africa. The meeting came days after the fall of apartheid, and Clinton is expected to announce soon a comprehensive aid package for the new South African government.

Clinton, speaking with African leaders, said that the US is ready to provide assistance to help the new government build a democratic and prosperous South Africa. The US president said that the US will provide $100 million in initial aid and that additional funds will be forthcoming.

The meeting also discussed the need for international cooperation to support the new government. Clinton said that the US would work with other nations to ensure that South Africa is able to make a smooth transition to democracy.

The meeting was attended by representatives from Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. The African leaders expressed gratitude for the US offer of aid and praised Clinton's leadership in the transition process.
New breed of Afrikanders

They're embarking on a trek away from conservatism
Malan says her letter was written out of pure anger. "These people are putting a copyright on Afrikaners, and I am sick and tired of the right wing speaking for me and others."

She added: "There are many Afrikaners, mostly young people like Wilhelm Verwoerd, who are proud to be Afrikaners, but may be more proud to be South Africans. We do not want to leave this country — not only because we have nowhere else to go, but also because we love it and are part of it and its people.

"If I were to be part of the future of South Africa, I would like Verwoerd, prefer to be led by people like Tokyo Sexwale and Cyril Ramaphosa than by people proclaiming themselves to be fighting a cause for a specific nation, when it is nothing more than sentimentalism for an old order that keeps them together."

Malan has a law degree, works as a conference organiser and runs an art gallery. Her relationship with her family is "excellent" and she believes her father is "sort of" proud of her for stating her opinion.

What really makes her minded to people of all races. They don't see themselves as the last generation of Afrikaners, but rather as South Africans who are prepared to stay and make a contribution to their country."

Cries of "Viva Verwoerd" rang out when Wilhelm, a senior Stellenbosch philosophy lecturer and former Rhodes Scholar, told the Parow rally: "I am much more than just the grandson of a symbol, I am the symbol of a new generation which wants to stand up for democracy."

Fears

Verwoerd told the audience he had grown up traditionally Afrikaans and Nationalist. As recently as 1988, when he had "reluctantly" shaken the hand of South African Communist Party leader Joe Slovo during a student mission to Lusaka, he felt almost a traitor to his brother, who was doing military training at the time.

He said he understood the feelings and fears of fellow Afrikaners, especially with relatives, such as his uncle, Professor Carel Boshoff, devoting their energies to establishing an Afri-
CROSSTALK

‘Joint control of the SAP, not a watching brief’

PETER GASTROW, Democratic Party spokesperson on Law and Order, explains why joint control of the police force is essential to ensure a free and fair election:

There is agreement among negotiating parties that the playing field needs to be levelled if there is to be a free and fair election. There also seems to be agreement that, during the election campaign, the South African police should not conduct themselves in such a way that their actions favour any of the competing parties. How can this be achieved?

Minister Herman Sisulu’s proposal is multi-party supervision (of the security forces), but sole control by the government.

The ANC’s position until now has been for joint control. Joint supervision amounts to no more than a watching brief.

Different parties will be kept informed about what is happening within the police and they will be able to make an input into decisions about how they are to be deployed.

The final decision, however, remains with the government. So does final responsibility and accountability.

Joint control, on the other hand, suggests joint decision-making, joint responsibility and joint accountability.

Joint control is therefore a far more effective mechanism to ensure that the playing field is levelled and that the police force is not influenced by the government.

It also makes the police’s task easier, because they will be operating with the mandate from those who exercise joint control.

Statements made by the ANC’s Marc Mahupila suggest that the ANC is considering a shift in position from joint control to joint supervision. This would bring the ANC in line with the government’s position.

The reason for the apparent shift by the ANC is presumably the fear that there could be a political backlash if it was to assume co-responsibility over the actions of the police force.

Short-term political considerations by the ANC are understandable, but to abrogate joint control would certainly not be in the national interest or in the longer term interests of the ANC.

It would leave the government in sole control of the police and would result in the police becoming highly politicised.

The police are also likely to be used as a political football by all opponents of the government. Every incident in which police are involved will be exploited.

When a new government is elected next year, it will rely on this very same police force to maintain stability. A better-policed force which has had to bear the brunt of the election campaign will be demotivated and difficult to depend on.

Joint control is therefore absolutely essential for a free and fair election, and for the sake of stability after a new government has been elected.
CONSIDERING the negotiators of the agreements may not all be elected to a Constituent Assembly, what guarantees are there that the Assembly will stick to negotiated agreements?

There is agreement in principle between Codesa on the need for a statutory Act to define the framework within which the constitution is drafted, and according to which elections are conducted.

This will ensure the Constituent Assembly adheres to negotiated agreements and limits dispute over the constitution which emerges.

Preparatory steps towards defining this Act would be agreement on the broad and general principles that the constitution should include.

The elected Constituent Assembly would then have a legally defined framework satisfactory to all parties involved, within which to draft the constitution.

There would also have to be agreement on the finer details of the proportional representation system to be used. On the basis of this agreement, the Act would also ensure elections are conducted in the manner agreed on.

Another concern centres around creating a body to supervise the process until a Constituent Assembly exists. One of the names suggested for such a structure is a Transitional Executive Council.

This Council is intended to prevent the present governing body from being both player and referee in the run-up to an election.

In other words, the structure which ensures everything is prepared for an election should not be one with a personal stake in the election.

The main task of the Transitional Executive Council would be to level the playing field before an election. It would have a number of sub-councils to look into the following:

- Law and order
- Defence
- Public finance
- Regional and local government
- Foreign affairs.

In addition to these sub-councils, it would have two commissions operating under its supervision.

One of these, the Independent Electoral Commission, would have the task of overseeing everything necessary in preparation for the holding of elections.

The second would be an Independent Media Commission, which would be charged with ensuring that the media falls under impartial control, thus ensuring equal access for all parties contesting the elections.

The above is more or less what has been covered by Codesa.

Now the Multi-Party Forum has taken over its tasks. The Forum has agreed to set up seven technical committees to look at the following:

- An independent media commission;
- An independent electoral commission;
- A transitional executive council and its sub-structures;
- Repressive legislation;
- Constitutional principles and the form of state;
- A constitution-making body and procedures;
- The ending of violence and the building of a peace process.

Not all parties agree with the above procedures. However, the purpose of negotiation is precisely to achieve majority consensus in disputed areas.

There has already been significant progress at the multi-party talks, as it has been agreed elections will be held before the end of May 1994.
The negotiation process has been underway for three years now and still there is no finality on the process to elections.

When CODESA collapsed in June last year, certain agreements had already been reached.

At the multi-party forum which is continuing the talks, seven technical committees have been set up to review aspects of the agreements.

For this reason, it is not clear yet whether the agreements will serve as the basis for the way forward to elections, or whether they will have to be discussed again because all the parties involved in the multi-party forum were not present at CODESA.

Let's review the agreements that had already been made before the multi-party forum came into existence.

They were as follows:

- The first non-racial democratic elections will be to elect a Constituent Assembly. This body will have a dual responsibility — it will draft a constitution, and also serve as an interim government.
- It will consist of 400 seats. Of this, 200 seats will be filled from national lists, and the other 200 from regional lists.
- It has been agreed in principle to use a proportional representation electoral system. There will be both national and regional lists.
- The finer details of the system are still to be worked out. The existence of two lists does not mean voting twice. One vote per person will count both at the national and regional level.
- The country will be divided into electoral regions. This is distinct from constituencies, which are candidate-based. People will vote in their designated regions for parties, not candidates.

At regional level, votes will be counted and added up to make the national total of votes cast for specific parties.

From this national total, 200 seats will be divided up among the various parties in the Constituent Assembly, in direct proportion to the number of votes they win on the national level.

The remaining 200 seats will be allocated on the basis of the result of regional lists. This means that parties which have countrywide support will win a greater number of votes from the national lists.

Parties whose support is regionally rather than nationally dispersed would win great numbers of votes in the regions where they dominate.

The regional lists will give smaller parties a greater opportunity to win seats than they might have on the basis of only national lists.

In all proportional representation systems there has to be prior agreement on the number of votes a party must win to qualify for seats. This is called the threshold figure.

There has been no agreement yet on the threshold figure to be used in South Africa.

In many other countries that use proportional representation, the threshold figure hovers around five percent. This means that a party must win five percent of the total number of votes cast in order to qualify for seats.

The higher the threshold figure, the fewer the number of parties that gain seats and vice-versa. Care has to be taken that the threshold figure is neither too high nor too low.

If it is too high, then parties with substantial support may not get seats. If it is too low, it can encourage the emergence of many parties which force an emphasis on minority issues.

A balance ensuring that minority views are taken into account, while not detracting from the interests of the majority, has to be found.

The Constituent Assembly will co-opt an executive/cabinet on the basis of election results to ensure that each party is represented in the same proportion as the number of votes they won.

The Constituent Assembly will mandate the interim government.
White support for Nats takes a dive

WHITE support for the National Party has shown a massive decline, bringing the party's popularity to the lowest level recorded, the Omnichek division of Research Surveys said yesterday.

The division, which measures voting intentions on a regular basis, said in a statement that 560 white males and 800 white females were interviewed in the PWV area, Durban, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The interviewees were asked which party they would vote for in an election.

The research showed that since October 1990 support for the National Party had slid from about 40 percent of white voters to one in four.

According to the Omnichek report support for the Conservative Party has increased, particularly among white men, from 21 to 29 percent.

Omnichek said the CP had also gained support from voters aged between 18 and 34 years old. Most CP supporters came from the PWV area and were Afrikaans-speaking, the report said.

The results showed white women were not yet prepared to commit themselves to the right wing, a high percentage indicating "they did not know which party they would vote for."

Omnichek's director, Binky Kellas, said "the dramatic swing in voting intentions was an indication of the impact of Apia activities and the escalating incidence of black on white violence". — Sapa.
Blacks will shun the broeders

FRANS ESTERHUYSER
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

PLANS for drawing people of colour into a reformed Afrikaner-Broederbond appear unlikely to succeed.

Opinion-makers of various shades, including academics and former broeders, say that even if the Broederbond were to shed its racist image, its secrecy, and its whites-only membership rule it is highly unlikely that people of colour would want to become members.

"What can such an organisation offer them after deliberately excluding them for so many decades on the grounds of race and colour?" one critic asks.

They were reacting to statements by Broederbond chairman Professor J P (Peter) de Lange about possible reforms to the movement.

Professor de Lange indicated that the Broederbond, after operating in secrecy since the 1950s, might move into the open and could admit women and blacks as members.

He said a process of reform to enable the organisation to remain relevant under changing circumstances was taking place and a new draft constitution had been distributed to more than 1,400 branches.

This confirmed a report in Weekend Argus last Sunday that the end of the road had come for the Broederbond in its present form. It was expected to disappear from the scene as a whites-only secret society for men before the end of this year.

Western Cape poet, writer and philosopher Professor Adam Small, professor of social work at the University of the Western Cape, said he did not think any person of colour could even entertain the thought of joining an organisation like the Broederbond.

"I feel scandalised by the very thought of joining. After all the havoc created by the Broederbond over the apartheid years, the very suggestion that it might now admit people of colour becomes laughable. Perhaps one should see the funny side of it. It is very funny indeed.

"Whatever one wants to say should be said in public. And when it comes to democracy, an important issue is that there must be the largest possible measure of openness in one's thinking and in one's life.

"There is simply no room for a secret organisation within a democratic system. It seems absurd that people who were at the receiving end of oppression for so many years should now go to the side of the Broeders to belong to the Broederbond - or maybe even to a Sustersbord," Professor Small said.

A former member of the Broederbond told Weekend Argus he saw no future for the movement, even if it were to reform itself.

"The sooner they (the Broeders) realise that the game is up, the better it will be for them and for a new South Africa," he said.

"It is amazing that the Broeders apparently don't realise what an extremely negative image the organisation has, not only among all other groupings but also abroad."

He suggested that instead of trying to reform, the Broederbond should disband.

"An appropriate occasion for this would be the 70th anniversary of the Broederbond, to be celebrated on June 5," he said.
Cape Flats civic flex to DP

By Christine Tellemendie
You need ID to vote

THE DEPARTMENT of Home Affairs has increased the pace at which they are issuing identity documents (ID) in preparation for the elections.

Since the beginning of this year, 798,807 identity documents were issued, 147,889 more than during the corresponding period in 1991.

Mr. Danie Schutte, Minister of Home Affairs, said,

"An average of more than 40,000 identity documents have been issued weekly since the beginning of this year and nearly 60,000 were issued during some weeks.

It is expected that the tempo will continue to increase as we near the election and that more than 90 percent of the South African population of 18 years and older will hold identity documents by early next year," Schutte said.

"This brings us nearer to the ideal of enabling every eligible South African citizen to vote in the coming election," he said.

The identity document is by far the most suitable document for use in an election, as it just about eliminates the possibility of forgery, and also serves as a voter registration process.

A separate registration process would have cost the taxpayer a further R420 million.

To appeal to those South Africans who do not yet have identity documents, as well as to all political parties and other groups in the country, to motivate their supporters to do what is necessary," Schutte said.
The new SA's 10 'backroom boys'

Here they are. This the first picture of the 10 "backroom boys" who in effect manage the negotiating process at the World Trade Centre — the negotiations that will decide the shape of the new South Africa.

The committee, whose members take part in their "personal capacities", facilitates the agenda for negotiations undertaken by the 104-member Negotiating Council, which is the body doing the real talking.

Sitting, left to right: Joe Slovo (SACP), Colin Eglin (DP), Dr Frank Maluleke (IFP). Standing, left to right: Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC), Zamindlela Titus (Transkei), Roelf Meyer (Government), Rowan Cronje (Bophuthatswana), Benny Alexander (PAC), Pravin Gordan (Natal Indian Congress) and Mike Webb (Ciskei). Flanking them are Gillian Hutchings (extreme left) and Theuns Eloff (extreme right) of the Consultative Business Movement, which is responsible for administration.
The political commentator Graham Luscott...

Today the same argument has become rather more vehement.

Four years ago they were arguing point position versus union. The more things change, the more they stay the same.
CAIRO — Pik Botha's trip to Egypt next week is the first official visit to the country by a South African foreign minister in more than 33 years. The three-day visit, starting on Monday, is the strongest indication so far of revitalised relations between the two countries. — Sapa (304A)
Terror fund pays millions

CAPE TOWN — A total of R13,403,226 had been paid out by the State President’s Fund for victims of terrorism or their dependants since 1983, Minister of National Health Dr Nita Venter said in Parliament yesterday. She said 1,816 applications had been approved. The largest single payment was to L Barbas as a result of a shooting incident in Krugersdorp in 1991, where R64,365 was granted for medical and funeral expenses and short-term financial assistance. — Sapa
Right-wing groups
form new body to
counter challenge Front

EIGHT semi-militant right-wing organisations associated in a group styling itself "Volks Action Front" have joined the Herstigte Nasionale Party in refusing to become members of the umbrella Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) movement, established in Pretoria this week.

However, a group known as Die Verkenners — yesterday described as a "cultural-political" organisation set up by rightwingers, some of whom are understood to be HNP members — has allied itself with the AVF.

There was speculation in military and political circles that this group could be made up of dissatisfied SADF members from reconnaissance units based in Dui- ban and Phalaborwa, but this could not be confirmed.

The United Federal Party (UFP), which describes itself as a centrist party, and the Boerestaat Party are among those which have not joined the AVF. The other six are described as "phantom freedom fighter" organisations. Their names have not been divulged.

**Not representative**

According to the UFP, "the AVF has been deliberately withholding a major revelation on its membership to the detriment of semi-militant organisations."

The AVF, it said, was not representative of all right-wing bodies. The Committee of Generals which co-ordinated the formation of the AVF had consistently ignored the Volks Action Front, the UFP said.

"As early as April 23, the Volks Action Front released a press statement saying several organisations had formed the Action Front to muster support nationally and call for the restoration of the volksstaat through passive secession or UDI. The generals were informed of this, but they have ignored us."

This week, the HNP declined to link up with the AVF until a meeting of its head committee, scheduled for May 1, had decided on the issue.

HNP leader Jaap Marais said that as far as the HNP was concerned, one of the principles of the Volksfront was to call for a white election. This had been rejected by General Constand Viljoen, former chief of the SANDF and co-ordinator of the Committee of Generals.
Women beef up talks teams

Staff Reporter

All political negotiating parties have hastened to beef up their delegations with women — at the risk of losing out on representation.

All delegations have been required to add one more member, who has to be a woman.

Inkatha's spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos, who successfully argued for compulsory female representation earlier this year, said yesterday that there was nothing to prevent the leader of the delegation from being a woman.

"Considering that 54% of our voters are women, you cannot keep excluding women," she said.

National Party Deputy Minister of Justice Ms Sheila Cramer said yesterday that it had also been decided that most women would be included on the technical committees.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said that women had always been prepared in the fight against apartheid.

"They will not be 'accompanying' the leader to the negotiations. They will be there in their own right for their own merits," he said.
ANC, Afrikaners in joint committe

Johannesburg. — The ANC and the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) yesterday formalised bilateral contact to discuss the AVU's proposals for self-determination of the Afrikaner.

The two delegations at the talks were led by ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and AVU leader Mr. Andries Beyers.

They announced at a press conference afterwards that a joint committee had been set up to discuss the AVU's constitutional proposals.

Asked whether the ANC and AVU had disagreed, even in the broadest terms, a proposed geographical area for an Afrikaner volkstaat, Mr. Mandela said: "The whole demand for the acceptance of the principle of self-determination would at some stage in the course of the debate also identify areas which might accommodate this demand.

"But no decision has been taken because we think that the demand as formulated by the AVU may create a lot of problems and there are other ways of addressing the question which will be examined by the joint committee." — Sapa
Regions will have the right to choose

MONDAY morning at a primary school in East Lond, 1996:
Children are gathered in a hall decorated with the interim flag of South Africa. Assembly starts with the national anthem — *Nkosibile I'Azivika* — and is led in English.
The hall was built with taxes paid by a Johannesburg businessman. The chairs were bought with money raised through VAT in a Cape Town supermarket.

After assembly, the Std 3 class will study history from the curriculum set by the Kei Education Department. It will be neither racist nor sexist, and, hopefully, not revisionist.

Similar scenes are happening in schools all over the country — in Xhosa, Zulu, Afrikaans, and Sotho — because the parents of these schoolchildren have just elected their regional governments, two years after the first national elections.

The language of instruction and the languages are all the practical work of the regional dispensation to be decided by the Constituent Assembly next year.

Kei, along with another seven or eight probable regions to be at least geographically defined within months, will have its own education authority in charge of primary and secondary education. Because it is not a wealthy region, it will have received money from the central government to build the school.

**Powers**

Each region will be allowed to choose its own language for official use as long as it also uses the “language of record” — and none shall be racist or sexist, because every law passed and every official programme set must comply with the spirit and the letter of a non-discriminatory bill of rights.

Just what areas the regions will have jurisdiction over is moot. Some powers will clearly be shared between the region and the province, and the language is all the practical work of the regional dispensation to be decided by the Constituent Assembly next year.

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How the ballot will work

One ballot is expected to elect members of the National Assembly, regional representatives of the Assembly (or a second chamber) and, by extension, members of regional administrations.

The ballot will first be counted to decide who will occupy 200 national seats in the new parliament. Seats will be allocated in proportion to the number of votes received by each party. There are two options for deciding how another 200 seats in the national parliament will be allocated between regions. Either the region's total number of seats will be fixed by the number of votes cast in that area or, each region will be allocated the same number of seats.

Depending on where you cast your vote, it will be counted a second time to elect the 200 regional representatives to Parliament. The support gained by parties in each region will determine how many regional representatives they may send.

The ballot will be indirectly counted a third time when elected representatives from each region elect a group of about five people to serve on regional administrations. This group will, in turn, elect a regional administrator.
The new SA takes shape
A death to point the way

KEITH TANKARD argues that in Chris Hani, South Africa has found its first truly national hero

THE tragedy of South Africa is that the many peoples who make up our state have little history in common.

We have always been a divergent lot, fighting on different sides in every conflict, seeing each other forever as the enemy.

Yet nations are forged out of history. They feed on the fertile soil of great deeds, with national heroes, common victories in war and a shared suffering in defeat.

These are the bricks of nation-building. Without them, it would seem, people will simply remain people, segmented into clans, tribes, races and classes.

The French became the French during centuries of united struggle, against the English in the 100 Years War, against the Germans in the 30 Years War; against the English and the Germans in the Seven Years War and against the Germans again in the Great War of World War 2. They have Louis XIV, Napoleon and Gambetti to honour. They have monuments to national greatness, admired by the common people. The same is true for the English and the Germans.

Perhaps not so the Italians. Since unity in the mid-18th century, they have only Mussolini and a series of defeats in two world wars to look back to. They are still a nation largely in the making. The United States, on the other hand, is a good example of a modern state which has gone out of its way to foster nation-building.

It does, however, have some marvellous foundations on which to build. The early fathers, such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln, to name just a few, are glorious examples of national heroes.

What is remarkable about these men is that they can be respected by all of America's citizens, of whatever race, colour or religion. The reason is that they can all be made to stand for heroic virtue, justice, honour and peace.

South Africa is in an unfortunate position. It has no common heroes, great events or catastrophes which the majority of its population can look back to with reverence.

Our statesmen and our wars have always been divisive rather than unifying phenomena. The Frontier Wars were white-on-black confrontations, the South African War an English-on-Boer one. Even the two world wars are not really celebrations of our national unity, for there was none and still is none. Instead, each population group looks to its own heroes, in isolation of the greater community.

The Afrikaners have looked to the Great Trek, the so-called covenant and the South African War as the "great events" in the creation of the Volk.

They celebrate Paul Kruger and the Voortrekkers as their heroes. But this is isolated hero-worship and builds only a parochial, not a nation.

These are not the heroes of the black community nor of English-speaking whites. The former have different heroes, the latter hardly any at all.

South Africa is therefore not yet a nation.

The recent assassination of Chris Hani is, in an abstract sense, an interesting phenomenon. Though the deed would appear as stupid as any ever committed in South Africa, it might be productive in our nation-building.

Whatever one thought of Hani before his death, his murder has galvanised the people of our future nation.

Never before have so many people of such diverse backgrounds been united in horror of such a deed. Never has so wide a spectrum seen such a need for immediate solutions to our problems.

Although radicals at both ends of the political scale would like to see confrontation, the vast majority in the centre have found common ground in the slaying of this one man.

He was a true hero for the majority of the black population and, for the weeks prior to his death, he was valiantly fostering the principles of freedom, peace and justice for all. That is a message with which most South Africans can identify.

It seems certain that Chris Hani Day will become a public holiday. This must be the accepted thought of the majority in our country.

Hani's assassination, however, is much more important than the creation of just another holiday. If the peoples of South Africa are not torn apart in a bloody civil war, we have at last found our first truly national hero.

That in itself, of course, will not create a nation. There must be much more to it than that. But it is a start.

Dr Keith Tankard lectures in history at Rhodes University.
Chet — the ‘constructive engager’ rides back into town with hopeful news for SA

CHESTER CROCKER ... optimistic Picture: JON HRUSA

This place is a microcosm of all the great struggles and hopes and aspirations of all history. It is more inspiring to be here rather than in a God-forsaken Bosnian town where people are learning about apartheid at gunpoint. The people here are so much more human beings than the tribal leaders in, say, the former Yugoslavia.

On legitimacy, that’s not an issue. It’s a political process, so you just have to go about it. If you do that, you get people pulling together in a gracious and uplifting way.

Dealing with people in Africa, admits Dr Crocker, is an acquired taste.

His favourite anecdote concerns the signing of the peace accord over Angola and Namibia in 1988. At a time of extensive negotiations, the US delegation was treated to a belligerent speech by the Cuban delegation and an outburst by M. Foreign Minister Isabel Botta, who challenged the Cubans to come and debate human rights issues "outside the door".

George Schultz, US Secretary of State,脽到 at the ceremony, turned to Dr Crocker and said: "I think it’s worth it. People have been dealing with frustation."

On the horse, Dr Crocker noted the important role the region’s military commanders played in the peace process.

"The Cuban style was to

and puff and wear big medals to improve their own lot. We South Africans always played as if we had just come from a brand.

"The Cubans would say things like, ‘Why don’t you just get out of Angola so we do not have to push you out?’ General Janie Goldhaber, chief of the US SADF, would look at them and say: ‘Look, I don’t want to get mixed up with you and the history of 1899 to 1914. I just want the British rather badly for a while.

FASCINATION

"Eventually, the two sides reached each other.”

"Way his particular relationships with South Africa?"

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The Cuban style was to

See Page 34
THE World Trade Centre is not an attractive building. It is too new, for one thing, and looks impenetrable, a honeycomb of Whitbread offices on floor after floor.

It has displays of pine furniture kits behind glass cases where Parliament has "Thomas Baines" signposts on tacky wallpaper, petulance where Parliament still echoes to the ghosts of sharp debaters like Hage Geingob, Verwoerd or crusaders like Helen Suzman.

