THE VIOLENCE

Judge Richard Goldstone

GOLDSTONE's investigations nailed the security forces on some counts but acquitted them on others. This even-handedness went some way towards restoring faith in justice and the law.

The long-term value of Goldstone's work, though, will lie in establishing procedures that can be used in future systems of justice and law and order.

One part of Goldstone's work — the commission on mass demonstrations — is likely to find expression in legislation this year. But with the work on his desk certain to pile up again, Goldstone's challenge will be to see how the credibility and effectiveness of his work can be emulated as widely as possible.

Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn

JOINT control of the security forces will be one of 1993's thorniest issues, and men who command respect on the other side of the barricades will be invaluable. Steyn, the SANDF Chief of Staff who conducted the investigation that led to last week's purge of senior army officers, has his admirers in opposition political groups.

There have been claims the purge was a smoke-screen and left Army Intelligence chief General Joffe van der Westhuizen — implicated in the Matthews Goniwe murder — and others unscathed.

But the rise or fall of Steyn's stocks in 1993 will say a great deal about the readiness of the SANDF to place itself under broader political control. In theory he should take command of the SANDF when General Kat Liebenberg retires this year. A successful restructuring of the SANDF would be a giant boost for the peace effort.

Johnson Mlambo

THE PAC congress in April relieved Mlambo of his post as commander-in-chief of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). But this is political sleight of hand. As both deputy president of the PAC and military commander, Mlambo was a living contradiction of the PAC's claim that it had no influence over Apla. The damage Apla can do is not limited to the victims of its attacks. The sudden fierce conflict in the eastern Free State, with the Right mobilising, has suddenly raised the spectre of race war.

The PAC last year began talking, that is now on hold. Mlambo has a foot and influence in both camps. If the PAC is to put a brake on Apla, he is the one who will have to say so unequivocally.
The Year of the Crucible

In a melting pot of irresistible political and economic forces

Outlook for 1993: It's a time when SA could either be shaped or consumed

Speculum
Hope after happy hour

real and messy
Negotiations
smooth, unreal and
Codessa was
FREDERIK VAN ZYL STABBERT looks at the challenges confronting South Africa in the New Year.
THE ANC's demand for speedy elections was motivated by the need to address the economic crisis in SA, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his new year message.

"Such an election would mark the end of decades during which our country was ravaged in an undeclared war. SA urgently needs a 'Marshall Aid' plan to address the consequences of such devastation."

Mandela said the whole world stood ready to welcome SA with open arms, with aid and investment, sporting and cultural exchanges. However, they would only do so with a democratically elected, legitimate government representative of all South Africans.

"Addressing the serious economic crisis cannot be delayed; this motivates the ANC's urgent demand for speedy elections," he said.

Mandela said the greatest disaster confronting SA was violence.

"Despite our repeated efforts to achieve both free political activity and a climate of political tolerance, 15,000 people have now lost their lives," he said.

"The extent of disregard for black life has been underscored by the almost hysterical response to the tragic killings in King William's Town, Queenstown and Ficksburg."

"While we unequivocally condemn such blatant acts of naked terrorism, our outrage is against all acts of terror, be they perpetrated against black or white unarmed and defenceless citizens."

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said 1992 had been a year of contracts between promises of peace and the grim realisation of violence, promises of democracy and continued minority rule, and promises of economic recovery while in reality the economy continued its downward slide.

His organisation remained committed to the decisions taken by the Patriotic Front in 1992 and remained ready to discuss with other parties ways to set up an elected Constituent Assembly.

"To this end we believe that the new negotiations forum could be established by February 1993, that voter registration be started by March 1 1993 and that elections for a constituent assembly unfettered by prior deals be held by October 1993," the PAC president said.

For all its squandered opportunities and violence, 1992 was the year in which the basis was laid for a breakthrough in negotiations in 1993, said SACP general-secretary Chris Hani.

In his new year's message, Hani said 1992 was the year in which "the wheels began to come off (State President FW) De Klerk's double agenda".

"More than anything else, this was the result of the most extensive mass campaigning in our history, from June through August."

He said 1993 had to be a year of continuing mass involvement in the transition process.

"We must move into 1993 with the determination to bring peace to the squatter camps, peace to the hostels and townships. But we know, that this requires not pious wishes, but ongoing and all-round pressure on, and exposure of those in power."

"The year 1993 must be a year in which we carry forward the struggle for a more just, peaceful and equitable world order," Hani said.

An interim government in SA will be "a non-racial bantustan" and represent not more than the latest homeland to gain independence, said Azanian People's Organisation president Itumeleng Mosa.

Mosa said in his New Year's message that 1992 had been a year of betrayal for black South Africans.

"I wish all Azanians a year of justice. Only justice can bring about happiness and prosperity," he said. - Sapa
Prepare for elections - Cast your vote. Rector's constituency assembly polls expected this year. Rector must stay suspended.
Crevasses are beginning to show

Patrick Launchae reflects on the risk of a war of secession in South Africa
Gloom abounds in South Africa

The downward spiral of confidence in the future:

Whites lack confidence in the future:

There is a definite trend towards pessimism among all South Africans in their outlook for the year ahead, according to a Gallup Poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group.

Markinor said findings showed that blacks were equally pessimistic about 1993, with 41.7 percent of whites and 40 percent of blacks feeling that things will be worse.

In a similar poll for 1992, only 32 percent of whites and 29 percent of blacks indicated a lack of confidence in the future.

"This is the first time since 1989 that optimism among the blacks has dropped below 100 on the Markinor Annual Optimism Index," according to Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson.

"This is undoubtedly attributable to the stalled political negotiations, the deepening economic recession and the increase in violence, especially among 'soft' targets."

The poll was conducted among 2300 urban adults - 1000 whites and 1300 blacks - and was part of an international year-end poll conducted in 36 countries by Gallup International.

He said from 1982, when the poll was first held, until 1985, optimism among South Africans was low largely as a result of the introduction of the State of Emergency during that period.

The trend began to change in 1986 and with the outcome of the general election in 1987 impacting positively on South Africans' views of the future, optimism rose steadily up to 1988.

However, overall optimism dipped again from 1988 to 1989 as township violence escalated. From then on, as optimism among whites dropped, confidence among blacks rose - no doubt because of the release of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and the implementation of State President FW de Klerk's reform programme.

Mr Scott-Wilson said blacks living in the Vaal Triangle were "dramatically" more pessimistic (75 percent) than those living in Pretoria (25.4 percent), while those living in Cape Town were the most optimistic (44 percent).

Options for local authorities under the spotlight

WILSON ZWANE

LOCAL Government Minister Tertius Delport will meet the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) on January 13 to discuss a draft document on options for future local government structures.

The document was finalised last month by a working group of the local government negotiating committee, comprising government and Sanco representatives.

The document has been circulated to Sanco regions and contains three options for local government:

1. The inclusion of extra-parliamentary groups in the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs;
2. The scaling down of the Council for the Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs to make it more cost-effective and less unwieldy, and
3. The establishment of a new forum for local government.

Civics Association of the Southern Transvaal (Cast) general secretary and Sanco negotiator Dan Mofokeng said yesterday Sanco would push for the acceptance of the third option.

Cast president Kgahlithi Mosunkutha hoped an interim agreement would be reached and be developed at subsequent meetings.

He said an interim agreement was necessary as a host of issues, including the resolution of rent and services boycotts, hinged on it.

No comment could be obtained from Delport’s office.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said recently the time was not ripe for his organisation to advise members to suspend boycotts of rent and services.

Suspension of boycotts depended on “sufficient movement towards the democratisation of government at local and national levels”, the scrapping of the Interim Measures for Local Government Act and the Provincial and Local Authority Affairs Amendment Act and the phasing of a single tax base for towns and neighbouring townships.

Govt, ANC make progress in talks

GOVERNMENT and the ANC had made a lot of progress in talks and negotiations on both sides expected far-reaching discussions to be concluded by the end of January, sources said yesterday.

A joint committee set up by the parties at their December:结构调整 was busy fine-tuning proposals on a range of issues, ANC negotiator Mohamed Valli Moosa said yesterday.

He said both sides had presented ideas on the constitutional process, violence, armed formations in the country and the resumption of multiparty talks leading to elections.

“In the committee we are looking towards making significant progress by the end of January with the two parties holding far-reaching discussions at our extended bilateral talks which will last quite a few days.”

TALKS are scheduled to start on January 20 and last about five days.

His optimism was shared by a government negotiator, who added that bilateral negotiations with the ANC should not be seen in isolation from a whole series of bilateral talks taking place on a range of levels “on an almost twice-weekly basis”.

He said bilateral talks were deemed by most parties to be beneficial to the process and designed to ensure that when multiparty talks resumed they would not run into the same start-stop problems experienced at Codesa.

Codesa was important in getting parties together but did not provide the conditions for them to come to grips with issues seriously and fully negotiate them, he said.

Bilateral negotiations were a lot tougher with parties making slower progress. But a “far firmer foundation” was being laid, he said.

Valli Moosa agreed that the seemingly endless rounds of preparatory talks were achieving success.

Government was meeting the Concerned South Africans Group on Friday in an attempt to resolve obstacles between it and the three homeland leaders — Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brig Gupa Gqopo — as well as CP leader Andries Treurnicht and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The ANC was regularly meeting other parties in the patriotic front, as well as Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana government and other groups in the hope of reaching the necessary convergence by the end of February to allow a multiparty forum to resume during March, said Valli Moosa.

Mandela to speak at Joseph funeral

ANC president Nelson Mandela will speak at a requiem mass for veteran anti-apartheid activist Helen Joseph at St Mary’s Cathedral in Johannesburg on Thursday.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu would deliver a sermon at the mass, which would also be addressed by ANC stalwart Albertina Sisulu.

Joseph, who died on Christmas Day at the age of 81, will be buried in Soweto’s Avalon cemetery alongside

RAY HARTLEY

fellow ANC Women’s League founder Lilian Ngoyi.

Niehaus said the ANC would provide busses to transport mourners to the cemetery, but members of the public were requested to provide their own transport to ensure smooth progress from the cathedral to Soweto, he said.

Rev Timothy Stanton will conduct proceedings at the graveside.

A traditional purification ceremony would be held in Soweto later on Thursday, Niehaus said.
Threats... a balaclava-clad man claiming to be the Wit Wolwe chief of staff and a man calling himself "Boerstaat" Bosman at a Brits press conference yesterday.

Wit Wolwe deliver ultimatum

By Bronwyn Wilkinson

BRITS — The extreme right-wing organisation the Wit Wolwe yesterday promised to launch a series of attacks against the military wings of the PAC and the ANC and their supporters unless the Government took drastic measures against the organisations by January 12. At a press conference in a tin shack on the farm of the parents-in-law of Wit Wolf leader Barend Strydom, the organisation said it was preparing another list of demands for President de Klerk to which he would be given 30 days to react — or face "military action".

The conference on the farm Sieg-en-Heil was attended by five balaclava-clad men in khaki and addressed by "Boerstaat" Bosman, who refused to give his rank in the organisation, and a masked man calling himself the Wit Wolwe's chief-of-staff.

Every black person had to be regarded as the enemy, they said.

None of the men would declare how many members the organisation had.

Strydom did not attend the conference as his parole conditions confine him to the magisterial district of Pretoria.
The pace of development in South Africa will be determined by agreements and decisions taken between now and the end of January, when Parliament opens. Ismail Lagardien, Political Correspondent, reports

"Recommendations"

The ANC and the Government emphasise that none of the agreements reached between them over the next few weeks, and which are expected to be ratified by a second "lekgotla beraad" between the two parties on or about January 20, will be binding on other parties.

While these agreements do not detract from those reached at Codesa, they will be tabled at the new multiparty forum "as recommendations" when it resumes, possibly in February.

The ANC and the Government believe that there is an urgent need to unblock the flow of developments after negotiations collapsed so unceremoniously on May 16 last year.

Since then the country has gone through a bitter period that should not be given a chance to repeat itself, key negotiators on both sides feel.

The CSAG, comprising KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana Chief Minister Lucas Mangope, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht and Mr Andries Beyers of the Volksunie, will meet President FW de Klerk on Friday and Saturday.

This meeting is primarily to "clear up the misconception" that the Government and the ANC were clinching "secret deals" that would be foisted on the rest of the country, State sources have confirmed.

It is, however, part of a continuing process of bilateral discussions which, it is hoped, will speed up the process.

Once consensus is reached on the restructuring of Codesa with all its former participants, including those who initially stayed out, multiparty negotiations could resume by the end of February or in March.

If Codesa does resume by March and the bilateral agreements which are being worked out are of such a nature that multiparty negotiations can go straight into a plenary session, far-reaching announcements, especially on elections, could be made.

A big question mark hangs over whether De Klerk can get past the obstinate CSAG, whose broader objectives differ fundamentally from those of the rest of the country.

Buthelezi has said that he (and presumably his region) can "negotiate out of whatever contractual relationship the rest of South Africa negotiates with the ANC".

Besides leaving room for extended conflict, this places Buthelezi and the province of Natal on the path of secession and the country on the edge of the abyss on which Yugoslavia is tittering.
Whites reject interim govt

A vast majority of white South Africans oppose the immediate implementation of an interim government — while most blacks are not averse to the idea, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey has found.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, general manager of the council's Social Dynamics Group, writes in the HSRC's Information Update that the results of the survey may "indicate problems ahead for the Government in particular."

Further information should be directed at voters concerning the implications of an interim government, he said.

One of the questions respondents had to answer was: "Do you think the De Klerk Government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?"

Eighty-four percent of whites rejected the notion, against only 37 percent of blacks.

In another set of statistics, which omitted all qualified and intermediate responses, only 51 percent of blacks ANC-SA Communist Party supporters wanted the present Government to be replaced by an interim government. — Sapa.
Strydom purges Wit Wolwe

By Esther Waugh and Sapa

Only days after issuing an “ultimatum” to the Government, the Wit Wolwe (WW) organisation is riven with splits.

Self-styled WW leader Barend Strydom — the convicted mass murderer — announced yesterday he was suspending all members who also belonged to the ultra-right-wing “Church of the Creator”.

At issue appears to be a series of complex, quasi-theological differences of opinion.

The most prominent victim of the split in the ranks of the WW is East Rand Boerestaat Party leader Izak “Boerestaat” Bosman, a retired railway worker who is apparently a member of the fundamentalist church group. Bosman was the only member of the WW who did not wear a balaclava at a press conference this week.

Reacting to the announcement, a right-wing source told The Star: “Strydom is splitting an atom.” The source said: “He split the WW into six members on the one hand, and half a dozen on the other.”

The actual size of the WW organisation has long been the subject of speculation, with police at one stage saying they had not discovered evidence of WW branches anywhere.

According to Pretoria-based information broker Jan Taljaard, who specialises in right-wing matters, the Church of the Creator subscribes to the principles of the “White Man’s Bible” written by American Ben Klassen, world leader of the movement.
‘White-black split on interim rule’

PRETORIA. — The vast majority of whites definitely oppose — or are unenthusiastic about — the immediate installation of an interim government, but most blacks are not against the idea, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey has established.

Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, general manager of the HSRC’s social dynamics group, writes in the HSRC’s Information Update that the results of the survey may indicate “problems ahead for the government in particular”.

One of the questions respondents had to answer was: “Do you think the De Klerk government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?”

Eighty-four percent of whites rejected the notion while only 27 percent of blacks were opposed.

In another set of statistics produced by the HSRC, all qualified and intermediate responses were omitted.

According to these figures only 51 percent of black Afri- can National Congress/SA Communist Party supporters definitely endorsed the present government’s replacement by an interim government. Only four percent of black ANC/SACP supporters definitely opposed the idea.

Only one percent of white National Party supporters definitely liked the idea of an interim government. Seventy-four percent were definitely against it.

Eighty-nine percent of those aligned to the Azanian Peoples’ Organisation were definitely in favour of an interim government. None objected strenuously to the idea.

Only 44 percent of Pan-Africanist Congress supporters were in favour of an interim government and six percent were definitely opposed to the move.

Sixty-nine percent of Conservative Party supporters opposed the idea of an interim government and only four percent were in favour of the present government being replaced by such a body. — Sapa.
DP hopes high for peaceul township meeting
Meetings
aim to get
talks back
on track

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The first in a series of crucial bilateral meetings aimed at
restarting multiparty talks gets
under way in Pretoria tomor-
row when the Government
meets the Concerned South Afri-
cans Group (Cosag).

The meeting will provide an
important indicator of prospects
for an early return to Coega-
style talks — if the group can be
persuaded to join a multiparty
negotiating forum.

A Government source said
yesterday the focus of the talks
would be the resumption of mul-
tiparty talks.

Cosag — the Inkatha Free-
dom Party, Bophuthatswana
and Ciskei governments, the
Conservative Party and Afri-
kanner Volksunie — was formed
in protest against the ANC/Gov-
ernment Record of Understand-
ing reached in September.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthe-
delezi broke off constitutional
talks with the Government fol-
lowing the Record of Under-
standing.

Cosag will meet in Pretoria
today to determine its strategy
for the two-day meeting with
the Government.
Key Cosag-Govt talks

By Esther Waage
Political Reporter

Crucial talks between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) aimed at reconvening a multiparty negotiating forum start in Pretoria today.

These talks — the first in a series of bilateral meetings — are regarded as an important indicator of the speed with which a full-scale multiparty negotiations forum could be convened.

The management committee of Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — gathered in Pretoria yesterday afternoon to plan its strategy for the meeting.

The agenda for the two-day meeting will be determined today when the groups meet at the President's in Pretoria.

AV member Andries Beyers said last night he was hopeful the meeting could pave the way for multiparty negotiations.

Observers expressed "cautious optimism"
Survey findings on interim rule queried

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Diplomats and researchers are not alarmed at a survey finding that the majority of whites are opposed to an interim government.

Both groups have pointed out that the way the question was phrased could have an impact on the finding.

One of the questions in a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey, published this week, was: "Do you think the De Klerk Government should immediately resign in favour of an interim government?".

Eighty-four percent of whites rejected the notion, against only 27 percent of blacks.

Centre for Policy Studies researcher Louise Stack — who stressed that she had not seen the survey — said a negative question might have affected the result, particularly in the light of the overwhelming support for negotiations last March.

A diplomat said the HSRC question could easily have been misunderstood as saying that an interim government should be installed without further negotiations taking place.

"Had the question been 'Should an interim government come after negotiations?', the result could have been very different," he said.
WHEN negotiators sit down for the next round of multiparty talks, they will do so with guns at their heads. It may be their last chance to find a formula for interim government and the constitutional process before the country sinks into irreversible chaos.

As parties push frantically ahead with bilateral talks, hopes are high that a multiparty forum will be in place by early March at the latest.

This time the African National Congress and the government will not have the luxury of scoring constant election points against each other. Increasingly, the two are moving closer as the “moderates” on whose compatibility the country’s future depends. The recent activities of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army have given renewed purpose to militants at both ends of the spectrum.

The ANC and government will enter another round of negotiations, but with different handicaps.

Last year the government, on a high from its sweeping referendum victory, could afford to play hard to get. But corruption scandals, divisions in the cabinet over whether to party with the ANC or Inkatha Freedom Party, the sinking economy and encroaching anarchy have thwarted any hopes of hanging on to power by dragging out moves towards power-sharing.

The presence of foreign monitors, forging a stronger link between the international arena and what happens here on the ground, puts new pressure on the government to honour its democratic professions. And with Bill Clinton in the White House, delaying tactics will find less favour in the United States than under the Republicans.

The ANC is better off than it was last year, having seized the moral high ground over the calamity-struck government. It has also managed to sell the concept of power-sharing to the bulk of its constituency — a coup for a movement whose militants were given a healthy fillip by the months-long mass action campaign.

As the government and ANC prepare for another round of extended bilateral negotiations at the end of the month, the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) is lobbying against their September Record of Understanding — a clear sign that co-ordinating agreements at various bilateral talks will not be easy. As Van Zyl Slabbert said recently: “Codesa was unreal and smooth. Negotiations now are more real and messy.”

“Codesa 3” will be shorn of the cumbersome working groups and committees that made last year’s negotiations so laborious.

Says National Party constitutional expert advocate Chris Fister: “From a managerial point of view, having five different committees dealing with overlapping issues and having different people dealing with the same issues in different meetings made it difficult to co-ordinate the process.”

The reconvened forum will have smaller delegations. By all accounts, the forum will do little more than rubber-stamp existing bilateral deals.

Says ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moore: “When we get to Codesa, the various parties will have processed things already at bilateral. Hopefully, in one or two sessions we can work it out.”

He predicts that multiparty agreements could be ratified in a matter of weeks and that transitional executive councils, managing the first phase of interim government leading up to elections, could be in place early next year.

Mossie holds the view, accepted by most parties, “that if multilateral discussions are to succeed, they have to be concluded in a reasonable time and not go on indefinitely as Codesa did. We cannot disappoint the nation with another series of deadlocks.”

Many obstacles still stand in the way: three important parties (Inkatha, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Conservative Party) are still out of talks and political violence continues, as does squabbling over guarantees for regional powers.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s recall vote and rejection of pre-existing Codesa agreements continues. As the cabinet fights over how to deal with Inkatha, with Natal NP leaders vehemently against dropping the alliance with the IFP, Buthelezi is showing signs of discomfort with his new home of predominantly con-federalist allies in Cosag.

The two-day meeting between Cosag and the government starting today may bring a lukewarm commitment from the latter to safeguard regional powers and boundaries before an elected constituent assembly.

Inkatha, the major player in the group, is likely to distance itself more from its current allies — Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the CP — and move closer to the NP.

Bilateral talks between the ANC and Inkatha this month, paving the way for a meeting between their respective leaders, may go some way towards bringing the three major players into a more amicable triangle and containing the ANCP/IFP violence.

Still hotly contended is the question of reincorporation of the homelands and — for the ANC — the lack of free political activity, particularly in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

Commenting on the thwarting of negotiations by Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said: “President de Klerk should be cutting off their water. He has the power to do so.”

He, like many other politicians, expresses cautious optimism about the success of the next Codesa meeting, noting a sincerity among most players for the speedy establishment of a government of national unity.
Our year of reckoning is upon us, writes Political Editor, Stephen Johnson.
for a new Codesa
Meeting signs bid

Political Race Against Time

Political Star

The Argo. Friday January 8, 1937

CITY/NATIONAL
CP, IFP ‘can’t be split’

PRETORIA. — The government would not succeed in its alleged strategy to drive a wedge between the Conservative Party and Inkatha at its meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) today, CP MP Mr Tom Langley said yesterday.

Media speculation to this effect was aimed at sowing distrust between the CP and the IFP but there was "too much common ground" between them. Cosag was unanimous in its rejection of a unitary state and in its support for regionalism and strong autonomous regional powers, he said.

A government spokesman said the government delegation’s priority at the meeting with Cosag — which consists of the CP, Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — would be to “discuss the earliest possible resumption of multi-party talks”. Also on the agenda will be the government/ANC Record of Understanding.

The CP said all Cosag members also agreed that residual powers belonged to the various states and only a “limited and listed number of powers” would be reserved by the states for the central government. — Sapa
With multiparty talks still due to resume early this year, government and the National Party are planning major changes. Some structure of Cabinet 2 has already been reorganized. cabinet. Some portfolios have been moved into new roles that will significantly influence negotiations.

One due to retirement are...

Picking the teams

Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who headed government's team in the working group looking at transitional arrangements, is no longer with the team. He is in private practice, but could be called back. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who headed government's team in the working group looking at transitional arrangements, is no longer with the team. He is in private practice, but could be called back. Finance Minister Barend du Plessis, who headed government's team in the working group looking at transitional arrangements, is no longer with the team. He is in private practice, but could be called back.

The party's chief negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, who joined government's Cabinet, is no longer with the team. He is in private practice, but could be called back.

Another key figure in this year's negotiations, outcomes are likely to have significant influence on negotiations. Outcomes are likely to have significant influence on negotiations. Outcomes are likely to have significant influence on negotiations.
I'm all right, Jack

Who prospered while others suffered? REG RUMNEY
looks at some of the companies which, in the long and bitter recession, did quite nicely, thank you

QUESTION: How do you do well during a recession?
Answer: Run a banking operation or a life assurer.

This is simplistic, but the general rule is that while the economy and hence individuals have fared poorly, banks have flourished. Assurers have also tended to do well in good times and in bad.

In a year when industrial companies mostly suffered because of recession at home, and mining companies suffered because world recession depressed the prices of the commodities they export, banks did reasonably well.

Just as the Reserve Bank's high interest rate policy has hurt individuals and companies which use credit, it has favoured banks. Alan McCauley, in KPMG Allen & Peat's 1992 banking survey, noted that banks had the best operating margins in over a decade. That policy continued through the year, though towards the end it became clear that credit extension was tailing off and loan demand was flat.

McCauley also noted that banks had resisted the temptation to increase competition on the battle for market share. So much for the talk of mergers and activity in the banking sector in recent years being good for consumers, as suggested at the time.

So Standard Bank Investment Corporation saw a 23 percent rise in interest income in the six months to end-September compared to the six months to end-September 1991. Lower bad debts helped push earnings up 20 percent to 245c.

First National Bank reported an earnings increase of 15.7 percent in the six months to September — on the back of an 11.7 percent increase in interest income.

For the year ending September 1992 Nedcor reported a 16 percent rise in earnings compared to the previous year, a 20 percent rise in after-tax profit and a 21 percent rise in pre-tax income.

Ana's earnings rose 14 percent in the six months to end-September, though the results can't easily be compared with the previous six months. The group is still in the process of digesting its various acquisitions, the latest of which was Bankcorp.

Fast-growing Investec's earnings rose 25 percent in the six months to end-September.

Short-term interest rates fell by 10 percent in the six months to end-September.

People may put money into the bank for different reasons in different times — but they put money into the bank. Moreover, when times get really tough, the number of sponsors of new policies increases, effectively giving the assurance companies money for doing nothing.

Take insurance giant Sanlam, whose premium income rose 27 percent to R10.4 billion in the year to end-September. Investment income up 17 percent to R4.4 billion took total income to R14.5 billion, up 24 percent on the previous year.