Well, the prefabricated World Trade Centre began gaining a patina of its own this week. Days after the last session of the Negotiating Council, the atmosphere was still lighter, the banters and smiles flowing in the new mood of optimism. The session began with the Afrikaner Volksunie's Mrs J. Gouws complaining that the council was "rushing through" negotiations for a new South Africa with a speed that dwindles you into the air.

Eight hours later she declined to carry through her request to debate the speed issue because of the "amicable atmosphere" between chairwoman and IFP delegate Frank McAllister and Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC.

"Today we really did meet like responsible people negotiating the future of our country," she said.

The council had ratified an ANC suggestion, which reached it via the technical committee on constitutional issues, to the effect that a commission be established to draw the boundaries of the country's new regions.

But along with this, it suggested that the powers and functions of the regions during the interim government period be debated by the council. This went a long way towards allaying Inkatha fears about future autonomy.

With that, the atmosphere lightened, there was light-hearted joking and the players settled into their roles.

Joe Slovo had a burst of eloquence (he does this once a week). Amorand Rabbani spoke many, many times, usually to castigate the media for not reporting by implication, his many, many contributions to the debate. His "contemptuous":

Frank McAllister was avuncular and charming, giving as good as he got from the floor. Issues were debated and the "legal" chamber swang with laughter and applause.

Once again the lingering misgivings of the smaller parties were swept aside in support of having achieved another step forward (or sideways), as the people would see it.

The conspiracy theories of a secret deal between the government and the ANC the rightweek concerning to be only partly disproved by the nods and winks and note-passing between the two throughout the afternoon.

And one was left with a sense of poignancy that this Camelot-like atmosphere will probably be short-lived.

Even the scholarly, amicable atmosphere with the technical issues committee may not be able to continue much longer under the pressure it will face in the coming weeks.

Until now it has managed to identity and categorize issues to be decided by the council, but it will be confronted in the next few weeks with reporting to the council on such prickly matters as the CP's insistence on self-determination, homeland and the truth.

Thus far the right wing has joined this week by Advocate Michelle Olivier from the Department of Foreign Affairs — have worked well together, dividing the massive task before them along conceptual rather than political lines.

A political party's nominee to the committee may not even know the latest submissions from his party, let alone having to advocate them.

But, largely due to this committee, and the ANC's sudden attack of transgression, the council this week shored up enough goodwill to see it through at least some of the rough times ahead.

The fact that these are being seen as real negotiations was demonstrated charmingly at the end of the week.

The public has stayed away from the World Trade Centre. If they notice it at all, it is just another converted warehouse along the highway, near Jan Smuts — large black letters proclaiming Trade Mart, soon to be Trade-O-Fla... along its facade.

But on Friday afternoon of Ladysmith trainee teachers filed through its maze of corridors with a mixture of awe and delight.

Along with the Union Buildings and the planetarium, the World Trade Centre had been placed on their history tour itinerary — surely recognition of sport.

And the first group of students to tour the building thought it was perfect.

Said Timbali Shabalanise: "The negotiations should be made in a grand new building — this is where new history will be made.

— Claire Robertson
NP threat to withhold indemnity

Political Correspondent

The government yesterday threatened to withhold permanent indemnity from the ANC's top leadership until the organisation formally abandoned the armed struggle and its "private army" umkhonto we Sizwe.

A row erupted in Parliament yesterday when the ANC accused the government of trying to "hold hostage" leading members of the ANC.

ANC-aligned MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said during a debate on the extension of provision of the Indemnity Act for another 12 months that it was "outrageous" that the ANC leadership had not yet been given permanent indemnity. In an attack on Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, he said the "bit-picking, obstructionist" minister was attempting to hold the Sword of Damocles over leading ANC members like Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Thabo Mbeki and Mr Steve Tshwete.

Mr Coetsee immediately hit back, saying that "the sword of Damocles is made of the ANC's reluctance to abandon the armed struggle".
ANC’s ‘Vote at 14’ call wins no support

ANC president Nelson Mandela’s call for the voting age to be dropped to 14 was rejected outright by other political parties yesterday.

Mandela made the call yesterday and on Saturday while speaking at rallies in northern Natal.

The ANC was perfectly correct in calling for a lower legal voting age, particularly because previous white elections had led to tragic mistakes, he said.

Mandela said the ANC would exert “tremendous pressure” to support its proposal.

“They say a person under 18 can’t think correctly and make a wise choice,” he said.

“We reject that and demand the voting age should be from 14,” he said.

But political spokesmen from other parties pointed out that the voting age was set at 18 in all democratic countries.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: “I take note of Mr Mandela’s argument that some of these youngsters have fought for freedom.

“This argument was used years ago and was always met with the statement that all sorts of juniors and even animals have taken part in wars, but this did not entitle them to the franchise.”

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg accused the ANC of trying to ensure it could intimidate children into voting for it.

“It’s absolute rubbish ... if you take a 14-year-old and give him the vote, you might as well give it to a 10-year-old.

“Schoolchildren are easily intimidated as they are not responsible voters. If this was the case, then it would have been started in democratic countries many years ago,” he said.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said on Saturday that Mandela’s suggestion would not receive serious consideration in a civilised country.

“Internationally, 18 years is regarded and used as the most acceptable voting age and there is no reason why the reduction of this age should even be considered in South Africa,” Schutte said.
New MP
chosen to succeed

By Jacqueline Mohun

A recent visit of the late Lord Tizard has succeeded the late Lord  Tizard as a new MP for the North Warwickshire constituency. The new MP, Dr. John Barrow of Brum- brough, has been a member of the Conservative party for 15 years, and is a member of the committee of the Warwickshire branch of the Conservative party.

The new MP will have the support of the Warwickshire branch of the Conservative party, and is expected to be a strong candidate for the constituency. He has been involved in local politics for many years, and has been a member of the local council for over 10 years.

Dr. Barrow is a well-known figure in the Warwickshire community, and is expected to be a popular choice for the constituency.

According to local reports, the new MP will be a firm supporter of the Conservative party, and will work hard to represent the interests of the people of North Warwickshire.

The new MP will be expected to attend the local council meetings, and will be available to answer questions from constituents. He will also be available to meet with local groups and organizations, and will work to ensure that the needs of the people of North Warwickshire are met.
PRETORIA - A white policeman affably hands a megaphone to an ANC activist calling for the end of white minority rule, an image of new, tentative co-operation between South Africa's traditional foes.

White police wrestle to the ground a white right-winger who shot dead two black protestors. ANC township officials hand over police thugs who killed a journalist. Police and ANC organizers huddle at rallies to stop looters and rioters.

As South Africa takes halting, violent steps towards multiracial democracy, co-operation once unthinkable is emerging between the ANC and its erstwhile police enemies.

The ANC still accuses the police of shooting unarmed township protestors and senior police officials question the organization's ability to control its followers.

Since the April 10 murder of SACP leader Chris Hani, the two sides have been thrown together to save the country from violent disaster. At least 80 people have been killed in unrest since Hani's death.

Mourning Hani

But police and the ANC have struck delicate, unprecedented deals to ensure potentially explosive rallies were largely orderly.

"Co-operation was good," ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa said last month after police and ANC marshals working together ensured mourning ceremonies for Hani that drew tens of thousands of people were mainly peaceful. "What has been played out this week is instructive - this is the embryonic stage of joint control of the security forces."

The police force is 60% black and the government last year appointed its first three black generals.

Except for one day of urban riots and some isolated incidents, Hani's funeral and other memorial events were largely peaceful as police and ANC officials consulted to ensure right-wingers did not attack protestors and township anger did not spill out of control.

Defuse tensions

"The co-operation has been superb," said a United Nations observer in Pretoria, where ANC officials and police walked side by side to maintain order at a march.

At one point a policeman lent ANC organizer Donnie Khumalo his megaphone so his supporters could hear calls for majority rule.

The march on police headquarters was banned by the city council but police said they had decided to let it go ahead to defuse tensions.

"They've been very disciplined," Colonel Royce Menton said of the ANC marshals, looking calm as they delivered a statement at the headquarters calling for the end of the government's enforced residence requirements.

"The co-operation has been exemplary, an example for the rest of the country," Khumalo agreed.

Oppressing force

But while collaboration may be emerging on the ground, many on both sides of the old war are slow to be convinced.

"Many angry blacks in the miserable townships still see police as the invading, oppressing force after years of sending in armoured trucks, shooting protestors and beating suspects with impunity."

The State President, Mr De Klerk, addressing fears of his anxious constituency, says the ANC cannot adequately control its followers and that mass action plans could spark a race war.

"But he may have to come to terms with a redrawing of battle lines, say political commentators."

The balance of political forces in this country is tipping ever more swiftly, and those who stand stubbornly in one place are likely to find themselves in odd surroundings," editor Ken Owen wrote in the Sunday Times.

"Our fate lies in the unhappy combination of weary police officers and weary ANC moderates who, drawn together by this crisis, struggle to direct and control the mobs." - Saps-Reuters
Johannesburg. — A farmer from the Thabazimbi area in the north-western Transvaal, Mr. Louis Trichardt, has been appointed the Conservative Party's new Member of Parliament for the Waterberg constituency.

Mr Trichardt, 56, succeeds the former CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, who died recently. — Sapa.
Child vote scorned

Mandela's call, opportunism say academics, politicians
RAIN

A real responsibility talks of policies.

Mrs. Mandela was accused of poll-

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Nelson Mandela called for

Mr. Mandela was accused of poll-

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Your young voters.

Vote ANC.

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drew had provoked a lot of comment in the Press.

He said it had been claimed that nowhere in the world had such a thing been done, but added: "We know of seven countries — there may be more — where the age is less than 18 and in some cases as low as 14.

"There is a country where anybody who is married can vote. If you want to increase the vote for democracy, children of 10 can get married," he concluded, with tongue-in-cheek.

Mr. Mandela defended his view on the voting age again when questioned on the issue at a Press conference.

He referred to the "tragic mistakes" made by voters of 16 and older since 1948, when they had voted for the National Party.

Constitutional expert Dr. Denis Worrall, Democratic Party MP for Berea, said he was not aware of any country where the voting age was below 18.

"It would be extremely difficult to give any rational justification for this," he said.

"I think the whole concept of voting implies an exercise of rationality and ability in a reasonably dispassionate way, to be able to evaluate policies and issues and it does imply a certain maturity and a level of emotional and intellectual growth."

Mr. Deen Smuts, DP spokesman on Home Affairs, said allowing people of 14 to vote would introduce a new logistical complication to South Africa's pending election.

- Democratic Party MPs today calculated that there were about 3.5 million people from all population groups in the 14 to 18 age bracket in South Africa and the TVBC states.
THE SA Communist Party is to convene a workshop to discuss the implications of contesting elections under an ANC banner.

A three-day SACP conference was held in Johannesburg at the weekend to discuss the party's role during the transition.

Other topics discussed were the dangers of destabilisation and counter-revolution, its role internationally and strategies during the transition.

An emphasis of the conference was that the SACP wanted an independent role during the transition but simultaneously wanted to strengthen the tripartite alliance and the broad democratic movement.
Hani culprits' lawyers apply for more time

 Defence team wants to prepare:

By Mzimasi Ngudle

LAWYERS for three suspects in the murder of South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani have indicated they will apply for a further postponement when the trial resumes in the Rand Supreme Court on June 23.

The suspects, Mr Januz Walters, Mr Clive-Derby Lewis and his wife Gaye, were remanded in custody after the Attorney-General, Mr Klaus von Lieres, said the granting of bail was likely to "adversely affect public safety".

All three lawyers told magistrate Mr Jurg Vivier in the Boksburg Magistrate's Court on Friday that they had not been consulted and needed more time to prepare the defence case.

Walters, dressed in a brownish-grey suit, stood emotionless when it was announced that the three would face charges of murder, conspiracy to murder and illegal possession of a firearm and ammunition.

The bespectacled Derby-Lewises, both clad in navy jackets, smiled uneasily, waving to family and friends as they were taken back into custody.
HOLLOW TALKS: Multiparty indaba may not improve things:

THE talk about a new democratic order in South Africa means very little to women.

The point is that even the multiparty talks, presently throw up a new dispensation for the country, may not have the will and the capacity to improve the fortunes of the country's women.

It is women themselves who must take up the cudgels and relentlessly fight on to better their lot.

One such woman who has found a meaning in the creed of self-sufficiency is Ms Tshepo Khumbane.

Khumbane's life centres around teaching rural women to food for themselves, thereby removing the dependency syndrome that usually makes them "back in the mud and look far ahead to their men to bring food parcels and money from the cities".

Often these food parcels and money are not forthcoming, what with the hustlers having "noticed" with their more sophisticated counterparts in the big cities of gold and misery.

Instead of the rural women accepting and complaining that "shauka k'nye" has not been home for years, Khumbane helps them realize that they can do something for themselves.

How does she do that?

Grow vegetables

She teaches women in rural areas to grow vegetables and raise chickens. What they do not consume they may sell in order to swell their coffers.

Employed by the Environmental and Development Agency, Khumbane also strives to uplift people's lives in the rural areas by making them realize they are people of dignity, deserving of respect. She teaches them, in old community methods, disdained by the Government through its resettlement policies which decimated African existence in the rural areas.

Just as it is important to educate the rural folk about self-sufficiency, women must be sensitized about their independence, that they are simply not appendages of men. They have equally an important role to play in society.

The challenge facing women today is: should they accept that they are living in a society that is man-made, or should they say men are just impostors, that women are better fit to take over? As an attempt to address these issues, the women want to establish if the current negotiations will pass laws that will give them equal status to men.

Faced with the knowledge that they account for 53 percent of the total population, women refuse to accept that they are entitled to less in education and training. In the workplace women still occupy 47 percent of the positions available to them.

They are also paid less than men in most sectors. For every rand earned by a man, a woman doing a job of equal value only earns 60 cents.

These, and other controversial topics about women's rights to correct the injustices may be viewed on TSS at 9pm tonight.
Talks speed up as poll deadline nears

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The deadline in 10 days for the setting of an election date has forced negotiators to set aside an extra day to work through a volume of material from seven technical committees.

The negotiating council is to meet tomorrow, Friday and next Tuesday in the hope of achieving agreement and recommending to the negotiating forum that an election date be announced on June 3.

Consensus reached two weeks ago in the council was that the 26 parties would discuss setting an election date once they had completed talks on constitutional principles.

But negotiators are concerned that they have not made sufficient headway in striking compromises that will allow discussions on these principles to be dealt with satisfactorily before June 3.

One source said the second report of the technical committee looking at constitutional principles had left “too much to the negotiating council to deal with and has merely sketched out the two scenarios the council will have to decide on”.

One alternative is that propagated by the ANC and government — that a transitional executive council be established in the run-up to elections for an interim government that will also act as a constitution-making body.

The second, favoured by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans' Group, is that the final constitutional principles be decided on by the negotiating forum with a group of experts drafting the constitution prior to elections.
President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will meet US President Bill Clinton in July. De Klerk and Mandela are travelling to the US to receive the Liberty Award on July 4. Mandela is expected to attend an Organisation of African Unity meeting in Egypt at the end of June before travelling to the US. The two leaders will meet Clinton separately. — Staff Reporter.
Talks ‘must go on’ -- PAC

MULTIPARTY negotiations and intense struggles on every front had to go hand in hand, Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said on Saturday.

He was speaking at Boipatong, in the Vaal Triangle, at a rally to mark the Organisation of African Unity’s “Africa Liberation Day”.

“The only purpose of the current multiparty talks at Kempton Park must be to prepare the way for elections for a constituent assembly,” Makwetu said.

“Participants must therefore be very careful not to entangle themselves in matters pertaining to the details of the future constitution as they have no mandate from the masses to do so. (304A)

“The current negotiations process must go hand in hand with intense struggles on every front.”

Makwetu said only through elections based on a common voters roll would the masses be able to express themselves on the country’s constitutional future.

On the issue of a future form of state and self-determination, he said the PAC remained committed to a unitary state in which everyone enjoyed equal status before the law with individual human rights firmly entrenched.

“We will not succumb to pressures and threats by former generals of the South African Defence Force,” Makwetu said in an apparent reference to the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront.

Constituent assembly

“We do not agree on their request to postpone talks until they have consulted their racist following.”

Elections for a constituent assembly would afford everyone an opportunity to express their views, he added.

“We are engaged in a de-colonisation process and not a spoils-sharing exercise.

...Africa belongs to the African people and all those who pay their loyalty to Africa are welcome to help build our nation.”

He denounced the proposed transitional executive council as “nothing but a classical colonial native advisory board clothed in fancy terminology”. — Sapa
South African ambassador to World Bank, J. Christopher Bell, addressed the South African parliament. He said the country's resources were not sufficient to support the World Bank's needs in the region. Bell called for the creation of a new institution to provide funds for the continent's economic development.

S. African ambassador said the country's resources were not sufficient to support the World Bank's needs in the region. Bell called for the creation of a new institution to provide funds for the continent's economic development.
Election date to be set within a week

NEWCASTLE — ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday a date for SA's first democratic elections would be announced by the multiparty forum, and not by his organisation.

Reader earlier reported Mandela at a rally in northern Natal announcing that the ANC would unilaterally announce the election date.

Clarifying the issue at a news conference afterwards, Mandela said a decision on the date of elections was being discussed at multiparty negotiations and that the date would be announced at that forum.

He also repeated the ANC's call that the legal voting age be reduced from 18 years to 14 years and said he was "not pessimistic" about this demand being achieved in negotiations.

Commenting on the NP's rejection of the 14 year voting age, Mandela said: "The NP and the ANC have on countless occasions taken different positions on a variety of issues — I'm not pessimistic.

Earlier in the day, Mandela told a 3,000-strong crowd of metropolitan Indian businessmen: "We have decided to announce before the end of May an exact day for elections before April next year."

Multi-party negotiators were reported to have privately decided on an election date and had been expected to announce it jointly at a meeting of their leaders on June 2.

The planned June 2 announcement was considered a compromise to meet the demands of ANC supporters and government's desire not to appear to be forced into making an early announcement. This would Mandela's call to lower the voting age appeared to be aimed at appeasing to militant black youths angered at the slow pace of democracy talks.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the deadline for setting an election date in 10 days time has forced negotiators to set aside an extra day to work through a volume of material from seven technical committees. The negotiating council will now meet tomorrow, Friday and next Tuesday in the hope of achieving agreement to recommend to the negotiating forum that an election date be announced on June 2.

Consensus reached two weeks ago in the council was that the NP parties would discuss setting an election date once they had completed talks on constitutional principles. But negotiators are concerned that they have not yet made sufficient headway in making compromises that will allow discussion of these principles to be satisfactorily dealt with before June 3.

One source said the second report of the technical committees looking at constitutional principles had left "too much to the negotiating council to do with and has merely sketched out the two scenarios the council will have to decide on".

One alternative is that propagated by the ANC and government — that a transitional executive council be established in the run-up to elections for an interim government that will also act as a constitution-making body. The second, favoured by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group, is that the final constitutional principles be decided on by the negotiating forum with a group of experts drafting the constitution prior to elections.

Concessions granted by the ANC on reducing the voting age appeared to be aimed at appeasing to militant black youths angered at the slow pace of democracy talks.

One government negotiator said the committee looking into setting up a transitional executive council had finished its report, but could not move forward until the negotiating council reached agreement on how the process would work. He said the key was to get agreement on the powers and functions of the body and a commitment from the ANC that it would regard this agreement as binding in talks during the period when an interim government was forming the constitution.

ANC negotiator Mohamed Valli Hoosen said the ANC would consider any agreements reached in bilateral talks or in the forum as binding.
Top Broeder's are back in town

2041

The decline of Afrikanerdom's secret organisation is analysed by Patrick Lannace
Optimism, doubts on setting of poll date

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Decisions on several fundamental constitutional issues will have to be taken within the next seven days if an election date is to be set by next Tuesday.

Negotiators at yesterday's planning committee said decisions had to be taken on the constitutional principles which would shape a new constitution, the constitutional process and regionalism.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were confident last night that an election date could be set at next week's first meeting of the negotiating forum.

Meyer said the Government would be "going full out to set the date" without putting other parties under undue pressure.

But Bophuthatswana governor-designate and IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose expressed doubts that enough progress could be made this week for the election date to be set on Tuesday.

Cronje said the negotiators had not yet "faced up" to who would draft the constitution and whether regions would be determined before or after elections.

It was now necessary to see whether the difference could be bridged, he said.

Ramaphosa...confident about election date.
The fight for the TV is intensifying as the commercial war against the ANC moves into a new phase. This week, the Necsa TV board was forced to make a decision on the future of the TV station. The board must decide whether to continue broadcasting or to shut down the service. The decision will have a significant impact on the ANC's ability to communicate with its supporters.

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**OFFENDING SCENES**

In an image from the television commercial, a scene showing the ANC logo was deemed offensive by the NEC. The commercial was immediately pulled from airwaves, and the ANC called for a boycott of the TV service.

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**TV ad refused over nudity**

The ANC's advertisement for their TV station was refused by the broadcasting authority due to its nudity. The advertisement featured a topless model, which was deemed inappropriate for the conservative audience.

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**Freedom Brief**

The ANC called for an end to the violence targeting the TV station, and urged supporters to remain peaceful.

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**ANC President ANCYL Juma**

ANC President ANCYL Juma announced that the ANC will not bow to pressure and will continue to fight for the TV station. He called on ANC supporters to remain steadfast in their support for the ANC.
AWB march in Westonaria

About 100 AWB members marched to Westonaria police station to hand over a list of demands yesterday. They demanded that police prevent black mass action in white areas. They said any opposition to their demands would be regarded as "treason". Their declaration ended: "Westonaria is our town. The whites are the boss and apartheid is the law." — West Rand Bureau
SOUTH Africa will not grant official recognition to the MPLA government in Angola until a fully representative administration is in place.

A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman, responding to a call by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela that the Angolan government be recognised, said it would be inappropriate to grant recognition until a fully representative government was in place.
18 is ANC policy on right to vote

Sowetan Correspondent

The official ANC policy was that the vote should be extended to all South Africans from the age of 18, Mr Zola Skweyiya, head of the organisation's department of constitutional affairs, said yesterday.

Skweyiya responded to an inquiry about ANC voting policy in the wake of Mr Nelson Mandela's controversial call for the voting age to be lowered to 14 by reading from the ANC’s submission to the present multiparty talks.

"Persons Entitled to Vote: All South African citizens who have attained the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote for the electoral process."

Elaborating, Skweyiya said: “We maintain (the qualifying age for the vote) should be 18 and that all citizens of South Africa within the borders of 1910, including Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, should be entitled to vote.”

On Mandela’s call for the franchise to be extended to 14-year-olds, Skweyiya referred to a recent seminar organised by church leaders: “In that seminar I think they came out with a statement that the youth have contributed to changes in South African and that they should be given a say in the changes that are taking place.”

Aleah Bacque, international Press officer of the South African Council of Churches, confirmed that the lowering of the voting age had been discussed at a seminar of religious leaders—rather than merely Christian leaders—on May 10-12.

But the qualifying age that had been mooted was 16, not 14, the age at which people were issued with identity documents and at which blacks had been required to carry "passes" until the pass system was abolished, Bacque said.

The reason for the proposal was that the youth had contributed to the "liberation struggle" and that they had been "targeted for arrest, torture and detention."
Monuments to SA’s chequered history

CAPE TOWN — While there is nothing to stop a new government from pulling down the edifice associated with the tricameral Parliament, that part of the building built before 1998 is about to become a national monument.

At the opening of the new National Monuments Council complex last night, President F W de Klerk said Tuyshuis in Cape Town and Pretoria’s Union Buildings would also become national monuments.

De Klerk said other state-owned buildings earmarked for monument status in terms of their architectural or historical significance were his own residence, Westbrooke; other Ministers’ homes, Croote Schuur and Kleine Schuur; and historic buildings Rheensicht and De Meule. So too were his Pretoria residence, Libertas, and the Palace of Justice, housing the Transvaal Supreme Court.

He said if there had been a tendency in the past to concentrate on the European part of SA’s heritage, the solution did not lie in “overheated” debate about “Eurocentrism”. The solution lay in doing more for conservation in areas that had not enjoyed sufficient attention.

This process had already begun, he said. The Mapungubwe site, the Dzata ruins, the metal smelting sites at Phalaborwa and thousands of other archaeological and rock art sites were testimony to the variety of cultural heritages that were protected by conservation legislation.
Please for a rethink on maize price

Wessex announces training task group
Official ANC policy: vote from age 18

By Patrick Laurence

Official ANC policy was that the vote should be extended to all South Africans from the age of 18, Zola Skweyiya, head of the ANC's department of constitutional affairs, said yesterday.

He responded to an inquiry about ANC voting policy in the wake of Nelson Mandela's call for the voting age to be lowered to 14 by reading from the ANC's submission to the present multiparty talks.