Similarly, Old Mutual's annual premium income rose by more than 22 percent to R10.2 billion in the year to end-June. Revenue income up 17 percent at R4.4 billion took total income to R14.5 billion, up 24 percent on the previous year.

Some companies did well in the teeth of the recession simply because they were well run.

For instance, gas, welding and healthcare company Afrox increased turnover by 7 percent, and after-tax profit by 21 percent.

And engineering and property group Ots reported 30 percent increase in earnings per share for the six months to end-September, on turnover up only 1 percent at R6.2 million, even though the sector in which it operated deteriorated during the year.

Among retailers, Foschini showed a 21 percent increase in net incomes, compared to Pepkor's reasonable 16 percent in the six months to end-August, and Edgars' 5 percent at the interim stage.

Food consumption, amusingly in a country with a growing population, dropped this year. Consequently, the food companies, which are always seen as a good bet even in recessions didn't do too well.

However, the Premier Group showed earnings a show up 14 percent in the six months to end-September, compared to an 11 percent rise in earnings reported by rival Tiger for the full year. Hard times have meant Premier's focus on branded staple foods paid off.

Among oil companies, Repco saw earnings rise 10 percent on a 10 percent rise in pre-tax profit to R133 million in the six months to end-September.

A 10 percent stake in ABI itself was much-admired company, helped contribution make. Caltex's Schweppes increases its earnings by 11 percent, with operating profit up 41 percent at R23 million, turnover up 39 percent at R209 million.

Oil companies, a number of smaller companies' stocks did more than just back the recessionary trend. To take one example, Radio-pager supplier Multi-source Holdings reported an increase in earnings of 103 percent in the six months to end-August.

Defying domestic recession and a weakening in its market for containers, Transcor lifted earnings by 25 percent to R10.8 million in the year to end-June.

Unlisted companies which have discovered export niches, such as Murray & Roberts subsidiary Consolidated and Foodcorp subsidiary Hami did well.

Export even helped South African Breweries beer division boost its sales, the growth of which was led by the SA recession. Exporters helped SAB to push up sales one percent in the 1992 year.

Who else did well? In a year of continuing violence, undertakers probably beat the recessionary blues — which is how to make the old explanation of Avocet: 'All's Well, Behave as One Should'.
By ARTHUR GAVSHON: London
EXERCISING quiet diplomacy, the United States has joined Britain and other European Community states in pressing Mangosuthu Buthelezi to lead Inkatha back into the multiparty process of negotiating a new constitution.

Diplomats of the countries concerned report that the action is at the centre of a concerted attempt to back up the broad understanding reached by the government and the African National Congress at last month’s London talks.

In essence, the understanding was based on a recognition of two realities: that the two sides have what they called a “shared responsibility” for leading South Africa towards an election of a government of national unity in which all willing parties will participate.

That a breakdown of the negotiating process almost certainly would have the effect of hastening the collapse of the country’s already crippled economy.

The informants said they were unable to indicate whether Buthelezi’s response to the pressures being exercised on him behind the diplomatic scenes has been positive, negative or non-committal.

One US State Department source observed: “Buthelezi seems to be playing the situation by his political instincts, keeping open his options by allowing subordinates to engage in exchanges both with the government and the ANC.

“But he has been left in little doubt that, with a new administration soon to take over in Washington, he won’t be able to count on the sort of sympathetic hearing he has relied upon in the past.”

The British, who relinquished the presidency of the EC a week ago, have been in contact with all the main parties in South Africa, pushing the need to get a possibly restructured CODESA negotiating process going again.

“We expect multilateral talks to be resumed within about a month,” a Foreign Office official said. “Our understanding is that President de Klerk will be making a major statement on the issues on January 29.

“And, of course, our immediate concern has been to ensure that Buthelezi will take good care not to find himself isolated.”

British diplomats in South Africa, working in concert with other EC governments, were promoting the case for all-party talks throughout December.

In a related development, US authorities in public, and European diplomats privately, hailed De Klerk’s action in cleansing the higher echelons of the South African Defence Force who have been among those elements known, or suspected, as opponents of his reform programme.

The shared view of most Western governments was voiced by Richard Boucher, spokesman for the US State Department: “We welcome the steps taken by De Klerk to discipline members of the military implicated in illegal activities.

“President-elect Bill Clinton’s administration is expected to be less patient with the political mavericks of southern Africa than that of his predecessor.”
Right angle to constitutional talks

Constitutional negotiations began in Pretoria yesterday and continue this week.

TALKS That could have an important bearing on the future of constitutional provision began in Pretoria yesterday and continue this week.

A right-angled image is included in the text.
elections build-up

Huge challenges in
Charge of apartheid rejected

By RONNIE MORRIS and GUY OLIVER

A BITTER war of words has erupted between the ANC and the Democratic Party after ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni accused the DP of being collaborators in apartheid.

Mr Yengeni made the accusation about what he called the party's "odious" past only two days before a planned DP meeting in Guguletu on Monday.

He said in his statement that neither the DP nor its forerunner, the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), had organised meetings in the townships in support of the oppressed and "apart from people like Jan van Eck, Jannie Mombarg et al, the DP/PFP offered implicit support for apartheid violence".

"Statements made inside and outside Parliament by the PFP/DP supporting the regime's hot pursuit of the ANC, attacks on frontline states and even massacres, bear testimony to that," he said.

"When the DP ventures into the townships and attempts to attract the victims of apartheid for purposes of elections, it must expect a great measure of rigorous questioning of its past and its present actions and images."

'Definite threat'

The DP's first electioneering foray into Cape Flats townships was disrupted last month when a chair-throwing mob, later accused of being ANC supporters, brought a Khayelitsha meeting to an abrupt end.

National ANC spokesman Dr Pallo Jordan endorsed Mr Yengeni's views about the DP as "quite competent". He declined to comment further and said the statement should rest as a regional issue.

DP spokesman said yesterday that Mr Yengeni's latest outburst led them to believe the same fate could await Monday's proposed meeting, which they defiantly said would not be cancelled.

Mrs Helen Suzman, former DP MP and veteran anti-apartheid politician, said yesterday that she detected a "definite threat of intimidation" in Mr Yengeni's statement. This was "in spite of his pious comments on the right of any party to campaign for support", she said.

Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, said the statement was "inflammatory and drums up untrue political slurs which are then used as justification for disrupting meetings."

"In fact, Mr Yengeni's statement has now made disruption almost certain and he will have to take the responsibility for any violence that occurs at the meeting."

The row appears to have ended what was seen by some as an informal "alliance" between the two parties in the Western Cape.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said Mr Yengeni's statement started with an admirable declaration of freedom of expression, which the DP welcomed, but "then goes into a passage of quite unfair political abuse directed against the DP."

Dr De Beer said the ANC statement ended by suggesting that other organisations or individuals might take intimidatory action at the DP meeting.

"It would be helpful if they would name the organisations or people involved. If these are not identified there will of course be doubt about who is really responsible," he said.

Mrs Suzman said Mr Yengeni showed a lack of knowledge of the constant opposition put up by the PFP in and outside Parliament.

Mr Jasper Walsh, DP regional chairman, said Mr Yengeni's statement was "so devoid of truth that one is forced to question his memory or political judgment if not his integrity."

"During the '80s several members of the PFP, including Di Bishop, Molly Blackburn, Ken Andrew, Robin Carlisle, Jan van Eck and myself were in the townships attempting to defuse the violence perpetrated by government security forces."

The DP had an unblemished record and had earned the absolute right to seek support from all South Africans.

ANC member and former DP MP for Simon's Town, Mr Momberg — and for 30 years a member of the NP — declined to comment on the PFP/DP complicity in apartheid, but acknowledged Mrs Suzman as a "shining light" in the struggle against apartheid.
THE first test of South Africa's negotiating prospects for 1993 got under way in Pretoria yesterday, as the Government faced the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) in a bid to woo its members into multi-party talks.

The Government-Cosag bosberaad — the first in a series of bilateral meetings between major parties scheduled for this month — is being seen by negotiators as a litmus test of how quickly the Codesa process can be reconvened, and whether hopes of interim government by June are realistic.

Cosag's members are keeping at arm's length from the negotiating process, and are united in their opposition to what they describe as unilateral deals being struck by the Government and ANC.

The management committee of Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volks-une (AVU) — jointly planned its strategy on Thursday afternoon.

Inclusive

The agenda for the two-day session was hammered out yesterday in a meeting of all participants at the Presidensie in Pretoria.

AVU member Andries Beyers told Saturday Star he was hopeful that the meeting could lead to a resumption of multi-party talks which would be more inclusive than what had gone before.

But observers would only express "cautious optimism" about the possible outcome of the meeting. They pointed out it was unlikely that the talks could lead to the immediate resumption of multi-party negotiations as the meeting would not be attended personally by the political principals — President F W de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and CP leader De Andries Treurnicht.

It was likely that the delegates would first discuss any decisions reached at the meeting with their principals before any final agreement could be reached.

A Government source said the Government's negotiators would concentrate on the resumption of multi-party negotiations and the issues of regionalism and federalism.

The negotiators would seek to determine the IFP's view on the status of agreements reached at Codesa which were not ratified at the failed Codesa 2.
End to white rule this year — ANC

While the ANC felt there was an urgent need for elections, unforeseen developments could mean that they took place only early next year.

Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa denied that the ANC was conceding too much to the Government in negotiations, following such claims this week by Winnie Mandela.

Speaking at Helen Joseph's burial on Thursday, Mrs Mandela said negotiations would not deliver democracy because they were being conducted between the "elite of the oppressed and the oppressor".

Ramaphosa said the ANC was confident that negotiations would lead to a fundamental transformation of the current political system and finally deliver freedom and democracy to all.

"We do not believe the ANC is conceding too much," he said.

Without mentioning his estranged wife by name, Mandela said: "The issue of whether the people of South Africa, especially the oppressed people, support negotiations should not be judged on the basis of what individuals say, whoever they are."

Endorsed

The issue should be determined with reference to decisions of "organised and disciplined members".

Mandela said negotiations had been unanimously endorsed at several ANC conferences.

"We have not given too much to anybody, least of all the National Party. What we have done, we have done in the interests of the entire nation," he said.

SA arms ‘used in Irish killings’

Anthony Garvey

LENDON — South African arms have allegedly been used to kill more than 1,360 people in Northern Ireland in the past five years — and still being used.

According to a desert, sent to the Irish, British and European parliaments, an arms deal was negotiated with South Africa by BelfastRAPs at a surmised by Brian Nelson, and was concluded by British intelligence.

The deal was compli-
iled by Sinn Fein, the political wing of the IRA. It challenges Brit- nish National Ireland Secretary Sir John Scott Mayhew to deny Nelson was working for military intelligence when he travelled to South
Is This The Future?

By PROF WILLIE ESTERHUYSE of the University of Stellenbosch.

THIS year will be a make-or-break year for SA in all spheres. It especially applies to spheres like politics, the economy, social services, security, training and education.

There can be no doubt this year will determine whether SA will be a typical Third World country for the next 10 to 20 years or a country which has been firmly placed on the road of development.

In fact, by the end of this year we shall know whether the international community is still seriously interested in our development or whether they will refer to us as another case for humanitarian aid in Africa.

It would therefore be misleading to think: "Last year was a bad year for SA. It can only be better in future."

It could become much worse, like in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other African countries which have turned conflict and confrontation into a culture.

What are our political prospects for this year? Is there a chance that we will not drown in the quagmire of continuous unrest and confrontation? That professional people won't emigrate in their thousands? That institutions - the basic foundations of a sound society - won't collapse? That hope for the future - the source of energy for creative action - will not evaporate?

Last year was a bad year for SA. There were dramatic revelations about corruption, maladministration, theft and organised political murders.

It was a year in which criminals, crooks and individuals who played chess with the lives of others received more publicity than those who demonstrated evolutionary leadership, consensus and co-operation between political factions.

Economic pressures also loomed large, and it became painfully clear that no money is available to be dished out to all.

But despite all the gloom, some political gains were made.

This not only ensured greater realism, but compelled important political players to think in terms of a historical compromise.

Compromise is more likely this year than ever before. It is clear President FW de Klerk's watershed speech of February 2 1990 was not only necessary, it was politically unavoidable.

In 1993 we are being confronted with something equally unavoidable - this time a historic compromise between the most important political players.

Incidentally, any person who thinks that all the political role players must first agree upon a future political dispensation before there can be talks of a historical compromise gives a veto power to small parties which they don't deserve. After all, in a country like SA there will always be groups to the left and to the right with their own agendas.

The big challenge is to get 60 to 70 percent of the voters politically organised in the so-called middle-ground and also to accept that the middle ground is not the domain of one party only.

This year we will see more middle ground in our politics. People who are not being kept ideologically hostage by outdated political ideas, but who show realism and who are bound together by common interests, values and ideals. The politics of compromise also promote a sound middle ground in politics.

In this process a few heads will probably roll and a few faces will disappear. Scandals will also take their toll.

However, this would be to the benefit of the settlement process rather than detrimental.

The first step in the constitutional settlement process will be to negotiate and institute an AC-
ministerial-Traditional
Council. This could be on
of April, or the "end of

"A."
Ex-presidents for city Africa talks

Five former heads of state are among international opinion-leaders who are to attend a meeting of the New York-based InterAction Council in Cape Town from January 21 to 23.

The meeting, chaired by Lord Callaghan of Cardiff, is to have as its theme "Bringing Africa Back into the Mainstream of the International System". Delegates are to discuss proposals and strategies to counteract the marginalisation of Africa and formulate a programme of action for the continent and the international community.

The former government leaders are Mr Pierre Trudeau (Canada), Mr Malcolm Fraser (Australia), General Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Mrs Maria Pintasilgo (Portugal) and Mr Lopo do Nascimento (Angola).

Other high-level delegates include World Bank president Mr Bob McNamara and Africa Development Bank president Mr Babacar N'Diaye.

The managing director of Nasionale Pers, Mr Ton Vosloo, has been invited to address participants on the political transition in South Africa, but is unable to attend, according to his secretary.
Why K. Watson's "Go-at-John" Constitution is the Answer
ANC: Prepare for 1993 poll

Johannesburg. — The ANC yesterday mapped out its political course for the rest of 1993 with a strong appeal to its branches to prepare for South Africa's first general election by year-end.

Reading from a National Executive Committee statement to mark the organisation's 81st anniversary, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said 1993 was "destined to be the year when we bring to an end the exclusive exercise of political power by the white minority. At last, we shall together set ourselves on the path to democratic rule".

Among the steps outlined by Mr Mandela that need to be taken this year are a resumption of multilateral talks in Colesa, a climate of free political activity, and the incorporation of the "so-called independent bantustans".

Independent elections and media commissions would need to be set up to ensure free and fair elections and elections held for a constituent assembly and interim government of national unity.

However Mr Mandela later conceded: "There may be something that happens that makes it impossible to hold elections this year. Then we say elections must be held early in 1994."

The ANC was prepared to discuss the holding of elections with all parties, including white right-wing groups, and would take their policies to the grassroots.

Mr Mandela appealed to those who feared democratic change, saying they should rather fear the consequences of a lack of change. "Any continuation of the past would mean that our country sinks further with all its people into the depths of a general crisis which would benefit no one and from which it would be impossible to extricate itself in the foreseeable future," he said.

LISTENING... Mburg yesterday with its plans for...
For Codessa 3
A Kick-Start

Codessa could be back on track by March.

By Catherine Smith
Govt, Cosag agree on talks

THE government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) have agreed that a "multi-party planning conference" involving all parties should be held to prepare for multi-party negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told a news conference after the two-day meeting between Cosag and the government in Pretoria yesterday that the government would canvass all parties to participate in this "planning conference".

CP delegates Tom Langley and deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg were not immediately able to say where the agreement had left the CP, which has up to now refused to participate in talks with the ANC.

They said the CP decision would be announced later "after consultations with their principals".

Cosag and the government said: "It was further agreed that all parties who participated in Codesa as well as other parties with proven support, and governments of the self-governing territories, should participate in the multi-party planning conference."

Leaders of the self-governing territories were included in an attempt to resolve the issue of the Zulu King being included in negotiations, Meyer said, adding there had been general agreement yesterday that multi-party negotiations should proceed as fast as possible.

In terms of the government's announced decision to have a multi-party negotiating forum in place before the end of next month, the multi-party planning conference should take place well in advance of this date, he said.

Inkatha delegate Dr Frank Mdlande and Bophuthatswana delegate Rowan Cronje said they did not consider themselves bound by Codesa agreements.

Bophuthatswana did not sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent, while Mdlande said that the Codesa agreements were void because "Codesa is dead and we're quite happy starting afresh".

Mdlande said they had "very thoroughly" discussed an alleged remark by Meyer that the government would be prepared to "go it alone" with the ANC in the event of other parties not participating in the negotiation process.

He said he was happy that Meyer had denied these reports. - Sapa
Back to the kibbutz for the Wolf who got the boot

By CHARLES LEONARD

A WEEK is a long time in the political arena. Last weekend nook "Boerstaat" Bosman was no more than a retired East Rand railway worker.

On Monday he was catapulted into the spotlight as spokesman for the Wit Wolwe at the first press conference held by the sinister right-wing organisation.

On Wednesday he was publicly expelled from the ranks of the extremists by the most notorious Wolf of all, Barend Strydom, because he is a member of the Church of the Creator.

By the end of the week Boerstaat was back on his own, turf — a rundown smallholding that he dreams of turning into South Africa's first white kibbutz.

To reach it you turn left at the Kafferspruit sign on the Nigel-Devon road.

Dispelled

A kilometre or so down the narrow dirt road is the entrance to smallholding No 33.

Any vision of communal productivity is dispelled as soon as one enters the property.

Forget the image of a happy band of workers toiling side by side for the collective good.

Better yet, forget anything you've ever seen or heard about a kibbutz Israeli-style.

In a parched vegetable patch two black gardeners wield their hoes and ignore the strangers at their gate.

From the direction of a rusty water tank on stilts comes a high-pitched voice with a flat Boer accent.

"Who are you looking for?"

A corpulent woman with red hair shuffles towards the visitors.

"Mr Bosman?"

She points past a tiredlooking car under the "adar" to the flat-roofed house. "There's Mr Bosman in his office."

Four things strike one immediately about Mr Bosman's office, reached by way of a dingy kitchen.

The Jimmy Abbott loc.

kallike's toothless mouth is underscored by a grey Paul Kruger beard. He is speaking to a journalist on the phone about his expulsion from the Wit Wolwe.

"I refuse to quit. Barend Strydom is a self-appointed leader and we should get a new one. He's not competent to do the job."

The decor is the next thing one notices.

On the wall facing his desk hangs a Nazi flag, the swastika emblazoned on fabric 6 ft wide.

The other walls feature yelping pieces of paper containing fascist quotations, including six by Adolf Hitler.

Then there's the smell.

Five dogs of varying size lie in dark corners on the cement floor or on the three-seater couch which has seen better days and on which the stuffing is spilling out of the orange upholstery.

The water pump is out of order, but the dogs smell as though they've been sodden for weeks.

Finally, there are the sticky flypapers suspended from the ceiling. Once yellow, they are black with dead flies, but continue to attract the buzzing insects.

When the Wit Wolwe made their media debut on Monday at the Brits smallholding where Barend Strydom's in-laws live, Mr Bosman was the only member present not hiding behind a balachava.

Just 48 hours later the fledgling right-wing splinter group had split down the middle, with some members allied to the radical Church of the Creator and the others adhering to the teachings of the marginally less hardline Israelites.

The Church of the Creator believes not in God but in the teachings of Ben Klassen, whose white-supremacy principles are outlined in his "White Man's Bible."

"I have the support of our chief of staff," says Mr Bosman, a fervent Klassen disciple. "Barend Strydom is out of bounds and, anyway, he was too scared to hold that news conference."

It is from the Church of the Creator that Mr Bosman's inspiration for a white kibbutz came.

But he has encountered a major obstacle in realising his dream of a kibbutz "like those the Jews have in Israel."

"Our smallholding belongs to a Portuguese man in Nigel and he doesn't want me to have caravans here like I planned."

"Now I harbour two families from the Cape with us in the house and an ex-Rhodesian and his wife in a camper in the garden."

"We know that there are two black squatter settlements not far from here and they are getting away with it. But what would be ideal for us would be if some farmer gave us a small piece of land where we can live."
ANC lauds talks decision

The ANC yesterday welcomed the Concerned South Africans Group's decision to enter negotiations, saying Codesa talks were back on track.

Government and the Concerned South Africans Group reached an agreement on Saturday to start convening a multiparty preparatory meeting to set up multilateral constitutional negotiations.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said his organisation welcomed the group's decision, but pointed out that some of its member parties had held back, saying they would have to refer the agreement back to their principals.

"Overall, the indications are that parties are prepared to enter negotiations and that is a good sign," he said.

Although Mdlalose said Inkhatha was not bound by Codesa agreements, government sources believed Inkhatha would find it difficult to maintain this position at multiparty talks.

"Deals get struck all the time in negotiations. That is what negotiations are all about," Inkhatha said.

He stressed that the parties entering the process for the first time would have to accept that negotiations could not start again from scratch.
Talks break through - interim rule soon

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

MULTI-PARTY negotiations that will resume within weeks and elections for an interim government later this year have become a distinct possibility after a breakthrough during talks at the weekend.

The Government concluded successful talks on Saturday with the Inkatha Freedom Party-led Concerned South Africans Group and on Friday the African National Congress delivered its most conciliatory statement since negotiations collapsed last year.

White minority rule will effectively be ended towards the end of the year when, it is envisaged, elections for a constituent assembly are held and a new parliament come into being early next year, Mr Mohammed Valli

Moosa of the ANC's negotiations team said at the weekend.

And in a separate interview yesterday Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said he was confident that a planning meeting for the resumption of multiparty negotiations would take place "within a month".

Meyer was also optimistic that the inclusion of the administrations of the self-governing territories in the planning meeting could resolve the issue of the possible inclusion of King Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus in negotiations - a matter which caused Codesa much grief last year.

After Saturday's meeting IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose was cagey, but confirmed that his party was ready for a planning meeting for the relaunch of Codesa.

Mr Rowan Cronje of the Bophuthatswana government, which together with the leaders of Ciskei, the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie and IFP make up Cosag, said his administration was also prepared to meet for the planning of multiparty negotiations.

He emphasised, however, that Bophuthatswana was not a signatory of Codesa's Declaration of Intent and was, therefore, not bound to any decisions or agreements that had been reached at the convention.

Meyer and Moosa yesterday acknowledged that a new urgency had emerged over the past days in spite of reticence from certain quarters and vacillation from others.
itors to keep out the very tiny parties holding to ransom parties winning millions of votes.

PR was generously suggested by the ANC, as the biggest likely party, partly to avoid the national electoral scandals of the Forties and Fifties, when the Nats won a majority of MPs with 40% of the votes and the United Party, with over 50%, had fewer MPs. The proposal should also take the electoral system out of the negotiations argybarbary.

The table shows a projection by myself, over the nine Development Bank regions, of a reasonable scenario for votes cast for major parties in SA. It is projected using a highly sophisticated programme by Prof J.F de Beer of the Computer Science department of Potchefstroom University that has been proved over many elections. The programme allocates likely votes in the nine regions and then pools them for a national vote total with the requisite number of seats under the ANC's scheme and the President's Council/NP scheme.

The table is a projection of one of many possible votes for the various parties in the new electorate of 20m of which 5.5m are existing electors in the treecameral set-up. The ANC and NP have, through Codasa, formed alliances with the 1.5 treecameral and homeland parties. This means that these parties will either stand alone (as encouraged under the NP “no threshold” scheme), or will stand on the various regional lists of the parties as with the ANC encouraged scheme with its high 3% threshold.

With the NPC scheme, the minority parties will have to negotiate their way onto the major parties’ list and calculate the likely number of votes for such an electoral coalition in advance. If they get it wrong and the major party fails to reach a certain level of votes, they will not win any seats in that region. If they are not high enough on the national list “topping up” any regional distortions, they will also lose out.

Under the NPC scheme, minor parties will win a seat with 50,000 votes — or even two seats with 90,000. The minor party can stand alone, since with only 0.25% of the votes it can win a seat. A projection of the votes cast shows that, under the NPC’s scheme, if the ANC wins less than 50% of the votes it translates into less than a majority of the elected MPs — something the NPC wants to ensure at all costs.

Looking ahead

Projected election result

Based on NP/President’s Council and ANC proposals for a proportional representation election

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Party</th>
<th>% votes</th>
<th>NPC</th>
<th>ANC</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>SCP</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>159</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>21.3</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFP</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZAPO</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NNP</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AWB</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DP</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gazankulu)</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bop Democratic</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Makro</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volksunie</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What if parties to the far Left of the ANC, like Azapo, win 2.5% of the votes and under this scheme (but not the ANC’s) get 10 seats? Is this not a counterbalance a host of supposedly pro-NP parties likely votes? There are several such organised and revolutionary parties now. Will the ANC then have the option of offering a few Cabinet posts to the most rabid anti-white parties, greatly circumventing its freedom of movement now and in the future to do the dirty work all in our virgin electoral territory?

This would produce a counterbalance to the NP’s strategic hope of many small right-wing and centre parties and completely eliminate any NP advantage. If Azapo got six seats (based on 1.5% of the vote) this would be necessary for a liberation movement majority in the parliament. (ANC’s 198 plus Azapo’s 6 make 204 — a majority of the 400 seats.) And this would destabilise an already unstable situation.

If even Joe Slovo thinks that an NP/ANC coalition will rule SA for five years, why does the NP want to jeopardise this?

In the projection given, the ANC, with 49.5% of the national total vote, will win under the NP’s proposals, a crucial less-than-half the 400 seats (198), compared to its own proposals where this share would give it 212 MPs and a majority (53%) of the votes in the parliament with a moral authority that the NP fears. As an ANC/NP coalition is now a certainty after the ANC’s latest National Executive Committee meeting, the NP must weigh the risk that it really needs all these minor parties out of its control, or whether slight barriers will enormously enhance stability and make the ANC and itself more likely to be reasonable to each other.