"Persons entitled to vote: all South Africans citizens who have attained the age of 18 shall be eligible to vote for the electoral process."

On Mandela's call, Skweyiya referred to a recent seminar organised by church leaders: "In that seminar I think they came out with a statement that the youth have contributed to changes in South Africa and that they should be given a say in the changes taking place."

The call stunned the political establishment and even shocked senior ANC members. An ANC official, who declined to be identified, told Reuters yesterday: "It's an unlikely scenario."

But he conceded that "what Madiba (Mandela) says today is often 'law' tomorrow."

Deaan Bacque, international press officer of the SA Council of Churches, confirmed that lowering the voting age had been discussed by religious leaders on May 10-12. But the qualifying age mooted was 18, not 14, he said.

- Allowing 14-year-olds to vote would introduce a new logistical complication to the pending election as they would not have identity documents, DP spokesman on Home Affairs Dene Smuts said in Cape Town yesterday, reports The Star's Political Staff.

She said the 14 to 18 age bracket included between one and two million people, and it was politically significant. These people would enter the electoral process in the 1994 elections.

- Voting the vote to 14-year-olds would simply be to constitutionalise Cambodia's killing fields here, Tony Leon (DP) (Houghton) said in Parliament yesterday. He said he and his colleague Roger Burrows had been unable to trace a single country that allowed 14-year-olds to vote.

- The ANC Youth League expressed support for the call, reports Sapa. It said: "The reality of the South African situation is that we have youth from the age of 16 who are already politically conscious and mobilised."

Optimism, doubts on
MP: Unrest
cause of:
emigration

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A senior National Party MP told Parliament he knew of a "whole department" at a university whose members were preparing to emigrate.

Dr Francois Jacobz expressed deep concern about the emigration of highly skilled South Africans, many of whom were being recruited by other countries, such as Canada.

Emigration was packing their bags not because of concern about the future constitution and its implications, but rather the unrest situation.

Speaking during the Manpower budget debate, Jacobz said: "Our country cannot afford this and our efforts to achieve economic growth will be detrimentally affected."
Stop blacks at schools — CP

Conservatives want urgent meeting with Education Minister to scrap exam fees

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party has called on white parents to "physically" prevent black children from entering white schools. (ColA)

The CP yesterday also called for an urgent meeting with the Minister of National Education, Mr Piet Marais, to demand that the matric exam registration fee for white pupils be also scrapped.

Reacting to Marais' remark that the Government would consider suspending the fee for "poor whites", the CP's spokesman on education and culture, Mr Andrew Gerber, said this was indicative of the racism of the National Party "against whites".

Gerber said Marais was apparently not aware of the fact that there were many black people who could afford the exam fee.

"Whites are sick and tired of all the concessions the Government has made in education under pressure of communists and their allies.

"The suspension of exam fees for black pupils is a slap in the face of white parents who are struggling to make ends meet," Gerber said.

And in a separate statement, Gerber said the CP had been forced to react to the "brutality and explosiveness of the situation in the country" and especially in view of the proposal that black pupils occupy white school.

He said white parents who expected the Government to protect their schools from occupation by black pupils were deluded.

"The CP therefore calls on all parents to prepare themselves to physically defend any onslaught on their schools from May 26 onwards," Gerber said.
Juniors want to vote in election

CITY, pupils questioned about whether they would like to vote in the next general election. Nearly all classes agreed, saying children should be allowed to vote. Many kids are involved in political organisations and are active in politics.

Naila Maadas, 17, of Catshin Secondary School, said: "I would like to have the vote. I am also a part of this political organisation."

Monde Mohlase, 14, of Garlandale High School, said: "Many kids are involved in politics. Even we children are hoping for a free country."

Celeste Le Fleur, 17, of Garlandale High School, said: "Children need to get their message through by being active in politics."

Martin Ntshabele, 17, of Garlandale High School, said: "Children should be allowed to vote."
CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk in effect rejected black majority rule yesterday, insisting the National Party should play a central role in a coalition government lasting into the next century.

In an interview with the Financial Times, De Klerk said power-sharing between the country’s main political parties should be entrenched as a permanent principle in any final constitution. He made clear that fundamental differences on power-sharing between the Government and the ANC had still to be resolved.

He denied seeking formal veto powers for the National Party in any new government, but argued that South Africa would in future have to be governed on the basis of consensus on fundamental issues between the main players.

That might, he said, involve the creation of an executive committee comprising party leaders, with the chairmanship rotating between them, to deal with fundamental principles. He implied that real power should lie with that body, with a future president acting as “head of state, not of government.”

The obvious thing would be for the main role players, immediately after an election, to work out a policy framework for the next five years … “almost like the Magna Carta,” he said. — Financial Times News Service.
UN report puts SA on top in Africa

By Mike Littlejohn

NEW YORK — South Africa leads all countries on the African mainland in human development, according to a new United Nations report.

The republic, which is listed as a developing country in the economic context, ranks 85th in a human-development index, just behind Saudi Arabia and just ahead of Sri Lanka.

With the world's highest life expectancy and high per capita income, Japan again ranks top in this annual index, prepared by the UN Development Programme.

South Africa is listed among a group of states with "medium" human development, which includes Botswana, China, Cuba, Iraq and South Korea. Seychelles is the only state in South Africa's region to be ranked ahead of the republic, at 63.

Mahbub ul Haq, a former Finance Minister of Pakistan, led the team that prepared the report. Because of objections by several states to a "freedom index" that appeared in past reports, this was dropped from the latest one.

The difficulties arising from the preparation of a document of this scope and magnitude are apparent in the fact that while being ranked one ahead of South Africa, Saudi Arabia has been accused of violations of human rights, including slavery. Saudi women are still not allowed to drive cars. Yet the country has escaped the opprobrium that South Africa has borne at the UN for years.

A box of information in the report about blacks in South Africa says they "continue to live in a world apart" as the white 5 percent of the population owns 63 percent of all private property.

"Half the population, mostly black, lives below the poverty line," it is stated. "Many, poor black children are being stunted by malnutrition .... One third of the black population over 15 (some three million people) is illiterate."

The report says three-quarters of black teachers are either unqualified or underqualified, so the education system perpetuates a vicious circle of deprivation and discrimination."
Changes to permit joint voting on Bills

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN—Changes are to be made to the constitution to allow the three Houses to vote together for the first time in the history of the bicameral Parliament.

This simple-majority rule will come into play as a deadlock-breaking mechanism if one of the three Houses refuses to pass a Bill.

At present, if one of the Houses rejects a Bill, it is referred to the President's Council to break the deadlock.

In effect, this means rubber-stamp approval.

In terms of the Constitution Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament this week by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, the President's Council is to be dissolved.

Disputed Bills will go to a joint sitting of the three Houses.

A majority of members present will decide whether to accept or reject the Bill.

This use of a simple majority differs from the National Party's stand at multiparty negotiations.

There, it is demanding that Bills presented to the first democratically elected Parliament would have to be passed by a two-thirds majority.

In the unlikely event of one of the Houses opposing the NP on any Bill in the last months of the bicameral Parliament, the NP could easily have the Bill passed at a joint sitting, as it holds 167 of the 308 seats.
Bills revoke homeland autonomy

Two Bills to facilitate reincorporation of the self-governing territories into SA were tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The main objective of the Revocation and Assignment of Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill is to provide for the manner in which the autonomy of self-governing territories can be revoked.

The Bill empowers the State President to revoke the legislative powers and executive authority of any self-governing territories, provided he has the consent of the government of the particular territory.

The Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill empowers the State President to place certain matters, at present administered in separate departments and in the self-governing territories, under a single department. — Sapa.
Govt told: Explain PAC crackdown

By Esther Waugh
Paul Bell
and Philip Zula

South Africa’s delicately poised negotiations at the World Trade Centre may have survived yesterday’s uproar over the nationwide police crackdown on the Pan-Africanist Congress, but the government is under pressure to explain why the action was taken at this critical time and who knew about it beforehand.

The crackdown on the PAC is expected to lead to a heated debate in the weekly cabinet meeting today.

PAC gears up for D-Day - Page 19

The government came under pressure yesterday in the negotiating council for sweeping on an end of the negotiating partners.

But cabinet ministers at the negotiating table — Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels, Tobias Delport and Dawie de Villiers — apparently did not know of the PAC raid.

They only heard about it when they arrived yesterday morning at the World Trade Centre.

Law and order minister Herman Pretorius said he was briefed by two generals of the impending raid on Monday afternoon.

This development caused the government and National Party negotiators in an awkward situation, and led several negotiators to question whether President de Klerk or the security services were pushing the country.

Krik is expected to face a special session of the negotiating council tomorrow evening to explain the timing of the raid. Krik would not say last night whether he would attend the meeting.

Negotiators said elements in government were “wreckers” who deliberately wanted to derail the process.

The damage to the negotiations process was temporarily limited by the commitment of all the groups to negotiations.

Although the PAC suspended its participation in yesterday’s meeting, it has not pulled out of talks.

PAC sources said today the government would call a meeting of national executive members in Johannesberg to set a date for a full NEC meeting within the next few days. The PAC will then decide on its participation in negotiations.

The organization has, however, clearly stated that its presence at tomorrow’s meeting will depend on the government’s action within the next 48 hours.

The basic demands — supported by the Patriotic Front members of the negotiating table — are for arrested PAC members be immediately charged for release and for confiscated documents be returned.

Earlier Krik told Parliament that 72 PAC and APLA cadres, including seven “top structure” members, had been held, and weapons and ammunition seized.

In a statement last night, law and order ministry spokesman Capt. Craig Kotze said that contrary to media reports, key cabinet ministers did not attend a meeting on Sunday where police reportedly briefed them on the raid.

Kotze said: “These arrests were not a government decision. They were made by the police.”

Kotze said that contrary to media reports, key cabinet ministers did not attend a meeting on Sunday where police reportedly briefed them on the raid.

“This is simply not true,” Kotze said.

Kotze said that contrary to media reports, key cabinet ministers did not attend a meeting on Sunday where police reportedly briefed them on the raid.

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CAPE TOWN — All able-bodied men and women should join the CP's mobilisation action in the Roodplaats area following the weekend shooting of 43-year-old Gert Alberts, its CP MP, Daan du Plessis, said yesterday.

Condemning the murder and attack on Alberts's elderly mother at their Leeuwfontein plot on Sunday night, Du Plessis said the attack had filled the CP with revulsion.

Alberts was fatally wounded by AK-47 fire. (2044)

Newly installed burglar bars had not stopped Alberts from being shot from outside.

"This leads us to ask how long whites must still endure this kind of attack. How many whites still have to be killed by terrorists before the Government does something about it?" Declarations of disapproval were no longer sufficient.

"An appeal is made to every able-bodied man and woman in the constituency to join the mobilisation action. The Government can clearly no longer protect us. We'll have to do it ourselves," Du Plessis said. — Sapa.
US plans cash, technical support for SA elections

JOHANNESBURG. — The United States plans to lend substantial financial and technical support to South Africa’s electoral process.

The US ambassador to South Africa, Princeton Lyman, told an American Chamber of Commerce function yesterday: “This is our most important priority over the next year.” Mr Lyman said the international service arms of the Democratic and Republican parties, as well as a leading political think-tank group, were preparing to join forces “to provide a wide variety of technical help” to an election in South Africa.

This would involve aiding voter registration and the setting up of an independent electoral commission to ensure the country succeeded in achieving a free and credible election result.

“A South Africa election must first and foremost be legitimised by people inside the country, rather than outsiders in the country,” he said, referring to the planned thrust of US involvement.

The participation of the international community in the country’s transition process would depend on South Africa’s independent electoral commission.

“However, we expect there will be a call for an international presence during an election and the international community is prepared to lend a great deal of support and presence to the electoral process,” however, the ambassador said there were a number of issues “which go to the very heart of what an election will be about” that had to be resolved.

Firstly, the role of the proposed transitional executive council needed to be clearly defined. The degree to which sub-councils would have authority or advisory power would also have to be laid out.

Furthermore, the degree of consensus necessary in a government of national unity, as well as its responsibility and functions, would have to be clarified.

Thirdly, the control of the security forces during the transition process and in an election was vital to the future. Mr Lyman said, lastly, that political violence was a problem but it should not hold up progress on constitutional talks. — Sapa.
Cabinet meets for BI...
Aplla warned of ‘full might’ of law

A STATEMENT purportedly issued by the Azanian People’s Liberation Army threatening “soft targets” was merely a smokescreen designed to obscure the real cause of the police swoop against Pan Africanist Congress and Aplla members, Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said today.

He warned: “Attacks by Aplla on innocent civilians will be met with the full might of the South African Police and other security forces”. The purported Aplla statement, faxed to Sapa yesterday morning, said loss of life was unavoidable and the safety of soft targets was in doubt as a result of the arrest of 73 PAC/Aplla members during the nationwide police crackdown. Eleven of those arrested have since been released.

Captain Kotze said the police action was against “PAC and Aplla policies designed to systematically murder people on the basis of race, farm ownership and membership of the security forces”.

He reiterated: The government has repeatedly stated that one cannot negotiate and wage a race-based terrorist war at the same time.” — Sapa.
Final knell
for the PC

LEGISLATION scrapping the 60-member President's Council was tabled in Parliament yesterday, bringing an end to another structure of the tri-cameral Parliament (304A).
The council will cease to exist on June 30.
The National Party-dominated council's main function was that of a deadlock-breaking mechanism to be used when there were disputes between the Houses on legislation.
The resolution of legislative disputes will now be undertaken by Parliament itself at joint sittings of all three Houses.
Committee proposes 18 as minimum voting age

A NEGOTIATIONS technical committee yesterday recommend- 
ed 18 as the minimum voting age — in line with the ANC's submission to the committee.

The recommendation is in proposals for a draft independent electoral commission and comes in the wake of the proposal by ANC president Nelson Mandela that children of 14 and older be allowed to vote.

It was also learned that nobody under the age of 18 could join the ANC itself, but could join only its Youth League.

The committee’s proposal was yesterday presented for debate by the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre. The draft election Bill defines eligible voters as “all SA citizens of 18 years and more, including citizens of the TBVC states, with the exception only of such persons as may be disqualified from voting by reason of criminality, mental disorder or other provisions of this Act and of the regulations”.

The draft legislation makes detailed recommendations for SA’s first non-racial elections, scheduled to be held before the end of April next year.

An Independent Electoral Commission will, in terms of the draft, assume responsibility for conducting democratic national elections for a new Parliament to function in terms of an interim constitution.

The commission will be required to determine and certify the final results of the elections within a period of 21 days after completion of the ballot. It will also declare whether elections have been free and fair.

The draft proposes the commission should not have more than 11 members, and at least eight have to agree on the result of an election for it to be certified.

If the commission found a poll was partly unfair and unfair, it would be empowered to take appropriate steps to achieve a free and fair election result, the report stated.

This could enable the commission to take limited action in a particular region, without having to hold a completely new national election, in the event that there were unacceptable conditions in a limited area only.

The draft makes provision for the secondment of representatives from accredited international organisations and/or foreign governments.

Prospective electoral commission members may not have held political office in the three years prior to the date of the transitional elections and, upon ceasing to be a member of the commission, will not be eligible to accept appointment to any public office for three years.

The draft envisages that the commission set up three separate directorates: an Election Administration Directorate; an Election Monitoring Directorate; and an Election Adjudication Directorate.

The administration directorate’s responsibilities would include voter education, determining the eligibility and identification of voters, enforcing the electoral code of conduct and promulgating regulations governing political advertising.

The monitoring directorate would have investigative powers and the adjudication directorate would serve as the final arbiter of claims and disputes affecting the campaign conduct and results of the elections.

Opinion polls would be prohibited during a period of six weeks before the transitional elections began.
Playing to Rebelious Gallery

Patrick Launace examined Mandelb's call for the voting age to be lowered.
Talks appear on track

Government hawks are accused of deliberate attempt to sabotage negotiations

ANC general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, said PAC negotiators, Mr. Grant Erasmus, said the President's presence would not preclude normal business relations with the Opposition. He said the negotiations were part of the broader process of national reconciliation and that the PAC was committed to making them a success.
Three Bills open the way to reincorporate homelands

CAPE TOWN — Three Bills published yesterday will clear the way for reincorporation — with their consent — of the six self-governing states.

The Revocation and Assignment of the Powers of Self-Governing Territories Bill empowers the President to issue a proclamation revoking the legislative powers and executive authority of self-governing territories. In order to do so, the President must have the consent of the territory's government or be acting at that government's request.

The Bill empowers the President to retain powers and authority or to assign these powers to another person or body, as provided by law, the Bill's memorandum says.

The Bill also seeks to enable the President to assign the administration of a law in force in a self-governing territory to another person or body.

The second Bill, the Joint Administration of Certain Matters Bill, empowers the President to proclaim that matters currently administered by a department in SA and separately in self-governing territories be administered in a single department. The Bill also empowers the President to amend or repeal laws in order to facilitate such joint administration.

The third Bill, the Regulation of Joint Executive Action Regarding Certain Land Bill, makes provision for joint administration of land which belonged to the SA Development Trust. The Bill's object is to authorise the President to give effect to agreements between government and the governments of self-governing states. Executive actions with respect to the land will be carried out jointly by the relevant government ministers and the ministers of the self-governing states in terms of agreements reached, the Bill's memorandum says.
CAIRO — South African Foreign Minister Pik Botha held talks in Cairo yesterday in the latest stage of a campaign to deal directly with Middle East oil suppliers after years of isolation caused by apartheid.

"Now that apartheid has gone, the gates are wide open for us," said Botha after meeting Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa and touring the pyramids at Giza.

Economists said South Africa was trying to profit from the gradual end to its racist politics by dealing directly with oil suppliers in the Middle East and seeking new markets for exports.

Industry sources say countries such as Egypt and Oman have sold crude oil to South Africa for years despite a UN embargo. But the sales have taken place through independent traders and Pretoria has had to pay a premium.

South Africa has also been unable to export goods to the Middle East to offset the cost of importing oil from the area, which economists estimate at between $500 million and $1 billion a year.

Botha would not comment directly on oil ties, but said a recent South African trade fair in the Gulf had yielded contracts worth $225 million for South African firms.

Botha visited Oman and Qatar, two important oil producers in the Gulf, last month. Delegations from the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Tunisia and Jordan have been to South Africa.

South African businessmen visited Egypt and Gulf countries last year and South African banks have opened links with banks in Egypt, the UAE and Bahrain.

An industry source said South Africa was Egypt's second largest oil market after Israel and could account for up to 60,000 barrels per day (bpd) of Egypt's 250,000 bpd total exports.

Botha said South Africa was looking to promote trade in all areas, naming agriculture, technology transfer and industrial goods.

South African defence manufacturers are also interested in Gulf Arab states, practically the only major expanding arms market. — Sapa-Reuters.
'Independents’ elected in Krugersdorp wards

By Glen Kino
West Rand Bureau

An ‘autonomous Nationalist’ and a ‘totally independent’ representative of the people’ were by-elections in two Krugersdorp wards yesterday.

Marie Mourus was elected councillor for Krugersdorp West – a ward that has been right-wing for many years.

She described herself as a ‘totally independent’ and said the result of the by-election proved people were ‘sick and tired of politics in council matters’.

Mourus received 292 votes while the official AWP candidate, Joey Swenepool, got 297. Suspended AWP member-colonel Hennie de Beer managed 27 votes. Lodewijk Pringer got 137, Johannes Latgepoen 143 and Johannes van der Nest 11.

Turnout in the ward was a modest 28.6 percent.

Rayne Seyman, the ‘autonomous Nationalist’ from Johannes Harding of the Conservative Party by more than 200 votes in Ward 11, which covers part of Noordheuwel. The count was 135-130 in a 32.8 percent turnout.

Said Seyman: ‘I am obviously elated but my feet are sore from all the canvassing.’
Hani was CP leader, say some school pupils
Process hanging by a thin thread - Ramaphosa

From page 1

PCF lên tiếng và mời mọi người đến cuộc họp ở cuối tuần này để thảo luận về các vấn đề quốc tế. J ohnson

The mystery person

by Arthur Johnson
Right wing's one step forward

RIGHT-wing unity seems likely to become official today with the expected launch of the Afrikaner Volksfront in Pretoria.

The Volksfront — a brainchild of four generals-organised agriculture and right-wing political parties — will play a key role in facilitating joint right-wing action.

The first meeting to discuss the launch of the Afrikaner Volksfront was held two weeks ago under the chairmanship of former General Constand Viljoen. Prominent participants were the CP, Afrikaner Volksfront and Herstigte Nasionale Party. Also present were representatives from white worker's unions and cultural organisations.

It was expected that the Volksfront would officially be formed at the first meeting. However, BNP leader Jaap Marais insisted the implications of the movement need to be discussed further. A committee, made up of representatives from most of the parties, was asked to do this.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder were not present at the first meeting, but have since pledged their support.

Terre'Blanche announced at an AWB meeting in Witbank last week that he would join the Volksfront in a protest march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on May 29.
Death knell for President's Council

CAPE TOWN — Draft legislation was published yesterday which will end the decade-long existence of the President's Council and shift its deadlock-breaking role to a joint sitting of Parliament.

The constitutional change proposed in the Constitution Amendment Bill will permit all three Houses sitting together to take decisions jointly for the first time.

The council's deadlock-breaking role was enacted in the 1993 constitutional amendments to decide on general affairs legislation not passed by one of the Houses. However, this role has become irrelevant because the NP this year gained a majority in all three Houses.

The NP will hold a majority of 23 votes when all 388 MPs sit together. It also currently has 108 of the 178 MPs in the House of Assembly, 46 of the 65 MPs in the House of Representatives and 22 of the 45 in the House of Delegates.

The Bill also allows for the four chairmen of President's Council committees to remain in office for two months after the enactment of the Bill.

The Bill provides that any Bill in respect of which there is a disagreement between the Houses may be referred by the President to a joint sitting of the three Houses. The President may call a joint sitting whenever he deems it desirable and when he is requested to do so by all three Houses.
World awaits clear signal from SA, says Crocker

INTERNATIONAL investors were looking for clear signals from all SA's political parties that the world should engage in SA economically before they would decide to invest here, former US Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker said yesterday.

"Investors are looking for more than one news bulletin. They are looking for a track record as well as the news bulletin. They are looking for some announcements, they are looking for some invitations," he said in an interview.

"They are looking for clear signals which must come from the highest level from all parties, saying 'now is the moment at which we want the world to engage here'."

Crocker cautioned that to be effective, such signals would have to be accompanied by greater clarity on SA's future economic policy.

"Some people are going to say: what about the emerging policies of a transitional government, what about the policy statements that need to happen about all sorts of economic matters? They are not there yet."

Referring to negotiations, Crocker said he believed there was a "balance of impatience" among negotiators.

"I hope that is the case, because you cannot blow too many opportunities in this world when you are building a negotiated revolution."

"I definitely believe that this is the window (to the subregion). An entire year was lost after Codesa II and a huge price was paid. We can't remain optimistic if this gets messed up again," he said.

Crocker remained optimistic because of SA's talented leadership.

"There is a sense in which time is passing for the leadership, and I think they know it, not least because the gap between the negotiators and the general public is huge."

"I do believe that there is a negotiating culture that has developed over the years. There is clarity about who the players are, clarity about what their positions are; the issues that are outstanding are no secret, and people know each other."

"SA's number one priority is SA, and if the handshake can take place and the TEC starts to function and we move towards the elections... the main focus will be on how to build consensus about policies in SA."

"That is probably the number one policy," Crocker said.

There was a "tremendous gap between people who participate in the process and people who don't."

"I think there is always a sort of struggle between the people who are trying to shape events by talking about the future and negotiating it on the one hand and the happenings on the ground, and when those things get out of control there are very dangerous times," he said.
No link in PAC arrests

W Cape detained men ‘not criminals’

THE timing of the detention of 75 PAC members was not in any way linked to developments in the constitutional negotiation process, Minister of Law and Order Mr Hannes Kriel said yesterday.

Replying to debate on his vote, he said the SAP had detained people it believed to be involved in specific crimes, or who could shed light on criminal activity.

Those who were involved in the armed struggle had to accept the risk of arrest and prosecution.

The PAC arrests were linked to crimes of murder, attempted murder, petrol bombs and other attacks on the SA Police, complicity in attacks on civilians, illegal possession of firearms and handgrenades, and the planning of further attacks on the police and civilians, he said.

“I would . . . like to state quite clearly that no one has been arrested because he is a politician,” he said.

He said police had been investigating crimes to which members of the PAC and APLA were allegedly linked for some time. They now believed there was enough prima facie evidence to arrest suspects.

“Unfortunately, it now seems that there are highly-placed PAC/APLA members who are allegedly involved in crime,” he said.

Each of those arrested was being questioned in connection with a specific crime, or complicity in such a crime, or because he could have information on crimes.