The 3% cut-off point reduces the number of parties likely to win one seat — from 20 to a probable six.

Strong tiny regional parties will have to link up with existing lists of the big parties and the ultra-Right and ultra-Left will just fall to enter parliament as their voters are encouraged to abandon them and go for the nearest “big” party closest to their ideological position.

Under the ANC scheme, the 100% of elected seats is drawn from those parties above the 3% level giving them shares proportionally from the remaining 94% of valid votes for parties above the threshold. These are the seven parties with a bonus of 3.5%, the NP with a bonus of 1.1% and the IFP with a 1% bonus. The smallest parties above 3% also qualify slightly in this way too.

The ANC’s scheme is probably too harsh for a first election. The 1989 Namibia election had an effective 1% threshold. If the NP can get nine regional constituencies, with simultaneously elected regional parliaments, it should consider accepting a threshold of 1%. This would benefit both the country and itself.
Mandela replies to Winnie

THE ANC had not conceded too much in negotiations with government and was on track in its objective of achieving a transition to democracy, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

Ramaphosa was responding to criticism from Winnie Mandela that the negotiation process could not deliver democracy as it was being conducted between "the elite of the oppressed and of the oppressor".

Ramaphosa said the ANC was confident it was on track to achieve the aims of the nation — the transformation of SA to freedom and democracy, and the organisation was doing only what was necessary to deliver true democracy.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, having stepped out of the fray initially, decided to comment on his estranged wife's statements, smacking her down publicly.

He said the issue of whether the oppressed people supported negotiations should not be judged on the basis of what individuals say, no matter who they are. It should be judged according to what disciplined members of the organisation say.

Mandela said there had been three national conferences and many national executive committee meetings where the disciplined members had endorsed — usually unanimously — the ANC's actions in negotiations.

"We have given nothing away to anyone. We have done only what we consider to be in the interest of SA as a whole," he said, adding that he believed the NP and government also had not conceded too much in negotiations.

"It was said that government capitulated by signing the record of understanding. I do not think this is true. President F W de Klerk and the NP had the interest of the nation at heart and were doing what was best for the nation," Mandela said.

On a conciliatory note, he said the ANC was flexible on the date of elections, despite the NEC's statement insisting on elections this year.

Referring to the Concerned SA Group, he said there were those who feared change and were opposed to democratic elections.

"They are products of apartheid thinking, fear the will of the people and so cling to ethnic feuds.

"Unless they are able to place the national interest above their party political and personal agendas, they will continue themselves to the role of spoilers and will be judged accordingly."

He indicated also that he had held talks with Stabax president Spencer Sterling on Wednesday and said that he was encouraged by the outcome and the confidence of Stabax that economic growth could be salvaged. "He gave me a very optimistic view," Mandela said.

Sabax denies allegations

GAVIN DU VENAGE

SABAX yesterday denied allegations by a former employee that inadequate controls were applied in one of its manufacturing units.

US-trained pharmaceutical technician Di Parker, who spent about six years at Sabax, has claimed sub-standard techniques were used in the company's adinin unit.

Parker's allegations followed the deaths of eight babies last September and were submitted in an affidavit to Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus van Liere in November.

Parker said that intravenous link-bag solutions were returned from Coronation Hospital with complaints of contamination in the drip bags.

These complaints were not investigated and the bags were thrown out instead of being examined, said Parker.

Sabax CEO Ian Strachan said the company had, since 1988, "fully documented procedures" to deal with complaints. Procedures which had been properly examined by the courts.
DP safety pledge for Guguletu meeting

MARTIN CREMER
Political Correspondent

UNITED Nations and Democratic Party moni-
tors will turn out in force in Guguletu to-
ight in an effort to en-
sure the DP’s second township meeting goes
ahead without incident.

The party’s last town-
ship meeting — in
Khayelitsha a month
ago — was disrupted by
a mob described as ANC
supporters.

The DP, Youth, which
has organised the 7 pm
meeting at Umlntu Hall,
says it intends using
“every available peace-
ful means” to ensure
there is no intimidation
or disruption.

DP Youth national exec-
utive member Mr Col-
in Douglas said: “We
just want to have an or-
dinary political meeting.
We are not looking for
conflict and confronta-
tion. We are taking a
number of steps to en-
sure our members are
protected.”

Two UN monitors are
to attend the meeting at
the DP’s request. They
are Mrs Helen Lim and
Mr Vladimir Zaghagora.

There will also be DP,
monitors and pho-
tographers to record the
event.

The meeting follows a
tough exchange between
the ANC and the DP at
the weekend.

ANC regional secre-
tary Mr. Tony Yengeni
has confirmed the ANC
will attend the meeting
“as part of the Guguletu
community.”

Western Cape chair-
man of the ANC Dr Al-
lian Boesak appealed for
political tolerance, say-
ing freedom of speech
should not be the subject
of political game-play-

ANC supporters who
disrupted meetings
would play into the
hands of anti-democratic
forces. They would be
disciplined.

Mr Douglas said some
of the DP’s 150 mem-
bers in Guguletu had re-
ported intimidation “by
known ANC members”.

“We know the stakes
are high, but to cancel
the meeting would pro-
mote and encourage in-
timidation. For this rea-
son we are going ahead,
but with every precau-
tion.”

“Our approach is to
prevent intimidation be-
fore it begins. We are
aware the political tem-
perature is high, but our
approach to opponents is
friendly and consulta-
tive. In fact, prior to the
Khayelitsha meeting we
had a cordial meeting
with the ANC youth.”

Speakers tonight will
be Wynberg MP Mr
Robin Carlisle, national
vice-chairman of the DP
Youth Mr Siva Thembisa
and Western Cape exec-
utive member of the DP
youth Mr Steven Ntshane.

Mr Carlisle said: “The
tragedy of contempo-
rary politics is that
blacks are absolutely
terrified of the ANC and
the ANC are fast becom-
ing the new oppressor.”
Another negotiation hindrance removed

Political Staff

A FURTHER hindrance in the resumption of multiparty negotiations has been cleared in a crucial meeting between the government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The government and Cosag—the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie—agreed at the two-day meeting in Pretoria over the weekend to convene a planning conference.

The conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelof Meyer, is seen as a possible way to the resumption of multiparty talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's insistence on a Conference of Review.

A date has not yet been finalised for the planning conference as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

African National Congress spokesman Mr. Gill Marcus said last night that the organisation, and particularly its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag/government meeting before commenting.

But the ANC wanted the urgent resumption of multiparty talks. In a brief joint statement after the Cosag/government meeting on Saturday, the organisation said the planning conference should “assess the current situation and prepare for multiparty negotiation” and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this month will pave the way to the resumption of talks in a multiparty negotiating forum, the installation of the Transitional Executive Authority and elections for a constitution-making body.

The significance of the weekend's summit was that it facilitated contact between the government and the IFP, which broke off constitutional talks after the government and the ANC reached a Record of Understanding last September.

Observers said the meeting also managed to bring the Conservative Party into some form of discussion.

The leader of the Bophuthatswana government delegation, Mr. Rowan Cronje, said after the meeting that “serious differences” still existed between Cosag and the government.

The unresolved issues are to be addressed at another meeting for which a date is still to be set.
Why ANC might not triumph

Parties’ focus on state capture which could affect SA’s first non-racial election

OPINION
Govt-Cosag talks remove obstacle

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The successful completion of a series of bilateral talks this month will pave the way to the resumption of talks in a multi-party negotiating forum, the instalment of a transitional executive authority and elections for a constitution-making body.

The significance of the weekend’s summit was that it facilitated contact between the Government and the IFP, which broke off constitutional talks after the Government and ANC reached a Record of Understanding in September.

Observers said the meeting also managed to bring the CP into some form of discussion and would get the party at least to discuss the pros and cons of multi-party talks.

The leader of the Bophuthatswana government delegation, Rowan Cronje, said after the meeting that “serious differences” still existed between Cosag and the Government.

The issues would be addressed at another meeting, for which a date was still to be set.

These issues were bilateral agreements between the Government and ANC, the need for a transitional government, regionalism, and the status of decisions reached at Codesa.

A further hindrance in the resumption of multi-party negotiations has been cleared in a crucial meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Government and Cosag — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volks- unie — agreed at the two-day meeting in Pretoria at the weekend to convene a planning conference.

The planning conference, proposed at the meeting by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, is seen as a possible route to the resumption of multi-party talks. It could also remove the obstacle created by IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s insistence on a conference of review — a precondition he has set to returning to the negotiating forum.

A date has not yet been finalised for the planning conference as Codesa parties are still to be consulted.

ANC spokesman Gilly Marcus said last night the organisation, and particularly its negotiations commission, would consider reports of the Cosag-Government meeting before commenting.

However, the ANC wanted the urgent resumption of talks.

In a brief joint statement after the Cosag-Government meeting on Saturday, they said the planning conference should “assess the current situation and prepare for multi-party negotiation”, and include all Codesa groups and possible new participants.
Governing ANCs under the hands of exiles

Black teachers

Insurers fight.

Threat to strike
More whites have itchy feet – survey

The number of white South Africans considering emigration rose by 9 percent between January and August last year, according to a Human Sciences Research Council survey.

The survey, conducted by Dr Nic Rhodie, also reveals that the university graduate brain drain is continuing against a background of "ongoing violence and an unprecedented spiral of crime."

Rhodie’s findings, recently published in an HSRC volume on "South Africa in the Nineties", shows that twice as many English-speaking whites are contemplating emigration as Afrikaans-speakers.

Responding to the question "How seriously are you considering emigrating in the next three years?", the 18 to 24 age group shows the itchiest feet, with a quarter of all respondents considering leaving their land of birth.

The 25 to 34 age bracket follows with 24 percent, while only 7 percent in the 65 and over category were contemplating emigration.

The survey shows that 27 percent of English-speaking respondents are toying with leaving, as opposed to 13 percent of Afrikaans-speakers.

Rhodie attributes this to "cultural and historical factors ... which make Afrikaners believe they have deeper roots in South Africa than English-speakers".

The findings reveal that 21 percent of the respondents who had some form of tertiary education were considering a future abroad, compared with 19 percent who had passed matric and 13 percent who had not reached matric level.

However, Rhodie believes the flow of capable young talent out of the country has not yet reached alarming proportions. "Many wild statements are made about the actual number of people contemplating emigration. Many of the figures I see in newspapers are too pessimistic."
CP still sits on fence over multiparty talks

By Esther Waugh, Political Reporter

The Conservative Party's participation in a multiparty negotiating forum still hangs in the balance after the weekend meeting between the Government and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday: "The CP does not have to decide whether it wants to be involved in a Codesa, because Codesa is dead."

The Government and Cosag — which includes the CP — decided at their two-day meeting to convene a planning meeting with Codesa groups and possible new participants.

Treurnicht said the acknowledgment of certain conditions would determine his party's involvement.

These included the right to self-determination; the party's rejection of an interim government and a constitution-making body as agreed to by the ANC and Government; the CP's rejection of Codesa decisions; the disbandment of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and that the authority in a new dispensation should not be vested in a central government but in the "governments of people or states".
Meetings lined up for Pik

Pretoria — Foreign Minister Pik Botha is due to meet a host of foreign ministers over the next few days, after the signing of a UN pact to control the production of chemical weapons.

The signing of the pact, an extension of the existing accord signed in 1967, is due to take place tomorrow in Paris.

About 150 delegates, many of them foreign ministers, are due to extend the ambit of the pact to curtail the manufacture of substances used in chemical weapons.

Botha will take the opportunity to brief German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel and US Acting Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleberger, among others, about recent events in SA. Botha will then travel to London to meet British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd.

Botha said yesterday that one of the reasons the accord would be signed was "to ensure SA would never be blamed for chemical warfare abuses. He described SA's participation in the pact as a "major step forward" for SA's standing in the international community. Botha said South Africa would, in line with the convention, in the near future establish an authority to monitor the manufacturing of chemical substances. It would report to the international parent body.

Speaking at a news conference also attended by Republic of China Foreign Minister Frederick Chien, Botha praised the growing trade links between the two countries. He said SA's trade with Taiwan exceeded $90m last year and that the island was an example of how disciplined action by a population could result in a high level of economic growth.

Chien said the countries had been close friends in good weather and bad, and praised the fact that SA had a $550m trade surplus with the Republic of China.

He said his country was considering sending a team of agricultural experts to SA as well as assisting in the establishment of a vocational training centre.

Chien is due to meet President FW de Klerk today and ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow.
History must not repeat itself.
Move toward peace

Leaders of the former Azapo and IFP yesterday laid the groundwork for the restoration of peace in violence-torn Bekkersdal in the West Rand.

In their third round of talks aimed at ending hostilities, the two agreed to stage a joint peace rally, expose the alleged involvement of a third party in the conflict, and allow their members free access to public transport, schools and other facilities. They also agreed on the formation of a joint monitoring committee.

DP drive for votes

The Democratic Party has started 1993 with a series of big moves in black communities, clearly with an eye to the forthcoming non-racial election for a Constituent Assembly.

The DP opened a new office in downtown Johannesburg yesterday which is aimed specifically at blacks. In Cape Town, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP, Wynberg) spearheaded the Cape drive for black membership in Guguletu last night with an attack on political intolerance.
Treurnicht rejects Codesa III

Yesterday dismissed the possibility that they would participate in a Codesa III. CP leader Andries Treurnicht said weekend reports that his party would join other political organisations in Codesa talks, when multiparty talks resumed later this year, were "misleading".

"The CP does not have to decide whether or not to participate in Codesa because that forum is dead," he said.

And PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said his organisation would join talks only in a new forum, totally divorced from Codesa and chaired by a neutral, international figure, Sapa reports.

He said the new forum would have to have an agenda specifically directed at preparations for a constituent assembly. The CP rejection of Codesa came after the Concerned South Africans Group, of which it is a member, agreed at a weekend meeting with government to participate in the planning of future talks.

Treurnicht said the CP stood by its preconditions for multilateral talks, including: self-determination for all "nations"; the rejection of an interim government and a constituent assembly which doubled as a parliament; the rejection of all Codesa decisions that were opposed to the principle of a unitary state; the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe; and that the authority in a future dispensation not be vested in a central government, but in the governments of peoples and states.

"Depending on whether or not these principles are recognised, the CP will decide in which negotiation forums to participate," he said.

Meanwhile, the ANC's PWV region and KwaNdebele's ruling party, Intando ye Sizwe, have resolved to establish a united front "on all levels".

The parties said yesterday they had decided to implement a strategy of political tolerance, embark on a joint programme of action and educate voters on elections for a constituent assembly.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said political tolerance between the two parties could be seen as a "pace setter" and the possibility of similar arrangements with other parties could not be excluded.
Brawl forces end to DP meeting

The New York Democratic Party's State Committee vote was among the topics discussed at a meeting that was cut short due to a heated dispute.

A child was injured in the melee, and the party's leadership announced a temporary suspension of proceedings.

Party leaders are seeking to address concerns raised by members over recent administration decisions.
Peace accord steps up efforts

THE national peace committee will step up efforts this year to make the national peace accord felt at grassroots level.

The committee's executive will meet in Johannesburg tomorrow. Spokesman Voltaire Pauquet said yesterday the meeting would evaluate the organisation's progress and special attention would be given to "socio-economic" strategies to rebuild violence-ravaged communities.

Pauquet said it was committee chairman John Hall's feeling that the peace accord would have an impact only if it filtered down to grassroots level. That could be done by undertaking socio-economic reconstruction projects.

Tomorrow's meeting would also continue with its attempts to convene a meeting of the signatories to the accord. Pauquet said.

The signatories' meeting was to have taken place tomorrow, but Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he would not attend it before a meeting between himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela has said repeatedly peace interests would be served better by a signatories' meeting than a one-on-one meeting between himself and Buthelezi.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday the meeting of the two leaders was still on the cards.

Working groups, set up last year to deal with the leaders' preconditions for their meeting, were still meeting.

It is understood that tomorrow's meeting will consider also a request by the National People's Party to join the peace accord.

Pauquet said the committee would hold discussions with various organisations, including the PAC, with a view to getting them to sign the peace accord.
At last, a shared N-P-Ang goal

New understanding must be sold to followers, writes Political Editor Shaun Johnson
'Don’t fear new Clinton govt.

WASHINGTON. -- South Africans should not view the Democratic administration of President-elect Bill Clinton as hostile, ambassador Mr. Harry Schwarz said at the weekend.

"The new president is committed to democracy, human rights, and a market economy which brings about justice," he said.

"These are the very matters which are the concerns of the new South Africa." — Sapa
ANC men ‘warn’ black DP member

Staff Reporter

A black member of the Democratic Party in Guguletu yesterday claimed that known ANC members in the township had threatened to “see to it” if he did not resign from the party.

He agreed to speak to the Cape Times if he was not identified in any way.

He joined the DP in 1991 after he had attended DP meetings and also because he was impressed with its constitution.

As a former member of the ANC, Guguletu branch, he remained a DP member and repeated their threat.

He reported the incident to the DP but was unwilling to report the matter to the police because he feared for his life.

“I’m going to remain in Guguletu because the ANC has said everyone has the right to belong to the political party of his choice.”

He said that after brawling broke up Monday night’s meeting, the DP’s second foray into the townships — he slept at the home of a white DP member because he feared for his safety.
Mandela caucus guest at Clinton oath

ANC president, Mr. Nelson Mandela, will attend the inauguration of President-elect, Mr. Bill Clinton next week—but not as an administration guest. President F.W. de Klerk will stay at home.

A spokesman for the State President's Tshwane office yesterday confirmed Mr. de Klerk would not attend Mr. Clinton's swearing-in as the 42nd US president on January 20.

The South African government would be represented by its US ambassador, Mr. Harry Schwarz.

Personal guest

ANC international affairs spokesman, Mr. Yusuf Saloojee, yesterday said Mr. Mandela was invited by the offices of the president-elect and the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).

But this was emphatically denied by an official at the ANC's Washington office after consultations with the caucus, reports Simon Barber.

"They may wish it were so," said Mr. Madoda Hlathwayo of his colleagues back home, but it didn't work like that here.

CBC spokeswoman, Ms. Amelia Parker, said Mr. Mandela was invited by the caucus's New Chairman, Maryland representative, Mr. Kweisi Mfume.

"Mr. Mandela will be his personal guest," she said, adding that Mr. Clinton was not involved in the invitation.

Inauguration organisers notified ambassadors last month that no heads of government or other foreign delegations would be invited. Members of Congress may, however, make their own arrangements.
DP ‘is not deterred by violence’

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party yesterday vowed to continue campaigning for support in the black areas of the Western Cape, despite the violent break-up of its second township meeting in less than a month.

DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh said the disruption of the party’s Guguletu meeting on Monday night would not deter the DP from spreading its message in the township, where 20 new branches had been formed in the past six months.

Delegations led by Mr Walsh and ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni will meet today or tomorrow to discuss ways of securing a climate that will allow for free and fair electioneering in the region.

Mr Walsh said the DP would also seek urgent meetings with the PAC, Azapo and other organisations involved in “the intimidation of our supporters and the freedom of all parties to organise in all communities”.

ANC publicity secretary in the Western Cape Mr Willie Hofmeyer said the ANC’s regional executive would meet on Monday to assess events at the Guguletu meeting.

UN monitor Ms Helena-Maria Lim said yesterday that an urgent report on the meeting had been sent to the UN’s Johannesburg office.

The State President’s office said the behaviour of people responsible for the disruption added to the potential for conflict, was irreconcilable with the spirit of tolerance essential to promote democracy and posed a threat to free and fair elections.

RONNIE MORRIS reports that the PAC said yesterday that the DP could not rush into the townships to canvass votes before “political contradictions” had been resolved.

PAC director of publicity and information Mr Waters Toboti said the PAC supported the principle that all had the right to join the political party of their choice and air their views.

It was not PAC policy to break up meetings, because it was fighting for democracy and hoped other liberation movements were doing so too.

Mr Toboti said DP meetings in the townships were not accepted by the African people because there had not been political change on the ground.

He could not comment on claims that PAC members were among the protesters who stormed the stage.
Diplomats under discussion

CAPE TOWN — Local and foreign diplomats and academics began a three-day workshop yesterday to discuss a professional diplomatic corps for SA.

Conference organiser Prof Peter Vale said delegates would focus on the need to transform the diplomatic corps into a professional body divorced from party-political interests, serving the entire nation.

Participants included SA Foreign Affairs director-general Rusty Evans, ANC and PAC international affairs spokesmen Thabo Mbeki and Gosa Ebrahim, and diplomats from Britain, Germany, and Norway. The workshop is being chaired by former UN Undersecretary-General Sir Brian Urquhart of New Zealand. — Sapa, 13/11/93.
Shift in Inkhata strategy on Codesa

The problem is that there would be a dispute at the planning conference because the ANC, which is the main party in the coalition government, feels that the future SA should be a democratic state. The ANC has stated that this is the only way to ensure the future of the country.

African National Congress (ANC) has been struggling to maintain its dominance in the country. The ANC and the other parties have been discussing the future of the country and have come up with a plan to ensure a democratic state. The plan involves the drafting of a new constitution and the establishment of a democratic government.

The ANC has stated that the future of the country lies in the hands of the people. The ANC has also stated that the ANC will do everything in its power to ensure the future of the country.

The ANC has stated that the future of the country lies in the hands of the people. The ANC has also stated that the ANC will do everything in its power to ensure the future of the country.
Political cake must be shared

THE AFRICAN National Congress has often complained bitterly — and with justification — about the manifest lack of free political activity in certain parts of the country, especially in some of the homelands.

The organisation has pointed accusing fingers at Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu, Brigadier Cupa Gqozo's Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana, claiming its members there cannot hold meetings openly and organise freely.

It was for this reason that the ANC targeted these homelands during its "unprecedented rolling mass action" last year, and planned marches on their capitals. This campaign was put on hold after the savage shooting of unarmed marchers by the Ciskei Defence Force on September 7, but the motivating principle behind the campaign still holds true in ANC circles.

The ANC was correct to insist on its right to be able to organise and canvass for support anywhere in South Africa. It makes little sense to talk of a possible free and fair election when some political bullies have declared parts of the country no-go areas for their opponents. But is the ANC's position wholly consistent, in the light of the break-up of a Democratic Party meeting in a Peninsula township this week?

The question of free political activity is of paramount importance now, in the run-up to the first all-in general election probably early next year — which will finally close the curtain on the old South Africa and usher in a truly new South Africa.

If that election is to reflect the will of the people, then surely no political organisation can be allowed to regard any area in the country as its private fiefdom. Every square inch of the country has to be open to all political organisations to contest in peace.

This makes the position of the ANC a difficult one — for it can be accused of engaging in the same sorts of practice for which it criticises the homeland regimes.

This week, ANC supporters joined followers of the PAC and Azapo in disrupting a DP meeting in a Cape Town township. Previously, various National Party (NP) events — including a safari into Mitchell's Plain by President de Klerk to canvass for support in the coloured township — were disrupted.

The ANC's response has been confusing. Some spokesmen at national level have unequivocally condemned the disruptions, but others at branch and regional levels have tried unconvincingly to justify them, saying parties like the DP have to understand the "deep hostility" prevalent in the townships against "parties operating within the tripartite parliamentary system".

After the disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha in mid-December, ANC western Cape regional executive committee member Nomatyala Hangana said while the party had the right to speak in the township, it had to first "settle the white areas".

This prompted DP national chairman Ken Andrew to retort: "Perhaps she (Hangana) is sorry the Improper Political Interference Act was repealed so that political parties are not required to be racially exclusive."

After the disruption of a DP Youth meeting in Guguletu at the weekend by alleged members of the ANC, the PAC and the Azapo, DP western Cape regional chairman Jasper Walsh said the sad event's wider implication was that "there can be little hope of free and fair elections in the future". To dismiss his statement merely as a sign of desperation would be irresponsible.

Political intolerance has been displayed on all sides, and this gives cause for concern. After Mitchell's Plain last year the ANC was suspected of expressing his condolences to families of the victims of the June 17 massacre in that Vaal Triangle township.

Granted, there was widespread anger in Boipatong directed at De Klerk, whose security forces were alleged to be in cahoots with the alleged murderers. It is also true that had De Klerk been able to pay such a high-profile visit to the strife-torn township in the glare of the local and international media he would have scored a major propaganda coup.

Nevertheless, the ANC's post-Boipatong strategy — to portray De Klerk as a murderer and even sentence him and his Cabinet Ministers to "death" during a mock trial in Cape Town — was ill-considered in this era of negotiations.

The odd logic behind the disruption of other parties' meetings seems to be that predominantly white parties such as the DP and the NP are not supposed to sell their policies to people in the townships. They are, as Hungana suggested, to "first settle the white areas" and leave the townships to the ANC and its allies.

This kind of thinking is as dangerous for the country as it is for democracy. Until all organisations accept that their rivals have a right not only to exist but also to compete with them for support anywhere in the country, we may as well forget about democracy and free and fair elections.

For the underlying tenet of democracy is that people — and organisations — have a right to exist and to hold and express views as long as in exercising that right they do not harm others or interfere with their right to do the same.
PARIS — Foreign Minister Pik Botha was holding major diplomatic talks with other foreign Ministers while attending the three-day international Paris Convention on banning gas and chemical weapons.

Botha is using his presence at the convention, which opened yesterday, for private meetings with foreign counterparts, including a private talk with Roland Dumas of France, who hosted a banquet last night.

Earlier, Botha met German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, president of the Special Committee on Chemical Weapons.

Today Botha was holding separate talks with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev on boosting diplomatic relations, and with the Portuguese Foreign Minister on Angola.

However, his most important meeting in Paris was with a politician who holds no official post — former Finance Minister Edouard Balladur, who is tipped to be the new Prime Minister in March in the event of the widely predicted election victory of the Gaullist RPR party. Botha lunched with Balladur within a few hours of his arrival yesterday.
Pik in Paris meetings

FOREIGN Minister Pik Botha met several of his counterparts in Paris yesterday, including US Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, the Foreign Affairs Department said in Pretoria.
ANC, Govt prepare for vital meeting

By Esther Waugh Political Reporter

Preparations for the next phase in the crucial series of ANC-Government meetings get under way at a secret venue today.