FOUR Western Cape PAC members arrested in a predawn swoop were not criminals, PAC national executive committee member Ms Patricia de Lille said yesterday.

Those arrested are Mr Sizakele Mahlubhana, regional organiser of the South African Chemical Workers’ Union (Sacw), Mr Nkosemzi Nikk, Mr Michael Siyo and Mr Siphiwe Makhwebu.

Police also searched the Sacu’s city offices in Atlantic House.

Mr Mahlubhana’s relatives said police kicked the door of his house open, searched his house and confiscated PAC documents.

And workers at the PAC offices in Salt River said police confiscated documents and pamphlets after a long search of their premises yesterday morning.

“I know these people. They are not criminals. As far as we are concerned they have a clean record in the black community and the PAC,” Ms De Lille said.

“To make these allegations is criminal.” — Staff Reporter, Sapa
CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk yesterday acknowledged that he shared the blame for confusion over how the scrapped matriculation exam fees would be financed.

Replying in Parliament to a question from Baldeo Dookie (Ind. Red Hill), he said the shortfall resulting from the scrapping of the fees would have to be made up by savings in individual departments — a process requiring "sacrifices".

He also denied that the Government had given in to irresponsible claims by teachers and pupils after his crisis talks last week with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The Government had not given in on the issue of salaries, or on rationalisation that was already under way.

It had taken a reasonable view on exam fees, saying they could be suspended by departments pending negotiations.

There had been confusion over the issue when one Minister said the resulting shortfall would be funded from outside sources while others had said the lost revenue would be made up from departmental savings.

This was a result of insufficient communication, for which he also took blame.

It had been decided that the shortfall would in fact be funded from departmental savings, a principle which applied to all education departments.

If funds did come from outside the departments they would be used to alleviate the sacrifices which would now have to be made.

De Klerk said it was not true that the Government negotiated only with Mandela on education. The Ministers of Education and senior officials had negotiated with various organisations over a fairly long period.

The troublemakers, the people causing the crisis, lived in the shadow of the ANC. Mandela, who had asked to see him, had certainly been in a good position to assist in solving the crisis.

"When I talk to Mr Mandela I talk to a leader who has influence on the very organisations which are at the root of the problem," he said.

De Klerk said it was not possible to simply establish one department of education now, rather than in April next year, because the integration of education had to be done in an orderly way and through negotiation.

"You can't turn a big ship around in a few seconds," he said. "Therefore we need not be pushed. We will be working as hard as we can." — Sapa

"We will go it alone" — Page 5
ANC ‘agree on voting age’

Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela abides by the organisation’s national working committee’s (NWC) view that the voting age should be 18 years, according to ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus.

Although the NWC said yesterday that 18 was a "reasonable" voting age, the debate was open for further discussion.

Mandela said in Maritzburg at the weekend that 16 should be the voting age for the first democratic elections.

The NWC decision followed a discussion yesterday of Mandela’s statement.

In terms of a draft Independent Electoral Commission Act to be presented to the Negotiating Council tomorrow, 18 years is proposed as the voting age.
Negotiations to hear, KJELI explain police swoop on PAC

Critical day for talks
Start 1:15 p.m. Crucial

Talks

From Press

The difficulty in finding a peaceful way forward lies in the fact that the PAC, as a political force, has not been able to unite under a single leader. The PAC has been divided among various factions, each with its own agenda. This has made it difficult to find a common ground for negotiations. The PAC leaders have also been reluctant to engage in genuine dialogue with the government, fearing that their concessions would be met with resistance. The government, on the other hand, has been pressing for the PAC to abandon its violent tactics and accept a peaceful solution. The situation has become increasingly volatile, with outbreaks of violence reported in various parts of the country. The government has called for a peaceful resolution and has urged the PAC to engage in meaningful negotiations. The situation remains tense and uncertain, with the outcome of the negotiations hanging in the balance.
Political Staff
FOUR PAC suspects arrested in Tuesday's controversial pre-dawn raid were to appear in court in Soweto today as embattled Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel prepared to face critics at the World Trade Centre tonight.

The ANC's decision to remain at the talks table indicated that the negotiation process was still on track, in spite of the absence of the PAC.

While the government closed ranks to brazen out the controversy over the pre-dawn raid on the PAC, criticism — and questions of political accountability — continued to mount.

As four PAC suspects were due to face charges of illegal possession of ammunition, Mr Kriel was preparing to account for his actions at a special session of the negotiating council tonight.

It is the first time a Cabinet minister will be called to account for his actions by the forum.

Government negotiators are expected to take a back seat and to let Mr Kriel do the explaining.

Although the future of negotiations does not appear to be in jeopardy at this stage, they are under pressure after the raid on the PAC.

The government has been criticised strongly over the swoop and the PAC is under growing pressure not to abandon negotiations.

Demands that those arrested be charged or released are pivotal to the speedy resumption of negotiations.

Police have released 19 of the 73 arrested, including national executive members Mr Mike Matsobane and Mr Raymond Fihla. There are 54 in custody.

The PAC demanded the release of all suspects and the return of all confiscated material before it would consider returning to the talks table.

In a further development, Apla commander and PAC defence secretary, Mr Sableo Phama, said by phone from his headquarters in Tanzania: "We are going to act brutally and ruthlessly at what they have done."
THE ANC's national working committee has maintained its policy of keeping the voting age at 18 and older, despite ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela's call at the weekend for the voting age to be lowered to 14.

The ANC said yesterday: "Debate on the voting age is neither conclusive nor closed and Mr. Nelson Mandela's remarks, made in Pietermaritzburg over the weekend, should be contextualized within that national debate." A voting age of 18 years and older was "reasonable".
Masterbond gave kickbacks to Urban Foundation staff

CAPE TOWN — Masterbond apparently gave Urban Foundation employees kickbacks to invest R15m of the foundation's money in Masterbond, the NEL commission into the collapse of the Masterbond group heard yesterday.

A former Masterbond agent in the Transvaal, Mark Galbraith of Galbraith & Associates, said the foundation's employees were paid "commission" for monies invested with Masterbond.

RAY HARTLEY reports that Urban Foundation CEO Sam van Coller said yesterday the matter of a R15m investment in Masterbond by the foundation's treasury unit, of which R10m had been recovered, had been referred to the SAP's Commercial Crime Unit.

"The investment in Masterbond was made by the manager of the treasury unit contrary to the investment criteria laid down by the foundation's investment committee at the time," he said.

Van Coller said the R15m did not involve money donated to the foundation, but consisted of money "from treasury trading operations which were linked to the foundation's housing operations at that time".

The foundation had submitted an insurance claim for the unrecovered R15m.

Galbraith also told the commission how, at a convention in October 1990, life assurer Fedlife's representatives had promoted an equity participation scheme involving Masterbond investments. He said the scheme was described as a safe investment offering substantial returns.

The representatives said Fedlife had earmarked R60m of annuity and pension fund money for investment in the scheme.

Galbraith said that on the basis of those representations, agents for IPC, which was associated with assurance brokers Galbraith & Associates and which owned 49% of Masterbond Holdings, had begun marketing the scheme. However, he said in a letter to Fedlife he established that Fedlife's investment division had cautioned against taking part in the scheme.

Fedlife invested R12m of "saved pension fund money" in the scheme, using IPC to sell it. Galbraith said Fedlife had, since Masterbond's liquidation, reached an agreement with investors on the funds.

Galbraith told how he spent three hours with former Masterbond chairman Kees Jonker the day before the group was provisionally liquidated. Jonker made no mention of the pending court action, assuring Galbraith Masterbond had a bright future.

Another witness, Sidney Goodwin, who was Masterbond's main agent in the Transvaal, told the commission how a R20m bond was registered over Mykonos West in October 1990, about a year before the property was valued at R47m.

He suspected that the valuation had been structured to accommodate the third bond rather than to reflect the value of the property.

He claimed the Financial Services Board's executive officer Piet Badenhorst authorised the early payment of Masterbond funds deposited with Pretoria Bank on condition that the money was invested in a specified way. In fact, R12m was invested in a noninterest-paying Fancourt Holdings bond. The funds, Goodwin said, were not used for development but to repay R12m of a debenture bond into the short-term debenture bond pool.

SA will not push to join OAU, says Pik

CAIRO — Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday that SA already had "virtually" normal ties with most African countries and that a high-level Egyptian visit to Cairo would not actively push to join the OAU. SA next month.

But Cairo has made clear breaking off with Cairo to the latest stage of a charm offensive by Pretoria to normalise ties with Arab countries before nonracial day we can take our place (at the OAU) if it's not a matter we are going to push," Botha told a news conference.

Botha said trade between SA and other African countries had doubled in the past two years.

He described a UN aid embargo, still in force, although now openly flaunted, as a total failure. - Sapa-Reuters.
New Delhi air link ‘soon’

MARIANNE MERTEN

AIR India was expected to establish air links with SA before the year-end, former Indian cabinet minister Karan Singh said yesterday on his arrival in SA.

Singh is to attend celebrations marking the centenary of Mahatma Gandhi’s arrival in SA. He will also meet Indian leaders throughout the country.

He said SA tourists had been denied the pleasure of travelling to India for too long, SA had had a “very negative image” in India but since ANC president Nelson Mandela’s release from prison and changes started by President F W de Klerk there had been an upsurge of interest.

Singh will visit Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town to meet leaders of the African people, leaders of all races and denominations and friends in the Indian community.

Upon his return, Singh said he would write and lecture on his visit. “I’m not going to pass up the opportunity of talking about SA which hardly anybody else (from India) has visited.”

Entrenched power-sharing out of the question

ANC

THE ANC rejected out of hand President FW de Klerk’s insistence on entrenching multi-party power sharing in the final constitution, ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan said yesterday.

He was responding to an interview with De Klerk published in yesterday’s edition of the London Financial Times.

In the interview De Klerk was reported as demanding indefinite coalition government and a minority veto for whites in any future government.

De Klerk was quoted as saying power sharing among the country’s main political parties should be entrenched as a permanent principle in any constitution after next year’s elections.

The country would then have “to be governed on the basis of consensus on fundamental issues between the main players”, he said, adding that it might involve the creation of an executive committee of party leaders with the chairmanship rotating between them to deal with fundamental principles.

Jordan said government and De Klerk would always hold out for minority veto powers and would try to construe any agreement in that way. “But for us it is out of the question. “Our adoption of the principles of a national unity government for a limited five-year period is to do with reconciliation and reconstruction and to reduce the polarisation in the country.”

To entrench minority powers and a minority veto in a constitution would serve to undermine the very task of forging reconciliation “and undo everything we are trying to do in building a new nation”, he said.
Letters

The power of the people is being squandered. The government is ignoring the voices of the people, focusing instead on their own interests. The people are being left behind.

It is an alarmist stance that these issues are being swept under the rug. The people are being fed lies and misinformation, and their voices are being silenced.

The government must take action to address these issues. The people deserve better, and it is time for the government to listen.

In Cape Town,

Tim Cohen

Govern's crisis management badly shown up
Business urges negotiators to avoid impasse

Greta Steyn

The SA business community has urged negotiators at the multiparty talks to heed the disastrous economic consequences of a political impasse.

Their message is that SA cannot afford a "devastating" setback of the kind that occurred after the breakdown of Codema.

The Business Forum — representing umbrella organisations for commerce, industry and agriculture — is to table a statement on the economy at the negotiating council meeting in Kempton Park tomorrow. It had originally intended to table the statement on Tuesday.

The forum said in a statement yesterday: "Another political impasse will lead to more business closures, the withdrawal and withholding of investment, a further flight of capital and skilled manpower and further loss of job opportunities." The business sector could not fulfil its function as the engine of the country's economy in a climate of uncertainty, instability, disorder and violence.

Every political party had a burden of responsibility to create conditions — especially regarding the promotion of peace — in which a prosperous, nonracial SA could be attained.

The forum appealed to the participants to show flexibility, the ability to compromise and realism to keep negotiations on track towards an early conclusion. SA "desperately" needed a political solution acceptable to most South Africans and the international community, and which would stand the test of time.

The transformation was at a critical stage and the negotiations process appeared vulnerable and fragile. "Unless the resumed political negotiations succeed, the impact on employment and the economy — which is in its fifth year of recession — will be devastating."

Organisations represented by the forum include the Afrikaanse Handelsinsitiatuut, SA Chamber of Business, Bitex, Chamber of Mines, Council of Southern African Bankers, Fábrics, Nafoco, SA Agricultural Union, SACCOs, SEFSA, SA Property Owners' Association and the Life Offices' Association.
ANC rejects voters of 14

Political Staff

THE ANC's national working committee (NWC) has rejected Mr Nelson Mandela's "demand" that the voting age for South Africa's first non-racial election be slashed to 14 years.

"In a clear bid to finally bury Mr Mandela's controversial call in Natal last weekend the NWC or ANC "cabinet" said that 18 was a reasonable voting age.

In a statement yesterday, the NWC said it had discussed Mr Mandela's "contribution" regarding the reduction in the voting age but that the consensus had been that all South African citizens of 18 and over should be enfranchised. The NWC's view on this remained unchanged.

The NWC said the "exact shape and character of a future electoral system" had become a matter of national discussion. A growing consensus that a system of proportional representation would be best suited for the country had emerged.

Mr Mandela's comments should be "contextualised" within this national debate.

CT 27/5/93
FW questions role of generals

Political Staff

President F W de Klerk questioned yesterday whether the role of the Committee of Generals that set up the Afrikaner Volksfront was purely political or if the Conservative Party wished to draw on their military skills.

Mr De Klerk said the CP should reveal the nature of its relationship with one of the officers, General Tienie Groenewald.

The Democratic Party MP for Umhlanga, Mr Kobus Jordaan, had asked Mr De Klerk who "the real" Gen Groenewald was and if his involvement with the official opposition was "pure, bona fide politics".

Mr Jordaan said there were rumours linking the Volksfront to Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu and external funding.

Mr de Klerk said it was the duty of the National Intelligence Service to investigate threats to the state. However, the NIS was not conducting a witchhunt against the Volksfront.

CP deputy leader Mr Willie van Zyl said Gen Groenewald was merely concerned with the freedom of the Afrikaner volk.
Consensus on a government forum

Fifteen major role players in local government have agreed on the desirability of establishing a local government negotiating forum for the Western Cape metropolitan area. (SC)

At an exploratory meeting on Monday, 15 groupings including the ANC, PAC, the city council and other municipalities, agreed in principle on establishing a forum.

A 15-person committee was set up to prepare proposals on terms of reference, representation and other questions.
Negotiations face critical 24 hours
Dept of Plural Relations to go

Political Staff

An old apartheid relic, the Department of Plural Relations, is to be scrapped legally in terms of a bill tabled in Parliament yesterday. The department, to govern the lives of black people was called, the Department of Bantu Administration and Development, the Department of Plural Relations and Development and then the Department of Co-operation and Development (CoRD).
FW says 'no' to majority rule

LONDON. — President FW de Klerk said in an interview published here yesterday that power-sharing between whites and blacks should be "entrenched" in a new constitution, effectively rejecting black majority rule.

"A winner-takes-all model is the worst possible model there can be for South Africa," he told the Financial Times, adding: "I do not intend to sign a bad agreement." (30/4)

The president conceded that eventual power-sharing need not be achieved in "exactly the same way as it is achieved in a government of national unity, but the sharing of power inherent in an electoral system based on proportional representation would not be enough, he said.

"There must be limitations on the power of any government," he said.

South Africa would have "to be governed on the basis of consensus between the main role players", he said. This might involve the creation of an executive committee comprising party leaders. He implied that real power should lie with that body. — Sapa
CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party Youth lodged an official complaint yesterday with the National Peace Secretariat against ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba after statements made by him at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress on the University of the Witwatersrand campus on Wednesday.

At this meeting, DP Youth national chairman Fred Nel said in a statement, Mokaba had repeated his chant of "kill the farmer, kill the Boer" as well as remarks like "shoot to kill, shoot the Boer."

Mokaba had also called on students to launch a "people's attack" on Wits University. He said — Sapa.
PAC-Govt bid to bridge gap

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

As the Government and PAC went into their crisis talks this morning, indications were that a wide gap still existed between the two organisations.

But there were clear signs that both were determined to find solutions and to keep negotiations on track.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the first item on the Government’s proposed agenda would be the PAC’s “continuing commitment to violence. We will set the meeting agenda and attend to some urgent matters.”

However, PAC negotiator Gora Ebrahim was adamant that his organisation would only discuss its demands relating to Tuesday’s pre-dawn sweep by police on its members. “There is no time for anything else at the meeting,” he said.

Ebrahim indicated that further talks would have to be convened to discuss other matters.

The PAC’s “bottom line” demands are that its detained members be released or charged and its seized documents be returned.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who had faced an unprecedented roasting from Government critics, said “the principle that nobody is above the law still stands.”

Only “side issues” were discussed last night, he said.

Meyer, on the other hand, declared the meeting had been successful.

The breakthrough last night came after the Government came under withering fire from most of its negotiating partners over the sweep on the PAC, with the ANC and SAPD demanding Kriel’s resignation.

Necessary

All the public wanted to know was whether the sweep was legal, the PAC was opposed to the sweep when 72 PAC members were arrested.

As negotiations continue and no agreement is in sight, PAC members have decided to keep a low profile.

Under attack ... Hernus Kriel and President’s Councillor M. Glicksman listen to criticism of Cabinet's decisions.

From Page 1

members had been instructed to commit robberies and stealing mail for resale to finance their campaign of “crime and violence”.

Fifty-three PAC members were released at 9 am yesterday. Another 28 are still being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and SAPD negotiator Jope Slovo said Kriel should resign.

Kriel had listed 49 violent incidents which the SAP attributed to Apla and said the PAC policy of talking peace while “unashamedly propagating and waging a racist campaign” was morally indefensible.

He said police were in possession of documents containing “sketched plans of various police stations and names and addresses of SAP and SAPD members to be killed” by Apla.

He added that a detained Apla member had “admitted that he was instructed by a senior Apla commander, now in Transkei, to observe pubs where whites gathered to murder whites.

Late last night resolution was reached after a closed session of the 18-man planning committee pointed to the need for negotiations to continue uninterrupted.

It urged the PAC to remain part of the process and for the Government to sign the political organisations and security forces to “do everything possible to create harmony, peace and a conciliatory climate for negotiations”.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander revealed that the raid had scuppered a planned round of talks with the Government.

Kriel took a bashing from almost all negotiating parties, who slated his failure to provide substantial evidence of the need for the sweep.

Ramaphosa noted that “for the first time a Government Minister has been summoned to give an account of his and his department’s actions.”

He warned that it could happen again.

In another development, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall has sent a strong message to a negotiating planning committee demanding a meeting of the Peace Accord signatories to recommit themselves to the accord.

According to the authors, the text is about the crisis talks between the Government and the PAC, with indications of a wide gap between their positions. The talks were headed by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, who faced criticism for his handling of the situation. The PAC's demands included the release or charging of its detained members and the return of seized documents. The negotiations continued without reaching a final agreement, leading to the decision to keep a low profile. The text also highlights the criticism of Hernus Kriel and the efforts of the National Peace Committee to recommit the signatories to the Peace Accord.
President at Union Won't Sign a New Agreement

De Kerck's negotiating stance is firmer than many realize, argues the Financial Times. "As far as our interests are concerned, we need to negotiate further on the original terms, including the rollback, but we cannot accept any further concessions," he said.

The previous agreement, which included an additional 25% rollback, was signed in 1979 and expired in 1982. De Kerck, who has been involved in the negotiations since 1979, said that the company's current offer is unacceptable.

"We are listening to the president's words," he added. "But we are also clear that the agreement must be fair and reasonable."
Kriel puts a brake on negotiations

BY CHRIS LOUW

ON Monday, hours before the raids on Pan Africanist Congress members later that night, African National Congress MP Jan van Eck referred in parliament to the "destructive role" played by Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel.

Van Eck, MP for Claremont, said Kriel was the leader of a hardline group in the National Party caucus. He also asked for the South African Police to stay out of politics.

"This was what Van Eck had to say: "The honourable minister of law and order has played a generally destructive role within the NP cabinet by being the most serious blocking influence on the negotiating process. Everybody outside this House, as well as within their (the NP's) caucus, knows that he is the leader of a hardline group in the cabinet and the caucus."

"With the active assistance of specifically the honourable minister of local government (Tertius Delport), he has been actively undermining the negotiating team of the honourable state president, namely the honourable minister of constitutional development (Roelf Meyer) and the honourable minister of public enterprises (Dawie de Villiers), whom he (Kriel) plans to oust as leader of the NP in the Cape."

"He is doing this because he believes, in the words of his own supporters, that the NP negotiating team is giving too much to the ANC. Today he had the cheek ... to refer sanctimoniously to the fact that there is a tendency among people not to listen to their leaders or recognise leadership. We want the police to stay out of the political arena."
Hawks humble the Softies

The Weekly Mail, May 20, 1993

Hawks humble the Softies

This week with the police mills

On the following pages:
- Hawks and the police
- Hawks and the police
- Hawks and the police

By Chris Law

on the PC

The Hawks' dominant display on the football field raised eyebrows among experts and fans alike. The team's aggressive and skillful play left no doubt about their determination to win. The match was a testament to their hard work and dedication, and it was clear that the Hawks had prepared well for this game.

The police, on the other hand, were outmatched and outplayed. Their attempts to contain the Hawks' attack were met with resounding success. The team's morale was low, and it was evident that they were not prepared for the intensity of the game.

In the end, the Hawks won by a comfortable margin, leaving the police to rue their lack of preparation and strategy. The match was a fitting reminder of the importance of teamwork and dedication in the world of football.
Top US attorney to advise on election

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A MEMBER of the Watergate prosecution, leading United States attorney Charles Ruff, is to chair a panel to advise the Goldstone Commission on curbing violence and intimidation in the coming election campaign.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone announced yesterday that Mr Ruff, Acting Attorney-General of the US and US Attorney for the District of Columbia, would present his panel’s report to the Goldstone Commission on the first of several days of public hearings in Cape Town on August 2.

The hearings will continue until August 13.

Mr Justice Goldstone said he believed the advice of the panel “will enable the commission to better advise the president, the Electoral Commission and the political parties”.

The panel includes Dr John Olivier, director of the Centre for Conflict Analysis of the Human Sciences Research Council, Professor C Shearing of the University of the Western Cape, an expert on policing and a member of the Police Board, Professor T Geldenhuys of the University of South Africa, an expert on policing, Professor Otti Nkumalo of the University of Zululand, an observer during the recent Zambian elections, and Ms Dren Nupen, who has had wide experience of trade union and community elections in South Africa.

Others on the panel are Mr Igra Kyumaith, a Rustenburg attorney and president of the Transvaal Law Society, Professor Ron Gould, deputy chief electoral officer of Canada, Professor Walter Kamba, former vice-chancellor of the University of Zimbabwe and chairman of the Zimbabwe Electoral Commission, Professor J Eiklit of Denmark, who has observed elections in Nepal, Bulgaria and Kenya, Mrs Theresa Stiggun-Scott of Ghana, a former High Court judge in Zimbabwe and now Ghana’s Ambassador to France.

Mr Justice Goldstone said the commission intended calling other experts and community leaders to address its public hearings. They include Professor Laurence Schlemmer of the HSRC.
PAC Violence deal

Government to free leaders, movement to address armed struggle
Kriel resists ‘quit’ call

Argu's Correspondents CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg

THE government last night faced withering fire from its negotiating partners after Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel’s charge that some PAC leaders may have been involved in murder.

A clear majority of the parties at last night’s special meeting of the negotiating council were opposed to the government swoop on Tuesday morning when 77 PAC members were arrested and many demanded Mr Kriel’s resignation.

Mr Kriel strongly defended the raids, saying information gathered in police investigations had made them necessary.

He said documents seized in the raids were being processed and “should further arrests be made it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated”.

He named the leaders whom police were investigating for serious charges against national executive council member Bheki Zulu, national organiser and negotiator Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, intelligence chief Abel Dube, political affairs head Jackie Seroke, publicity head Waters Toboti and economic affairs head Dr Sally Skosana.

Mr Kriel said police also found evidence that Aplas members had been instructed to commit robberies and steal vehicles for resale to finance their campaign of “crime and violence”.

PAC representatives Cora Ebrahim and Benny Alexander refused to back down from their demands that the remaining members in prison should be released or charged and that damage to the talks should be “un-done” by government.

Forty-three PAC members were released yesterday. Another 26 people are being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Four PAC members appeared briefly in the Pretoria Magistrate’s Court in Soweto yesterday in connection with charges of illegal possession of ammunition.

The case was postponed to June 10 and the men remain in custody.

As the debate raged late into the night the organisation’s continued participation in talks was still in the balance.

Mr Alexander disclosed that a planned bilateral meeting with the Government had already been scuppered. He pointed to statistics of the number of policemen charged for assault last year, saying Apla “is not only one involved in violence.”