Today's discussion is the first follow-up meeting between the Government and ANC since their bosberaad last month.

The one-day meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will formulate plans for the next five-day meeting between the two negotiating partners.

The extended bilateral meeting is scheduled to take place in Cape Town from January 20.

Since the December bosberaad several meetings have been held between the Government and ANC to discuss constitutional matters, election-related issues, the creation of a climate for free political activity and the removal of remaining repressive legislation.

The planning meeting is likely to focus on the resumption of multiparty talks and will deal with aspects of the transition such as a transitional executive council, a constitution-making body, elections, and the creation of a climate for free political activity.

These issues are likely to feature at the bosberaad as well. It is not yet certain whether the extended bilateral meeting will be attended by President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Since the resumption of bilateral meetings between the ANC and Government in September, both parties have been holding talks with their allies.

The extent to which the ANC and Government could carry their allies into a multiparty negotiating forum is likely to be assessed at the bosberaad.
ANC, DP team up
Joint steps for free, fair elections

ANC and Democratic Party delegations agreed yesterday to co-operate in launching a joint working group in the Western Cape to lay the ground rules for free and fair elections in the region.

The commitment to work jointly for free and peaceful mobilisation ahead of South Africa's first non-racial election comes after weeks of tension and often bitter recrimination between the two parties and the violent break-up of the DP's last two township meetings.

The two sides said after a cordial 90-minute meeting yesterday that they hoped to draw other political players in the region into the working group to ensure that electioneering followed democratic practice.

The delegations, led by ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh, said in a joint statement at a press conference after the meeting that they would recommend to their regional executives that the joint working group should:

• "Consider ways and means of promoting a culture of democratic tolerance, open debate and democratic mobilisation in the region."
• "Monitor the volatile political climate."
• "The ANC and DP delegations recognised that the two parties had "differences of policy and strategy from time to time" but acknowledged their joint commitment "to the creation of an apartheid-free, democratic, non-racial South Africa."
• The two parties will meet again next week to decide on the detailed terms of reference for the working group.

FREE AND FAIR . . . The ANC and DP met yesterday to discuss ways to promote tolerance in the run-up to elections. Participants included (from left) Mr Colin Eglin, Mr Jasper Walsh, Mr Tony Yengeni and Mr Jannie Momberg.

Azapo justifies break-up

AZAPO's publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae yesterday issued an apparent justification of the break-up of the DP's Gugaletsu meeting this week by saying that "white parties had long engendered hostile and mistrustful attitudes within the oppressed black community."

In a statement on the disruption of the DP meeting, allegedly by Azapo supporters, Dr Mokae said: "(As) long as black people remain without any meaningful power to determine their own destiny, there will be no love lost between them and white people, and it is indeed a sad thing when the victim is turned into the villain."

The DP's national executive has decided to form a committee to investigate intimidation of party members countrywide. The findings will be sent to the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Secretariat.

The NP's chairman of information in the Cape, Mr Hennie Smit, yesterday warned that it would be "short-sighted" for the DP and ANC to enter into an agreement designed to "keep the NP out" in the Western Cape.
DP will get more of the same — Azapo members

By Quentin Wilson

THE Democratic Party ventured into Gugulettu this week hoping their past endeavours as an exclusively white parliamentary grouping would not prejudice them with local residents.

After the first five minutes, they received a sharp awakening that this would not happen as their second public meeting in a Cape township was forced into chaotic closure.

ANC officials were caught in the middle of a fracas which took on a racist overtone.

Azapo members at the meeting warned that they would continue their spouting tactics at future DP township meetings.

An Azapo member told SOUTH amid the pandemonium at the Umuntu Complex that the DP and other organisations "representing the European community will never be allowed to organise among the oppressed and exploited people of Azania".

"Azapo's position is that the DP is not a liberation movement for blacks in this country," he said.

"It has always been, and still is, a political party for whites who give legitimacy to the most truculent parliament by their presence there."

Graffiti outside the meeting read: "We shall never forget cross-border raids supported by the PPF/DP. Our killers are now asking for our votes. What an irony."

In 1996, PFP chairperson Mr Colin Ezin said the party would only talk to the ANC if it abandoned its armed struggle.

At the time, members of the mass democratic movement saw this as hypocritical, considering that the PPF talked to the NP all through its efforts to violently suppress opposition to apartheid.

The next year, when a contingent of white South Africans, including PFP MPs, met the exiled ANC in Dakar, Mr Harry Schwarz, a PFP MP, publicly repudiated these talks, saying he could never "negotiate with someone who has an AK-47 on the table."

Of Monday's disruption, Archbishop Desmond Tutu said: "I understand the strong rejection by many people of the DP's participation in a racist parliament, but, in a democracy we have to be firm in defending the right to speak of those whose views we find unacceptable."

At a press conference, Mr Jasper Walsh, DP Western Cape chairperson, lumped the blame on Azapo, ANC and PAC, singling out Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC general secretary, as "personally responsible" for inciting the disruption.

Walsh was referring to a statement made by Yengeni the previous week which, although stressing that the ANC would not tolerate any acts of intimidation by its members against the DP, also criticised the DP for its role in implicitly supporting "apartheid violence."

In his comments, Yengeni charged the DP with "supporting the regime's hot pursuit of the ANC, attacks on frontline states and even massacres."

Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg, denied his allegations, saying the DP/PPF "had always condemned these actions in the strongest possible terms."
The State President has, in terms of section 78 (1) of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act, 1983 (Act No. 110 of 1983), requested the President’s Council, with a view to the development of an efficient and representative system of third tier government in a new constitutional dispensation, to investigate and to make recommendations on—

(i) a voting system for local government in a new constitutional dispensation;

(ii) guidelines for franchise qualifications with which residents of local authority areas must comply; and

(iii) the norms and time-scales for and the manner of the delimitation of local authority areas, wards and neighbourhoods.

The request has been referred to the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President’s Council.

Interested parties are invited to submit relevant memoranda to the Secretary to the President’s Council, P.O. Box 3801, Cape Town, 8000, not later than 30 April 1993. Further information may be obtained from Mr J. F. Marx at Telephone (021) 45-5541.

The Committee may decide to hear oral evidence should further information on memoranda be required. If so, the parties concerned will be notified of the dates on which and the place where evidence will be heard.

J. WEILBACH,
Secretary: President’s Council.
Broederbond aims to secure a key role in new SA
Bilateral meetings to plot talks path

THREE vital bilateral meetings in the next 10 days between the three key political players are set to prepare the groundwork for a multiparty planning conference leading to a resumption of constitutional talks.

Government and ANC delegations met each other in Cape Town yesterday to prepare for the five-day extended secret bilateral meeting starting on Wednesday.

Neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President F W de Klerk will attend Wednesday's meeting.

It is understood the teams discussed the progress of the joint committee set up at the last bilateral meeting in December to fine-tune proposals put to that meeting.

Since the December meeting there have been several meetings between the two sides to discuss constitutional issues, leveling the playing fields for elections, creating a climate for free political activity, disarming formations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe and Apal; and removal of remaining repressive legislation.

The bilateral meeting next week is a continuation of the one in December.

It is likely to evaluate how the two sides can bring their allies into the process and how to accommodate members of the Concerned South Africans Group, especially Inkatha which is to meet both parties soon.

The ANC meets Inkatha today in Durban in the hope of finalising a date for a summit of their respective leaders and their organisations' executives.

Today's meeting, led by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose, follows two previous rounds of talks by leaders of the organisations in an attempt to lay the foundation for a successful summit meeting.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus warned yesterday that it was wrong to pre-empt the meeting and assume that a date would be set.

However, the two earlier meetings had made good progress and the four committees set up at the previous meeting had made progress.

The committees were expected to prepare proposals on free political activity, militarisation of politics, implementation of peace accord structures and reconstruction of communities ravaged by violence;

Meanwhile, the executive of the national peace committee met last night in routine session to consider the agenda of a meeting of the peace accord. The meeting of signatories had been scheduled for yesterday but was cancelled after Buthelezi said he had not yet met Mandela;

And in another development, government and Inkatha are to meet in a two-day bilateral for the first time since Inkatha broke off talks with government in September. This is expected to be in Durban on Monday and Tuesday;

- It is understood Inkatha is loosening its ties with the Concerned South Africans Group and wants to negotiate with government on its own. An Inkatha spokesman indicated also that the party would negotiate independently at the multiparty planning conference, expected to take place next month;

The meeting between government and Inkatha is expected to revolve around the same issues of Codesa agreements, and transitional arrangements including a two-phased transitional approach — an interim government and constitution leading to elections for a constitution-making body.
DP, ANC join hands

Group will work to promote democracy:

Sowetan Correspondent

A REGIONAL working group will be established by the Democratic Party and the African National Congress to monitor Western Cape politics and promote political tolerance, the parties said in a joint statement.

The working group will be set up by the parties' regional executives.

The parties' regional leaders met yesterday, following the violent disruption of a DP meeting in Gugulethu on Monday.
Meetings set to repair negotiations

JOHANNESBURG — A number of
Exposures
‘undermine NP support’

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

GROWING public concern about revelations of government corruption and irregularities had reached a point where President F W de Klerk could suffer “a severe loss of support” in an election.

This is the view of the director of the survey research company Ommichek, Mr Binky Kellas, following the latest study on public attitudes to the exposure of official corruption in 1992.

The survey, conducted last month among white males living in the major metropolitan areas, found that 55% of respondents — 59% of Afrikaans-speakers and 51% of the English-speakers — believed there was more corruption in the country than there had been a year previously.

Only 4% of the former and 7% of the latter believed the situation was improving.

Although the study was conducted just after Mr de Klerk had made a public statement of his commitment to rid the country of corrupt officials and Defence Force officers, most of the respondents felt his efforts would be in vain.

A total of 53% of those questioned agreed that “though he appears to be doing something about irregularities and corruption, he is not likely to have much success”.

Almost one in five white men believed that though Mr De Klerk appeared to be taking steps to combat irregularities and corruption, he was not sincere.

From June there was also a significant decline (from 37% to 25%) in those who felt Mr De Klerk was likely to succeed in achieving an honest or clean government.

Commenting on the findings, Mr Kellas said: “The current wave of exposures on corruption has been particularly damaging to the government and could have repercussions in terms of the National Party’s chances of success in any forthcoming election.”

She said the electorate was clearly losing confidence in Mr de Klerk’s ability to run the country efficiently and to control “his henchmen”.

“This in turn could lead to a severe loss of support for the governing party at the time of the election,” she concluded.
DP’s Carlisle attacks ANC over intimidation

Political Correspondent

The row between the DP and the ANC over free electioneering was reopened yesterday when the DP MP for Wyafberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, attacked the ANC for widespread intimidation of DP supporters.

The scathing rebuke came just hours after delegations of both parties in the Western Cape agreed to establish a joint structure to ensure free and fair elections in the region.

Mr Carlisle’s latest broadside was sparked by comments made on Wednesday night’s Agenda by ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus.

Mr Niehaus claimed that Mr Carlisle had said that should the ANC come to power it would be an even bigger oppressor than the NP government.

He said such emotional and unfounded political charges did nothing to promote mutual tolerance.

Mr Carlisle said Mr Niehaus was entitled to his “hysterical response”. “What I said was that the ANC was the new oppressor and that this was a tragedy,” the DP MP said.

The DP announced this week that its executive had decided to establish a committee to investigate intimidation of its members countrywide.
Mandela 'sobered up' by SA events

WASHINGTON.—ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela says he and other political leaders were 'sobered up' by events in South Africa during the past year and by the state of the economy, according to an interview published yesterday in the Washington Post.

In advance of a possible meeting with President-elect Mr. Bill Clinton next week, Mr. Mandela gave a strongly upbeat assessment of constitutional negotiations. Mr. Mandela is to attend Mr. Clinton's inauguration next Wednesday.

He said the lowering of expectations was a beneficial result of the slow pace of change since his release from prison. "One of the things that worried me was the tendency to make me a demigod, a messiah. I'm very happy to be seen now as an ordinary human being."
Secret survival plan leaked

Broeders aim at role in new SA

Start 15/11/93

BY JACQUES PAUW

The Afrikaner Broederbond (AB) is drawing up a secret plan to ensure its survival and continuing influence, even under an ANC government.

Secret Broederbond papers in the possession of The Star show that the organisation, far from being in decline, currently has the highest membership of its 75-year history, and that the AB is planning aggressively to remain a powerful force in the "new South Africa".

The documents were presented at a Broederbond meeting held on a farm in the northern Transvaal on Saturday.

Besides its plan for securing Afrikaner influence, no matter what the composition of future governments, the AB has decided to retain its secretive mode of operation and to exclude women from membership.

Only Afrikaner males will be invited to join, although the AB is concentrating membership for coloured males who share the "language and values" of the Afrikaner.

The papers indicate AB plans to draw up a survival blueprint in the near future.

The executive council is at present conducting a survey among its members, after which a final future strategy will be decided.

The 18-member executive council is headed by Pieter de Lange, with KWV chairman Ritzema de la Bat and Hill van der Merwe, a Johannesburg attorney and former chairman of the South African Law Society, as vice-chairmen.

The executive council says that although Afrikaners will not hold as many prominent positions in the country as before, their influence will remain very important. It says Afrikaners involved in the negotiations process will attempt to ensure a special place for the Afrikaner in future.

"Sections and members will therefore have to increasingly expand the interest of the Afrikaner within their local communities," the council says.

The documents reveal that 20074 Afrikaners are at present members of the organisation — a clear indication that the controversial AB remains a growing force in spite of the dramatic changes in South Africa's political landscape.

The documents also reveal that for the first time in its history, a Supreme Court judge is a member of the executive council of the Broederbond. Other executive members include prominent Afrikaners from virtually every walk of life: business, education, law, academia, religion and politics.

The secret papers, leaked to Vrye Weekblad, show that despite assurances by De Lange that the organisation is considering lifting the veil of secrecy over its activities, absolute secrecy and confidentiality remain a priority.

De Lange said in newspaper interviews last year that the Broederbond was discussing the issue of membership and the possibility of "opening its membership to others who shared the language and values of the Afrikaner.

In a discussion document,
CONFIDENCE IN FW SLIPPING, STUDY FINDS

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk's ability to do a good job of running the country is decreasing in the minds of white South African men.

This was found in a study of 500 white men living in metropolitan areas.

The study was done in December by Cape Town-based Omnichuck, a division of Research Surveys.

From a high 61 percent "yes" vote for him doing a good job in April 1992, his credibility had dropped to 42 percent by December.

The "no" voters, who said he was not doing a good job, also rose from 29 percent in April to 41 percent in December.

"Fence sitters", who said they did not know, amounted to 18 percent.

The question that was put to each of the men was: "Do you think PW de Klerk is doing a good job as State President of the country?"

Breaking the figures down into language groups, nearly half of the English speakers in the survey (49 percent) felt de Klerk was doing a good job while 48 percent of Afrikaans speakers said he was not.

In another survey, more than half the white men living in metropolitan areas believed that levels of morality and corruption in South Africa had certainly worsened during the past year.

Omnichuck's survey said most respondents thought the President's efforts to rid the country of corrupt officials would be in vain.

Fewer respondents than before thought de Klerk was likely to succeed in achieving an honest or clean government. — Sapa.
Broederbond prepares for new SA

THE Broederbond is alive and well—a little confused perhaps, but bigger than ever and hard at work figuring how best to perpetuate its grip on this country.

That was the picture that emerged yesterday in the newspaper Vrye Weekblad after veteran Broederbond watcher Hennie Serfontein burst in on a secret meeting of the brotherhood in a remote northern Transvaal farm.

Ballot

Serfontein also disclosed details of documents circulating among the 20 074 members of the secret society, intended to help Broeders plot a course better suited to the circumstances of a new South Africa.

The meeting Serfontein gatecrashed a week ago was at Willem Praai's farm, Gersendien near Zebedie. It was to have been addressed by President F W de Klerk, Serfontein said.

The Broederbond had virtually doubled in size since 1982, he added. Its executive commit-

SATURDAY STAR REPORTER

tee had-sent members questionnaires on the organisation's future—a referendum on which way the Bond should go.

The secret ballot was expected to be completed by the end of next month.

The questionnaire indicated that the organisation was primarily concerned with how to change its profile; and operating procedures to maintain its influence.

A council memorandum warned that the Afrikaner in future would "not hold so many leading positions" and that it would be necessary to exercise influence to further the interests of the Afrikaner at community level.

Contingency plans were needed.

At present, membership is restricted to Afrikaans-speaking Protestant white males of 40 or older. Membership of coloured Afrikaans-speakers could be sanctioned in future.
Summit talks for ANC, IFP

DURBAN. — A meeting between the presidents of the ANC and Inkatha, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has almost been finalised with a summit date expected to be announced next month, the organisations said here yesterday.

This emerged after the third round of talks between a joint ANC-IFP committee established last month to pave the way for a presidential summit.

According to a joint statement read by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose after yesterday’s meeting, the committee had not completed its work but had made progress and would probably announce the date for a Mandela-Buthelezi summit at their next meeting in February.

“At the next meeting (on February 11) we undertake to make firm recommendations to our principals about their summit meeting,” said Dr Mdlalose.

Delegates to yesterday’s meeting said there was general optimism and almost certainty that a summit would take place soon, despite some differences and hitches.

Committee optimistic for date next month

Dr Mdlalose said: “It was not the view of this committee that there had to be complete agreement on all points before the two presidents could meet”.

Earlier yesterday a threatened hitch to the summit was smoothed over by ANC deputy secretary-general Mr Jacob Zuma who, in response to a call by two Natal ANC regions for the suspension of talks with the IFP, said: “We are going ahead (with preparations for the summit).”

His statement followed a call by the ANC’s Midlands and Northern Natal regions for a halt to all talks with Inkatha until the political climate was right.

Spokesmen from the regions this week alleged ongoing Inkatha violence and said the IFP’s scuttling of peace efforts in Natal did not complement a presidential summit now, as the climate was “not right”.

Mr Zuma earlier said the ANC’s National Executive Committee had taken a decision to lay the foundations for a summit with Chief Buthelezi and this decision still held.

Meanwhile an IFP spokesman said the IFP would continue talks with the ANC in an attempt to achieve peace.

After yesterday’s meeting, both the ANC and IFP delegations renewed an appeal to their supporters not to resort to violence to resolve problems.

They warmly welcomed positive developments towards peace in the Umbumbulu and Port Shepstone regions on Natal’s South Coast. Levels of conflict there have been drastically reduced following peace agreements between the ANC and IFP.

The organisations called on all other warring communities in Natal, particularly Bruntville in the Midlands and Empangeni in the north, to “follow these excellent examples”. — Sapa, Own Correspondent
Inkatha and ANC talks in Durban begin to pave the way for a possible summit between Mandela and Buthelezi

**IDO LEKOTA, Political Staff**

DURBAN. — Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress negotiators have undertaken to set a date for a Mandela-Buthelezi peace summit within a month.

Again urging their supporters to stop the violence, top officials of both groups noted in a joint statement after four hours of talks in Durban the much-awaited meeting could take place even if their preparatory talks had not clinched agreement on all points.

Yesterday, what negotiators dubbed the “continuation committee” consisting of top-level IFP-ANC delegations, met for the third round of preparatory talks aimed at paving the way for the summit.

The IFP team was led by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and the ANC by assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

Apparent progress towards a summit date, and a sense of urgency expressed by the two sides yesterday, came amid intense domestic and international pressure for such a peace meeting.

The two parties indicated that yesterday’s meeting considered reports by four sub-committees set up on December 29.

The sub-committees were to deal with:

- the creation of a climate for free political activity;
- strengthening the structures of the various peace accords; and
- ending the militarisation of politics and addressing reconstruction in areas ravaged by the violence.

“Progress has been made with regard to the elaboration of common positions on these matters,” read the statement.

Although all the subcommittees indicated they needed more time to complete their tasks, it was noted it was the view of the committee that there had to be complete agreement on all points.

The continuation committee also announced the last round of preparatory talks would be held on February 11 when a date and agenda for the planned summit would be set.

However, the committee indicated the date and proposed agenda would still have to be approved by the ANC president and the IFP leader respectively.

Each party would then present the proposals to its leader with an integrated report from all the sub-committees.

Meanwhile both parties made a renewed appeal to their supporters and members stop using violence to settle differences.

“In this regard the committee warmly welcomed the positive developments that have taken place in such areas as Umandwane and Port Shepstone where the levels of violence have been drastically reduced as a result of agreements arrived at by the IFP and the ANC.”

Bilateral talks between the government and the IFP, dormant since September when the IFP protested against the government-ANC Record of Understanding, resume in Durban today.

An Inkatha delegation led by Dr Mdlalose will meet one led by Mr George Bartlett, Cabinet Minister and leader of the National Party in Natal.

The renewed bilateral talks are expected to continue at national level next week.

With substantial five-day talks between the government and ANC scheduled to start next Wednesday, an upbeat ANC briefing said yesterday a “tremendous amount of progress has been made in bilaterals”.

Senior ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said: “We hope to get it right this time.”
DP, CP call for end to Borderbonds

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

Publicity Correspondent

DP leader Dr Gasa de Beer...
Soberead Tolerance

FAINS ESTHEREUSE

Work for Tolerance

France's new President, François Hollande, has said there is "no place" for intolerance in France. The new government has announced plans to fight discrimination and promote tolerance.

However, Hollande's views on tolerance are not shared by all. Some politicians and religious leaders have expressed concern that Hollande's policies could lead to a "soft" approach to immigration.

In his speech, Hollande said: "We must fight against discrimination and promote the values of tolerance and equality."

The speech was delivered at the Elysée Palace in Paris, where Hollande outlined his plans for the country's future.

Hollande's government has already introduced a law to ban the wearing of the Islamic headscarf in schools. The law has been met with criticism from some Muslim leaders.

Hollande said: "We must fight against all forms of discrimination."

He added: "We must promote the values of tolerance and equality."
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LAWRENCE SOMMER

MACON BUSINESS REPORTER

October 20, 2023
MY VIEW

Rory Riordan
Director of the Human Rights Trust and an ANC member

SOUTH 16/1 - 20/1/93

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THE issue set to dominate 1993 is the pending universal franchise election for all South African adults. This election will end 350 years of white control of South Africa's political life and will be, to say the least, a watershed in our history.

- Who will win this election?
- Who will be at stake?
- The country and the ANC in 1993?

My guess is that it will be later rather than sooner because of the detail the parties have to agree on and because of the enormously complicated logistics involved.

Who will vote in 1993?
It has been generally agreed that all adult South Africans, regardless of race, will vote in this election.

The only points of difficulty surround the issue of the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda, and the participation of the people of those states in the election.

The NP says it is impossible to have "foreign nationals" voting in a South African election. The ANC demands participation of all adults of greater South Africa.

The regimes of the Transkei and Venda have agreed to reincorporation, while those of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei are dragging their heels.

Time — and probably a bit of mass action — will tell here, but my money is on the whole-nation voting.

For what will we be voting?
As it appears now, we will be voting to elect a chamber of political people who will be charged with two functions: to draft a new constitution for South Africa and to perform some functions of interim government (for example, control over the nation's purse, or what's left of it; and control over the SABC's television and radio empire).

What system of election will be used?
On this issue we have little clarity, but it would appear that it will be a proportional representation election. Because most of our people have never voted and many are illiterate, great care will have to be taken to keep the system as simple and "user-friendly" as possible.

The more probably is the "first-past-the-post" system, which is the one that the ANC wants to be in place by 1994.

What will the issues be?
There will be the normal elections mud-slinging, with the NP trying to portray the ANC as a bunch of blood-thirsty, communist revolutionaries, "incapable of answering the phones of the tax-paying citizens of this country". The ANC in turn will portray the National Party as a pack of Verwoerdian fascists, brown-shirted thugs, who have built up massive privilege for themselves on the backs of black suffering.

The real issue in the election is to be straight-forward: "Do you, Mr and Mrs Voter, wish for power to remain with Mr De Klerk and his allies, or do you want it to go to Mr Mandela and his allies?"

Who will win the election?
That would be telling wouldn't it?

Actually, with all manner of research points to the ANC having somewhere between twice or three times the support level of the next biggest movement, the NP, it is still much too early to predict how this unspecified election will work out.

To whom will Inkatha be allied? Which will be the smaller parties - the Democratic Party, the SA Communist Party, the Conservative Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Communist Party, and the National Party - be perceived as standing "Titan, the issue, the state of all alliances, will tell."

That will be the big issue of 1993, providing we escape unscathed disasters such as assassinations and massacres.

The constitutional debate looks like settling down on two issues by early 1993:
1. The first is the debate on power-sharing - or minority protection.
   - The NP's best option is a constitution that allows a minority party (like the NP) to be part of the drafting of all legislation. A second, weaker option is to have veto provisions available to minority parties.
2. The ANC has rejected both of these options, but is in turn talking of "unitecites" and "natural elections" and "governments of national unity".

The ANC offers to see the NP as akin to the Zimbabwean arrangement of 20 percent of parliament's seats being reserved for whites for 10 years — a worthless gesture.

The second constitutional debate is that of the federation vs. nationalism.

Here, only the ANC and Inkatha have released detailed proposals. The Inkatha proposals amount to an ascension of Nazism.

The issue is again one of political power.

Umtata is a Hollywood prop-town — a parody, a fiction. It is a fiction that has allowed an elite to exercise political power over some territory. The ANC's constitutional proposals threaten to rip down this facade and take that, albeit mock, power.

As for the rei, it will probably be more of the usual — more undercover attempts to destabilise the ANC, more corruption, extortion by the NP, and its civil service, more unpredictable behaviour from Chief Buthelezi, more barricade-breaking work from Mr Justice Goldstone and his team.

There will be more spending of state resources to help the NP buy black support.

As we get closer to the mother of all elections, it is predictable that we will see more "black-on-black" violence as the security establishment and its boonies step up destabilising campaigns in the ANC's community.