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa demanded to know if Mr Kriel had “paused for a while” to consider the effect on negotiations before going ahead with the arrests.

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said the “greatest service” Mr Kriel could give the negotiating process was to step down from office.

Mr Kriel remained unbowed, describing the arrests as an “honest attempt by the SAP to stop further people from being killed and not an attempt to derail the process”.

Mr Kriel had earlier also listed 49 violent incidents which the SAP attributed to Apla and said the PAC policy of talking peace while “unashamedly propagating and waging a racist terror campaign” was morally indefensible.

Mr Kriel said Mr Nemadzivhanani “may be an accomplice in the murder of Mrs Sandra Swaneepoel in Letselele (near Tzaneen) on April 28”.

He said information had been “received that on April 2 he met the leader of the Apla task force which carried out the attack”.

He said Dr Skosana was “allegedly involved in co-ordinating Apla task forces on the East Rand and also the housing, funding and medical care of Apla members”.

Mr Zulu was being investigated in connection with a 1977 killing.

He said Mr Dube was “possibly connected to a murder in the Western Cape”.

NEC member and PAC negotiator Jacki Seroke was being investigated on a charge of illegal possession of a firearm. Another NEC member Mr Toboti was being investigated for alleged involvement in unspecified crimes.

Mr Kriel also defended the government against charges of ignoring inflammatory statements from other quarters, saying the results of a police investigation into these had been handed to the Attorney-General.

He said police were in possession of documents containing “sketches of plans of various police stations and names and addresses of SAP and SAPD members to be killed”.

He added that a detained Apla member had “admitted that he was instructed by a senior Apla commander, now in Transkei, to observe pubs where whites gather” to murder whites.

Mr Kriel said “no political decision” had been made by the PAC and Apla members and “this action was taken on the initiative of the SA Police in line with normal law-enforcement principles”.

He defended the timing of the raids saying it was unavoidable that such actions were carried out in the early hours.

In another development, National Peace Committee chairman John Hall issued a message to a negotiating planning committee at the World Trade Centre today demanding an urgent meeting of the Peace Accord signatories to re-commit themselves to the accord.

Dr Hall will call for regional and local leadership of the signatories to also sign this time.

It was earlier believed that he would deliver the message in an address to the special meeting of the negotiating council last night.

In the strongly-worded and emotional message, Dr Hall unequivocally slammed the way in which politicians have treated the Peace Accord, signed last September.
Will the vote win back the youth?

Nelson Mandela's suggestion that the voting age be lowered to 14 has caught even the ANC by surprise — and raised serious questions about how the marginalised youth can become integrated into society. By MARK GEVISESSER

Mandela has even out-maneuvered the radical youth of his own organization: the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) had previously called for the voting age to be lowered to 14, a move that was seen as a challenge to the ANC's leadership. Now the ANC has surprised everyone by suggesting that the voting age be lowered to 18, a move that is seen as a compromise with the ANC's traditional supporters.

The ANC's national executive committee recently rejected a proposal to lower the voting age to 14, citing the need to consult with the ANC's traditional supporters. The ANC's leadership has long been aware of the challenges posed by the youth's desire for political empowerment, but has struggled to find a way to accommodate their demands without alienating traditional ANC members.

The ANC's decision to lower the voting age to 18 is seen as a concession to the ANC's traditional supporters. The ANC's leadership has long been aware of the challenges posed by the youth's desire for political empowerment, but has struggled to find a way to accommodate their demands without alienating traditional ANC members.

The ANC's leadership has long been aware of the challenges posed by the youth's desire for political empowerment, but has struggled to find a way to accommodate their demands without alienating traditional ANC members. The ANC's decision to lower the voting age to 18 is seen as a concession to the ANC's traditional supporters.
WHY DON'T THE GENERALS? (3047)

By JAN TALJAARD

WHEN Constand Viljoen and his band of real-life generals meet up with the tin soldiers of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging at a mass rally at the Union Buildings tomorrow, it will be with some well-founded apprehension.

Those who have tried to enlist the AWB’s constituency in the past have more often than not found themselves outmanoeuvred by that master opportunist, Eugene Terre’Blanche.

Originally intended as an AWB affair, the saamrek has become one of the first moves in the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront’s (AVF) volksmobilisatie (people’s mobilisation) and is intended as a show of rightwing unity. Viljoen, Terre’Blanche and two white unionists, Peet Ungerer and Peet Cilliers, are among those billed to speak, and a march from the Union Buildings to Strydom Square is planned.

During the past week, the real-life generals may have been thinking back to Republic Day 1986, when a similar unity initiative resulted in Terre’Blanche deliberately stealing the show to the detriment of Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht, Volkswagen leader Carl Bosch and Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Joop Manie.

The four leaders were supposed to have met at a house before a mass rally to be held in the amphitheatre of the Voortrekkers monument. As a show of unity they were then to enter the amphitheatre together.

When the other leaders arrived at the house a message from Terre’Blanche awaited them to the effect that he had been delayed. They were to proceed to the amphitheatre and he would catch up along the way.

Terre’Blanche arrived independently an hour later accompanied by men in gas masks and with banners and drums. From the moment of that well-rehearsed entrance, the day belonged to him.

In 1988 Terre’Blanche once again upstaged other rightwing leaders at the culmination of the Volkswagen’s Great Trek celebrations at Donkerhoek. While Treurnicht and Bosch politely listened to his speech and the surrounding hills resounded with the chants of “AWB! AWB!” Terre’Blanche had disappeared when their turn came to speak.

The prologue to this Saturday’s rally does not bode well for those who hope Terre’Blanche’s involvement in the AVF will be as painless as possible.

Caught unaware by the formation of the AVF, Terre’Blanche initially came out in belligerent opposition to the front. In an apparent attempt to co-opt his constituency, he was nevertheless elected on to the executive council of the AVF.

Terre’Blanche is uncomfortable about the fact that his position as the strongman of the right is in danger of disappearing. Taking note of the spontaneous following commanded by Viljoen, he had no choice but to fall in for fear of being sidelined.

This week Terre’Blanche was, for the first time, present when the AVF’s executive committee met. But, as with almost everything in which the AWB leader is involved, the meeting was not without drama that at times bordered on the farcical.

The meeting, in the Pieter Nethling building in Central Street in the Pretoria CBD, was supposed to have been a low-key affair. But Terre’Blanche arrived with great fanfare, with black-clad Ysterdags members cruising up and down in front of the building to protect their leader.

Sources inside the AWB say Terre’Blanche has been catching flak from AWB hardliners who are not happy with the soft line the AVF, and especially Viljoen, is taking. Some hardliners even expect Terre’Blanche to openly oppose Viljoen tomorrow by publicly denouncing any negotiations with the African National Congress and cutting his ties with the AVF.

It is unlikely that the shrewd Terre’Blanche will act before he has had a chance to see for himself the effect Viljoen has on the rally.

Viljoen, seemingly becoming more adept in the ways of politics as time goes by, has already addressed the contentious issue of his association with the AWB.

He told University of Pretoria students on Tuesday that the AWB had a different culture and style to his own. This did not bar the AWB from participation in the AVF, as parties were allowed to keep their differences while presenting a united front. And, Viljoen added, the AWB had to be given credit, because the movement was active. The rest of the volk were content to leave politics to those in parliament.

Nevertheless, Viljoen will not be taking any chances tomorrow. The AVF’s Koos van Rensburg said all the others would arrive together at the Union Buildings.

“I do not think Terre’Blanche will try to embarrass us, because he knows he will then never ever be able to count on our support again.”
Big day for thousands of rightists

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

Thousands of rightwingers are expected to converge on the Union Buildings in Pretoria tomorrow for a meeting called by the extremist Afrikaner Weerstandsbebewing (AWB).

The AWB says it will be one of the biggest all-white gatherings in the country's history. It is being held to protest against the security situation as well as call for Afrikaner self-determination and unity.

The meeting will be addressed by the former Chief of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, now chairman of the Generals Co-ordinating Directorate of the new Afrikaner Wolkfront (AVF); Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the AWB; and farmers' leaders.

It is understood that the newly appointed leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, may also be on the dais. Hartzenberg, Viljoen and TerreBlanche are all executive members of the AVF.

It is estimated that up to 50,000 could be at the meeting, which will be preceded by a march through the streets, starting at 10 am.

Speeches on the lawns of the Union Buildings are scheduled to start at 1 pm so that rugby fans can attend the Northern Transvaal-Western Province match at Loftus Versfeld later in the afternoon.
Kriel in the dock

By Thembu Molefe
Political Reporter

The negotiations process was early this morning saved from the brink of collapse when the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government agreed to meet urgently to resolve their differences.

At the end of a special session of negotiators at the World Trade Centre, 26 parties agreed that the Government was not justified in detaining the national leadership of the PAC and 75 of its members.

In a resolution adopted the council reaffirmed its commitment to the negotiation process and that the PAC should remain in the talks.

Most of the negotiators called for Kriel to resign after ordering the arrest of 75 PAC members, including members of its national executive council, in pre-dawn raids on Tuesday.

But a defiant Kriel told the 134 negotiators that even the PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and other top leaders could be further implicated and detained.

He tried to substantiate reasons for the massive crackdown by saying there was prima facie evidence which preceded the action.

Referring to the timing of the arrests, Kriel denied they were aimed at derailing negotiations but at preventing the suspects from going away as there was going to be a long weekend.

In his address to the negotiating council, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander had earlier turned down a request by the Government for an urgent bilateral meeting.

Other leading participants at the negotiating council meeting called for Kriel’s head because of the sweep on the PAC.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa demanded Kriel either resign or be dismissed immediately.

“He (Mr Kriel) is the one single Government minister who does not want the PAC at the negotiating table,” claimed Ramaphosa.

“You (Mr Kriel) are becoming a danger to this negotiating process. Therefore, you must resign or be dismissed immediately.”

Pravin Gordan, of the Natal Indian Congress, also said Kriel must be relieved of his duties, and the South African Communist Party, the Intiado YeSixwe Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party also criticised the police action against the PAC.

Leon Wessels, of the National Party, strongly defended the police swoop.

“The National Party is engaged in bringing about a just and fair dispensation for all South Africans. We are unequivocally committed to this process. But none shall be above the law, both now and in the future.”

“The National Party firmly believes the SAP acted against the PAC in pursuance of its mission. The law must now take its course,” he said.

Meanwhile, the police yesterday released 43 of the 75 PAC members who were detained in the swoop. Four members of the PAC appeared in the Soweto Magistrate’s Court yesterday on charges of illegal possession of ammunition.

Police yesterday said 28 “suspects” were remaining in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which provides for 10 days’ detention without trial.

Meanwhile, 38 PAC supporters, chanting “every policeman, every farmer deserves a bullet” and “one grenade, 10 settlers”, were arrested during a demonstration Pretoria yesterday. They were later released and warned to appear in court.
The bottom text reads: **ALAN FINE**

**616-267-8633**

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The move will have a profound effect on the national economy, as the estimated $100 billion in savings on the government's food stamp program, which is the largest budget item, will be out of reach. The budget deficit will skyrocket. And the unemployment rate will soar. And the country will be plunged into a deep recession. And the dollar will become the world's reserve currency.

But the government's actions are not enough. More needs to be done. The government must work with the private sector to create jobs and stimulate the economy. The government must also provide more support to businesses and workers. And the government must provide more services and benefits to the people. And the government must work to ensure that everyone has access to quality healthcare.

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BILLY PADDOCK

PAC arrests weaken govt negotiators' hand
Draft lays down election provisions

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

A draft Independent Electoral Commission Bill is to be presented today to the 26-party Negotiating Council for discussion.

An independent electoral commission will be appointed in terms of the Bill to supervise elections for an interim government.

The draft Bill proposes that all South Africans, including homeland citizens of 18 years and over, would be allowed to vote in the first democratic elections.

The commission, comprising between seven and 11 members, would function independently from Government or other official bodies.

The draft legislation provides for the secondment of representatives from international organisations and foreign governments. The commission can be dissolved only by the State President upon advice of the transitional executive council in Parliament after the elections have been confirmed as free and fair.

The draft legislation envisages that the commission establishes three directorates.

An election administration directorate would determine the eligibility and identification of voters and enforce a proposed electoral code of conduct. It would also administer the disclosure by political parties of contributions to election campaigns exceeding R1 000.

An election-monitoring directorate would have investigative powers, including the right to issue and execute search warrants and seize evidence of infringements of the electoral code of conduct.

An electoral adjudication directorate would be the final arbiter in disputes about conduct in the elections.

The independent electoral commission would have to certify the final results within 21 days of the voting and declare "whether, and if so to what extent, such elections have been conducted in a manner which has been substantially free and fair.

Should the commission find the results "partly unfair and unfair", the Bill empowers it to "take limited action in a particular region, without having to hold a completely new national election".
Help Promised to South Africa

By John M. Goshko

WASHINGTON — The United States offered last Friday to help South Africa regain its former importance in world economic affairs as soon as the black majority and the white minority government set the stage for multi-racial elections.

"South Africa's successful transition is important for Africa, the United States and the world," Secretary of State Warren Christopher said in a speech outlining President Clinton's Africa policy. Christopher emphasized the importance the administration intends to place on promoting democracy and respect for human rights on the continent.

South Africa, with its vast mineral wealth and industrial base, has the most advanced economy in Africa. But in recent years, the tensions and uncertainties caused by its racial divisions subjected the country to sanctions, boycotts and flight of foreign investment that forced it out of the mainstream of world trade and financial activity.

"The United States will help — and we expect other industrial democracies to help as well," Christopher said in describing the administration's plans for working with South Africa after President Frederik W. de Klerk's government and leaders of the major black groups agree on terms for a changeover to majority rule.

"Once a Transitional Executive Council has been put in place — and a date for elections has been set — we will work with our partners (in the group of seven leading industrialized democracies) to help South Africa reenter the global economy," he said.

Addressing the African-American Institute, an organization of scholars and specialists in African affairs, Christopher said the end of the U.S.-Soviet rivalry allows the United States now to pursue "a productive new relationship" with Africa. He said that Clinton intends to jettison the Cold War considerations of the past and make promotion of democracy and human rights the foundations of his policy.

"During the long Cold War period, policies were often determined not by how they affected Africa, but by what advantage they brought to Washington or Moscow," Christopher said. "Thankfully, we have moved beyond the point of adopting policies based on how they might affect the shipping lanes next to Africa rather than the people in Africa."

As an example of this new approach, he cited Clinton's announcement last Wednesday reversing 17 years of U.S. policy by recognizing the Angola government.

Christopher, who criticized Jonas Savimbi of UNITA for seeking a military solution in Angola, also had harsh words for another long-time U.S. ally, Zaire's President Jose Seko Mobutu. For almost three decades, the United States courted Mobutu and overlooked the corruption and oppression endemic to his rule. However, in recent months, as Zaire has tottered on the brink of anarchy and bankruptcy, the United States has reversed course and called for Mobutu to step aside.

The people of Africa know where their future lies: not with corrupt dictators like Mobutu, but with courageous democrats in every part of the continent," Christopher said.

As a sign of Clinton's intention to give Africa more attention, Christopher noted that the administration is seeking to increase country-to-country aid to sub-Saharan Africa from the present level of about $667 million to $800 million next year. However, that sum must be split among 47 countries.

By comparison, aid to Israel — the country that gets the largest share of U.S. aid — has been running at $3 billion a year.

The World Bank's top policymaker for Africa has announced sweeping changes in the institution's approach to the continent's economic problems, writes Tami Hultman.

At the annual conference of the African-American Institute, Edward Jaycox, vice-president for the Africa region, said the bank would no longer dictate development plans.

Acknowledging that the World Bank had failed to devise solutions to Africa's economic problems, Mr. Jaycox said in future the bank would help fund African governments to write their own development plans and would use most of a $20 million economic research fund to support studies commissioned by Africans themselves rather than bank economists.
Putting the noose to the vote

[Text continues on the next page]
Help Promised to South Africa

By John M. Ochsho

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Acknowledging that the World Bank had failed to devise solutions to Africa's economic problems, Mr Jaycox said in future the bank would help fund African governments to write their own development plans and would use most of a $30 million economic research fund to support studies commissioned by Africans themselves rather than bank economists.
Perhaps nothing should surprise us any more, dulled as we are by routine massacres, an endemic education crisis and the general cycle of hope and despair. Even so, ANC president Nelson Mandela’s remarks about giving 14-year-olds the vote are astonishing. As Cape Town political scientist Robert Schrire has pointed out, Mandela will come to regret having made them.

What can Mandela have been thinking of? Surely he cannot in his patrician heart believe that children should vote. The more obvious and cynical explanations have already been put forward by puzzled and anxious observers: that Mandela is trying to court and placate teenagers who would otherwise ignore his appeals to reason; and that the ANC is desperate to build electoral support.

If the first, Mandela is being naive indeed if he thinks that the feral children who roam the townships will give permanent allegiance to anyone but their own savage codes. If the second, he is doubly naive, because there is no guarantee that enfranchised teenagers would support the ANC; they would be more likely to vote for the PAC, or even more radical adolescent groupings that would inevitably spring up to take advantage of the new constituency.

Even the Azanian People’s Organisation, known for its quixotic policies and dangerous rhetoric, has made a more moderate call. Spokesman Gomolemo Mokae has argued that the voting age should be lowered to 16 — but also warns that “lionisation” of the youth often went to their heads.

“Even up to this day,” says Mokae, “we are still reaping the whirlwind of such deification of the youth. Some of them still exhibit the rabid intolerance and animalism of the mid-Eighties.”

Other ANC leaders were clearly taken aback by Mandela’s call; official ANC policy is that the vote should be extended to all South Africans aged 18 and over. Now they will have to try somehow to undo the damage — and already the wild children are savouring the prospect of more time off school to campaign. We have enough problems without this.

So much for the immediately dangerous aspects of Mandela’s absurd call. The sad and more profound part is that we must begin seriously to question his political judgment.
Leaders 'won't get together'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Hopes dimmed yesterday that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon.

Mr Mandela, who has said he was happy to meet Chief Buthelezi if Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini brokered the meeting, said yesterday the king had withdrawn as a facilitator of the meeting. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the withdrawal did not necessarily mean that a meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela was off.

"It does, however, complicate matters," Mr Niehaus said without elaborating. The king apparently called on the two leaders in recent weeks to meet and address violence.
Ally or enemy?
Inkatha could divide NP unity

An inspection of recent Hansards reveals increasing division within the National Party over how to deal with Inkatha. By CHRIS LOUW

CONFLICT is mounting within National Party ranks between "reactionaries" and "realists" over how to deal with Inkatha — and this could prove the last straw which breaks party unity.

Strategy in regard to the Inkatha Freedom Party highlights deeper policy divisions within the NP, and specifically whether to seek an ethnic solution to South Africa's constitutional problems.

If Nat rightwingers did leave the party, they would probably join forces with Andries Beyers' Afrikaner Volksfront, he said, and already have behind-the-scenes contacts. The last straw could be the failure of multi-party negotiations to satisfy demands for "Afrikaner self-determination".

The NP reformers, on the other hand, are becoming increasingly frustrated by Inkatha influence in Natal and on the Rand. Recent polls indicate that nationally, Inkatha may have more white than black supporters.

A close inspection of recent Hansards shows that senior Nationalists have been openly contradicting each other on Inkatha, with conservative urging closer ties with the IFP and a reformist group castigating the Zulu-based party.

When President FW de Klerk embarked on his current course of negotiations, few NP members had any doubt that they would face a future election with the IFP as an ally.

The sharp attack on the IFP during April's provincial debates by the vice-chairman of the NP's constitutional study group, Johan Steenkamp, was widely reported. But while Steenkamp has serious problems with the IFP, his chairman in the same study group, Frans van Deventer (NP, Bloemfontein-North) often walks around in parliament proudly sporting an IFP tie.

In his speech in the extended public committee on the IFP, Steenkamp accused the IFP of trying to project itself as the "last remaining representatives of what can be termed the noble savage". He questioned the IFP's commitment to democracy and referred to the "middleclass leadership structure". People who were "not qualified to be corporals are made generals by the IFP"

He also said the party suffered a "serious lack of intellectual and academic support", adding that there are "no intelligent, educated, dynamic Zulus surrounding Buthelezi".

In the same debate senior Nat MECs in Natal — including Timo Volker, and the administrator, Con Botha — waxed lyrical about joint control of the province by the NP and Inkatha. Volker strongly defended the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) in Natal which consists of members of the provincial executive council and Inkatha.

While the NP's negotiators want the multi-party forum to find consensus on a regional division, Volker defended the IFP's highly contentious constitutional proposals.

"I believe that the regional functions and powers of Natal-kwaZulu should not be subject to any concurrent and overriding legislative powers of a central government, or for that matter of an elected constituent assembly," Volker told the committee. The empowerment of the Natal kwaZulu province, its powers and functions, should be by the people of Natal. Not all Nats agree with these sentiments. At roughly the same time, a diametrically contrasting view was expressed by another senior Nat, Chris Fishner. In the April 6 and 7 provincial debate on the Transvaal, he said: "We are still waiting on members of the IFP in parliament to tell us why they are not interested in participatory democracy and why their constitutional proposals for Natal are still only making provision for a winner-takes-all situation. Why are they only presenting constitutional proposals for Natal and not for the rest of the country?"

Fishner also insisted that the IFP "must still tell us what their share is in the violence and what they are going to do to stop it".

Apart from revealing the lack of any coherent strategy in the NP, the conflicting approaches of Nat MPs also serve as an acid test of their political verkanthreptheid or verligtheid — in other words, whether they believe that he negotiations will inevitably bring democracy.

Developments since the unbanning of the African National Congress have deepened the confusion in NP ranks.

These include Inkatha's adoption of its constitutional organic constitution for kwaZulu/Natal, which displays strong secessionist elements and which was drawn up by conservative American experts with little understanding of the South African situation.

On April 7 this year, former Democratic Party MP and now Inkatha defector Mike Tar conuded that the IFP's constitutional proposals were secessionist in nature — although he added that they were negotiable.

Verligte Nats find this assurance difficult to accept. They point to a resolution by kwaZulu that the proposals should be adopted by the Joint Executive Council and be ratified by the South African government. This completely ignores the present negotiation process, yet from recent pronouncements by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi it has become clear that he insists on using the document as his settlement blueprint.

The folly of an Inkatha-NP alliance has been most strongly highlighted by the DP MP for Umhlanga, Kobus Jordan, a former official of the Department of Constitutional Development and key architect of the negotiations process. During the Natal provincial debate Jordan repeatedly pointed out that the JEA had little legitimacy.

Jordan based his assertion on figures relating to the last elections in kwaZulu and Natal. In the 1989 election for the Provincial Administration, 66 percent of eligible white voters cast their ballot. For the House of Delegates, there was a 24 percent turnout and for the House of Representatives a turnout of 21 percent.

The voting percentages in kwaZulu are significantly less impressive. In the 1988 election, of three million potential voters only 780 000 with Zulu citizenship certificates could vote. Five constituencies were contested and only 12 000 in fact voted.

"If anyone tells me those two groupings (the NP and Inkatha) can govern Natal/kwaZulu in the interim period and in the new dispensation, and take decisions in the process, I will say it is not possible."

In an interview in Cape Town last week, Jordan attributed the differing approaches in the NP towards the IFP to arguments between reactionaries and realists in the party. "The reactionaries are suffering from the illusion that they still have the power to determine the country's future. They argue that democracy cannot work in Africa.

"What is needed, according to them, is an elite group who should do all the work that should be done."

Jordan, who hails from the Freedom Party, was included in the list of cabinet ministers, who have strong ties with Inkatha and the AVU. Behind the scenes they are also getting discussions going with the Congress Party. Instead of finding a constitutional solution together with the ANC, they believe they should destabilise the ANC as much as possible to weaken the organisation.

Buthelezi is aware of the conflict. This is one of the reasons why he invited the conservative Local Government Minister, Tertius Delport, to open the kwaZulu Legislative Assembly this year, and not verligte Constitutional Development Minister Rob Meyer.

But in the end Steenkamp may prove to have the last say about the future direction of the NP's relations with Buthelezi.

The IFP, he said in April, can't save the Afrikaner. "It finds it difficult enough saving itself."

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Regional focus urged for SA

REGIONAL bankers ended their three-day meeting in Hong Kong yesterday amid general agreement that a post-apartheid SA should adopt an inward-looking protectionism and turn more to the region.

Conference organiser and Financial Mail editor Nigel Bruce told a media briefing that although commercial banks were concerned there would be a preoccupation with the reconstruction of South Africa rather than the region, they also fear that South Africa would tend to dominate regional trade and that investment in their countries would hence become dilute.

In a statement, the bankers said that their meeting had been "informal and private" and that they had adopted no resolutions that would commit their governments in any plans of action.

However, they decided to form a committee of central bank governors to examine various issues of common concern to provide momentum to the general process of change in the region.