The key wedge that can be driven into our society to prevent this from happening is Judge Goldstone and his team, and the United Nations and its team.
Election Day 2013

By Sekela Sellu

No Easy Vote to Freedom

(347) 811-1993

304 A
A SOUR year lies behind us, an uncertain year ahead. The national dilemma can be succinctly stated: if we take the time we need to thrash out a sound constitution continuing violence may drag us into a Balkan nightmare; but if we rush into a jury-built interim government of Nats and ANC, we put ourselves at the mercy of two sets of political gangsters, and may never see democracy.

Underlying this dilemma are some harsh truths: the National Party cannot govern without the acquiescence of the black population which it has been losing, irretrievably, since 1976; the ANC cannot govern unless it secures the acquiescence of important constituencies of whites.

This is the true impetus behind the drive, evident now in both the ANC and the government, to establish an interim government. The hope is that the interim government will have sufficient legitimacy to restore order in the streets, to revive local business confidence, and to lure foreign investment.

The government's ability to govern is eroding steadily as Afrikaners defect from the National Party and as the recent English support flags, is showing signs of desperation: if no interim government ensues to check the violence and rebuild confidence, can the descent into chaos be avoided?

The ANC, on the other hand, shows signs of grasping, at last, the daunting task which awaits the next government. Its constituency, too, is eroding, with new challenges from Mrs Winnie Mandela, Apla, and the nasty class of township youngsters joining the older challenges of the PAC and Inkatha.

The ANC will surely win the first election of the new South Africa; it is the second election that worries its leaders. They have realised they have no hope of satisfying the soaring aspirations of the townships without the help — the dedicated help — of the white civil servants, the local business class, and the overseas capitalists.

Some of them have developed a touching faith in the ability of Finance Minister Derek Keyes to work financial miracles, and there has been talk of including him in the first ANC cabinet. Like the Nationalists, they see econom-

e growth, violence and lack of business confidence as a vicious cycle, and like the Nationalists, they are turning to market remedies.

For both sides, as for many liberals, the answers lie in the rapid formation of an interim government. For both sides it is a way of avoiding the disruptions and conflicts that would follow an abrupt transfer of power. Neither party can govern alone; perhaps together they may do so.

That, at least, is the theory, and it has attracted the support of many people beyond the ranks of the main parties. Political analysts see it as a means of strengthening “the centre” against increasingly violent pressures from both the left and the right.

The cost of the deal, of course, is that South Africa will be governed under another defective constitution — worse, in some ways, than the 1910 constitution — while the two governing parties, neither of them democratic, will have every incentive to cut new deals to keep themselves in power.

Chief Buthelezi has seen the danger, so he is trying to secure a separate power base in a federal/confederal system before it is too late. To this end he has allied himself with a motley crew of bantustan leaders and rightwingers, till of so-called by the opposition, on an NP-ANC deal.

T HE one party that has the credibility, and the sophistication, to see the dangers of government — even interim government — without constitutional certainty or democratic safeguards is the Democratic Party, that, I suspect, is why the DP has come under renewed attack from the left, which would rather deal with oppressors than compete with democrats.

But the DP is once again in one of its moods of peace at any price. The party's middle-class decency, its abhorrence of force or even of conflict, is its strength and its weakness. Its leaders, one guesses, will support the deal but try to muddle it in the direction of democracy. It's a race against time.

Hardly anybody, it seems to me, is asking the hard questions: can an ANC-NP coalition government without the acquiescence of the Inkatha Freedom Party be better to compromise now with the IFP, or to suppress a Zulu land-based rebellion afterwards? Would the SADF, demobilized and demystified, be willing to perform the role performed in Zimbabwe by the North Koreans — the role of putting down the post-liberation challengers to the ruling party?

There is another problem, perhaps more difficult. The National Party government has, over time, become essentially a huge patronage machine, dispensing money and privilege among its members and its allies. Ex-President Botha smelted the corruption as early as 1976, but efforts to curb it proved vain and his promises empty.

NOW President de Klerk is trying, at immense political risk to himself, to bring under control a machine that spews public money through bureaucracies, agricultural control boards, advisory groups, tender arrangements, military suppliers, government contractors, bantustans, educational establishments, town councils, and every institution in the country.

President de Klerk's latest attempt to dismantle the patronage machine that feeds the parasitic agricultural community demonstrates the difficulties of reforming a government that exists not primarily to govern, but to fill its own troughs. It shows why the government has once again overshot its budgets.

The truly frightening prospect — it seems to frighten even Albie Sachs — is that the immense appetites of the ANC and the corrupt machinery of patronage of the National Party will simply be combined in an interim government. The ensuing corruption would be spectacular, and ruinous.

The question to ask now, and I hope it is asked repeatedly when Parliament convenes, is what the chances will be, under such an interim government, of restoring order, or confidence, or prosperity, or of achieving a later transition to democracy. I am very soon and under our own Papa Doc, with his own — probably white — Tontons Macoutes.

KEN OWEN
Africa low on Clinton's list

By JOAO SANTA RITA 17/11/93

WASHINGTON has rolled out the red carpet for several days of partying to welcome Bill Clinton, who this week will swear to defend and uphold the constitution of the US as the country's new president.

After 12 years of Republican presidential rule, expectations among traditional liberal supporters and black Americans are high, despite the fact that during the presidential campaign Clinton presented himself as a new type of democrat capable of distancing himself from the traditional democratic power brokers who had alienated thousands of white voters in suburbia.

In the past few weeks, as Clinton chose the members of his cabinet, public rows he had with traditional black American leaders seem to have been forgotten, with emphasis now being put on the key word - "change".

Jesse Jackson, with whom Clinton had several bitter public exchanges during the campaign, said he looked forward to working with a government which would be "putting people first".

"President Clinton and a Congress controlled by Democrats have the opportunity to put America back to work," he said.

Civil rights lawyer Vernon Jordan, who led Clinton's transition team, said Clinton had brought in "a new sense of hope, a new energy and new optimism".

The African diplomatic corps is also waiting to see what changes Clinton will introduce policies towards Africa.

Clinton's continuous reference to "change" has caused inevitable comparisons with President John Kennedy.

"Just as the election of President Kennedy in 1960 was warmly received in Africa, so has the election of President Clinton lifted the hopes among Africans for a new and creative policy oriented to the true needs of the African people," said former Senior Deputy Assistant Secretary of State Wayne Fredericks.

Whatever expectations people in Africa might have, analysts are unanimous that first priority will be foreign policies with other powerhouse of the world - mainly Japan and Europe.

Some diplomatic analysts have said that as far as foreign policy is concerned, Africa will be such a low priority that Clinton might decide to let African politics be decided by members of congress and interest groups.

A former diplomat said that because there was growing opposition to spending money abroad, and because of their nominal importance in global affairs, Africa and SA would probably continue to be only "the moralists theme park where some groups and persons would continue to seek moral self-gratification".
Soweto is the BIG TEST for SA

By ELIAS MALULEKE

SOWETO is to become the test case for the country's first multiparty democratic elections. The Soweto elections are expected to be held early this year, possibly in May, to replace 28 Soweto and 18 Diepsmeadow councillors who were fired by the TPA on Wednesday.

And for the first time in more than 40 years, township councillors will sit side-by-side with their white counterparts in the Johannesburg City Council to plan one future for the greater Johannesburg area.

The ANC said it would win the elections with its alliances if the new-look council was accepted by the communities.

The elections, which will be followed by similar elections throughout the country if successful, are seen as the test case for SA's general elections.

The government hopes to use the elections to gauge the popularity and support enjoyed by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu and Civic Associations Alliance.

The ANC will also use the elections to train their members on how to cast votes for the big one next year.

Other organisations and political parties that will be pitting their strength against the NP and the ANC machinery will be Inkatha, the Democratic Party, Sosofonke Party and independent candidates.

International observers will monitor the elections.

The Transvaal Provincial Administration has confirmed that such elections will be held in Soweto, but said the elections were subject to negotiations between all concerned parties taking part in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber on the possible administration of Soweto and Diepsmeadow.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said on Friday that the ANC still had to find out how such councils would operate and how they would be financed before taking part, but he had no doubt that the ANC together with established movements would win such elections.

"We still have to consult to get local councils to be accepted by the communities before taking part, but we would win if we take part," Niehaus said.

However, City Press can report that the government has already taken steps to make local governments acceptable to the community by removing the major financing stumbling block which has been the main cause of the rejection of such structures.

Also negotiations currently being held by the Metropolitan Chamber are to a great extent aimed at paving the way for a joint tax base for Soweto and the greater Johannesburg area.

Other issues being dealt with are the ending of the rent boycott, the outstanding debt and the future budget for the two townships.

It is expected that the government will scrap the rent debt and start on a clean slate to appease residents and organisations taking part in the elections.

Negotiations in the Metropolitan Chamber have also made it possible for the Johannesburg City Council to agree to provide cheaper bulk ser

To Page 2

Hard up an

By ELIAS MALULEKE

An Ioja resident, a national man, became extremely...
Tempers flare as DP is chased out of Gugulethu

CP Correspondent

THE ANC and the Democratic Party have agreed to co-operate in launching a working group in the western Cape after fighting broke out at a DP meeting at the Umtu Centre in Gugulethu this week.

This was the DP's second attempt at holding a meeting in a black township. Their first in Khayelitsha two weeks ago also ended in chaos.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said in Cape Town that Azapo believed the break-up of the meeting in Gugulethu was justified because as long as black people remained without power there would be no love lost between Azapo and whites.

Although the ANC condemned the break-up of the meeting and blamed the PAC and Azapo for most of the trouble, ANC supporters were also among those disrupting the meeting.

Stormed stage

Several prominent politicians were among those jostled or assaulted as the meeting was about to be addressed by the first DP speaker, Siyathemba Magas, also the DP's eastern Cape youth co-ordinator.

Just as he said "the time for fighting is over", a large section of the audience shouted slogans and flung DP pamphlets in the air and stormed the stage.

ANC executive member Prof Kader Asmal, Jan van Eck, Reg September and Johnny de Lange appealed to the crowd to "cool it", but the angry audience refused to listen. DP posters and banners were ripped off the wall while tables were overturned and chairs thrown at the speakers.

The ANC's western Cape secretary, Tony Yengeni, who had been involved in a war of words with the DP prior to the meeting, said afterwards: "There should not be any no-go areas when it comes to freedom of expression."

"The DP is not our enemy. The real enemy is the apartheid regime. We must defend the right of the ANC and the DP to hold meetings wherever they like."
New Laws for New Future
Major boost on cards for multiparty talks

By Kaizer Nyatsumza
Political Reporter

The resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week following two separate meetings the Government will hold with its main negotiating partners, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

The meetings, which are believed to mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume, will see President de Klerk's Government locked in talks for more than a week.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with Pretoria today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Codesa-like multiparty negotiations, which broke down in May, could resume soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Suzanne Vos told The Star yesterday that her party would meet its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies this morning.

A one-time ally of the Government, the IFP angrily suspended contact with Pretoria after De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26 last year.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted allies Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag — now including right-wing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksunie — was born.

Although the IFP has since met the Government as part of a Cosag delegation, this is believed to be the first time since the signing of the Record of Understanding that the party will hold direct bilateral talks with the Government.

After its meeting with the Government in Pretoria two weeks ago, Cosag expressed satisfaction with the talks, and came out in favour of an early resumption of inclusive multiparty negotiations.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and the IFP in Cape Town and Durban respectively late last week, will start a week-long bosberaad with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.

The bosberaad, which will begin on Wednesday, is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, according to well-placed ANC sources.
Alan Dunn predicts the correlated CP will do the unthinkable – negotiate with the ANC
Preparing for Watershed
elections

allowed an elite to exercise political power over some territory. Likewise Bishop. It has allowed this elite to be visited by courteous ambassadors, to drive German limousines, to have offices, cabinet rooms, staff, power and money. A man can get mighty comfortable with such arrangements — and ANC constitutional proposals look like ripping down this facade, in the process taking away the power. There will be fierce debate about federalism.

regionalism in 1993.

As for the rest of what is ahead of us, probably just the usual from my point of view — more undercover attempts to destabilise the ANC, more corruption, crookery by the NP and its civil service, more unpredictable behaviour and alliance-forming from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, more brave and remarkable work from Mr Justice Goldstone and his team.

There will probably be more spending of the State’s resources to help the NP secure black support, as with the money now being thrust upon black civic in unbelievable quantity, to “buy” support away from the ANC. More, and more subtle, SABC TV and radio anti-ANC, pro-NP propaganda.

As we get closer to the “mother of all elections”, it is entirely predictable that we will see more “black-on-black” violence, as the security establishment and its bosses step up destabilisation campaigns in ANC communities. The tiny wedge that can be driven into our society, to prevent this happening, is Mr Justice Goldstone and his team, and the United Nations and its team. Never have so few, so overworked, people been so needed.

• Riordan is director of the Human Rights Trust. He is a former Democratic Party councillor who has recently joined the ANC.
South African leaders • Boost for t...
Emulate King - US envoy

Birthday of slain civil rights leader celebrated:

As South Africans gain victory over apartheid, their leaders will need to become "pillars of fire on behalf of non-violence" - like the late Dr Martin Luther King.

This is the message of US Ambassador to South Africa Mr Princeton Lyman as Americans today round off celebrations to mark the 64th birthday of the late civil rights leader.

King was born on January 15, 1929. He was assassinated on April 4, 1968.

Lyman spoke at a reception in Pretoria, the first of its kind in the country, attended by South Africans and US dignitaries at the weekend.

He drew parallels between the American civil rights movements of the 1960s and the struggle for liberation in South Africa.

"In South Africa we are crossing into that land which is less bounded by race and the people can justifiably savour the victory over apartheid for which they struggled so long and sacrificed so much," Lyman said.

"They will nevertheless face new and even greater challenges.

"Not only are the economic challenges daunting, violence eats up diminishing this victory and keeping the nation from the next step.

"Like Martin Luther King, whose Sophos - the first of its kind in the commitment to non-violence never wavered, nor in the deepest moments of despair, South African leaders will need to keep going, to become - on behalf of violence, economic upliftment and democracy - pillars of fire," Lyman said.
Negotiations get a kick-start

Govt to hold separate talks with ANC, IFP:

Sowetan Correspondent

The resumption of multiparty negotiations will receive a major boost this week when the Government holds two separate meetings with the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The meetings will, it is hoped, mark the last phase of bilateral discussions before multiparty negotiations resume.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose’s announcement in Durban on Friday that his party would hold talks with the Government today and tomorrow fuelled hopes that Cadeia-like multiparty negotiations could be resumed soon.

Although Mdlalose gave no details of the meeting, IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday said the party would meet its Concerned South Africans Group allies in Pretoria today before beginning its talks with the Government.

The IFP suspended contact with Pretoria after President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi then consulted with allies Brigadier Onupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, and Cosag - now including rightwing organisations such as the Conservative Party and its splinter group the Afrikaner Volksfront - was born.

The ANC, which held meetings with both the Government and IFP last week, will hold a week-long “bosberaad” with De Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue this week.
A NUMBER OF THINGS HAVE HAPPENED recently which predict that homelands will become the major focus of political activity and tension in the months to come.

Notably, in the wake of the Mandela/De Klerk summit meeting on 26 September, three beleaguered homeland leaders - Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope - met "white homelanders", the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront, in Johannesburg on October 6.

Various observer groupings, including representatives of the Gazankulu homeland, the South African Chamber of Business and the National Peace Secretariat, also attended.

The outcome of the meeting was a joint statement calling for the scrapping of Codesa and the creation of a new negotiating forum in its place. Or, not to put too fine a point on it, participants set themselves up on a semi-official basis as spoilers in relation to the negotiations process as presently constituted.

The so-called Conference of Concerned South Africans also reiterated, jointly, their rejection of decisions taken at the September 26 Mandela/De Klerk summit.

Decisions included the release of remaining political prisoners, the banning of dangerous so-called "cultural" weapons and the isolation of violent hostels from their surrounding communities.

Little of this is particularly significant in practical terms of course. Only the issue of dangerous weapons - KwaZulu having its own legislation legalising so-called traditional or cultural weapons among Inkatha members, which will have to be separately addressed if the ban is to hold good throughout the country - is likely to be directly affected by the rancour of the homelands.

And indeed Inkatha shows few signs of abiding by the decision, even outside KwaZulu. Nor has the Government yet seen fit to enforce it.

What was far more important in practical terms, though unexpected, was the rejection by the conference of two recent double steps by the authorities on the question of mass action.

While the government has long paid lip service to the democratic right of the ANC and other groupings to engage in protest through mass action, its real and effective position on the subject, as reflected in reactions by key spokesmen, has been markedly less sanguine.

Mass action, its representatives and its media have shirked it - often in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary - is inextricably bound up with promoting violence: it constitutes an illegitimate intervention in the process of negotiations: it serves to obstruct the attainment of peaceful solutions.

But despite this besetting disease, with the Government backed up against the wall at the recent summit, the ANC was able to extract as part of the Record of Agreement, a strong admission of the legitimacy of mass action as a democratic right, as long as it was guided by the provisions of the National Peace Accord.

Since then of course, Government spokesmen have backtracked with various speakers at the recent Cape Congress of the National Party lapsing into the old equivalences of mass action and violence. But such sabre-rattling is to be expected at party congresses and should be seen against the backdrop of concern over key ally Buthelezi's alienation from the National Party.

More important in the long term was the report released by the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into the Bisho massacre on September 7.

Two of the eight recommendations contained in the report are of special significance.

One insists: "Those in control of any region, city or town anywhere in SA, including the TBVC homelands, should tolerate and allow complete freedom of expression and of peaceful assembly."

And the second says: "The leadership of the TBVC homelands and of the self-governing territories should forthwith declare themselves willing to tolerate and facilitate reasonable and negotiated public mass demonstrations in the areas under their control."

And in the body of the report Judge Goldstone notes: "Public protest has become the order of the day... This type of mass demonstration is still the only form of peaceful political activity open to the vast majority of South Africans who remain disenfranchised."

Brigadier Gqozo, Chief Buthelezi and President Mangope are unhappy with decisions of ANC/Government summit and becoming spoilers in present negotiations.

FW de Klerk  Oupa Gqozo  Nelson Mandela

Now what this amounts to is a sharp rap over the knuckles for homeland governments continuing to deny the ANC's right of political freedom and public demonstration within their territories.

But, and this is the crucial point, to allow the ANC to operate in those territories is tantamount to handing over power. Hence the dilemma which the more ambitious of the homeland leaders are attempting to solve by means of such stratagems as the Conference of Concerned South Africans. The bottom line here is of course holding power, the sine qua non is an avoidance of direct democratic confrontation with the massively more powerful ANC; and the means to the end is the strongly regional or federal constitution which the government also is wanting to put in place.

Failing this the "problem homelands", Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, as they have each sparsely threatened, and jointly hinted, are holding in reserve the threat of outright secession.

Bophuthatswana has of course considered the possibility from the outset, as its refusal to sign the Codesa Declaration of Intent as well as its continued and shrill insistence on sovereignty makes clear.

But even in the case of Bophuthatswana, the possibility of secession will be employed only as a last resort. More seemingly viable and more seriously considered is the notion of creating a strongly regionally empowered federal constitution, coming as close as possible to the constellation of states originally envisaged by the architects of grand apartheid.

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A week of talks for ‘big three’

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The “big three” political parties — the ANC, the National Party and Inkatha — will be locked in a flurry of bilateral meetings this week in a bid to pave the way for the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations.

Sources in all three negotiating camps were optimistic at the weekend that substantial progress would be made at meetings planned for this week, given the newfound urgency on all sides for elections to be held as soon as possible.

The bargaining in earnest begins today when the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party hold their first comprehensive bilateral session since talks broke down over the IFP’s opposition to the record of understanding between the ANC and the government signed in September.

On Wednesday, 20-member negotiating teams from NP and the ANC begin a six-day “busheerad” on issues ranging from the future of the homelands and security legislation to power-sharing arrangements for the run-up to South Africa’s first all-in elections.

Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday that the talks with the ANC starting in Cape Town on Wednesday would not be used to work out draft legislation.

“The only draft we have is on a transitional executive council, and we will be looking at this during the talks. This would be of use only for enabling legislation, a draft of which had already been circulated to most other parties.

Although the next major meeting between Inkatha and the ANC has only been scheduled for February 11, talks between these two parties aimed at bringing peace in Natal/KwaZulu and improving the climate for a summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela are set to continue in the interim.

Right-wing groupings and the PAC have in the past week also signalled growing interest in joining multi-party negotiations, under certain conditions, and the government hopes that an expanded CODESA-type negotiating forum will come on stream by March.

The first round of talks between the NP and the IFP today and tomorrow is expected to concentrate on issues of regionalism and the status of CODESA agreements already reached.

The government — and the ANC — want a reconstituted negotiating forum to start where CODESA left off, but the IFP wants CODESA agreements to be subjected to review and possible revision before resuming multi-party negotiations.

IFP sources said a renewed attempt would be launched to secure a seat at the negotiation table for delegations representing the Zulu king and the KwaZulu government.

Meanwhile, in the Western Cape, delegations from the ANC and the Democratic Party will hold their second meeting on Wednesday to set up a joint structure to promote free and fair electioneering in the region.
NP, Inkatha closing gap

CT 18/1/93 Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The KwaZulu-Natal state constitution was the focal point of a meeting between Inkatha and the National Party here at weekend.

The constitution, with federalism as its main aim, was recently adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly.

According to a joint statement by Inkatha and the NP in Natal, the meeting found points of agreement that would have to be taken into the wider constitutional debate.

The meeting agreed to appoint a technical sub-committee to evaluate both points of agreement and divergence, and to explore the possibilities of increasing common ground, the joint statement said.

The leader of the NP delegation, the Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs, Mr George Bartlett, said after the meeting that the government was “close” to Inkatha on the devolution of power to regions.

Inkatha leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi proposed at the end of last year a confederal constitution for Natal and KwaZulu that would be decided upon by a regional referendum.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that the discussions had been “open, honest and constructive”.

Saturday’s talks were the first direct contact between the two parties since Chief Buthelezi pulled out of constitutional negotiations in September when President FW de Klerk signed a record of understanding with the ANC.
FW meets former heads of state

**Africa summit looks at marginalisation:**

STATE President FW de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council's "Africa summit".

The group, headed by former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet African National Congress deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d'Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week's inauguration of United States President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

Callaghan is accompanied by Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), General Olusegun Obasanjo (Nigeria), Dr Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia), Mr Daniel Lisulo (Zambia), Dr Kamal Hassan Ali (Egypt) and Mr Malcolm Fraser (Australia).

The 36-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week's meeting, being held from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa. Other participants include former World Bank president Mr Robert McNamara, African Bank president Babacar N'Diaye and the secretary of the United Nations Council on Trade and Development, Dr Kenneth Dadzie.

Sopa.
Democratic Party (DP) justice spokesman Tony Leon yesterday withdrew his earlier criticism of the Douglas Commission, saying it had now come to his attention that advocate Bob Douglas had invited the ANC's national executive committee to respond to allegations against the organisation.

Leon, who last week said it was "procedurally unfair" for the Douglas Commission to have published serious allegations against named ANC leaders without allowing them the opportunity to refute the evidence presented against them, said it was now clear the ANC had been given this opportunity.

However, Leon expressed concern at the report's anti-communist rhetoric.

"The DP is also of the view that while the Douglas Commission was correctly concerned with grave human rights abuses, the report was hardly the occasion and place for vitriolic anti-communist rhetoric, regardless of its validity or otherwise," he said.
A visit to sexy South Africa is a nice junket

As the country emerges from its long enforced hibernation, there is a tendency by our leadership to want to hug everybody and everything in sight. We're hungry for friends. Pik Botha loves to refer to his "fellow Africans" on every platform. He was at it again in Paris last week.

The priority now seems to be to make peace with the United Nations. That is as it should be. To tell the UN to "go to hell", as Pik Botha apparently gave his diplomats liberty to do so a few years ago, was one of the most stupid things done by this government.

The Nigerian chief, Emeka Anyaoku, is busily elbowing his way to a position of some prominence in South African affairs with the help of patronage. It's good to note that should things work out well here, the reward for his energies would be South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth.

As the international furore over the Boipatong massacre raged in June last year, Anyaoku met the ANC and PAC at the OAU summit in Dakar, Senegal, and besieged them to pour out their grievances to him as he was catching the next plane to South Africa to see President de Klerk. He made the trip, but nothing came out of his visit. I sometimes wonder whether it wouldn't be worth his while to turn some of his attention to his homeland, which is in a much sorrier state politically than we are.

One senses though that taking the country back to the Commonwealth is being seriously considered by some organisations here. In my humble opinion Commonwealth membership would be of no value at all to this country. The Commonwealth is a fossil, a leftover, from a very unhappy past for a lot of people. It is a body that frankly should have died with colonialism. Why should, for instance, a leader of any self-respecting country bend a knee in front of a foreign woman unable to even control her own brood?

All English-speaking African countries, it is true, are members of the club, and Namibia, although never a colony of imperial Britain, is a new addition. The Mozambicans are also polishing their English. They can't wait to take tea with the Queen.

You can therefore argue that African countries, after attaining their independence, had decided on their own volition to stick with or maintain some kind of concrete relationship with the Mother country. But the less said about Africa's independence the better. Flag independence has only been good to the African elite. They wine and dine at summits every four years, and a private audience with the Queen is the cherry on top.

South African politicians, I'm sure, would want to go on with the action. Like all politicians, they like to fill their stomachs before they could think of yours and mine. When Verwoerd decided to pull the country out of the Commonwealth, he put the matter to a referendum. Likewise those who want us back in should take their ease to the country.

The body for us to join is, of course, the OAU. That will be the final seal of approval. It would be an indication that we have been purged of all sins. That yesterday's leper is now welcomed in the community of nations.

But save for this symbolic value, the OAU is a wretched little circus undeserving to be dignified by membership of any country with serious business at hand. The sores of this continent — Somalia, Liberia — have been left to foreign treatment. Even Boutros-Ghali and George Bush have been to Somalia. Where is Salim Ahmed Salim, I ask? Sitting in his air-conditioned office in Addis Ababa, I'm sure, Salim can hear the wail of the hungry across the border in Mogadishu.