The points of agreement that had emerged included the need for greater political cooperation in fiscal and monetary policy.

Bruce said the fact that many were undertaking IMF structural adjustment programmes meant that there was already a great deal of harmonisation of regional fiscal and monetary policies. The bankers felt that this should be more closely co-ordinated.

They also wanted to see the dismantling of regional exchange controls and tariff barriers and general movement towards creating a regional trading bloc.

This could be preceded by the enlargement of the preferential trade agreements for southern and southern Africa and the Southern African development community to include South Africa.

They accepted the point made by Finance Minister Derek Keys that South Africa could not afford to enlarge the Southern African customs union.

The bankers said the Development Bank of Southern Africa should become involved in the region as a whole and that commercial banks should set up small business units to make more funds available to small businesses.

They would also like to see infrastructure improved on a regional basis and a greater co-ordination of aid projects.
Mokaba draws protest by DP

The Democratic Party Youth lodged an official complaint yesterday with the National Peace Secretariat against ANC youth leader Mr. Peter Mokaba after statements he made at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress on the University of the Witwatersrand campus on Wednesday.

At this meeting, DP Youth national chairman Mr. Fred Nel said in a statement, Mr. Mokaba had repeated his chant of "kill the farmer, kill the Boer" as well as remarks like "shoot to kill: shoot the Boer".

He had also called on students to launch a retaliatory attack on Wits University, Mr. Nel said.

— Sapa 12/8/5/93
More PAC members may be arrested

Political Staff

Johannesburg.—The government last night took an uncompromising stand on the clampdown on the PAC, with Law and Order Minister Mr. Hernus Kriel warning that more arrests could follow.

Mr. Kriel, explaining the actions of the SA Police to a special meeting of the negotiating council, said police were still sifting through masses of documents seized and “it is quite likely that PAC top structure personnel could be further implicated.”

He said: “I wish to say that a seat around the negotiating table does not give any person or political party/organisation the right to commit murder and other crimes.”

The PAC last night reversed an earlier decision and turned down a request by the government for an urgent bilateral meeting.

Angry PAC secretary-general Mr. Benny Alexander said the proposed bilateral meeting had been “scooped” by Mr. Kriel’s speech to the council.

Mr. Kriel said the police action on Monday and Tuesday had not been timed to coincide with the negotiating council meeting of the start of his budgetary vote on Monday.

“The police were ready to act before the long weekend, but quite a number of those to be questioned or arrested were not at home. So we delayed it.”

He said one detainee had had his leg injured when he was instructed to observe bars where whites gathered, with the purpose of attacking and murdering them. The member had also ad-

To page 2

Raid started before FW told

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON

President P. W. de Klerk yesterday disclosed that this week’s controversial countrywide swoop on the PAC was already under way when he was informed of the operation.

He also told a press conference in Cape Town a few hours before last night’s debate at the World Trade Centre, that he had been given “no details” when first informed of the raids.

He said there had been no political agenda in the action.

Mr. De Klerk said he had been told by the police that “we can expect a number of prosecutions — but some may be released and others have already been released”.

So far, 43 of those detained in Tuesday’s 4am raids have been released, four have appeared in court and the rest are being held under Section 39 of the Internal Security Act which allows for their detention for up to 10 days before they have to appear in court.

Mr. De Klerk denied the arrests had been “a fishing-expedition”.

He said the PAC’s armed wing, Apla, had a policy which included attacks on police, and “dozes of terror”. It was to be expected that in the execution of this policy there would “come into contact with the law”.

In Parliament yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer told MPs that the PAC had been confronted with its adherence to the armed struggle while continuing constitutional negotiations.

Mr. Meyer, who was embazoned at the World Trade Centre after being left in the dark about Tuesday’s raids until after they had taken place, has nevertheless closed ranks behind his cabinet colleagues on the need for the PAC to make a clear choice — to negotiate or wage the armed struggle.

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday rejected its call for the resignation of Minister of Law and Order Mr. Hormus Kriel, who led the government defence at the World Trade Centre last night of the raid on PAC leaders.

The ANC accused those who planned the raid of being intent on creating an atmosphere that would generate greater polarisation.

“Minister Kriel has again plunged South Africa and the negotiations process into a major crisis, and must be dismissed with immediate effect,” the ANC said.
Calls for election date

**Themba Molefe**
Political reporter

The announcement of an election date would build a culture of political tolerance, according to the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa.

In its second report on violence in South Africa released by its chairman, Professor Duncan Chappell, Comsa says despite an upsurge in violence since the assassination of South African Communist Party leader Mr Chris Hani in April, there had been positive developments during the past four months.

"Evidence of an emerging culture of political tolerance can be discerned amidst the legacy of bigotry and hatred still evident in South Africa today..."

In the wake of the assassination of Hani there have in fact been encouraging signs that a new sense of urgency and realism is permeating political negotiations.

"Setting an election date is crucial to provide a focus for the nation. We urge that there be no further delay in setting such a date."

Comsa called for better planning of marches and demonstrations, the banning of weapons at public gatherings and the reincorporation of the TBVC states at the earliest possible date.

The report comes only days after another escalation of violence involving ANC and IFP supporters in East Rand townships which left at least 52 people dead.

The release of the report yesterday coincided with a visit to South Africa by Commonwealth secretary general Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

He told a press conference in Johannesburg that Comsa would not withdraw from South Africa despite recent media reports to the contrary.

"I am here to consult as broadly as possible on how the Commonwealth, both through Comsa and in other ways, can continue to contribute to the success of the negotiations and to the establishment of a stable nonracial democracy in South Africa."

Anyaoku endorsed Comsa's appeal to the Pan Africanist Congress to "continue their participation in the multiparty negotiations" following this week's arrest of 73 members.
AWB 'baffled' by govt discord over police swoop

VENTERSDORP. — The right-wing Afrikaner Weerstands beweging yesterday said it was baffled by government "discord" following Tuesday's police action "against criminal elements within the Pan-Africanist Congress".

The AWB said in a statement it was clear certain individuals in the government preferred to promote successful negotiations with "outspoken terrorists" rather than maintain law and order.

The AWB warned of chaos and anarchy if the security forces were under joint ANC/SCAP/PAC/SADF command. — Sapan (9c4h)
**President FW de Klerk is a troubled and lonely man.**

He sits at the rudder of the National Party, a derelict and decrepit vessel that is drifting powerless towards a rocky promontory upon which its only hope, a political settlement, sits patiently in waiting.

If he could just get there; before the National Party comes apart while he presides over it, De Klerk would be a happy man.

He is caught quite literally, between what he thinks is good for the country and what his restless, divided caucus expects from him.

Wearing him thin, on the one hand, is a faction in the NP caucus, led by Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Government's chief negotiator, that is in favour of a political settlement (in spite of the swirling violence in the country) through which peace can be attained in South Africa.

On the other hand, De Klerk is under pressure from a faction which wants "the restoration of law and order first" before a political settlement can be achieved.

This faction is led by the bellicose Minister of Law and Order, Mr Henrico Kriel, who, with the Gestapo-like sweep on the PAC, this week became Prince Valiant of the NP's jittery caucus that has been so desperately without a leader since the assassination of Chris Hani...

**Kriel's stumbling block**

But at the centre of Kriel's surge for power in the National Party caucus stands a tiny, frail, former prime minister Afrikaner national hero, a former Springbok rugby captain and the present Minister of Public Enterprises, Dr Dawie de Villiers.

De Villiers was resuscitated by De Klerk after former Prime Minister Mr PW Botha, damped him. De Villiers is therefore, very much a De Klerk man and heavily indebted to the President.

De Villiers is however, also the leader of National Party in the Cape Province — the biggest of the four federal branches of the party.

It is this seat, of obvious power, that Kriel wants so badly and for which he has been making a play in recent weeks. Especially since Hani's death.

Hani’s death drove home to the NP caucus the reality of the strength of the ANC leadership and inherent weakness of De Klerk — as a man of great stature in the restless black community.

Elsewhere, too, De Klerk and the reformists in his Cabinet have failed the party, but most of all, the black community.

**No public meetings**

Not since the referendum has De Klerk, or any senior National Party member held any significant public (National Party) meetings.

Caucus sources also tell pitiful stories of the lack of report-back meetings by NP Members of Parliament, of the dwindling support base and of the horrible failure to attract credible black leadership or measurable support in the indigenous African community.

So opposed has a large section of the NP caucus become that the liberal Minister of Manpower, Mr Leon Wessels, as well as the distinctly Machiavellian Meyer, for some bizarre reason, are seen as traitors by their colleagues.

**Defenceless reformers**

Backbenchers, the most vocal and bombastic lot in Parliament, refuse to move to the defence of Meyer and Wessels — standard Parliamentary procedure in a manner of speaking — when they (Meyer and Wessels) come under attack from the Conservative Party.

A perfect example of this was during the Manpower debate on Monday, when Wessels came under fierce criticism from the CP's Mr Kobus Beyers.

Beyers reminded the Minister that it was he (Wessels) who first apologised for apartheid. Wessels sat stonically and nodded, saying: "So?"

Beyers then went further. Referring again to Wessels, he said: "If my memory serves me correctly, he is the only member of the Cabinet who has publicly stated that in his heart he had written off the national symbols, the anthem and the flag."

Wessels smiled confidently and looked around him for support but there was none...

It was Kriel's acolytes who surrounded Wessels.

**Presidential throne**

With the immediate objective of taking De Villiers' throne, Kriel stands within arms length of the national leadership of the NP — the Presidency, De Klerk's job; his ultimate objective.

If Kriel can get the Cape seat — the biggest — by far, of the four provinces — he will attract the support of the ultra-conservative Natal MPs, under the Inkatha-leaning Minister of Minerals and Energy Affairs, Mr George Bartlett.

If this happens and it could still at the Cape Congress later this year, Kriel could walk into the Presidency...

And that is what he wants. That is what he had in mind when he swooped on the PAC this week. That is what he did when he attacked the "ANC criminals" in Parliament recently.

If the NP MPs could have carried Kriel from the House of Assembly after he confirmed the PAC arrests on Tuesday, they would have.

Suddenly, there are very few reformists left in De Klerk's Cabinet.

The question now is: Will the tide of change in South Africa carry De Klerk's shaky craft to steady waters, and eventually, to land — or will Kriel get to the Presidency first?

Either way, De Klerk might be the National Party leader that will preside over the party's demise...
NEGOTIATIONS 16/9/73

Hard Labour (cont.)

The all-party negotiating council had three sessions set down for Thursday and Friday — and these too are to be held behind closed doors. Government and the ANC, confident that agreements will be reached, hope to announce a package of proposals by the end of the week. The council is scheduled to meet again on May 31.

Talks in the council were set to reach a turning point at the Trade World Centre this week, as parties got to grips with substantive issues. Top of the agenda were constitutional principles; the structures, powers and functions of government; and the constitution-making process. Agreement on these key, complex and interrelated issues would undoubtedly take the process forward.

At Monday's meeting of the council's 10-man planning committee, it was decided to ask for more information on the proposals for debate, which had been outlined in the second report of the technical committee on constitutional matters.

The constitutional committee includes Prof. Marinus Wielandt (chairman); advocates Arthur Chaskalson, Dlulane Maseko, B Nkwezwe and S. Olivier; Prof. H. de Waal of the Wit Centre for Applied Legal Studies, and professors G. E. Davenhall, W. Olivier and C. Venter.

These technical committees are not forums for negotiating substantive issues, but are instruments of the council for producing systematic reports of progress on an ongoing basis. Their reports are rehearsed, based on council discussions, until agreement is reached. A sense of these committees' responsibilities is that they have met once to define the scope of the negotiations, to define the principles of the negotiations, to define the principles of the negotiations, and to define the principles of the negotiations.

So far, these committees have not moved much from their positions of the initial discussions in the council. The most significant breakthrough has been on the issue of a national legislative body, which the council has decided to include.

The constitutional committee's second report notes "the agreement that the most suitable form of government for the future will involve the allocation of powers to central and regional governments." As agreed by the council, the committee is to report on the "constitutional status of the three levels of government." The report notes that the role of each level of government was to be a matter of negotiation, and that the constitution-making process would be a matter of consultation between the committees and the council.

The report notes that the constitution-making process and regional powers and functions, based on written submissions from participants, could be very complex. The council, on the one hand, has to determine whether the constitution-making process by those who say the constitution should be written by a democratically elected body. On the other hand, there are those who are concerned that the interests of the regions within the region may not be adequately protected if decisions are taken by a majority in such a body.

Could the two be reconciled through a set of constitutional principles, to be binding on the subsequently elected body and to provide sufficient assurances to those (minority) parties with fears?

Yes, says the committee: "The key to unlocking those differences and moving the process forward is to develop a set of constitutional principles." These, it adds, should be:

- "without being so detailed as to pre-empt the work of an elected constitution-making body. They should safeguard that the constitution will be democratic in substance as well as in form, that basic rights will be respected and upheld, and that mechanisms will exist to prevent the abuse of power by the government of the day."

The principles should incorporate basic rights of political participation, multi-party democracy, checks and balances, separation of powers and state/provincial regulatory representation in order to ensure the protection of minority and regional interests. They should provide a clear framework for the drafting and adoption of a future constitution.

However, it is suggested that the principles should not have the character of constitutional provisions as such, but should establish clear parameters within which the constitution must be drafted. They may also be formulated in clear language, capable of effective judicial interpretation and adjudication.

The committee states that with a few exceptions consensus has so far emerged on the following:

- Democracy in the form of universal adult suffrage at all levels of government; the report was written before ANC president Nelson Mandela threw votes for 14-year-olds into the pot;
- Supremacy of a rigid constitution, whereby the validity of all acts of government is subject to the consistency of the constitution, and such consistency being judicially enforceable;
- The inclusion of a constitutional right to a non-discriminatory manner against the State and all its organs;
- Separation of executive, legislative and judicial powers;
- Constitutional distribution of powers of government among democratically elected national, regional and local institutions; and
- Constitutional recognition and accommodation of the variety of cultures, religions and languages.

On regionalism, the committee says it is evident that most parties consider the form of state to be a matter clearly linked to the way in which powers and functions of the State are distributed on central, regional and local level, and the way in which these powers and functions are exercised.

A primary observation is that all states in the world, whether federal or unitary, must and do deconstruct some powers and functions in order to govern effectively. The major difference between unitary and federal states is that in the former the central government retains the ultimate say (even if it is not acted at will).

The committee concludes that there is no universally accepted definition of federalism. It is not considered, in a discussion of the form of state, that it would be useful or possible to use preconceived concepts such as unitary or federal states. "A more expeditious way of dealing with the matter of the form of state would be to consider all those separate issues which have a bearing on the form of state."

There is not much comfort in the report for the Conservative Party's constitutional demand. A confederation is not a form of state, says, since a confederation by definition is a combination of separate, independent states which in effect co-operate according to the rules of international law. Those who favour confederation are asked for more clarity on their proposals, in particular the territory and population of the envisaged separate states, and how they will meet international law requirements of secession and self-determination.

Regarding the integrity and viability of regions, the committee believes that regional powers should be given to the need for special procedures for amending the regional powers and functions of regions, which could include a special role for regions when changes are made affecting their sphere. It is to be remembered that regions will have divergent financial and developmental capabilities, says the report. Provision could be made for a fiscal commission to be involved in the allocation process, and for an objective standard to be followed, which would be justifiable and guard against abuse of power.

The committee asked for greater debate by the negotiators on the question of exclusivity, concurrent and residual powers, and more exploration from particular participants of what they have in mind on "asymmetry" of powers.

There appear to be mutually exclusive approaches to the constitution-making process, which in turn affects the process of transition. Allowing for differences in emphasis and detail, there are two broad camps. On constitution-making: those (the ANC camp) who want an elected assembly
Election date for Crucial week of talks

Yesterday's debate on the technical committee's report on violence was truncated after several negotiators raised concerns about its contents. A proposal by Meyer that the technical committee expand its report to indicate what conditions were necessary to eliminate violence was adopted. It will report back on Tuesday. Meyer was supported by Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Walter. To page 2.

Crucial week for negotiations are poised to move into their most critical phase yet as participants gear themselves for a week that will go to the polls in its first ever democratic elections. However, both continue to stress that the talks are still ongoing. But, both continue to stress that the talks are still ongoing. But, both continue to stress that the talks are still ongoing.

The talks were described as a last-ditch effort to reach a resolution and end the violence. The parties are currently in the middle of negotiations aimed at reaching a comprehensive agreement to end the violence. The talks are expected to focus on issues such as the release of political prisoners, the disarmament of armed groups, and the restructuring of the police force.

Political leaders have called for the talks to be successful, and many are hopeful that a resolution can be reached. However, there remains a significant amount of uncertainty as to whether the negotiations will be successful. The situation is still fluid, and the outcome of the talks remains uncertain.

Both sides have expressed their commitment to the process, but there are still many challenges to overcome. The talks are expected to continue for another week, and the outcome of the negotiations will have a significant impact on the future of the country.

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Cape Crusader Catches Hill's Campaign in the Free Commm: What's going on here? The Washington. (May 2014)

This document contains articles about political events and issues, including discussions of political campaigns and the role of the press. It appears to be a collection of articles from a newspaper or magazine, discussing various topics and events of the time.

The content includes references to specific events and figures, such as mentions of the Free Commm and its newspaper. The articles cover a range of topics, from political commentary to social issues, and are written in a style characteristic of news reporting and analysis.

The text is too lengthy to provide a detailed summary here, but it is clear that the document is focused on providing readers with information about current events and public affairs. It is likely that the articles were intended to inform and engage readers, encouraging them to think critically about the issues at hand.
Bomber talks of peace

A warning has come from a man who has experienced the futility of political violence: Beware of war-talk from self-styled, talkative heroes of South Africa's crisis - they will be the first to let you down when the going gets tough.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

The essence of all was the feeling that I had been completely abandoned.

In his office at Parliament this week, Mr Botha said that "this was still hanging over him and his future as he continued his activities as politician, parliamentarian and negotiator."

His trial for his alleged involvement in the July 1991 bombing of Hillview School, Pretoria, which was to have housed exiled ANC children, has been postponed to August 18, 1992.

In the meantime he has applied for indemnity in terms of the government's indemnity legislation, and was still awaiting the outcome.

"If I am not granted indemnity, the law will take its course," Mr Botha said.

Mr Botha was arrested on April 29 last year. He subsequently appeared in court. The case against him and four other men charged with terrorism was postponed.

Before flying off to another round of multi-party talks in Kampala last week, Mr Botha spoke of his fear that political violence could reduce the country to a wasteland and of his belief in peaceful negotiations as the only option for South Africans.

He said he and his political colleagues in the AVU had decided to sign the Peace Accord and intended to get fully involved in the negotiation process.

Mr Botha was re-elected as a member of Parliament in the 1991 general election. In March 1992 he was arrested for incitement to violence.

The outcome of his trial and the process of negotiation was that he was expelled from the party and became an independent MP.

He joined the AVU about a month ago because he felt the views of the AVU members who had broken away from the ANC were more in line with his beliefs.

Mr Botha said he was in favour of a federal system in which Afrikaners could feel at home in at least two regions - one in the Western Cape, stretching from the Cape Peninsula to the Orange River, and the other in the Eastern Cape, stretching from Humansdorp to the West Coast.

On the AVU's talks last week with Mr Nelson Mandela and other members of the ANC, Mr Botha said he found a "positive" response from the ANC to the AVU's proposals. Agreement was reached on establishing a joint committee with the ANC for further talks.

There is a 15-year chance that this year this time Mr Nelson Mandela will be president of the Republic of South Africa," Mr Botha said. "In my view, his success as a president will depend on the measure to which he accommodates the demands of the Afrikaner. An orderly settlement is possible, but if he thinks he can wipe us off the map we will not let him be a good president. Instead we would then be likely to have much drama and little peace."
PAC and state defuse crisis situation

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and Pan Africanist Congress have defused a negotiations crisis with a far-reaching agreement on violence and on the arrests of PAC members.

After a 90-minute meeting at the World Trade Centre yesterday morning, the government and the PAC announced that:

- The government would release PAC national executive committee members Mr. Thomas Likotla, Mr. Waters Thoboli and Dr. Solly Skosana immediately.
- PAC political affairs secretary and negotiator Mr. Jacki Sereke was to be charged with possessing an unlicensed firearm and brought to court yesterday.
- A further report on national executive committee (NEC) members Mr. Enoch Zulu, Mr. Maxwell Nqadzithethwa and Mr. Abel Dube would be submitted to a PAC-government meeting on June 1.
- The SAP would return equipment and material seized from the PAC and not required for further investigation or prosecution.

For its part, the PAC made the highly significant step of undertaking to discuss its "commitment to armed action and its position on violence" at a meeting of its NEC tomorrow.

It would report back to the June 1 bilateral meeting with "a clear, unambiguous report on its positions in this regard", said a joint statement issued by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, and PAC secretary-general, Benny Alexander.
Talks set to move to most critical phase yet.

From Page 1.

Mr Meyer said: "From the government's perspective we can still say it (an announcement on Thursday) is still attainable."

But, he cautioned that "extensive debate" lay ahead and also expressed concern at "the fact that we have not made significant progress on the violence issue."

Yesterday's debate on the technical committee's report on violence was cut short after several negotiators raised concerns about its contents.

A proposal by Mr Meyer that the technical committee should expand its report to indicate what conditions were necessary to eliminate violence was adopted. It will report back on Tuesday.

Mr Meyer was supported by Mr Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Mr Walter Pelgat.

The 15-member commission on regions was also appointed during the day.

It will make recommendations within six weeks on the delimitation of regions for elections as well as their implications for the "structures of the constitution".

The commission has to make recommendations on the delimitation of regions within six weeks of its establishment.

The commission's co-chairmen are Mr Bax Nompetha and Professor Flip Smit. Other members are Professor Deon Baxson, Ms Ann Bernstein, Mr Paul Daphe, Mr A du Plessis, Ms Betty Govinden, Ms Lulu Gwagwa, Mr Justice JAM Khumalo, Dr Evonne Muthien, Chief Ncamase-Burns, Professor W NKuhlu, Professor I Rautenbach, Mr Koos Reyneke and Professor Anna Steyn.

There was considerable relief among negotiators that a potential crisis had been defused yesterday when the government and PAC emerged from an early-morning meeting with a compromise agreement.

It allowed the PAC to stay in the process and was hailed by key negotiators as an indication of the resilience now inherent in negotiations.

Mr Meyer said: "It was an indication that the negotiating council's roots were firmly anchored."

Mr Ramaphosa said that although Law and Order Minister Mr Hermus Kriel had tried to "sabotage" negotiations they had been salvaged by the Thursday emergency session.
Talks set for most critical phase...

Negotiations are poised to move into their most critical phase yet as participants gear themselves for a week in which the country could know when it will go to the polls in its first democratic elections.

Yesterday, exhausted negotiators had to cut short their work, but both African National Congress Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Robt. Meyer were optimistic that an election date could be set at a negotiating forum meeting on Thursday.

However, both cautioned that a lot of work lay ahead and the Inkatha Freedom Party's Dr. Frank Mdlalose expressed concern at the "galloping" pace and a failure to get to grips with the issue of violence.

The seeds of a far-reaching compromise between those parties concerned at the process to be followed toward a new dispensation and those apparently reluctant to embrace regionalism also have been sown.

Mr. Ramaphosa indicated that Tuesday's negotiating council meeting would be critical.

It would deal with the constitution-making process, and a clear linkage between ANC compromises on regionalism and an IFP shift on how the process should run had begun to emerge.

Mr. Ramaphosa said agreement could be reached if there was "linkage between constitutional principals and the constitution-making process".

"If we can reach progress on Tuesday, I think we can arrive at an elec-
Mandela rules out pessimism

JOHANNESBURG. — Anyone who stays out of South Africa's negotiations would be politically sidelined, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference at the ANC head office here, Mr Mandela said that despite of the recent drama in multiparty negotiations after this week's arrest of PAC members, "there is no reason to be pessimistic about the future".

"You will notice the way we (negotiators) handled demands like self-determination from the right wing ... and the PAC crisis, in spite of sharp differences."

"I am optimistic... the democratic process is strong enough to weather all storms."

Mr Mandela was conciliatory when he was asked if he still trusted the government after Tuesday's police raids on PAC members.

"This should not lead to any extraordinary panic," he said, and in an apparent reference to the PAC's threat to withdraw from negotiations, added: "Anyone who stays out of the process will definitely be sidelined."

Asked about a meeting with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Mr Mandela said he had been prepared to meet the Inkatha leader after King Goodwill Zwelithini reportedly volunteered his services as facilitator.

The king, however, had apparently been misquoted and a meeting was therefore not possible.

The ANC leader said, violence was a feature of the kind of transition South Africa was going through.
Will PAC clamp-down wreck negotiations?

By Chienille Tereblanche

WHILE state president FW de Klerk said the end of PAC and Agte members this week had an
political occasion, the political commis-
sion could be critical for the
same reason.