A few OAU observers have joined the tourists from the UN and the Commonwealth on their all-expenses-paid stay in SA. But SA is a "sexy" subject and therefore hogs the headlines. That is the lure. It's also a nice junket.

What the continent needs are small regional organisations promoting trade and economic development. SA can go in there and say: We will join but only if certain conditions are fulfilled.
Former leaders to see FW

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk will on Friday meet seven former heads of state attending the Inter-Action Council’s “Africa summit”. 

The group, headed by former British prime minister Lord Callaghan, will also meet ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi during their three-day meeting in Cape Town this week.

Council co-ordinator Dr Hans d’Orville said the group had hoped to meet ANC president Nelson Mandela, who is attending this week’s inauguration of US President-elect Bill Clinton in Washington.

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The 56-member Inter-Action Council was established in 1983 to harness the skills and experience of former statesmen to address international political and economic problems.

This week’s meeting, from Thursday to Saturday at the National Gallery, will focus on strategies to counteract the political and economic marginalisation of Africa.

Meanwhile, OAU observer team head, secretary-general and Botswana ambassador to the UN Legwaila J M Legwaila visited Transkei yesterday.

Legwaila met Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa and Transkei government officials on the political situation in SA.

Holomisa said the deployment of UN armed forces in SA was long overdue. He called for tough timeframes for SA’s transition to democracy, saying these should be based on “white South Africa” and enforceable by the UN Security Council.

This was the only way to allay black fears of possible backtracking by the NP government, he said.

International observers had been rendered “toothless and ineffective in curbing violence” by the watering down of the OAU’s resolutions, Holomisa said.

He questioned why the international community “allows itself to be seen as a paper tiger by SA blacks when it acts swiftly and decisively against leaders and countries viewed as threats to Western national interests”.

Zambian Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga on Monday called on SA liberation movements to revive the patriotic front and approach negotiations as one.

“SA could not accept the division of the ‘democratic forces’, he said.

Mwaanga met PAC president Clarence Maseko in Johannesburg yesterday.

Mwaanga said he would meet Mandela before travelling to Namibia. — Sapa.

Mandela and police hold frank talks

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela met senior officials of the SAP and Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel on Saturday to discuss police attitudes that needed to change in a new SA, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He said it was an informal meeting to discuss a wide array of topics, with combating of violence being the major focus.

The meeting, at the request of Kriel, was apparently very frank. Mandela was accompanied by MK chief Joe Modise and national executive member Joe Nhlanhla. 8/9/94

According to Niehaus the discussion centred on trying to improve the understanding between the police and the ANC. 17/11/93

“Mandela discussed the changing situation in SA and the attitude changes that will have to come on the part of the police to win the trust of the whole community in their ability and will to do their job,” he said.

Both sides discussed the problems they had with each other, with Kriel expressing concern over the number of violent incidents in which the ANC was involved. In response the ANC expressed its concern at police methods of combating violence and crime.

PEANUTS

By Charles Schulz

ANY LOVE LETTERS FOR ME TODAY?

WELL, WHY NOT!!

MAILBOXES HAVE BIG MOUTHS BUT THEY NEVER SAY ANYTHING.

BLEAH!
Govt in bid to get Cosag to talks

PRETORIA. — The government will walk a tightrope with the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) today to capitalise on yesterday's "positive" meeting and continue its bid to woo Cosag members back into negotiations.

Participants in the talks in Pretoria said that strong consensus had emerged yesterday that multi-party negotiations should resume as soon as possible.

This development highlighted the question of the future participation of one Cosag member, the Conservative Party, in negotiations at a multi-party forum at which the African National Congress is present.

However, members said a number of grievances, notably Cosag's objection to the bilateral Record of Understanding reached between the government and the ANC, would be discussed.

The government delegation is led by Constitutional Minister View Meyer and includes senior Ministers Mr Kobie Coetsee, Mr George Bartlett, Mr Hernus Kriel and Mr Leon Wessels.

Cosag delegates include the Inkatha Freedom Party members, led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, Afrikaner Volksunion members led by Mr Andries Breyers and the Conservative Party headed by deputy-leader Mr Ferdi Hartsen- berg.
Mandela, Kriel talks 'routine'

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Law and Order Minister Mr. Hernus Kriel last week was 'routine', according to both the ANC and the police. It was called in terms of a long-standing arrangement between the ANC and the police.

A joint ANC-police committee was set up on November 28, 1991, after talks between Messrs Mandela and Kriel on the need to hold regular meetings about political violence.

A Law and Order spokesman said yesterday the committee had met on a number of occasions.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus described the meeting as 'part of standard interactions' between the two sides.

- The police are expected to soon unveil details of sweeping changes in the force to make it more 'community oriented'.
Gloomy signs at IFP talks

Political Staff

The Inkatha Freedom Party and government resumed their two-day meeting today in the hope of restoring the tattered remnants of their previously close relationship.

Neither side would comment on the progress yesterday but the signals were not optimistic.

The IFP-government relationship broke down when government signed the Record of Understanding with the African National Congress on September 26 last year.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was also unhappy with the ANC after Mr. Nelson Mandela labelled him a government "surro-

Chief Buthelezi drew a sharp response from government when he released a draft constitution for KwaZulu-Natal late last year. The move was widely criticised as unilateral and unacceptable.

Other sticking points between government and IFP are the status of agreements reached at Co- desa II. Both government and ANC believe agreements already reached in this forum should be accepted in the new multi-party negotiations which they hope to start soon.

The IFP is adamantly, however, that a conference must first be held to review these agreements.
CP warns against ANC rule

Johannesburg — The introduction of multiracial government at local level is a prelude to foisting ANC rule on South Africa, the CP charged yesterday.

Reacting to President F.W. de Klerk's request to the President's Council to recommend a voting system for local government and to suggest a guide for franchise qualifications, the CP accused him of using the council to make this introduction. — Sapa
ANC, Govt caucus in bush

By Thembu Molefe
Political Reporter

The African National Congress and the Government hold a week-long meeting in a bush retreat from today in what are seen as last-round discussions leading to the resumption of Codesa-style talks.

The talks, to be held at an undisclosed venue, would be a continuation of a "bush caucus" held before Christmas and would focus on security, constitutional guidelines and the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Yesterday both parties conceded they would have to address — and perhaps reach agreement on — the establishment of a planning or preparatory conference as insisted upon by the diagunufici Inkatha/KwaZulu and their allies Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksraad.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the organisation saw the resumption of Codesa-style talks as a matter of urgency. Agreements reached between the ANC and the Government would not be "rammed down the throats" of other parties but would be tabled as proposals either at a preparatory conference or at a multiparty forum.

A Government spokesman yesterday said the bush summit would also focus on ways to bring more parties into the negotiations. "The more the merrier," he said.

According to the spokesman, there was no indication that talks with the Pan Africanist Congress would resume after relations between the two were soured by the alleged Apla attacks in December. "Contact is being maintained, however," he said.

The IFP and Government yesterday ended a two-day meeting whose aim was to restore relations between the two parties. The IFP pulled out of negotiations after the Government signed the Record of Understanding with the ANC on September 22 last year.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused the ANC and the Government of entering into deals which excluded other parties in the negotiation process.

Following this, the alliance of KwaZulu/IFP, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksraad, known as the Concerned South Africans Group, is demanding a conference-of-review before multiparty talks resume. The ANC's team at the bush summit will be led by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa while Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will represent the Government.
SA's hopes pinned on US recovery

THUS is an important day in our transition to democracy. National Party and ANC negotiators began, "berreraad" to complete the set of agreements that will form the basis of the transition process, while in Washington a new administration takes office that will establish the international context in which that transition takes place.

Too often we South Africans fall to take note of the world around us. Years of isolation have left us so wrapped up in ourselves that we fail to appreciate how the shifts and trends in a shrinking world are bound to impact on us.

Over the next 100 days South Africa is going to change dramatically. A Transitional Executive Council will take over the reins of the country. Power will begin to shift from white into black hands.

This will be a historic event, as symbolic to the issue of racialism as the collapse of communism was to the Cold War — and about as difficult and dangerous for the people involved. Transitions are times of uncertainty, and in our case the problems are compounded by an economic recession that is causing rising unemployment and social instability.

Some analysts warn that no political transition has ever succeeded in a time of recession. We badly need an economic upturn. Even the ANC has become sufficiently alarmed at the state of the economy to rethink its position on many issues, from sanctions to nationalisation. Growth is on everyone's agenda.

But it is unrealistic to expect that a country like South Africa can suddenly move into a growth phase in the midst of a global recession. Our economy cannot recover until the world economy does.

So the inauguration of a new president in the United States is important to South Africa. For all its problems and for all the advances of the new Asian tigers, the United States is still the largest economy in the world and any global recovery must begin there. So we all have a vested interest in Bill Clinton's success.

He comes to office as a centrist Democrat, and the fundamental concept of free marketeers are already trying to dismiss him as a nonentity who will do little to change the conservative revolution of the Reagan-Bush-Thatcher era. He also has little experience in foreign affairs, and is said to have South Africa low on his list of priorities.

On both issues we may be surprised. Cautious though Clinton is, he has committed himself to some seminal changes that will effectively end that discredited era that produced a decade of corporate greed and excesses, followed by a hangover of debt and plant closures that plunged both the American and British economies into crisis and sent a ripple around the world.

As his key policy adviser, Robert Kuttner, points out in a new book, The End of Laissez-Faire, it was not only communism that died with the Cold War, but its counterpart as well — unbridled capitalism.

"In the new era now unfolding," says Kuttner, "the pursuit of laissez-faire as an optimum goal for the global system or for the United States, would do grave harm to growth." This does not mean a plunge into socialist economics.

"My quarrel," says Kuttner, "is not with capitalism itself but with its utopian version" of a pure market economy. Or what he sometimes refers to as "simple-minded nineteenth century economic liberalism".

In other words, the Reagan-Bush-Thatcher ideology which has crippled Britain and saddled the United States with a record number of bankruptcies and factory closures, the elimination of 2 million manufacturing jobs and a $4 trillion (R12 trillion) national debt which takes 60 cents of every taxpayer's dollar to service.

Clinton and Bush... an end to world recession lies in the new president improving on his predecessor's economic record.

The successful formula, Kuttner argues, is a mixed economy. The dynamic economies of the late 20th century — Japan, Korea and the other vigorous Asian countries — do not have free markets in the Western sense. All are explicitly developmental states.

"Even Germany, the most conservative nation of the European Community, spends nearly half its gross national product in the public sector," Kuttner points out.

This is the advice behind Clinton's "people first" economics. The new president hopes to revive the American economy by making large investments in education and training, health care and infrastructure — the things Reagan and Bush cut back on in their belief that slashing public expenditure to the bone was the way to energise the nation.

Whether it will work remains to be seen. We had better hope it does, for an American-led global recovery is vital to the success of our transition.

Likewise with foreign policy, George Bush was credited with great foreign policy expertise because of the skill with which he assembled the alliance for the Gulf War. In fact he failed to develop a policy concept for the single most important issue of his time — America's role after the collapse of the Soviet empire.

Never great on what he contemptuously called "the vision thing," Bush was the first American president in 20 years to have no overall conception of foreign policy.

Even Reagan had the crude doctrine of waging war on the Evil Empire. But Bush operated on an ad hoc and inconsistent basis — plunging into Iraq, sending armed aid to Somalia but shrinking from involvement in Angola or Bosnia, without any conceptual framework of a new world order.

A coherent foreign policy by the world's only remaining superpower is essential. Three options are doing the rounds in America: the neo-isolationists who want the US to withdraw and allow regional balances of power to take care of the world's conflicts; those who want the US to continue holding the world balance of power as the arbiter of the main regional power groups; and the internationalists who want a greater role for multilateral institutions and more emphasis on human needs and rights, the environment and democracy.

Clinton's choice is still unclear, but as a man who likes to formulate detailed policy positions you can be sure he will do so on foreign affairs. When he does it will be of vital concern to South Africa, for with apartheid gone this country stands to play an important role as the major regional power in the world's most marginalised continent. 1
Hendrickse backs dissolution

THE leader of the opposition in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, will call for the dissolution of the tricameral parliament and the creation of an elected constituent assembly supervised by the United Nations when parliament resumes.

Hendrickse said yesterday he would make this proposal in his motion of no confidence in the Ministers Council of the HoR. The motion would also express no confidence in the Ministers Council.
Campaign appeals to woo blacks from white parties

A new campaign to woo blacks from white parties is leading to a fresh challenge in the opposition's bid to win the next general election. The campaign, which was launched by the main opposition party, aims to attract a significant number of black voters, who are traditionally loyal to the white parties. The campaign's main slogan is "Give black-majority rule a chance," appealing to the black electorate to consider the party as an alternative to the current ruling party.

The campaign is facing criticism from some members of the ruling party, who claim it is a tactic to undermine their support. However, the main opposition party argues that the campaign is necessary to ensure a fair and democratic election. The party's leader said, "We believe that by appealing to the black electorate, we can ensure that the next government is truly representative of the people of South Africa."

The campaign has gained some traction, with many black voters expressing interest in the party's message. However, the ruling party remains the dominant force in the country, and it remains to be seen how successful the campaign will be in changing the current political landscape.
PRETORIA. — No matter what political settlement was reached, a new South Africa could never be a "true democracy,"

This was said yesterday by Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, HSRC group social dynamics general manager, when he addressed the "Platform for Investment" presentation in Pretoria.

"South Africa is far too complicated a country for a 'golden democracy,'" he said.

His provisional timetable for the new SA government included full elections by February/April next year, then an interim government, followed by a second election in 1996/97 with "final political settlement" in 1998.
Parties to meet on intimidation

Political Correspondent
ANC and DP delegations meet today to thrash-out detailed ground rules for free and fair electioneering in the Western Cape, South Africa. They hope to establish a formal structure to ensure that parties can canvas support in the run-up to South Africa's first non-racial election without violence and intimidation. Other parties will be invited to participate.
PRETORIA. — Top government and African National Congress negotiators will meet at an undisclosed Transvaal venue today for a marathon session of talks to resolve obstacles to multiparty constitutional negotiations.

The talks are generally perceived as a crucial opportunity to create the openings needed for other parties, particularly the Pan Africanist Congress, Inkatha Freedom Party and its fellow members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), to rejoin multiparty negotiations.

The two 20-man delegations are to be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. They are scheduled to meet for five or six days.

Joint committees set up to investigate specific problems will now report back on certain issues on the agenda which include continuing political violence, restarting Coesa-style talks, transitional arrangements to prepare for the first open elections and urgent economic issues.

The talks follow on two days of similar discussions held between the government and the IFP this week. The ANC and government may well formulate some responses to the so-far confidential positions put by the IFP.

Observers are confident progress will be made, as economic realities and growing impatience among the respective constituencies at the lack of movement, have become compelling factors in both bilateral and multilateral discussions. — Sapa.
Political talks aimed at ensuring fair SA elections.

EFFORTS to guarantee free and fair election campaigning in the Western Cape will be taken a step further today with a meeting between the ANC and DP.

DP Western Cape chairman Mr Jasper Walsh said the DP and the ANC agreed in principle last week to assist in creating a climate for democracy in the region and to discuss problem areas.

Delegations would finalise details of establishing a formal working group aimed at ensuring that parties could campaign free of intimidation.

Mr Walsh described today's meeting as mainly "technical", with the delegations trying to give structure to decisions made last week.

The meeting, at the ANC offices, is at 3:30 pm.
The leader of the official opposition in the House of Representatives, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, is to call for the dissolution of the Tri-cameral Parliament and the creation of an elected constituent assembly supervised by the United Nations when Parliament resumes.

He said yesterday it was time for South Africa to turn the corner towards a democratic government. — Sapa
Bitter blow to IFP, govt talks

By CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff

FRESH optimism over a speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations was dealt a blow yesterday when the Inkatha Freedom Party's two-day meeting with the government ended in acrimony.

Sources from both organisations last night flatly refused to discuss the meeting, but it is reliably understood that it was characterised by tough talking and that no agreements were reached.

Central to the dispute is understood to have been IFP allegations that the government has been "conniving" with the ANC by reaching agreements in bilateral discussions.

A terse joint statement after the meeting simply reflected that talks had been held and delegations would meet again here next Wednesday.

Failure to reach agreement at that meeting could seriously set back hopes for a projected resumption of multi-party talks by early March.

The breakdown comes on the eve of the government's critical six-day "bosberaad" with the ANC at which it was hoped consensus could be reached on details of the transitional stage.

However, they will now have to broach such issues as the composition and powers of the proposed transitional executive council without knowing if the IFP will participate.

The government delegation to the meeting in Pretoria was led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, while national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose led the IFP group.

A host of issues central to recent differences between the government and the IFP that were on the agenda for the two-day meeting were apparently not discussed.

Among these were the IFP's insistence that agreements already reached at Codesa should be subject to review and possible revision, and the IFP's proposed conference of review and its proposed federal constitutional model for Natal.

In a separate development yesterday President F W de Klerk met a delegation from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa).

Follow-up meetings will be held to discuss issues such as the future role of traditional leaders, according to a government statement.

It is understood that the government may be reviving its attempts to open a way into multi-party negotiations for the Zulu king by having a Contralesa delegation attend.

The Contralesa group, led by its president Mr Nkosilathi P Pieters, said self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into South Africa soon.

The government responded that there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.

The Qwa Qwa chairman of Contralesa, Chief Motebeng Mopele, 40, died on Friday. — Sapa
Inkatha talks with govt end in stalemate

CAPE TOWN — Government negotiators begin a five-day bosberaad with the ANC alliance today, after emerging from an acrimonious meeting with Inkatha where no agreements of consequence were achieved.

The two-day meeting with Inkatha ended yesterday without substantive comment from either of the parties, but it is understood that the discussions were deadlocked on government's alleged "conivance" with the ANC.

The failure of the meeting dimed the hopes raised by the successful meeting with the Concerned South Africans Group last week, which had seemed set to invigorate negotiations.

The joint statement released by the parties to yesterday's talks was unusually terse, saying only that they had met and would do so again. Both parties would report back to their principals and meet again on January 27.

The delegations were led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose.

It is understood that the main items on the agenda — including Inkatha's proposed conference of review, the status of agreements made at CODESA and even the resumption of multiparty talks — were not substantively broached.

Government was known to have been prepared to submit Inkatha's federal constitutional plan to other parties for "wider constitutional debate", but this was insufficient to satisfy Inkatha negotiators.

The lack of any agreement places government negotiators in a difficult position for the talks with the ANC.

Observers speculated that government negotiators had hoped to emerge from the meeting with a clear idea of Inkatha's demands for the resumption of negotiations, to discuss with the ANC.

Government was also hoping to discuss the transitional executive council with the ANC, but would now have to do so without knowing whether Inkatha would be prepared to participate in the new structure.

In stark contrast to the Inkatha meeting, President F W de Klerk met members of the Congress of Traditional Leaders (Contralesa) where the government delegation agreed there should be a "dignified and meaningful role for traditional leaders" in the new constitutional dispensation.

Government again expressed itself in favour of a role in negotiations for traditional leaders, including, perhaps, the Zulu king who is not part of Contralesa.

The delegations agreed that some of the issues raised, including land ownership and rural development, would be discussed in greater detail in follow-up talks.

The government delegation said it hoped multilateral negotiations would be resumed early in March.

The Contralesa group expressed the view that self-governing territories and the TBVC states should be reincorporated into SA soon.

Government responded by saying there was already broad consensus that the present system should be replaced with a new system of regions with borders not drawn along ethnic lines.
Council to probe SA, African issues

CAPE TOWN — The marginalisation of Africa and SA’s new role on the continent will be the focus of discussions this week between five former heads of state, 22 prominent international figures and SA leaders.

Former British prime minister Lord Callaghan said yesterday these and other questions would be discussed by a committee established by a group of former heads of state called the Interaction Council.

The committee, headed by Lord Callaghan, would also discuss at the Cape Town workshop what the international community could do for Africa. Discussions with President P.W de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Zulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be included.

The fact that 16 of the world’s 20 poorest countries were in Africa was cause for concern, Callaghan said. The way to bring Africa back into the world mainstream would be one of the main focuses of the committee, which would report its finding to the council in April, he said.

The kind of assistance the international communities should provide for Africa’s struggling democracies would also be canvassed, he said.

The committee would discuss what SA could offer its neighbours and the rest of Africa.

The committee would also “have something to say” about the possible conflicts between southern African organisations, he said.

The Southern African Development Conference and the Preferential Trade Area, which are working toward southern African economic integration, are considered particularly vulnerable to the criticism that their functions overlap.

Former Nigerian leader Ojukwu Obasanjo said unnecessary rivalry between African organisations was not limited to southern Africa. He was concerned that SA’s reintegration into the continent should be “synchronised” properly.

The members of the Interaction Council committee include Maria de Lourdes Pintasilgo (Portugal), Kenneth Kaunda (Zambia) and Lopo Fortunato do Mascalomeaco (Angola).

Participants include former World Bank president Robert McNamara, Idasa president Van Zyl Slabbert, World Bank president Tim Thabane, former SA finance minister bars du Plessis and the African Development Bank’s Adewale Sangowawa.
Violence 'a tool to derail settlements'

THE SA Council of Churches (SACC) charged yesterday that forces in SA were bent on derailing constitutional talks.

The SACC said the recent killings of more than 10 people in Natal and on the Reef vindicated its belief that "certain forces are trying hard to derail negotiations". Government meetings with the ANC and with the Concerned South Africans Group had rekindled hopes for an early political settlement. But it seemed whenever a major development was imminent, scores of township residents lost their lives. "Violence in SA, it would seem, is being switched on and off at will."

ANC PFW spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said he agreed with the SACC: major political developments were preceded by outbreaks of violence.

National peace committee media officer Val Pauw also agreed with the pattern of killing, while national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys said outbreaks of violence on the eve of big events were orchestrated by a small group of people who did not want to see peace prevail.

In the latest incidents of violence, two people were shot dead in Natal, and on the East Rand police found the body of a man who had been stabbed and apparently thrown from a moving train. A man was also injured when shots were fired at policemen at Wadeville station, near Germiston, Sapa reports.
US on top as optimism takes a global dive

OPTIMISM has dwindled throughout the world, with 21 of 40 countries polled—including SA—recording a decrease of 10 or more points, according to a 1992 year-end poll by Gallup International.

The results of the poll, released by Gallup affiliate Markinor in Johannesburg yesterday, showed the biggest drops in optimism in Sweden (-58), Spain (-53), Korea (-49), Italy (-47), Argentina (-33) and Britain (-30).

According to the SA survey, conducted by Markinor, the country's drop of 14 points from an index of 166 last year to 91 this year was "fairly moderate" and far below the average drop of 23 points.

Markinor director Peter Scott-Wilson said Czechoslovakia (53) retained its position as the most pessimistic country, followed by Spain (60), Belgium (68), Sweden (69), Luxembourg (71) and Estonia (76).

"The dramatic drop in optimism can undoubtedly be attributed to the deepening economic recession in many parts of the world and problems in eastern Europe," Scott-Wilson said.

"In the case of Spain, the sharp drop may be due in part to the fact that the Olympics euphoria is over." The most optimistic country was the US (150), which rose from fourth place last year, followed by Israel (142), New Zealand (140), Chile (138), Georgia (132), Taiwan and the Philippines (both 136) and Canada (124). Scott-Wilson said whereas the US was showing an increasing optimistic trend, SA reflected the opposite: it had moved from 116 in 1991 to 105 in 1992, and to 91 this year.

"This is not surprising given our deteriorating economy and political outlook. The message is clear: corrective action is required," he said.—Sapa.
Keeping course in stormy waters

The new US ambassador to South Africa, Prince-
ton Lyman, is in prime position for a stormy year, re-
ports HELEN ORANGE.

There is an optimistic
air in the corridors of
the US embassy in
Pretoria that there will
be a break from the
darkness of 1992. It is
seen in the limited
range of new leaders
at the top of the politi-
cal scene. It is also
seen in the belief that
aid will be provided
to the new government.

Washington's patience with the lingering delays in
the transition process was getting strained thin before that, and
the US is unlikely to see an early end to its political
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welcome sight, the US is unlikely to see an early end to its
current political alliance with South Africa.
Govt, IFP talks to go on

ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26. Yesterday's statement said the delegates would report to their principals, but gave no details of how the meeting went.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said although the meeting - which he described as "very frank" - was scheduled to begin at 9:30 am yesterday, it was decided to start at noon to give the two parties a chance to discuss issues among themselves.

Nearer

Asked whether the resumption of full-scale negotiations was any nearer, Felgate replied: "The IFP is committed to the resumption of negotiations, and the Government has agreed to a multiparty planning conference. "We believe the resumption of multiparty negotiations cannot resist the tide any longer."

Delegation leaders the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said further talks were set for next Wednesday in Cape Town.

The latest Government-ANC session, at a secret venue, began today and is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday.

ANC sources said the bazaar Subbaud has been divided into two parts. The first three days will deal with security and violence-related matters and the last three or four days with constitutional matters.

The sources said both the ANC and the Government would be bound by any agreements they reached at the meeting.

In the past week the Government has held talks with the IFP, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), traditional leaders of Lebowa and, from today, the ANC.

In his Government's meeting with Contralesa, State President de Klerk expressed the hope that multiparty talks would resume early in March.
It's business as usual in the House (for now)

PARLIAMENT as we know it will probably bid its farewell this year; but by the looks of things so far, it'll be business as usual until the brokers of the new South Africa prompt its metamorphosis.

With 1993 being the critical year of constitutional change, the media spotlight will shift from graceful Cape Town to Johannesburg, leaving MPs the less exciting job of rubberstamping amendment Bills — mostly uncontroversial — largely left over from last year.

Pioneers

If all goes well on the political front, however, Parliament's grandest gesture will be in passing legislation for the first laws hostile to a transitional constitution.

Indeed, it is possible a Government/ANC-agreed Transitional Executive Council could be written into law by June.

But while Parliament awaits word from the new constitution pioneers, the show must go on with nuts and bolts legislation.

Of biggest import will, of course, be Finance Minister Derek Keay's Budget, expected to introduce higher VAT and taxes to counter the rising national debt.

Perhaps the most immediately controversial laws to be enacted during the pending session are those that constitute the new labour code.

The Bills are aimed at introducing equity in labour conditions in all economic sectors. Most importantly, farm labourers will be legally protected for the first time.

Predictably, the conservative farmer community, organised by the SA Agricultural Union, is opposing the new labour code.

Hot debate is therefore expected before the deadline at the end of February, when the final drafts will be tabled.

Also on the labour front is the Injured Employees Compensation Draft Bill, to replace the Workers' Compensation Act. This law will tighten up insurance of employees or their dependants in the event of disablement. Most importantly, all employees will be insured, irrespective of their earnings, and compensation for occupational diseases will be more equitably provided.

There are some laws on the cards designed to pull the reins in on those of us who live a little recklessly.

The Road Traffic Amendment Bill of 1993, providing for a separation of the drivers' licence from the identity document, also provides for far more severe punishments for lawless drivers, including automatic suspension for serious offences.

And in the Liquor Amendment Bill, higher penalties are proposed for liquor sales to minors and the opening of bottle stores on public holidays.

Dog owners exercising little control over their pets will need to take cognisance of the Animal Matters Amendment Bill which, once passed, will enable the Statute to impose a fine of up to R10 000 or two years' imprisonment on the owner of a dog which attacks an innocent.

The Department of Correctional Services will be tabling the Correctional Services Amendment Bill, designed to cover the loophole which saw the notorious Lucky Lakanza erroneously released from prison as a political prisoner.

The new law will provide "checks and balances based on sound legal principles," according to a department spokesman, although no details have yet been made known on exactly what these are.

And gambling operators beware! Last year's Gambling Amendment Act, which caused such a stir that a moratorium on casino prosecutions was introduced, will probably come into effect in full force after January 31, the moratorium deadline.

(The Act outlawed hard gambling, but the Howard commission into gambling has still to report on whether selective gambling should be allowed.)

Other legislative changes on the agenda this year are geared toward deregulation.

Civilians

The Department of Law and Order will table the Police Amendment Bill to replace the Police Act. The objective is to provide for the employment of civilians. This new development is aimed at exchanging ranked police officers in management/administrative posts with civilians, freeing policemen to fulfill normal duties.

There is a strong possibility that the Marketing Act, which empowers the existing marketing boards, will be amended in line with recommendations of the Kassier Committee into the marketing system.

The committee proposed deregulation of the marketing and control boards and the curtailing of the extensive powers currently afforded to the boards and the Minister of Agriculture.
Optimism over latest bosberaad

By Kaitse Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC have expressed guarded optimism that their six-day bosberaad, which began at a secret venue in the Transvaal yesterday, would be successful.

It is the second meeting between the two major players in about a month. Both parties hailed their first bosberaad in December as a success.

The latest bosberaad follows two days of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Although the IFP and the Conservative Party have expressed grave reservations about agreements to be reached in the ANC-Government meeting, ANC sources said they had agreed with Pretoria that whatever agreements they arrived at would be binding.

However, these agreements would still have to go through a multiparty negotiations forum.

Following the lack of progress in the Government's two-day meeting with the IFP, hopes for an early resumption of multilateral negotiations took a nosedive yesterday. Political observers said the onus was on the Government and the ANC to rescue the negotiations process.

Instead of being able to focus on dates for the transition, they would first have to devote time to the IFP.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday said the Government was still viewed with "a lot of suspicion" by the IFP.

IFP sources in Durban said there were differences over the degree of political autonomy to be enjoyed by a future KwaZulu-Natal state.
NEWS IN BRIEF

Moose welcomed

The SA Department of Foreign Affairs welcomed yesterday the nomination of US career diplomat George Moose as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa. Department spokesman Patrick Evans said in Pretoria the department believed the Clinton administration was sending an important signal to Africa.
Ombudsman tackles 2 000 complaints in his first year

PRETORIA — SA's ombudsman, after a year in office, has opened up more than 2 000 files on specific complaints.

According to the Association of Law Societies Journal, De Reus, Judge P J van der Walt's office receives 30 to 40 phone calls a day from complainants.

Complaints range from rezoning and ecological matters to the state of roads, financial wrangles — including complaints from married women about not receiving housing subsidies — to workmen's compensation cases and political detainees.

De Reus says, however, that there are still several shortcomings in the Act governing the ombudsman. These include limitations on the types of matters he can investigate and his appointment by the President and not by Parliament.

There was a need to separate the ombudsman's office from the public service.

In terms of the Ombudsman Act of 1991, Van der Walt's title was changed from advocate-general to ombudsman and his

ANC-DP joint working group put on hold

CAPE TOWN — The ANC and the DP failed yesterday to reach agreement on launching a joint working group to promote free and fair elections in the Western Cape.

At a meeting yesterday the ANC backed off, for the time being at least, from an earlier commitment to set up a formal structure with the DP to monitor the volatile political situation in the region and promote a culture of tolerance.

Yesterday's meeting between delegations led by ANC regional secretary Tony Yengeni and DP regional chairman Jasper

Renamo weapons dispute resolved

MABUTO — Renamo, government and the UN had "amicably resolved" a dispute over a list of weapons Renamo had to give UN peacekeepers, a UN spokesman said yesterday.

The row flared up at a joint Ceasefire Commission meeting on Monday, where Renamo claimed it was unable to supply a detailed list of the weapons and ammunition its units would take to 20 assembly points where its fighters were to be garrisoned prior to demobilisation.

The reluctance to provide lists fed suspicion that Renamo might try to cash arms ready for use should the rebels dispute future general election results.

It was agreed on Tuesday that Renamo would provide aggregate lists of all weapons if possessed, without breaking the list down for each assembly point.

UN supervisors would check all weapons arriving at the assembly points against Renamo's total tally.

The peace accord's implementation is three months behind and it seems impossible to maintain the scheduled October 1993 date for Mozambique's first multiparty elections. — Sapa-AFP
ANC, DP still at odds over election

Political Correspondent
THE ANC and the Democratic Party failed to reach an agreement yesterday on the launching of a joint working group to promote free and fair elections in the Western Cape.

At a meeting yesterday the ANC backed off, for the time being at least, from an earlier commitment to set up with the DP a formal structure charged with monitoring the volatile political situation in the region and promoting a culture of democratic tolerance, open debate and peaceful mobilisation in the run-up to elections.

The proposals emerged from last week's ANC-DP meeting.

Yesterday's meeting, led by ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and DP regional chairman Mr Jasper Walsh, was arranged to decide on the detailed terms of reference and modus operandi of the proposed working group.

However, the ANC submitted that the idea would first have to be canvassed with its rank-and-file membership and said it believed use should be made of existing Peace Accord structures to deal with crises as they arose.

Mr Walsh said after the meeting that the DP was "disappointed with the postponement of the working group and we urge the ANC to make a decision quickly."

No date has been set for a further meeting between the two sides.
Inkatha 'committed to multiparty talks'

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha was fully committed to multiparty talks and wanted them to resume as soon as possible, National chairman Frank Mdlalose said yesterday.

He was responding to fears that the inconclusive result of this week's talks between Inkatha and government could delay the prospects of a return to full negotiations.

The ANC and government have indicated that they hope a multiparty negotiating forum will be in place by late February or early March. Crucial to the resumption of talks will be an Inkatha central committee meeting this weekend, where the party will formulate its position for next Wednesday's bilateral talks with government.

"The resumption of multiparty talks is what we have been battling for over the years," said Mdlalose. "We are committed to multiparty talks ... we want them to start yesterday."

Reacting to reports that government and Inkatha were deadlocked on various issues, he said: "I don’t know that it is a deadlock; I think that is a bit strong. But I am not talking starry-eyed expectation."

He added that a number of issues had been discussed with the government delegation at the two-day meeting in Pretoria this week. "Now everything will be referred to our principals," he said.

Mdlalose declined to give details on what issues had led to disagreement, but dismissed newspaper reports as speculative. Sources have indicated that the Pretoria talks were marked by tough talking, in particular over the Inkatha charge that government was "conniving" with the ANC by reaching agreements in secret.
LONDON — The ANC and the South African Government have decided that South Africa is not ready for democracy, an influential British newspaper claims.

A lengthy report yesterday from the Financial Times's southern Africa correspondent Patti Waldmeir alleges that both parties have decided to put stability before democracy by resolving that power should be shared between white and black.

This, says Waldmeir, can scarcely be described as democratic.

Time will tell whether the ANC intends to erect just a facade of power-sharing, while retaining all important powers for itself and whether the Government still clings unrealistically, to an effective white veto, she writes.

The two sides, Waldmeir adds, have decided that neither can govern alone. Pretoria lacks the legitimacy and the ANC lacks the skills.

However, South Africa would effectively be a one-party state, with 75 percent or more of the vote. The ANC-NP would thus drive a wedge between opposition on the Left and Right.

But if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi chooses to stay out of the coalition, President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela would have no choice but to crack down on the violence that would ensue.

"But both the ANC and the Government seem genuinely to believe that more democracy is inevitable."
Government must be limited and accountable
JOHANNESBURG -

While the ANC maintains its popularity among blacks, President F.W. de Klerk and the NP are steadily losing the support of black and white South Africans, according to a November Markinor poll.

Markinor deputy managing director Ms Christine Woessner said yesterday results showed although the NP remained the most accepted party by whites, there was a drop from 72% to 50% of those who would vote for it. Black support declined from 66% to 39%.

"Mr De Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey. Results show the lowest vote of confidence (by blacks and whites) since he became president."

Although 3% of whites said they would vote for Inkatha, 71% of blacks rejected the organisation.

The ANC remained a favourite with blacks, with a majority (65%) who would vote for it.

Altogether 8% of blacks said they would vote for the SACP.
Sanctions lobby split on when to end curbs

CAPE TOWN - The pro-sanctions lobby has split over how long the measures should be retained, with Archbishop Desmond Tutu saying they should remain until violence is dealt with effectively and an interim government is in place.

Just days ago ANC president Nelson Mandela said he was anxious to lift sanctions but business should first promise to freeze retrenchments and create more jobs.

After a meeting yesterday with President F W de Klerk and Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey, Tutu said the Anglican Church wanted to be among the first to call for the lifting of sanctions. But it could do so only on condition that violence was effectively dealt with and an interim government was established.

Tutu agreed with De Klerk and Carey that it was crucial that the economy "took off", but did not explain what role removing sanctions might play in this process.

Mandela's new conditions also differed with those stated recently by SA Council of Churches (SACC) general secretary the Rev Frank Chikane, but yesterday Chikane "clarified" his statement.

He said he too would like to be the first to call for the removal of sanctions, but admitted that he had urged US President Bill Clinton to maintain his position that sanctions remain until nonracial, democratic elections were held.

The elections to which he was referring were to set up "transitional structures and the establishment of a democratically elected sovereign (interim/transitional) government."

Sanctions

Chikane's letter to Clinton was simply to restate the SACC's policy position, not to respond to Mandela's statement, the SACC said.

Chikane had also urged Clinton to tighten up controls on banks not to give loans to "apartheid SA", effectively increasing sanctions.

Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo urged business not to reject Mandela's plea to halt retrenchments out of hand yesterday. Naidoo said business should instead propose constructive ways of coping with SA's economic crisis while preserving jobs.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that CP leader Andries Treurnicht, responding to Mandela's "offer to dictate" whether sanctions should be lifted, said the coming to power of an ANC government was not a foregone conclusion.

"Not only the CP but other important groups refuse to be subjected to an ANC regime. It would appear that this fact is being ignored by foreign governments who have funded the ANC to help put the organisation into power in SA. It should also be remembered that most of SA's strategic minerals are mined in areas controlled by peoples who are against an ANC government," he said.

By giving credibility to what the ANC said, and by acting on its demands, foreign governments were antagonising the very people who could keep SA running as a viable and prosperous entity.
Africa think-tank begins

CAPE TOWN — Statesmen attending the Interaction Council summit have called for a conditional cancellation of Africa's foreign debt and have emphasised the need for a free press to check rampant corruption on the continent.

The council, a think-tank of eminent international leaders, yesterday began three days of talks on Africa's marginalisation and ways of re-integrating African states into the mainstream of the international system.

Former British prime minister Lord James Callaghan is chairing the summit. Other former heads of state include Nigeria's General Olusegun Obasanjo, Zambia's Dr Kenneth Kaunda, Portugal's Maria de Lourdes Pintassilgo and Angola's Lope Fortunato do Nascimento.

President de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Nobel Peace laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone will brief delegates on the political transition in this country.

The Cape Town summit, the first to be held in Africa, is mandated to discuss problems such as Africa's economic decline, poverty, illiteracy and ethnic tensions, and to recommend viable measures to bring about changes for the better.

The summit's findings and recommendations will be communicated to government leaders.

At yesterday's session speakers emphasised the need for stability and security. They concurred that the welfare of the continent's people — not weapons — was the best guarantee for security.

The improvement of basic, secondary and tertiary education and the need for regional training were also stressed.

Speakers expressed alarm at the incidence of Aids in Africa. By the year 2000, health officials expect to have more than 6 million registered Aids cases compared with the current 1.7 million. — Sapa.
Support for FW down — survey

Political Staff

President De Klerk’s popularity has plummeted since the post-referendum euphoria of mid-1992. In a November poll he got a lower vote of confidence among whites than any other State President since 1976, when Markinor began its political surveys.

"President de Klerk has lost all the ground he gained in the May 1992 survey and more," Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner commented yesterday.

The new poll also found that — in the eyes of black South Africans — the SA Communist Party (SACP) is certainly not an albatross around the ANC’s neck.

In November, only 25 percent of whites and a mere 8 percent of blacks thought De Klerk was leading the country "very well" — a 29 percent drop on his mid-year rating. When these figures were augmented by those who considered De Klerk was performing "fairly well", the positive vote stood at 69 percent of whites and 47 percent of blacks.

Woessner said the November survey showed a general disenchantment with politicians, when compared to the May results, which reflected the position just before the breakdown of Codasa.

Among 1300 black respondents in five metropolitan areas, 70 percent said they would vote for the ANC and 58 percent saw Mandela as the national leader.

Among 400 whites polled countrywide, De Klerk was seen as national leader by 52 percent and the NP as the party to vote for by 49 percent.

While the ANC and Mandela had experienced a drop of 3 and 3 percent respectively since May, the declining support for De Klerk and the NP was of the order of 20 percent.

Black and white respondents were divided on the SACP. Whereas 59 percent of whites viewed the alliance between the SACP and the ANC as detrimental to the ANC, only 14 percent of blacks thought similarly.
Row over Broeder judge

By Brendan Templeton

Mr Justice W H Booyesen's membership of the secret Broederbond organisation is causing growing concern in legal circles.

The Johannesburg Bar Council (JBC) and Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) yesterday said his membership was incompatible with the judiciary's interests.

The Star disclosed last week that the Natal Supreme Court judge is an executive council member of the Broederbond.

The JBC said judges had an obligation to be impartial and to ensure they were perceived as impartial.

"The Afrikaner Broederbond is a secret society which pursues objectives which are essentially political in nature. Accordingly, membership thereof by a serving judge is improper and incompatible with the proper administration of justice," the JBC said.

LHR director Brian Currin said Mr Justice Booyesen would have to resign from the Broederbond.
Excuse me, I'm not going to comment on that.

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The SA Transition: Hopeful Lessons for Namibia Today

Christopher Saunders

April 14, 1993
IFP gets ‘rocket’ over claims

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

The government gave the Inkatha Freedom Party an extraordinary dressing down at last week’s bilateral meeting, confidential documents in the possession of The Argus reveal.

The crucial talks between the two sides – the first since IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the government last year – ended with a terse statement saying more discussions were planned.

But the documents show for the first time the depth of acrimony which actually existed.

It emerges that a memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the government delegation — led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — that a counter-memorandum was presented describing the IFP submissions as “the last straw.”

When the talks started on Monday the IFP, led by National Chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about government/ANC connivance in negotiations.

After its presentation the two parties adjourned until 12.30 pm Tuesday. The meeting finished 45 minutes later, after the government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memoranda give a graphic picture of the anger that exists on both sides.

In its no-punches-pulled memorandum the government accuses IFP leaders and the Kenneth Kaunda government of making “untrue and distorted allegations” about UDF behaviour in the negotiation process.

The government said because of its special responsibility to the process, it had resisted the temptation to react publicly to the IFP’s provocation.

However, “the latest memorandum was the last straw.”

It labelled the IFP memorandum as “blatant, untrue, hard propaganda.”

The government added:

“Reading the document (and listening to it being read out at the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation.”

The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document.”
ANC to rely on power of masses for poll victory

JOHANNESBURG.—The ANC will embark on a "mass-driven" campaign aimed at winning elections for a transitional government, the organisation's PWV region secretary-general, Mr Paul Mashatile announced.

Addressing a Press conference here, Mr Mashatile repeated ANC predictions that elections for a transitional government would be held later this year or early in 1994.

Outlining issues to be discussed at the PWV region general council meeting scheduled for the weekend, he said the campaign would be divided into three phases:

- Motivation of activists and consolidation of the ANC/Communist Party/Cosatu alliance;
- Door-to-door campaigning, marches, house meetings, dissemination of ANC policies and membership recruitment; and
- Mobilisation of people to vote for "the ANC, peace and democracy".

Sapa.
End to violence in SA by 1995
Too many lies, Govt tells Inkatha

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

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The crucial talks between the two sides - the first since Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off contact with the Government last year - ended with a terse statement saying more discussions were planned.

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A memorandum presented at the meeting by the IFP so infuriated the Government delegation led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer - that a counter-memorandum was presented, describing the IFP submissions as "the last straw".

When the talks started on Monday, the IFP - led by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose - tabled a memorandum to the Government containing serious allegations about Government-ANC conviviality in negotiations.

After its presentation, the two parties adjourned until 12.30 pm on Tuesday. The meeting finished 45 minutes later, after the Government had read out its counter-blast.

The confidential memorandum gave a graphic picture of the anger on both sides. In its memorandum the Government accused IFP leaders and the KwaZulu government of making "untruthful and distorted allegations" about its behaviour in the negotiation process.

The Government said because of its special responsibilities, the process had left it with a "trepidation to react publicly to the IFP's provocation".

However, "the latest memorandum was the last straw; too many lies and distortions, repetition too often", the

Govt and Inkatha clash

- From Page 1

Government said. It labelled the IFP memorandum as "blatant, untruthful, hard propaganda".

The Government added: "Reading the document (and listening to it being read out to the meeting) leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of banal nonsense could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation.

"The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear senior members of the IFP delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document."

In the original memorandum, which sparked the furious response, the IFP said there had been minimal co-operation between the two parties since Codesa 2 collapsed in May.

It accused the Government of a strategy which aimed at creating a long and open-ended process of transition in which the Government and the ANC would share power.

The IFP added: "One could speculate how on earth the most secure offices and files in intelligence quarters were rifled to expose financial dealings which were aimed at making Dr Buthelezi look like the stove the ANC says he was.

"The Official Secrets Act was obviously transgressed by someone in Intelligence, and yet there are no Goldstone inquiries into the leaks."

Absent

Hitting back, the Government delegation said: "... when IFP delegates were absent from important Codesa meetings, or when IFP delegates had to operate without a mandate because they could not get one from their principals, or when IFP delegates entered into agreements that were afterwards not well received at home and then blamed others for their predicament, or when strange foreigners appeared as IFP delegates." It had actively promoted IFP interests.

The IFP should blame itself, and not other parties, for its perceived misfortunes at Codesa, the Government said.

The Government proposed that the two parties discuss their com-

mon ground and said: "The real leaders should talk to each other and play a decisive role through the forums.

The next Government-IFP meeting is scheduled for Wednesday.

- The Government-ANC bosberaad enters its third day today with no news of how the deliberations are going at a secret venue.

The Star understands that today is the last day of discussions on violence-related matters, including the implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

The next two or three days of the bush indaba have been devoted to constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of TBVC states and matters pertaining to elections.

A draft electoral law and the setting up of an election commission, including the ANC's Transition to Democracy Act of 1992, will also be discussed, according to reliable sources.

Government negotiators, led by Meyer, will proceed to Cape Town after the bosberaad - the second between the Government and the ANC since last month - for the official opening of Parliament on Friday.
Graham: "We'll be hard-pressed to achieve the prerequisites for free and fair elections in 1993."

"But we have to ask the question: is it worth having elections that are not entirely free and fair if it means getting out of the current stagnation? The cost of postponing the process any longer is greater than the cost of risking an election that isn't entirely fair and free."

And so, he feels, "we have to take a deep breath and do what we can as well as we can in the accepted time-frame. This is an intolerant society, and we will not be able to stop intolerance before an election. All we can do is set up mechanisms to contain it."

Kane-Berman takes the opposite opinion, pointing to the examples of Angola and Mozambique in the 1970s. "If we hold elections before we are ready for them," he says, "we might well be laying the foundations for further conflict down the line. We really have to challenge the assumption that a so-called democratic election will be the quick-fix solution to all our problems. It could create more conflict than it solves."
After the 1994 elections in the former South Africa, the ANC Government, under the leadership of Nelson Mandela, embarked on a process of constitutional reform. The Constitution of the new democratic South Africa was adopted in 1996, establishing a framework for a non-racial, non-sexist society. The Constitution guarantees human rights and freedoms to all citizens.

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission was established to address the legacy of apartheid and to promote reconciliation. It provided a mechanism for the redress of human rights violations during the apartheid era.

The role of education in promoting democracy and human rights could not be overstated. The new education system sought to ensure that all South Africans had access to quality education, regardless of their background.

In conclusion, the transformation of South Africa after 1994 was a significant step towards democracy and human rights. The Constitution, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, and the new education system were pivotal in this journey.
Tired of their leader’s failure to turn words into action, AWB militants shoulder Terre’Blanche aside ... 

Silent coup sidelines Terre’Blanche

A SILENT coup inside the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging has wrestled effective control from founder, Eugene Terre’Blanche, and moved it into the hands of a militant cabal.

While Terre’Blanche officially remains at the head of the organisation, planning and operational functions are now controlled by a newly structured general staff, consisting mostly of militant AWB “generals” from the Free State.

Alec Cruywagen, a Free State farmer, has been appointed chief of staff of the para-military Wegkommandos, while fellow Free Staters Dirk Ackerman and Willem Eisebeth also feature prominently in the council.

The council of generals has decided not to oust Terre’Blanche completely. The organisation has become inextricably associated with Terre’Blanche’s public persona, and he is still regarded as a strong draw-card.

Full details: PAGE 3
**Oupa to squatters: Get out or else**

By ERIC NAKA

CISKEI military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has given squatters throughout the homeland a week to move — just three years after declaring that people should build houses wherever there was open space.

The statement, made shortly after seizing power in early 1990, brought him great popularity: the first squatter camp sprang up rapidly in Mdantsane, and was named Gqozo village.

But this Monday, he warned over Radio Ciskei that squatters who had erected shacks without permission would be in trouble. He gave them seven days to move. "I want people to obey my headmen, my councillors, my chiefs and my tribal authorities. We are going to take action against squatters. We will throw their stuff away. Squatting is causing bad administration," he said.

Squatters should go back to where they came from, and if they wanted land to build houses, they should seek permission from their headmen and councillors.

Community leaders and organisations in the region believe that Gqozo's threat springs from the fact that Ciskei's burgeoning squatter camps are strongly supportive of the African National Congress.

"He knows that the squatter settlements have been in the forefront of resistance against his government," said ANC Border media officer, Mecbisi Bata. Gqozo was desperate to boost the membership of his unpopular African Democratic Movement (ADM) in time for the coming multiparty election in South Africa, he added.

Bata warned that the ANC and its allies in the region would act to protect communities against action by Gqozo. A spokesman for the Mdantsane branch of the South African Civic Association (Sanco), Mzwandle Buzani, said Sanco would mobilise its members to resist any removal.

Militant anti-Gqozo squatter settlements are springing up throughout Ciskei. In Mdantsane, for instance, there was not a single shack before Gqozo assumed power in Ciskei, but besides Gqozo village, there are now also Manyana, Lingel, Velwana, Hani Park, Slovo, Masibambane and many others.

According to figures released by Ciskei authorities, about 10 000 families lived in squatter camps in the homeland in 1991.

Squatters want nothing to do with the Ciskei government except as the source of affordable housing. Gqozo's headmen and councillors are seen as having been unable to provide houses, using their positions to extract money from residents for the government instead.

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**Leon woos Houghton domestics**

By FEHIAL HAFSAJEE

THE question is: Who will serve the drinks at Democratic Party MP Tony Leon's shindig for domestic workers in Houghton tomorrow?

The aproned domestics, gardeners, their spouses and madams (if they feel up to it) from the northern suburbs have been invited to a festival in Norwood.

They will be shown how to vote, told what their new labour rights are likely to be and learn "what peace, freedom and democracy will mean".

They are the latest targets of the enterprising DP's drive to recruit members.

"It is an effort to extend our base," says Leon, adding "domestic workers are a very neglected constituency."

Leon is confident they will succeed.

The South African Domestic Workers Union has gained little ground in the northern suburbs where working conditions are better and workers less ripe for trade unionism.

Houghton is a pilot project: if it succeeds, the DP will attempt to woo domestic workers around the country.

And the party has pulled out all the stops for tomorrow's party: free drinks and snacks, a Matata Trust play about voting (How to Use Your Vote in the New Election) and transport all have been laid on free of charge.

Leon will spread his gospel through an interpreter and he is hoping to preach to a sizeable congregation: lengthy and detailed advertisements have been placed in community newspapers and DP workers have been phoning every single member of the constituency asking them to send their domestic worker to the party.
FORBES the Queen Bess rules—regional politics is moving up two or three gears and it’s “kick the man when he’s down” time.

The series of bilateral discussions involving the African National Congress, the government, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Consag) which began, or ended, this week signals the start of a new phase in the bargaining process, a phase in which progress will be measured in centimeters.