Some observers who believe him and suggest the raid could be a
vindicated effort to disable both
the National Party and the Democratic
Movement.

They point to an ongoing power
struggle between so-called hawks
and doves in the NP in which Min-
ister of Law and Order Hansie Kriel is
said to be a leading role.

But during his question time in
parliament on Wednesday, De
Klerk said he was informed about
the raid on Monday night when it
was already in progress.

"I was not sure for Kriel to
take any responsibility, given the
police had pinned such evidence that the
people apprehended were involved
in serious crime," he said.

But MPS close to the negotiation
process will want to know why the
government's and NP negotiators,
Mr Roelf Meyer and Dr Denis de
Witte, were not informed, let alone
informed of the political ramifications of
the action.

Some even say it was tantamount to
killing the PAC.

"There is no need for this to
delay negotiations, once the law
that its main purpose," De Klerk

But observers who are con-
vinced that the government is not in
a position to invoke the full force of
the law.

"If in the same few days the peo-
ple apprehended, especially the
natives, are not formally charged to
men, the government would have
serious problems with its hand," says
Mr Peter Garsden, NP spokesman
for Law and Order.

"If they are brought to court on
serious charges, then the proces-
s will not delay. If they don't, and
will, if the process may or may not,
the police are being less credi-
bility during this transition than
before."

"If PAC leaders are asked for less
than very serious offenses and with-
draw from negotiations, the ANC
will most likely also withdraw in its
forces," says Jan van Zyl, independ-
ent MP for Clarence and ANC
member.

The action has brought to the
front severe differences in emphasis
inside the government.

While De Klerk has said the
negotiation process and the main-
stance of law and order are of equal
importance, Kriel has said several
times in parliament that there can
be no elections as long as violence
continues.
Local monitors can play a vital role

South Africa is not the only country where violence has the potential to disrupt a free and fair election. International speakers at the Thembisa conference included experts from Kenya, Chile, the Philippines, Lesotho, Zambia and Northern Ireland.

There were also speakers from countries monitoring the situation in South Africa for the United Nations or Commonwealth.

Of special interest was for South Africans trying to cope with endemic violence were contributions from Chile, Kenya, the Philippines and Northern Ireland.

Mr Brian Penny, an executive member of the Social Democratic Labour Party of Northern Ireland, said: "Violence is not a reason for not having an election. You need to find that people who are involved in violence don't want elections anyway, and it is a way of disrupting proceedings," Penny said.

"Violence doesn't guarantee solutions. They don't, however, provide you with a tool with which to begin addressing problems."

He also stressed the importance of peace being involved in the process because "if you are not involved, you can walk away".

Penny possessed a mind-boggling scenario of the violence in Northern Ireland which made South African events pale by comparison.

"There are many forms of intimidation. Putting a polling station in the wrong place is tantamount to disenfranchising people. People must feel safe going there.

"Penny stressed the importance of domestic election monitoring and observing teams, saying there were all kinds of signals that only local people could pick up and realise something was wrong.

He said electoral fraud was rife in Northern Ireland. "Dead people always vote in our elections."

"Only domestic monitors could check votes" tallies before elections to ensure the names of the dead had been removed."
14 Voter education
Monitoring body for elections

A conference on election monitoring and observing in Durban last week set in motion the establishment of a domestic election monitoring organisation in South Africa.

More than 100 delegates from across the political spectrum adopted a proposal giving the Independent Forum for National Education a mandate to liaise on the setting up of a domestic monitoring organisation.

Opening addresses at the gathering were delivered by Dr Cosmo Dlamini and Dr Beyers Naude.

Discussing the vital need for election monitoring and observing in South Africa, Dlamini said the unconditional acceptance of election results was even more important in the case of minority parties or those that lose elections.

"They should be given no reason to cry foul," he said.

Dlamini said research done by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, which, he added, showed there was little awareness among political organisations on the need for an independent, non-governmental organisation to be involved in domestic election monitoring due to the need for international observers.

This was reinforced by many international speakers at the conference who said domestic monitors and observers were needed to compliment international groups performing the same function.

They said no-one was better equipped to spot some types of election fraud than the people of the country themselves.

It would be hard for international observers to spot if refugees were being imported for voting purposes, for example. It would also be difficult for them to spot intimidation from the fact that it was very subtle and could only be understood within the context of a comprehensive knowledge of the context of a country.

Naude's address focused on issues which could impact on monitoring activities. He referred to the endemic violence, crime in black education, frustration at information about delays in the negotiations process and massive unemployment.

Naude said those issues might pose a threat insidiously after elections if nothing was done to redress them.

"If this crisis in black education is not solved very soon, our enemy may be sitting on a time bomb. It may become difficult to control the forces of anger and aggression which have built up over many years of failure to address the legitimate demands of black people," he said.

He also said unemployment in South Africa was being viewed as a moral law of life even when it was blatantly abnormal. In Alexandra township, for example, there was a population of almost 500,000 with 65 percent unemployment.

"What effect has this on the youth who may decide to hold with a negotiated constitution, I wonder?" Naude said.

He appealed to political negotiators to address the growing frustration at grassroots level as the delay in achieving a final settlement.

"Please take care that all the valuable work done is not jeopardised by a lack of faith on the part of people who feel these people are just playing games."


Election date to be set soon — Eglin

VICTORIA FALLS — An election date will be announced soon in South Africa in order to have majority rule in place by next April, Democratic Party national chairman Colin Eglin told a Zimbabwean Chamber of Mines congress at a venue near the Victoria Falls yesterday.

Eglin said that although there had been no shift in most of the statistics, a shift in “de facto political power” had been achieved, with the National Party Government consulting the ANC on most issues in the past seven months.

Recent incidents in South Africa, including a growing rift between the negotiating partners on the one hand and frustrated militant supporters on the other, had been very badly timed.

“Once we had to delay the negotiating process,” he said.

Eglin, who is part of the DP’s negotiating team at the multi-party talks, said the Government’s crackdown on PAC officials, although not surprising, had been very badly timed.

“It was done just as we were preparing to attend the talks. Those of us who were involved in the process were shattered, considering how hard it was to pull the PAC to the negotiating table,” he said. — Sapa.
New hot seat at Trade Centre

ESTHER WAUGH and CHRIS WHITFIELD

A WEEK of political turmoil has exposed a yawning gap between the Government's negotiators at the World Trade Centre and some of their Cabinet colleagues.

Top Government sources are adamant that the differences are more about style than substance, and that talk of a split should be ignored.

However, their political opponents believe that hawks in the Cabinet are bent on destroying, or at least manipulating, the process.

Baptism of fire

Government sources said differences existed between those who had been exposed to "the mood of South Africa" at the World Trade Centre and those in Parliament who were exposed only to "the mood of whites".

At the World Trade Centre, Kriel faced a baptism of fire at the Negotiating Council on Thursday night, the first time he had attended a council meeting.

Of more political significance was the fact that it was the first time a Cabinet Minister had

Hot seat

had to account for his and his department's actions before the Negotiating Council. Kriel was warned by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa that it could be repeated.

The flip side of the coin is that it has created a precedent — one apparently insisted on by the Government and other parties can also be called to give account of their actions.

Kriel fared poorly in the session. He appeared to deliberately duck questions, particularly those on why he did not inform Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and the other Ministers at the negotiating table.

He was subjected to harsh criticism, especially from Ramaphosa, and he was told that he was a danger to negotiations. SACP chairman Joe Slovo said the "best service" Kriel could do for the negotiating process was to resign.

The fact that constitutional talks are still on track is due in no small measure to the commitment by all groups to negotiations.

The Patriotic Front members in the Negotiating Council urged the PAC to remain in the process and not to fall into "the trap set by Kriel".

The PAC was still there yesterday. Kriel was not in his place once again being filled by Meyer. Has Kriel fallen into his own trap?

Fugitive

ney. Looking thin, unsha-
Hard to penetrate the bubble gum

One 14-year-old, one ballot
Poll: White Support for NP Lowest
SA 'likely to rejoin Commonwealth' 

BY AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

SA IS likely to rejoin the Commonwealth once a fully representative government is in place, Commonwealth Secretary General Emeka Anyaoku said in Cape Town yesterday.

He told a media briefing between sessions of the World Economic Forum at the Mount Nelson, that — once a date for elections had been set and there was agreement among the leading political players — "a quick consultation" would allow for the lifting of economic sanctions by Commonwealth members.

Discussing the outlook for southern Africa as a whole, Trevor Manuel, head of the ANC Economics Department, said the mindset that SA would be the locomotive for economic growth and that "everybody must dance to our tune" must be changed.

And Adewale Sangowawa, vice-president of the African Development Bank, from the Ivory Coast, pointed out that at present the problems and needs of SA's own economy were enormous.

"We don't see the SA economy dominating those of neighbouring countries. We see SA becoming part of a regional economy in which each will complement the other."

But, Sangowawa said, SA industry would have to become more competitive in world terms. The effect of sanctions and protective tariffs had made it inefficient.

However, Sangowawa said he expected SA to become a strong member of the African Development Bank and one of its beneficiaries. "We cannot talk of the integration of this sub-region without SA."

World Bank vice-president Edward Jaycox said his recently reported comments that the bank was ready to lend SA $1bn under a new political dispensation had been based on the fact that "we have been working on possible development projects in SA worth about $1bn."

"But this is not a pledge and does not indicate anything about possible levels of lending to SA. Lending will be open-ended, given the needs of the country and its economic performance, and has to be within its creditworthiness."

Jaycox said it was difficult to say which institutions these projects could be launched through. Many SA institutions "are either in transition or are not accepted by all."

Archibald Mogwe, Botswana's acting Minister of Commerce and Industry, Kumbirai Kangai, Zimbabwe's Minister of Agriculture and Ronald Penza, Zambia's Minister of Finance said they expected SA to join the SA Development Conference (Sadec) countries as an equal member.

These countries would eventually form a region in which there would be free trade with no Customs barriers and no need for passports to cross each other's borders.
Crossing the Threshold
DEMOCRATIC PARTY MP for Constantia Mr Roger Hulley “positively” distanced himself from the newly-formed Inkatha Freedom Party-aligned Free Cape Movement (FCM) this week.

Mr Hulley, one of the drafters of the movement’s mission statement — in an open letter to the movement’s chairman Mr Chris Hill — said he was no longer involved with the FCM.

Mr Hulley’s decision to break ties with the movement — which pinned itself as not being aligned to any political movement when it was formed several months ago — follows several controversial placard demonstrations and allegations of racism.

“I distanced myself some months ago as a result of certain differences of approach between us,” Mr Hulley said.

He said he would, however, continue to support the sentiments of the movement’s mission statement which called for maximum federal devolution for South Africa.

“I thought that the role of the FCM was to operate as a non-party-political think-tank and a pressure group which would actively promote understanding and support of the benefits of federalism as it would affect the future of the Western Cape,” Mr Hulley said.

He said he became unhappy with the tactics adopted by the movement “particularly in respect of its open alignment with certain parties and its hostility to others”.

Such an approach was counterproductive to any attempt to promote consensus around the federal idea, and is indeed party-political itself, he said.

“Your recent public link with Inkatha and your placard demonstration at the Paow ANC meeting have in my view now fatally compromised the FCM in this respect,” he said.

Mr Hulley said he would continue to actively pursue the federal goal through the established and committed channel of the Democratic Party.
We are now risking the ultimate catastrophe

THE government's inability to run the school system is no longer doubted, and its pitiful backdown after its attempt to levy examination fees has demonstrated this weakness in the most vivid fashion. The truth of the matter, as everybody in the country now knows, is that President de Klerk and his government, with their army and their police, can do only what the true leaders of the black population permit them to do.

When they try to get tough, as they did when they carried out their Neanderthal raid on the PAC, Mr Kriel ends up being summoned to the World Trade Centre like a naughty schoolboy where he ends up humiliated, his credibility ruined and his authority drained away.

Does the National Party still exist, except in name? I really don't know. President de Klerk doesn't fight a by-election; his backbenchers are flitting with other parties; and the word from the cabinet is that voters are disillusioned and disappointed on a massive scale.

Unless negotiations are quickly concluded, so that the transitional government can deal with the country's mounting real problems - economic depression, political warfare, and the regime of crime - this country risks the disintegration of political authority, the ultimate catastrophe.

Fortunately, the main players seem to have grasped the point. President de Klerk in Parliament, his negotiators at Kenton Park, and even the luckless Mr Kriel, have done what they could to restore the process. At the World Trade Centre, in a rare demonstration of leadership, Mr Kriel's jurors maintained a tone of moderation and decency. The atmosphere was not destructive.

President de Klerk's act of statesmanship, changed course on February 2, 1990 in order to be able to negotiate from strength, but as the process draws to an end, he finds himself negotiating from weakness. He has only one important card left in his hand: the ANC's fear of what might happen if President de Klerk himself were to fall.

Behind the gravity at the World Trade Centre, behind the careful rhetoric and the intense lobbying, behind the concerted efforts on all sides to limit the damage and herd the PAC gently back into the talks, lay this thought: was the police raid merely, as it seemed, bufoonery? Or was it an attempt, mounted from within the Cabinet, to undercut the negotiations at the very point where power shifts, finally and irrevocably?

Pray we need never know the answer.

KEN OWEN
If PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander looked like the loneliest man at the World Trade Centre on Thursday night, it was just an illusion. On this occasion his party had the backing of even its enemies. Picture: JOHN HOGG

Hernus Kriel's crackled white faith in the government's hand at

IT WAS A TIME FOR ALL GOOD MEN TO
THE PARTY... AND THEN ALONG COME THE DESTIN

President FW de Klerk arrived back at his Groote Schuur residence on Monday night after opening the new headquarters of the National Monuments Council.

He was relaxing with Marieke over a nightcap with his last John Fords before retiring when his peace was disturbed by an urgent phone call from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

The conversation was tense. Mr Kriel informed Mr de Klerk that police had bungled a sweep on the homes of 77 members of the PAC. The operation was in progress.

The action against the PAC in the early hours of Tuesday morning had come after 'exhaustive and exhaustive investigations', Mr Kriel told a sceptical negotiating council at the World Trade Centre on Thursday evening.

It was not a political action, the chief of police business, Mr Kriel, Mr de Klerk and Cabinet ministers emphasized this week in their steady union. No man can be above the law, they argued.

Mr Kriel conceded he paused for several moments to consider the implications for the negotiation process.

However, he did not pause long enough to pick up the telephone to inform government negotiator Rosal Meyer, or his Cape leader and National Party negotiator Dawie de Villiers. Nor did he inform the president until it was too late.

Driving to the World Trade Centre on Tuesday morning, the news broadcast on the radio was the first indication Mr Meyer received that all was not well.

He was anticipating spending a fruitful day negotiating crucial issues on regurgitation and constitutional principles that would see government securing what it was the best deal available.

Instead, he spent the morning fielding hostile questions from his negotiating partners.

The past week has been one of theories. Was Mr Kriel attempting to undermine Mr de Villiers in an attempt to usurp his leadership of the Cape council? Did he have his sights set on a presidential coup? Was he trying to undermine negotiations?

As one Cabinet minister put it: "When I travel to London to hold talks about possible joint cooperation, I automatically send the president a memo beforehand. And if I were to raise the price of a commodity, I inform Mr Meyer — just in case it impacts on negotiations."

But what emerged at the World Trade Centre on Thursday night during a three-hour grilling of Mr Kriel by the majority of the negotiators was that political opportunism, rather than the conspiracy that had turned the PAC into a major bungle.

The climate of which the raid on the PAC came was one in which the government is perceived to have lost control of the Cape council. A mounting and disintegrating PAC caucus has begun to turn towards the right-wing and Inkatha.

The bad weather started with the government ceding moral authority to ANC leader Nelson Mandela as he and other ANC moderates battled to restore calm in the wake of the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani.

Emerging from the Cape council, Mr Kriel and his colleagues were not so enthusiastic on Wednesday morning, but they, too, conceded that violence had to be tackled — although there was a measure of caution at his not informing negotiators of the crackdown.

However, the police's inability to crack down on violence.

In authorizing a raid on the PAC, Mr Kriel imagined he would restore the faith of white South Africans in the police force, the government, the National Party and, of course, Hernus Kriel. For a few days he was right.

He was received with acclaim and enthusiasm in the budget debate. Accolades were heaped on him at the PAC's caucus meeting on Thursday morning.

Mr Kriel's colleagues were not so enthusiastic on Wednesday morning, but they, too, conceded that violence had to be tackled — although there was a measure of caution at his not informing negotiators of the crackdown.
Hernus Kriel's crackdown this week was an attempt to restore white faith in the government and boost his own standing. EDYTH BULBRING says that in the process he weakened the government's hand at the negotiating table.

"Was a time for all good men to come to the aid of the party... and then along came Hernus Kriel!"

On negotiations emerged at the trade centre on night during a grilling of Mr. Kriel's majority of the PAC, the majority was that political item, rather than the PAC, had turned a bungle.

It was the PAC came was the government to have lost confidence. At this juncture, it has been an expert to guide the right wing.

The police were demoralised and perceived that their attempts to combat crime were being thwarted by negotiators intent on securing a settlement. The clamour of the constitution reemerged in the cabinet. On the one side was Mr. Meyer, Mr. de Villiers and with them those who believed the sooner the government secured a constitutional deal the better for the country.

On the other, those like Mr. Kriel believed that awend hand. The next few weeks, the government will have to argue against the multi-party operational control of the security forces. In the light of this political opportunism, the negotiators don't stand a chance.

After June 3, it will have to sell a negotiated settlement to a white constituency whose confidence in the government can only have been undermined by yet more evidence of ineptitude.

It was revealed over the last few years that the government has embarked on a major political action in the guise of restoring law and order without having checked its facts.

But Mr. Kriel's actions are more serious than just another example of government incompetency, attempted blackmail and bungling.

Mr. Kriel leaves the negotiating team with a seriously weakened hand.
Big business in push for election date

By EDVITH BULBING
Political Correspondent

AS the June 3 deadline to announce an election date looms, business leaders this week met delegations from the government, the ANC and the Congress of South African Workers' Group. The business leaders' aim was to push for a swift settlement while also keeping all parties in the talks.

The business leaders were led by the Consultative Business Movement's chairman, Murray Hofmeyr. These present included President's Peter Wright and Murray and Robert's David Britton.

Both the ANC and the government are keen to announce an election date on June 3 at the negotiating forum.

But COSATU insists that certain issues, such as the principle governing a new constitution and the way elections should be held, need to be settled beforehand.

The ANC, which has come under increasing pressure from its constituency to produce conclusive results after three years of negotiation, has warned of mass action after June 3 if no election date is announced.

Mr. Hofmeyr said COSATU representatives clearly had a problem with the June 3 deadline and with the urgency that they felt had been forced on them.

"We had to say to them that we understood their difficulties in making a commitment on important issues in such a short time," Mr. Hofmeyr said.

"But we are all in this together and one has to find a basis on which there can be agreement in a fairly short period." He said the discussions with the delegations focused on the question of speed and inclusivity to see how to achieve the best settlement.

Mr. Hofmeyr said the ANC told the businessmen it was anxious to announce an election date on June 3 and then afterwards do whatever else was necessary to accommodate COSATU.

He said businessmen were keen to do what they could to help achieve the best resolution in difficult circumstances.

"Business clearly feels that it is important to avoid a let-down or give the impression that the process has broken down.

"But, clearly, this must be seen against the other consideration, which is making the settlement as inclusive as possible."

Mr. Hofmeyr said it was not clear whether the June 3 decision was going to be "make or break."

The feeling is that the process should not drag on for weeks and months. If a resolution on elections is not reached on June 3, then it will have to be reached shortly afterwards." he said.

Concern

Another participant who attended the talks said that the businessmen's underlying message to political players was that business was deeply concerned about the negotiations process and that, should there be a breakdown and the economy knocked again, it would take a long time to recover.

He was not optimistic that the negotiating forum would announce an election date on June 3 as there were so many firm agreements that needed to be in place before.

Business concern over the negotiations process was reflected in a Business Forum statement.

"Another political impasse will lead to more business closures, the withdrawal and withholding of investment, a further flight of capital and skilled manpower and further loss of job opportunities. Business confidence, already at a very low level, will suffer another blow," it said.
Religious leaders to monitor elections

THE country's religious leaders are set to embark on their biggest joint project — a multi-faith panel to monitor all aspects of the forthcoming elections, a clear sign that they believe an election date will be announced soon, senior representa-

tives of the Buddhist, Jewish, Hindu, Bahá'í, Muslim and Christian faiths met earlier this month for a weekend conference focusing on electoral justice.

During their seminar, hosted by the World Conference on Religion and Peace, the US-based Lawyers for Civil Rights Under Law, the SA Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference and the Christian Service Organizations' Network, delegates examined a number of crucial election issues.

Part of the motivation to establish the new "panel of religious leaders for electoral justice," was the delegates' belief that the religious community was one of the few sections of society in the country which "possesses public integrity and is accepted as capable of a politically impartial judgment."

The panel would be a symbol of the religious community's concern that the election process be just, and that peace and stability be established, they said.

Significant

It would provide a mechanism for religious leaders to comment on aspects of the election and to intervene if this became necessary.

They intend the panel to monitor the whole electoral process.

The religious leaders have a number of immediate priorities. For example, they have undertaken to help create a climate which will allow free democratic political activity throughout the country.

They also intend setting up a country-wide voting rights and complaints monitoring process, deploying several thousand trained monitors drawn largely from the religious community.

These monitors will work closely with other election monitors, and will document patterns of voting rights abuses, political intimidation and violations of electoral law.

The panel is to establish a full-time secretariat which will keep religious leaders informed of significant developments in the run-up to elections and during the election process itself.

The religious leaders recommend that when parties register to participate in the elections, they should at the same time be required to sign a code of conduct. The religious leaders have already completed a draft code for discussion with the parties.
R60 000 for new apartheid signs

By MONWABISI NOMADOLO

APARTHEID signs may soon be coming back to Springs on the East Rand after the local CP-controlled town council decided to erect them by July 30. (2048)

A recent council meeting decided that 137 such signs could be purchased between July 1 and July 30.

To show they are serious, the council has contracted a private company to manufacture the signs within 12 months in a contract worth R60 000.

Ironically, Springs was one of the last towns to remove "whites only" signs from public amenities.

According to council spokesman Frans Swart the signs were provided by tender and then approved by the council.

The town council is still engaged in a legal battle concerning the two Springs swimming pools closed by the council when the Separate Amenities Act was repealed a few years back.

The matter is still awaiting a decision in the Rand Supreme Court.
**Die TAAL is die ons**

**HEITIA dais!** Say this and you've definitely assed a face to the vocabulary of the Afrikaans-speaking community. Die taal, indeed, is the language of the Afrikaner. It is a beautiful language, rich in history and tradition. It is a language that is often criticized for its isolationism and its resistance to change, but it is also a language that is proud of its heritage and its culture.

**Hoewel die taal wel verskeie dialekte het, is die taal selfs in die samestelling vir tale.** Afrikaans is the language of the Afrikaner, and it is a language that is often criticized for its isolationism and its resistance to change. It is a language that is proud of its heritage and its culture, and it is also a language that is often criticized for its isolationism and its resistance to change.

**Lekota said that according to ANC policy every community will have the right to determine the language to be used in its schools.** The ANC provided that school services are open to all. If my child is prepared to accept the discipline and I am prepared to accept this, then he must be prepared to attend the school.

**There (in the townships) Afrikaans is a language of the people while English is a language of the learned people.** In the rural areas of South Africa, English is a language of the learned people. In the rural areas of South Africa, English is a language of the learned people. In the rural areas of South Africa, English is a language of the learned people.

**Lekota said that the ANC wanting to be the language of official records, but all the other languages, including Afrikaans, would have equal status to that of the official language.** English was chosen because it is an international language. When we speak to the DA in the UN, we speak English.

**He also referred to expressions in Afrikaans that over the years gained legitimacy in the townships.** He mentioned the words 'dog, doornis, booth, hond, hond, en land'.

**There are a lot of savvy in these townships communicators and it is not uncommon to overhear a conversation around a township shebeen table going like this: 'Huwetjie, howetjie! My arse! Niki, niki, niki.**

**On something along these lines: 'Huwetjie, howetjie! My arse! Niki, niki, niki.'**

**Then the surprised response: 'Moenie piek nie! My arse! Moenie piek nie!'**

**Well, if this is not more of Afrikaans!**

**Remarkable indeed, but surely the Afrikaner has never been redeveloped. And if taal is so much part of Afrikaners, then surely the Afrikaner has never been redeveloped.**

**Afrikaans is overwhelmingly the child of the Netherlands, and in another sense it is also overwhelmingly the child of South Africa. It is idiomatically rich and a great deal of this richness is indigenous.** (Alan Paton, Kololo Under the Mountain). Was Afrikaans these two generations behind the students' rebellion of June 16 1967? If so, then how come Tootsi-taal, Afrikaans' step-language, is so well accepted in the townships? Features Editor LEN KALANE looks at the striking similarities between the two languages, both so very South African, and concludes that they have to stay.

**For the Community Party** On June 18, the same year, Prime Minister John Vorster broke his silence with a typical tough speech: 'The government will not be intimidated, it will not be cowed', he told parliament. "Orders have been given to maintain order at all costs." These "orders" were banning orders, closure of schools, calling in police reinforcements and placing the army on alert. Hundreds of people were killed, many injured and buildings were destroyed. Feelings were running high.

**Our conclusion is that Afrikaans has been the sole spirit of this kind of anarchy! Afrikaans, our language, part of our own community, south African! Later developments suggested otherwise! Lekota adds: Of course Afrikaans can be sure of its future in South Africa because the language grew out of this country and is part of it."**

**He also told the DET's surprised audience: "Afrikaans is here to stay. The language is also that of our ancestors who were slaves in the Cape. Afrikaans is more from South Africa than English. Its idea is more from Africa than English. It developed here. It learned from the mountain, the people, the animals, the birds and the climate of the country."**

**He told the symposium that what Afrikaans students in the past did was to change its image and change its meaning to that of a language which freed people. However, the future of the language is secure. In 1955 at Kipfpruit the ANC accepted that when the day of freedom comes, every South African will have the right to his or her own language and culture.**

**Lekota said that according to ANC policy every community will have the right to determine the language to be used in its schools. If my child is prepared to accept the discipline and I am prepared to accept this then he must be prepared to attend the school.**
EK SE BROE...
EK SKIEM HULLE, MOET AFRIKAANS BAN!

AG, IT WILL SOMMER! VREK BY ITSELF MAN!

KAT SE KANS

Training philosophy in the transitional period
Trainers as internal consultants in organisations
Multi-skilling - an answer to unemployment
The effect of political changes and the role of trainers in shaping the New South Africa
The effectiveness of the emerging training groups in Region G.

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DEMO

By AMY WALDMAN

At Kempton Park, the scent of an election date is in the air. In anticipation, voter education efforts by independent organisations and political parties are moving forward. Those efforts reflect the excitement generated by the prospect of elections, but also the concern, cynicism and confusion.

At the Randburg CBD taxi rank, the ANC sets up a cardboard polling booth. A ballot box is set up, and passersby stop to learn how to vote. An ANC organiser explains, “An X is not bad, like in school. It doesn’t mean you don’t like the party.” He holds up a sample ballot. “Don’t make your X too small or too big.”

They step up to take their turn, at first shyly, then confidently. After they vote, ballots are removed from the box, checked to make sure they are correctly marked and counted up. The ANC usually wins.

The ANC ballot lists party names and symbols. The fake ballot which the DP uses has no symbols. Until an Electoral Act is passed no one knows whether the ballots will be with or without symbols, in colour or black and white, with or without photos of party leaders.

And while the ANC thinks that only an “X” will do, others say almost any mark will be acceptable. Mpho Keagile of the Matla Trust says, “Parties with literate voters will push for having an X be the only mark. Parties with illiterate voters — who have learned that an X means ‘wrong’, or for a signature — will push for any mark to be acceptable.”

Electoral Act

Keagile says people in workshops often become despondent when they find out that no rules are final — including the necessary form of ID — until an Electoral Act is passed.

Some concerns are even more basic. The Black Sash provides a sheet which allows people who have never held a pen before to practise making Xs. To reach diverse and semi-literate audiences, the Sash also uses a play of two women discussing the vote.

Both Matla Trust and the Sash are making special efforts to reach women who cannot easily leave their homes and work to learn how to vote.

“Too many voter education programmes are holding conferences and talking about what needs to be done,” says the Sash’s Gill De Vlieg. “Maybe they’ll have it all figured out by the election, but then it won’t do much good.”

Start doing, she says and you’ll learn what needs to be done. De Vlieg says she has been asked, “Why should we vote?” and “Do we have to vote?” There is no law, she says, but it is important for democracy.

POP IT IN HERE
BUB ... An organiser assists a voter to mark a mock vote. Political parties and organisations are testing voter awareness.

WALDMAN

LONG WAIT ... The black majority have waited all their lives for a real vote. Few were prepared to vote.

Keagile says the “voter motivation” section of the Matla Trust workshops try to set up mock-lists, that their votes are history-making.

That people need motivation may depress those who have fought so hard for the vote. But for many, the prospect of voting means as much fear as liberation.

Tensions between Inkatha and the ANC in Natal are so high that voter education workshops no longer announce sample results, for fear of provoking retribution against those in the minority.

De Vlieg says the question of violence arises frequently in workshops: “How will a new government handle the violence?” For some, elections seem the only hope; for others, the workshop is a place to talk about a hopeless situation.

“No one can see who you are voting for. It’s totally secret. If your employer says you must vote NP, you can vote ANC, then say you voted NP,” the ANC organiser tells the Randburg crowd.

Keagile says the fear comes not just from the
Politicians find deep suspicion and desire on streets

understand the difference between a Transitional Executive Council, Constituent Assembly, Interim Government and Government of National Unity, but things aren't so clear for the man and woman on the street.

"If there's an interim government, is there no State President, so why are we having non-racial elections?" Goodman Lekwakwa demands of an ANC official in Randburg. He adds, "Do we vote for a State President once, and then is he president permanently?"

Lekwakwa gets sort of, sort of. But there are limits to how much of the twists and turns of the negotiation process anyone can absorb. "Especially with rural people, if you take them and bombard them with a lot of knowledge, you actually leave them with nothing," Keagile says.

Interpreting the policies of different parties can also be mind-boggling. The ANC both gains and loses followers for its supposedly communist beliefs. "I don't care if the ANC is communist. I don't give a damn. I don't know what communism is, but I want to taste it just like I tasted apartheid capitalism," says Mphahla Motshing, of Jukskei Park.

A DP explanation of the importance of regionalism elicits an indifferent response from most of the domestic workers at a meeting in Sandton. Local control, national control: what the workers really want to talk about is how hard they work for so little pay, with so few breaks.

"Voter education cannot teach people how to tell the difference between an empty promise and a realistic one, or between a slogan and a policy," De Vries says.

"We can only encourage people to be cautious of promises - the economy will produce little housing and water."

Keagile believes, however, that most people will not vote on issues in the first election. "Right now they are just looking for a new government - so vote is to change."

This time around, despite the delays, concerns and confusion, the act itself will be most important. He describes as a workshop where during the mock voting, the power generator failed. "We bought candles and kept going in the dark, because people wouldn't move from the queue until they voted."
I'm trying to improve my reading skills by practicing with different types of texts. Today, I chose a page from a book that seems to be about history. The page contains several paragraphs of text, and I'll be focusing on understanding the main ideas and key details.

The text is about the French Revolution and its impact on society. It discusses the revolutionary period, the role of the common people in governance, and the changes that occurred in the political and social landscape. The author emphasizes the importance of the revolution in shaping modern political systems.

I'll be taking notes on the key points to help me remember the information. This practice will help me improve my comprehension and retention of historical facts.
IN THE SPOTLIGHT: Hernus Kriel at the council  Picture: JOHN HOGG

THE Minister of Law and Order took on the negotiating council this week. He lost.

Fresh from the tired atmosphere of Parliament, Hernus Kriel faced the hungry young contenders — not the PAC, but the People.

For the first time, a cabinet minister, with the status of a medieval duke in this country, was summoned to account for his actions.

For the first time, the People got to ask the government, in public and to its face: "How could you do this?"

The fight was on the People's turf (the People having only recently acquired turf) and the very fact that the minister had answered the summons at all augured for victory. Mr Kriel's performance sealed it.

The minister arrived at the World Trade Centre flanked by his seconds. He was there to justify his men having detained 77 PAC members in a predawn swoop on May 25, just hours before the start of an eagerly anticipated and promising negotiating council session, and hours before his law and order budget vote in Parliament.

Asked how he felt before the big fight, Mr Kriel took refuge in facetiousness: "How do I feel? With my hands."

Then it was into the ring, the brightly lit blue and grey negotiating council chamber, where he would soon feel a couple of shots to the jaw.

Ritual

Uncertain of the tone to adopt — far from Parliament, addressing a motley crew of (mainly black) politicians, he settled for sounding like the treasure hunter of the FTA delivering his annual report, flat and stilted.

No cries of "skande" or "hoor, hoor" eased his passage. Instead, he faced the basishat stare of the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, faced anger and sharp questions instead of the ritual of the gentleman's club in the Gardens.

The government's chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Affairs Roelf Meyer, had surrendered his customary front row seat to Mr Kriel, and sat back with a look that clearly said: "You made this mess; you clean it up."

It will, of course, be Mr Meyer's mess in coming weeks, long after Mr Kriel is safely back in Cape Town, leaving his Cabinet colleagues with a loss of face, at the very least, after it became known that he had not been consulted about the raid.

But on Thursday evening, Mr Kriel stumbled all along through the mispronunciation of the names of PAC detainees, fluffing the names of council delegates as he gave increasingly hollow assurances that he supported the negotiating process.

He tried a similarly tired joke to pass off his ordeal afterwards, but, when pressed, conceded that it had been "rough."

Rallying to dismiss the five hours of public and private talks as "letting off steam and making personal attacks", he claimed to have ensured that "the real principle stands."

The real principle was that no one — and by implication particularly those at the talks — was immune from prosecution. He got in one telling shot that briefly took the council back from its baying to a concern over "the real problem by many there. Accused of attempting to upset the talks just when they were going so smoothly", he replied: "Yes, things are going smoothly here — but they are not going so smoothly outside this room, where people are being killed."

The delegates were careful not to condone violence, to concentrate not on perpetrators being prosecuted, but on the timing and method of a pre-dawn raid on homes and offices that resulted in the release, only days later, of more than half the people picked up.

Sharp questions teased out the minister's tenuous justification.

When the PAC revealed that one of the men arrested, Louis Baloyi, had just died before left hospital in a wheelchair after a car accident two years ago, the chamber giggled.

When the minister came to deal with this in his reply to questions, he provoked outright guffaws with his billing admission that "Baloyi was released yesterday after it was discovered that he had . . . a problem."

He and his impressive team of officials failed on such simple matters as arithmetic. Asked how many were arrested, charged and released, he gave some figures and suggested the council do the sums. Unfortunately, the council did do its addition and came up with three unaccounted for PAC members that day.

Mr Kriel had the last word during the debate, giving what amounted to a stolid two-fingered gesture to the council when he ignored many questions and taunts to close with merely restating his position.

But the next day his policemen complied with a council resolution and released more PAC men.

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON
PARTIES UNDER PRESSURE TO FIX ELECTION DATE

BY MIKE ROBERTSON, EDITH BULBRING and CLAIRE ROBERTSON

SOUTH Africa's political leaders are racing against time to meet Thursday's deadline for announcing a date for the country's first non-racial elections.

Top businessmen led by Constructive Business Movement chairman Murray Hofmeyr arranged special meetings with the ANC and the Cosag this week to warn that the country could not afford another Cosag-style breakdown of talks.

For President de Klerk a special warning signal flashed in the form of a poll that showed that only one in four whites now supports his National Party.

The ANC, too, is under mounting pressure. Not only are radicals in the organisation threatening to create mayhem if quick results are achieved in talks but the organisation is becoming increasingly concerned about its ability to govern in future.

ARRESTS

Shocked by figures which show capital flight amounted to as much as R5-billion in the first four months of this year, ANC leaders appealed to the rich not to desert South Africa now.

Negotiators this week succeeded in riding out the crisis brought on by the mass arrests of PAC members. But the underlying reason for the raid — white anger at the National Party's inability to govern — remains.

This was brought home by the new poll that shows that white support for the NP has dropped to its lowest level ever.

THE WEEK KRIEL PLAYED SUPERMAN

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APLA: PAC LEADER STICKS TO HIS GUNS

By NORMAN WEST

Political Reporter

THE PAC would not disown its military wing, Apla, to appease the government, PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai said yesterday.

Speaking at a special PAC national executive meeting called to respond to the government's crack-down on congress members, Mr. Desai also warned that the organisation intended taking a tough line when it met the government on Tuesday.

"Let them charge those against whom they claim they have evidence of criminal acts," he said.

"But we will not strike any deals on Tuesday." The organisation has refused to suspend the armed struggle waged by a military wing.

Mr. Desai said only after the government had given an undertaking to "release its Gestapo tactics and agree to a date for democratic elections to put in place an elected constituent assembly, will the PAC be prepared to discuss a cessation of hostilities."

Election deadline

From Page 1

unnecessary if the date for the country's first democratic elections has not been determined by June 3," he said.

The ANC's national executive committee will meet to reassess its continued involvement in negotiations in the week following the June 3 deadline.

Both Mr. Ramaphosa and his government counterparts Roelof Meyer were cautious about whether the Negotiating Forum (the body appointed to ratify negotiators' decisions) would be able to meet on Thursday to approve an election date.

The main obstacle is the opposition of the third major player in negotiations, Inkatha, to announcing an election date before the World Trade Centre negotiations have decided the future of the draft detailed framework for a national constitution.

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A user's guide to the SCF and NFF.
A user's guide to the SCF and NED

The regulations are a result of the efforts of economic, legal, and administrative experts. The purpose of the regulations is to ensure that the SCF and NED are used to their full potential. The regulations cover a wide range of topics, including the registration of companies, the issuance of shares, and the regulation of financial markets.

Regulations are drafted in consultation with various stakeholders, including investors, companies, and regulatory bodies. The regulations are intended to provide a clear and accessible guide to the use of the SCF and NED, and to ensure that they are used in a fair and transparent manner.

The regulations are reviewed regularly to ensure that they remain up to date and relevant. Any changes to the regulations are made in consultation with the relevant stakeholders, and are announced in advance to ensure that they are understood and can be implemented effectively.

In summary, the regulations are an essential tool for the effective use of the SCF and NED, and are designed to provide a clear and accessible guide to their use. The regulations are subject to regular review and update, to ensure that they remain up to date and relevant.
Corporal Eugene offers to sign up

By JOCELYN MAKER and DE WET POTPOTSTER

DRESSED in a new Desert Storm-style camouflage uniform and sporting a cap with gold braid, AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche said yesterday he would happily serve former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen as a corporal in the event of civil war.

At a right-wing rally which drew a mere fraction of the expected 50 000 supporters, the real general was wearing a green pin stripe suit and matching tie. As the smell of焦nemors wafted over the gardens at the foot of the Union Buildings in Pretoria, a military flavour was in evidence.

Dressed in black, members of the AWB's Ye., tergarde stood guard around the podium, while platoons from the Reiterkommando, Stormvalke, Wenkommando and the mounted unit formed up on the grass.

In a speech, Mr Terre Blanche told General Viljoen that if the Volksfront wanted to fight for the freedom of the Afrikaner, the AWB would provide thousands of troops.

"We give the government six months to restore law and order and to negotiate self-determination with us. If they do not meet in this, we will negotiate over the barrel of a gun," Mr Terre Blanche warned.

The more moderate General Viljoen reiterated his statement that the Afrikaner would not be subjected to rule by a "communist" ANC government in a unitary state.

After the speeches, the crowd marched to Strydom Square, then dispersed ... in time to watch the rugby on TV.
It's payout time for 'fat cats'

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE 60 members of the President's Council — some so bored with their duties that they have often been seen sleeping during public debates — are to be rewarded handsome with taxpayer-funded golden handshakes.

A Bill scrapping the 12-year-old council, which cost the taxpayer R105-million a year, was tabled in Parliament on Tuesday, and the council faces its final demise on June 30.

Members with five years or more service will get pensions and gratuity benefits commensurate with their time in office. Those who have served less than five years on the council will get a handsome one-off tax-free golden handshake.

Deadlock

An additional bonus six months will be added to service periods in accordance with the precedent set with the abolition of the senate and provincial councils.

The resolution of disputes over legislation will now be undertaken by Parliament itself at joint sittings of all three houses.

In terms of the Constitution Amendment Bill, these joint sittings will inherit the deadlock-breaking function previously carried out by the President's Council.

A simple majority of all 368 MPs will be required for legislation to be passed, rejected or amended.

The three houses currently vote separately, but the balance of power will not be affected as the NP — which had an in-built majority of 15 on the President's Council — will hold a majority of 29 votes when all 368 MPs sit together.

Last week also saw the historical ending of official separate "own affairs" budget votes, assuring elections will be agreed upon for an interim government. The President's Council was the brainchild of former State President PW Botha and the authors of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, No 110 of 1993.

The council gained notoriety when Mr Botha used it on a number of occasions to bludgeon into law controversial measures rejected by one or more houses of Parliament. Because the constitution that bequeathed the bicameral parliament did not make provision for blacks, most South Africans were automatically excluded from the council.

Political commentators have found it difficult to take the council seriously, and even members have confessed to being bored with its proceedings.

During many public debates, the chairman of the council had to ask members to wake up sleeping benches, much to the amusement of spectators and journalists.

Evidence

To keep the council busy, the government occasionally gave it issues to "investigate", but its "findings" and "recommendations" were seldom taken seriously.

A case in point was the council's latest assignment — to investigate daylight-saving in South Africa. The council's committee on social affairs spent many months behind closed doors, "investigating" and hearing evidence. Then, in a 70-page report, it concluded that the introduction of a system of daylight-saving held no worthwhile advantages.

- Members who have had five years' service will get an annual pension, estimated to be about R50,000, for life, and gratuities of about R150,000.

- Among those who will receive the golden handshake will be Mr Clive Derby-Lewis.

- Members with less than five years' service will get a refund on their pension contributions made to the Parliamentary Pension Fund, along with a premium as part of their retirement package.

- The government will regard December 31 as the last day of the council's operations to give members a further six months for calculating their tax-free re-investment packages.

- Mr de Klerk said, when he opened Parliament in January, that the demise of the council would leave a "gap", and legislation would have to be tabled for a "temporary arbitrating mechanism".

"This "temporary arbitrating mechanism" will be the more democratic joint sessions at which coloured, Indian, and white MPs will decide on controversial issues by a simple majority.
Govt, PAC prepare for tit-for-tat

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The PAC and Government go into tomorrow's second round of crisis talks with widely divergent views.

The PAC national executive committee (NEC) — convened to discuss last week's police crackdown — emerged on Saturday saying the organisation would not suspend the armed struggle.

It was prepared only to discuss the mutual cessation of hostilities with the Government.

"There has to be two-way traffic and not a one-sided suspension," said a senior PAC source.

In terms of a PAC national conference resolution, taken in Umtata last April, the organisation could not suspend the armed struggle until the ballot had been secured, the source said.

It is likely that both the PAC and Government will enter tomorrow's bilateral talks without having fulfilled their sides of the "bargain".

In terms of a joint statement issued on Friday by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, the PAC undertook to discuss its commitment to armed action and its position on violence at Saturday's NEC meeting. The organisation further undertook to give "a clear, unambiguous report" on these issues at tomorrow's meeting.

The Government undertook to release certain key PAC members and return those documents police had seized and which were not required for investigations.

Top Government sources said it would require the PAC to suspend its armed struggle and to sign the National Peace Accord.

The Government indicated it would press for compliance with earlier resolutions taken by the Negotiating Council. These resolutions committed parties to peace and barred them from further participation in negotiations if they did not do so.

Another top PAC source said that if the Government had not complied with its side of the bargain, the organisation would report this to the Negotiating Council meeting tomorrow afternoon. It would also not enter into further talks with the Government. Damage to PAC homes and offices would be discussed at tomorrow's meeting.

Negotiations enter a critical week with the Negotiating Council facing a severe backlog after the delay caused last week by debates on the PAC raids.

Crucial decisions on fundamental constitutional issues, including regionalism and constitutional principles, are to be taken this week if negotiators want to keep to an earlier decision to announce an election date on Thursday.

- Senior SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe officials met last Monday and Tuesday to discuss a future defence force. Sources on both sides were tight-lipped about the contents of the meeting. However, they said progress was being made and talks were at a "sensitive" stage.
Focus on business in the transition

By Shirley Woodgate

More than 40 percent of future voters will be taking part in an election for the first time, many of them illiterate as well as unsure of procedures and principles, according to PG Sills managing director Less Cohen.

Cohen, who sees voter education of employees could be a significant contribution by business to free and fair elections, says:

"Business should be aware that very few demonstrations are needed, be a distributor of accurate information," he adds.

The issue has already become a volatile player in the peace process, but we have to widen the involvement. Specific issues like voter education would visibly demonstrate that we are indeed committed to democratic processes."

Cohen is one of the top-line speakers at The Star/Confidential Business Movement Conference for Active Change on June 26, aimed at addressing problems facing the business community as the country moves into political transition.

Voter education is merely one aspect of which the business community can see as a means of playing an active role in the transition.

Other aspects of involvement in political change will be addressed at the one-day seminar, which will be addressed by leading South African personalities and high-powered president of Dutch-based Philips International, Jan Tjallingii.

Fill in the coupon on Page 8 and post it off today if you wish to book a seat.
Volkstaat or war, warns Right

Thousands of armed white rightists, rallying outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Saturday, threatened war if they failed to win an independent Afrikaner state.

"The Afrikaner is getting up. There is a head-on collision coming," General Co-stated Viljoen, co-ordinator of the Afrikaner Resistance (AVF), told the crowd of 300 men, most of whom carried shotguns or pistols.

An aide to AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche handed police a petition directed at the 26 parties negotiating a transition to black majority rule. It gave them six months to draft a constitution that would provide for Afrikaner self-determination in a sovereign state.

"All participants in the negotiations must recognize our right to self-rule. If not, the AWB and AWK will regard it as a declaration of war," the petition said.

Terreblanche, flanked by members of the AWB's black-uniformed Iron Guard, pressed home the message.

"Let my people go. If you do not let my people go in their own land, I promise there will be war," he said.

Lashed out

On their way, marchers charged at blacks who stood watching from the pavement. They lashed out with fists and boots but the blacks fled and no one was seriously injured.

Terreblanche said Afrikaners had a divine right to the land. "We do not have an agreement with the United Nations over land," he said.

"We have an agreement with God Himself. We are white because God made us that way..., from far away, you can recognize us as the children of God's light in Africa."

In a gesture to Afrikaner unity, Terreblanche for the first time shared a platform with Viljoen, who helped set up the Volksfront last month to unify the fragmented white Right.

The AWB leader offered troops if Viljoen were to fight. "If you want to fight, general, I will be your corporal. The thousands of AWB members here are yours."

Viljoen told the crowd to prepare themselves for self-defence.

"There might be a bloody struggle. If we have to sacrifice ourselves, our cause is just," he said.

But he added: "If we should take to weapons it would be a very great disaster."

Viljoen has previously said that he hopes for a political solution.

The far Right has grown more vociferous in its demand for self-determination since black militant groups launched a series of attacks on white farmers and US negotiators made progress towards setting a date for the first all-race election.
Set election date or else, says Mokaba

The country's negotiating teams have until Thursday to announce the date for the first democratic elections, ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba said on Friday.

Speaking at a ceremony at Medunsa to commemorate Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo, Mokaba warned that if an agreement on an election date were not reached by Thursday, the youth would make the country ungovernable.

He said he had met ANC president Nelson Mandela earlier that day and informed him that Umkhonto we Sizwe members should be allowed to carry arms and protect township residents.

ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala supported the call for the voting age limit to be reduced from 18 to 14. — Pretoria Bureau.
Kriel says unrest must stall vote

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

AS negotiators rush to meet the Thursday deadline for announcing an election date, the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, has warned that an election cannot be held in the current climate of violence.

The minister also dismissed claims of a split in the cabinet over negotiations strategy and the handling of violence.

Mr Kriel told Rapport newspaper that the NP had believed for some time that negotiations had to be tackled in tandem with the violence.

"But if a political settlement is reached now, I would say you could not hold an election — the climate of violence would not allow it."

Meanwhile, the PAC said at the weekend that an end to its armed struggle might be in sight if an agreement could be reached this week on an election date.

Publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai said at a special executive meeting of the PAC that the PAC was not yet ready to suspend Apal's armed struggle.

However, it would be prepared to discuss "the cessation of hostilities" once a date for democratic elections had been settled.

Potential stumbling blocks in the way of a swift agreement among the 20 parties at the World Trade Centre on a poll date include a long list of constitutional issues that have to be thrashed out in the next few days.

Tomorrow's "bilateral" meeting between the government and the PAC on the organisation's stance on violence, the armed struggle and the crackdown on several of the PAC's leaders could lead to further fireworks.

Arrests

Mr Kriel told Rapport he was satisfied that the police had briefed him properly and said the Apal raids had been aimed at clamping down on the brains behind the violence.

The police were not obliged to tell him in advance about planned arrests and he had no power or right to tell the Commissioner of Police who should or should not be arrested.

He had intended to inform his cabinet colleague and chief government negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, of the raids early on Tuesday but had not been able to contact him.