Consag started the ball rolling last weekend by telling the government that it was not opposed to a resolution of multiparty discussions, provided they led to a settlement in which the ANC played little or no part. And this meeting was regarded as a success.

Inkatha followed by apparently demanding that the Record of Understanding put together last year by the government and the ANC be renegotiated as a condition for Inkatha agreeing to join new multilateral discussions.

The ANC and the government are locked in yet another of the week’s bilateral discussion forums, wrestling with issues such as political violence, security legislation and the mechanics of a transitional authority, not to mention the reincorporation of the bastuaries, federalism and joint control of state resources (including power).

Looking back, it may be hard to accept that the last two years have been the easy part, but it is a fact. As the negotiation process moves from the preliminary phase to a substantive one, the obstacles which must now be overcome will move from the peripheral to the central.

This week’s bilateral discussion revealed—by what was omitted from formal statements, rather than what was included—that the competition for political power in a “new” South Africa is under way in earnest. They may not have preferred the need for a new multilateral forum, but initiating this on their terms. And this is just the first step.

The parties fall into two distinct groups—those who know they will be marginalised by a few and fair one-person, one-vote election, and those who believe they have nothing to fear from such a poll.

Only the ANC has any real confidence that it can count on substantial electoral support. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) cannot, dare not, put their faith in the electoral process and thus have two options. The first, a short-term tactic, is to delay the judgement day for as long as possible, while the second, a long-term strategy, is to ensure that whatever the election outcome, the IFP and its leaders have a guaranteed place in the sun.

Central to the latter strategy is the concept of federalism. Buthelezi and Inkatha feel confident enough about their support base in Natal to baulk at use it as a path to power, but the approach only works if the new constitution goes the federal route.

Lucas Mangosuthu of Bophuthatswana and the vested interests which prop up his regime stand to lose just about everything unless they can somehow keep the bastuaries intact in a loose confederal system. The same applies to Brigadier Cпаа Gqozo in the

Cleer.

The task of persuading Bophuthatswana, Mangosuthu, Gqozo and others to become involved in a consultative process which will not guarantee their political and economic future is enormous.

The National Party government has put forward a federal constitution which allows the power of the central government to be made meaningless. The NP is also pushing for certain constitutionally entrenched rights which will guarantee a major role for it in a “new” South Africa irrespective of the wishes of the electorate.

The ANC, confident of its election prospects, wants a truck with constitutional mechanisms designed for the most part to retain the status quo and perpetuate political and economic inequalities. The movement also believes that issues such as political violence and economic restructuring are not only going to be addressed once a transitional authority is in place. Few of the other parties agree.

If these obstacles are not daunting enough, there are a few others—the Pan Africanist Congress, for one—which clearly hold that the rewards of remaining detached from the process outweigh the benefits of becoming involved.

The current round of bilateral talks must begin to address the details of issues such as the “reincorporation of the bastuaries.” How this is to be done, given that political and economic elites in these apartheid creations must agree to give up the benefits of power?

The bilateral talks must find enough common ground on constitutional issues to at least agree to proceed to the next stage.

The evidence to date suggests that this will prove more difficult than first anticipated. If the ANC is seen to move from its proposal of a unitary state with strong regional and local government, the organisation may well hang on the PAC membership issue. It has not yet comprehensively sold the “Strategic Perspectives” option to its rank and file, and further concessions could be fatal.

Yet Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei—the list of the problems, as Gqozo is almost wholly dependent on South African government support—the Conservative Party and others cannot accept a unitary state without committing political suicide. Commissions will be difficult to find, and will come about only through a combination of arm-twisting and payoffs.

The government has made it clear that it will not allow “dilutionary” water be added to the process, but Inkatha, in particular, has demonstrated its ability to hold up delaying tactics to new and horrific lengths.

None of this implies that negotiations are doomed to failure: a solution will be found simply because com-
Federalism on the cards

Violence, intolerance, the dangers
BUTCHELZER CHATS WITH CHURCHMEN

JOHNNY MOORE: Our互相調和 Ewkdunz and Lkcchldng. Ftrn in a top of LEW.

PETER FABRIZIO PHOTOGRAPH

BLOW TO NEGOTIATIONS

Government hits back over carve up claim in IFP memo

Weaver's Argus Daily
Pow-wow is dogged by differences

By Quentin Wilson

UNFINISHED business is dogging the six day NP/ANC pow-wow that started on Wednesday to cement foundations for further multi-lateral negotiations.

Of particular concern in ANC quarters is the continued incarceration of political prisoners promised freedom on November 15.

This deadline was part of the Record of Understanding agreement between the same two political parties in September last year.

According to the ANC's Mr Matthew Phosa, there are "roughly about 20 prisoners" who qualify for release in terms of the agreement, but have not been set free.

"This arrangement threatens to severely dampen the transition process," says Phosa.

"We have been insisting and will continue to insist on their immediate release during our meeting with the NP this week."

Phosa said the release process had been running smoothly until the government set up a national indemnity board in terms of the Further Indemnity Bill passed late last year.

He alleges that the board is making the decisions on who should be released, contrary to the ANC's agreement with the NP that a joint committee of representatives from the ANC, the Department of Correctional Services and the Department of Justice, do the job.

According to Captain Bert Slabbert of the government's Department of Correctional Services, the roles of the two committees are different.

The joint committee, he says, gathers information on disputed cases and its proposals are forwarded to the national indemnity board.

"When the board comes to a decision on an individual case, it makes its final recommendation to the state president who has the final say," Slabbert said.

But according to ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus, the diverging opinions will not threaten talks.

"It is a problem," says Niehaus, "but there is no point in getting dogmatic about it.

"It should not be allowed to endanger the negotiation process, although we will certainly pursue the matter with the NP in the coming week."

Although the exact agenda of the ANC/NP meeting has not been released, it is understood that future control of the security forces will be discussed as well as the basic principles of constitution-making.

The meeting is intended as a precursor to a Codesa-type forum which will resume multi-party negotiations for a national political settlement.

Other current bilateral meetings include:

- IFP/NP talks on Monday and Tuesday. No consensus on the status of old Codesa agreements was achieved.
- ANC/IFP wanted these agreements to be reviewed as well as discussion on its proposal of a separate KwaZulu/Natal state.
- ANC/DP representatives in the Western Cape met on Wednesday. They set up a joint structure to promote free and fair elections in the region.
- ANC/Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa met President FW de Klerk on Tuesday to express their views on their participation in the negotiation process, the future position of traditional leaders and on violence.

ANC/IFP talks are planned for February 11. They will discuss each other's role in negotiations as well as ways to stop ongoing political violence.
Patience, urges Callaghan

URGING South Africans to have patience, former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan has cautioned that the fruits of political change will not be tasted “in the twinkling of an eye”.

He met President de Klerk at Tuynhuyts yesterday as chairman of the Interaction Council, an influential body of elder statesmen and advisers who met in Cape Town to consider the problems of Africa and ways in which to bring the continent back into the mainstream of the international community.

Lord Callaghan praised Mr De Klerk as a man who had won “great respect for South Africa in reversing the course of this nation by 180 degrees”.

“If you can continue along the lines that you have begun there is hope for this country in a most difficult situation.”

He warned though that the inevitable concentration of effort on finding a political settlement was “diverting attention from the very difficult economic situation that you will be faced with when you have a fully legitimate and democratic government.

“All the wasted years in so many ways cannot be undone overnight, in the twinkling of an eye. It will take time.”

There was a danger that people believed that by the mere act of changing policy, results could be achieved immediately.

“As a simple farmer let me say that there is an interval between sowing the seed and reaping the harvest. There must be a period of waiting.”

The meeting is hearing a wide range of opinion. Among the statesmen are General Olesegun Obasanjo, former military ruler of Nigeria, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, former Angolan prime minister and deputy speaker in that country’s first multiparty parliament.

Former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda is attending and among the advisers is Mr Robert McNamara, former chairman of the World Bank.

Head of the Southern African Council of Churches, the Rev Frank Chikane, told the meeting yesterday that black South Africans needed something specific and concrete to grasp now: the firm establishment of a date for elections and a clear perception that no apartheid-based laws were being applied against them.

The fact of negotiations alone had done nothing to change the lives of black people, said Mr Chikane.

“We have to do everything possible to restart negotiations to this end. He earmarked January and February as the months during which this had to be achieved,” he said.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi presented copies of his proposed KwaZulu-Natal federal constitution to the gathering but insisted that its contents were negotiable “at multiparty level”.

He had little comment for the Press on the problematic meeting between the IFP and government earlier this week but was “hopeful” that the parties next meeting, on Wednesday, would be fruitful.

Mr Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party told the gathering that he was more hopeful now than a year ago that “serious negotiations will start soon and materialise”.

At the parties to the process were wiser and he saw the gripping task being that of involving ordinary people in the political process.

“Mass action brought them closer to the issues, elections will bring them closer to the process,” Mr Eglin said.

South Africa's problems will not be solved overnight, but should President De Klerk continue along the lines which he has begun then there is every hope for this country in a most difficult situation, says former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan.

DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff
McNamara lauds ‘wisdom’ of leaders

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

HELP was needed from the outside world if Africa were to resolve its enormous problems, but the primary responsibility for dealing with them remained that of the African people themselves.

That was the message this week from Mr Robert McNamara, former US Defence Secretary, former head of the Ford Motor Company and former chairman of the World Bank.

He was in Cape Town for a meeting of the Interaction Council, a group of elder statesmen and advisers who attended a conference dealing with the need to bring Africa back to the mainstream of the international system.

In an interview Mr McNamara said it would be natural for black people to assume that, with political participation in a new system, they would receive substantial economic benefits quickly.

These economic benefits could come only from a growing economy.

He doubted whether there could be a substantial shift of the present gross domestic product (GDP) from whites and coloureds on one side to blacks on the other in order to benefit the latter in the areas of higher education expenses, public health benefits, improved housing, lower unemployment and higher wages.

These improvements would have to be paid for from the only possible source — a growing economy.

The South African economy appeared to have had a negative growth rate in the past few years while around three percent could be considered a normal rate.

He doubted whether the benefits blacks could expect could be provided by such a growth rate and he thought a growth rate in the area of five percent would be required.

This could be achieved only through the South African people and their government resolving to remove the impediments to such growth.

There would have to be higher savings and higher flows of foreign investment.

Such investment would have to be attracted.

Not only sanctions inhibited investment in the past, there was also the unsatisfactory climate — particularly the uncertainty.

Violence and instability would have to be removed before a high flow of foreign investment could be expected.

Mr McNamara, who has frequently visited South Africa, said: "I am personally optimistic about South Africa.

"I have been enormously impressed by the wisdom with which your leaders, De Klerk and Mandela particularly, have approached this very, very difficult problem of integrating your races.

"I say that with some experience from my own country in the period of the Sixties — we have in many ways dealt with problems less successfully than you have".
Mr Walsh said he was very worried about the personal safety of DP supporters, particularly in the townships.

He said political leaders had to avoid making inflammatory statements such as those made by Mr Tony Yengeni of the ANC before Monday’s meeting.

“We regarded the statements by Mr Yengeni as totally inflammatory and contributing to the disruption in Guguletu.”

Mr Yengeni’s response was that it was critically important to be able to enter into vibrant public debate and discussion in a responsible manner, rather than resort to violence.

He denied his statements were inflammatory: “The DP should not complain when we take their skeletons out of the cupboard and place them on the table.”
Countdown
to interim
rule in SA
FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

MOMENTOUS decisions could emerge from the current negotiations between the government and the African National Congress, where key plans for South Africa's transition may be brought to finality.

The discussions could prepare the groundwork for an interim government and could set the stage for elections this year — even as early as October.

Political analysts say it is likely that agreement on crucial issues will be reached by next week as time is now of the essence for both the government and the ANC. They can no longer afford to delay if they want to avoid serious complications in the constitutional process.

The negotiators opened the constitutional affairs agenda yesterday, at the end of the first three days of bilateral talks at the Presidency in Pretoria.

The talks continue at a Southern Cape nature reserve on Monday and Tuesday before the government is scheduled to meet Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators for a further round of talks in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Decisions from the five-day meeting — the second between the two players since December — are expected to form the basis for major announcements to be made by President De Klerk when he opens Parliament next Friday, January 29.

Some analysts say Mr De Klerk's speech on Friday could be of the utmost importance for South Africa's future. It could be as momentous — if not more so — as his watershed speech of February 2, 1990.

If a deal is clinched between the government and the ANC at this week's meetings on certain key issues, Mr De Klerk will be able to provide 'clarity' on Friday on crucial matters such as a transitional executive structure, an interim government and elections this year, as demanded by the ANC, or next year.

Analysts say there are various reasons why time is running out for both Mr De Klerk and ANC lead-

'Voting date may be set'

From Page 1

er Mr. Nelson Mandela — and why they must act now to get constitutional process moving.

On the one hand, there are signs that both of them face problems with restless followers and threatened divisions among their supporters if the process is delayed much longer. With the latest opinion poll showing Mr De Klerk's image at a low ebb, the NP may be in danger of losing grassroots support if Mr De Klerk does not come with decisive moves.

In the ANC camp, there are signs that Mr Mandela faces trouble from radicals who are impatient and unhappy about the way things are going. Fears have been expressed that Mrs. Winnie Mandela may be gearing up for a new role in which she will seek to mobilise the radicals under the guise of keeping in touch with the masses.

Some observers have interpreted Mrs Mandela's controversial speech at the recent funeral of activist Helen Joseph as a signal of her intention to continue playing a role in politics. At the funeral Mrs. Mandela spoke of "looming disaster in this country which will result from the distortion of a noble goal in favour of a short-cut route to parliament by a handful of individuals".

In a subsequent interview published in a weekly journal, Mrs Mandela stood by what she had said, emphasising the importance of the masses to organisation's leadership.

Stellenbosch political scientist Professor Willie Breytenbach says another reason for the government, in particular, to be in a hurry to get moving is that time is running out for the existing tricameral parliament.

"The guillotine falls on September 6, 1994. That is, when the life of the tricameral parliament expires," he told Weekend Argus yesterday.

"Unless there is an interim agreement to substitute the tricameral parliament, Mr. De Klerk will run into serious constitutional problems," he said.

Breytenbach said he expected more precise details of the election date to emerge from the latest round of talks.

Whether or not there would be voter registration — a lengthy process — could determine whether an election be held this year or next.
Govt and ANC round off first talks

PRETORIA - Government and ANC negotiators opened the constitutional affairs agenda yesterday before rounding off the first three days of talks at the Presidency here.

The talks continue at a Southern Cape nature reserve on Monday and Tuesday. The government is scheduled to meet IFP negotiators in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Sources at the government/ANC talks were noncommittal yesterday, saying only that all the proposals were now on the table and that much discussion lay ahead.

Transition

Technical committees have presented their reports to the talks plenary on a variety of subjects, including political violence and armed forces, legislation needed for the transitional process and elections, land matters, economic constraints on the government, timeframes for the first open elections, and the position of the TBVC states.

The most pressing area of agreement sought is the structure of the transitional executive council that is to oversee the levelling of the political playing fields ahead of the first open elections.

A central problem faced by the parties is the removal of obstacles to the resumption of negotiations, more specifically the refusal by the IFP and the PAC to return to or join Codesa.

Sapa
Inflation, education top lists

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

The leaders of parliamentary parties rank inflation control as their most important policy measure, a Stellenbosch University study has found.

However, the leaders in both the ANC-SACP alliance and the Inkatha Freedom Party regard equal education as their top issue, while the PAC targets the nationalisation of industry.

The study, by Professor Hennie Kotze of the Centre for International and Comparative Politics, is entitled "Transitional politics in South Africa: An attitude survey of opinion-leaders".

Leaders in the ANC-SACP camp largely reject state control as an economic model, with 57% of this group favouring a "mixed economy", 17% free enterprise and 17% state control.

Affirmative action as a policy programme for the civil service is accepted by the majority of all groups except right-wing supporters.

The study found there was a reverse pattern of attitudes between parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups over affirmative action in the private sector. While the ANC-SACP (81%), PAC (66%) and IFP (58%) agree that private companies have a duty to appoint black people at all levels, the CP (99%), NP (73%), DP (50%) and Indian parties (55%) do not agree.

"The distribution of attitudes on the environmental movement shows that it is regarded as being as precious as mother's milk and apple pie," Prof Kotze notes.

The highest percentage of respondents opposed to the environmental lobby came from right-wing parties; even there the figure was only 10%. 
RETIRED Minister of Finance Mr Barend du Plessis, who shocked the country when he unexpectedly retired about nine months ago, is concerned that unless a political solution to South Africa’s problems is found soon, the road to economic recovery will be long and hard.

This, he said, would further delay the constructive role South Africa could play in the regional and sub-Saharan context.

A revitalised Mr Du Plessis who is "now fully phased into a career as a director of companies and also as a consultant on strategic economic issues", spoke out on aspects of the political and financial future of this country.

He said the trigger to the return of investments and financial growth in this country lay not in the economic field but rather in the political arena.

"They need security about a future constitution, a Bill of Rights and the like. Also, as long as investors and businessmen do not feel physically and financially safe in this country, there will be no significant investments."

"Many South African business people do not see their way clear at this stage to invest their money in fixed and productive capital. They would rather put their money in the bank. If some of our own people are reluctant to invest because of the political uncertainty, we can no way expect foreign investors to invest their money here."

"While current developments around the negotiating process are very encouraging, there is still no certainty securing constitutional future. The ghosts of nationalisation and other similar ideas such as that of punitive taxes under a new government and the summary redistribution of existing wealth have not been finally put to rest."

"Many investors want to know what form of new government we are going to have, if such a government will stay on the road of a free market economy, etc, we are going to have to move to a more socialist-oriented environment. This is the type of uncertainty that concerns investors."

"Besides political uncertainty the level of crime and the violence in our country is also having a detrimental effect on possible investors."

"If my factory and house got burgled time and again, if I am not safe and my employees are not safe, I would rather put my money into a bank than take the risk of starting or expanding a business. This is the way many investors feel."

Mr Du Plessis said that since he retired he had spoken to industrialists and other businessmen over a wide spectrum.

"In the past few months I have seen how industrialists have turned to machines to replace labourers. They say machines do not go on strike and machines do not take part in mass action. And with machines their productivity and performance is much more stable and predictable." "After all, it is their money and money they are guaranteed, that was put at risk. However, while South African businessmen realise the necessity to create more jobs now, it all boils down to the final fact that more than ever before wealth can be created only by people who are prepared to work and compete against international standards."

Mr Du Plessis said that after he retired from government he spent several weeks hunting and hiking in the bush and in Namibia. After that he worked on his house at Heidelberg near Oudtshoorn in the south-east Cape and often slept up to 12 hours a day. "I now feel well, fit and healthy," he said.

Returning to the subject of the country’s economy, Mr Du Plessis said despite the fact that South Africa was in a deep recession, he still felt positive about the future. "There is sure to be a turning point, with a bright future ahead, but then violence must be stopped, crime brought under control and our problems solved in a democratic way."
Political tolerance worn thin – study

LEVELS of political intolerance among opinion leaders are "disturbingly high", a new study of attitudes among South Africa's national elite has found.

The researchers warn that this factor, plus continued political violence, could retard South Africa's transition process and jeopardise election plans.

In a report released today, they recommend a concerted effort by all political groupings and the State to launch programmes to reduce political intolerance.

The study, based on attitude surveys among opinion leaders across a wide spectrum, was conducted by the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at the University of Stellenbosch under political science department head Professor Henkie Kotze.

Rightwingers

The highest intolerance level was 73.9 percent – among supporters of right-wing parties. Almost 48 percent of rightwingers fell into the category of "extremely intolerant".

Inkatha Freedom Party respondents also showed a high level of intolerance (52.1 percent), followed by supporters of the Indian parties (40.9 percent), the National Party (37.9 percent), the PAC (28.9 percent) and the ANC-SACP alliance (17.7 percent).

The most tolerant grouping was the Democratic Party, with an intolerance level of just 6.1 percent.

Military leaders were found to be politically the most intolerant (67.5 percent), followed by farmers (52.9 percent), labour (40.9 percent), churches (32.9 percent) and bureaucracy (31.3 percent).

However, in a survey to test support for political parties among opinion leaders, those in the military sector showed the strongest support for the ANC-SACP (58 percent), followed by the IFP (76 percent) and parastatal institutions (68 percent).

A high-level political research project has disclosed some disturbing trends in the attitudes of the people who ought to be leading us out of the doldrums. But the Stellenbosch University researchers also found optimistic signs of possible early progress in South Africa's peace process, writes Frans Estehuyse.

Tolerance index by political party support

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Apart from Conservative Party supporters, respondents had no problems in accepting liberal constitutional devices such as a bill of rights, judicial review, regular elections, a guaranteed multiparty system and proportional representation.

While 75 percent of ANC-SACP supporters among respondents and 49 percent of PAC supporters in the military sector showed the strongest support for the NP (53 percent), followed by the IFP (76 percent) and parastatal institutions (68 percent).

No less than 68 percent of respondents preferred a federal system of government as a first constitutional choice, with a "unitary" state as second choice.

Only 4 percent preferred "partition" and 2 percent wanted white domination.

More than 75 percent of ANC-SACP supporters among respondents and 49 percent of PAC supporters favoured a unitary model, while 96 percent of IFP supporters backed a federalist model.

Concluded that if violence continued at its present level, the transition process — and with it any planned election late in 1993 or early 1994 — would face tremendous pressure.

"Only when the National Peace Accord had a real effect would the violence decline and the trust needed for binding agreements have a chance to grow. A concerted effort to get programmes started to reduce intolerance should be made by all political groupings as well as the State," said Kotze.

Compromises

Progress in the transition process would depend on the emergence of strong leaders with the ability to impose unpleasant compromises.

It was unlikely that an elite settlement coupled with pact-forming would be arranged in a "democratic or mass-media fishbowl"

A factor that could become a driving force in the transition process was the realisation that the Government (the NP and supporters of the "core State") was not strong enough to provide the necessary economic growth and strong government.

At the same time the ANC-SACP alliance and PAC were not strong enough to enforce a "people's democracy".

The immediate policy priorities of any government — transitional or permanent — would be political stability and economic reconstruction.

The end result might be a limited democracy.
Upstairs, downstairs diplomacy must merge

THE "upstairs" and "downstairs" of South African diplomacy will have to merge in a democratic South Africa, said Professor Peter Vale, director of the conference on professional diplomacy in a changing world held last week.

The "upstairs" was the government's foreign policy, which concentrated on formal bilateral links with countries around the world. The "downstairs" was the fairly extensive foreign links of the liberation movements.

"Much of the debate here has been about legitimacy, which the downstairs has claimed, and skills or competence, which the upstairs has claimed," he said.

Vale said the people who had represented the liberation movements in other countries were not "second class diplomats".

Their experience was valuable and they should be incorporated into the new foreign service under a democratic government.

While some in the Department of Foreign Affairs seemed to think that the door was open to all to join the service, others seemed to be saying: "Don't try and steal the show."

Vale put this down to self-interest in the department as well as the age differences of the representatives. The younger members were more open to change than the older ones.

He said delegates had spent some time talking about how to transform the Department of Foreign Affairs and had considered integration, amalgamation, absorption and restructuring.

It was noted that following the changes brought about by the end of the Cold War, countries worldwide were restructuring their foreign services. Given the growing importance of regional trade links, for example, Australia had incorporated its trade ministry into its department of foreign affairs.
Fixing up SA’s foreign affairs

MENTION foreign policy to most South Africans and you are likely to get a blank stare, a shrug or comments such as “that’s government business”.

But the foreign policy of any country affects all its citizens in one way or another and raises more issues about the responsibility of those citizens for what their government does to other states.

In post-apartheid South Africa, foreign policy will become a more complex and wide-ranging issue as diplomatic links are forged with more countries at a time of rapid global change and when South Africa is expected to be a major regional power once again.

These were a few of the issues discussed last week at a conference on professional diplomacy in a changing world held in Cape Town.

Delegates included former heads of the liberation movement’s missions abroad, senior representatives of the Department of Foreign Affairs and top diplomats from 12 countries, including Ghana, Nigeria, India, Australia, the United States and several European countries.

The conference was organized by the University of the Western Cape’s Centre for Southern African Studies and Rhodes University’s International Studies Unit. Delegates debated how to separate diplomacy from party political interests in a new South Africa and develop a professional diplomatic corps which serves the country as a whole.

Centre for Southern African Studies director, Professor Peter Vale, told the closing session that greater public debate would be needed about South Africa’s foreign policy under a democratically elected government.

He said this was particularly important because of rapid global change and the fact that South Africa had a narrow vision of the world because of years of self-imposed isolation.

About 70 diplomats and academics gathered in Cape Town last week to consider South Africa’s future foreign policy, reports Lynda Loxton in the first of a two-part series.

Most people expected or wanted their worldview to be defined for them by a political leader or the television. But if they were at all concerned about democracy in this country, they had to, for example, ask some searching questions about what was happening now in Angola.

This underscored the need for a strong and professional diplomatic service that was fully accountable to an aware and questioning electorate.

“We have learnt with great pain that if we allow our foreign policy to escape the hands of diplomats and be run by military people, we end up in a pretty messy situation.”

Some delegates had said that a new South Africa would be so busy righting the wrongs of apartheid that it would have little time or energy for foreign policies. But, said Vale, “these days, if you have a fax machine and a budget, you actually have to develop a foreign policy”.

“There is no way we will be able to sit here and be so absorbed with our own internal reconstruction that we will not have a foreign policy.”

That foreign policy will have to be more open and representative than previously, usually secretive and sometimes subversive, foreign policy. It would have to be determined in consultation with all groups in the country and the region.

There were many “second-track” diplomats in churches, universities, NGOs, businesses and the liberation movements who had built up extensive foreign links during the apartheid era and who should be included in any new foreign service.

Vale said immediate action should be taken to generate wider public debate about foreign policy issues, start the training of professional diplomats, establish a policy planning unit to look at South Africa’s reaction to global change and how to transform the present foreign service and establish a commission to examine some of the issues raised at the conference.

If this was not done urgently, he said, South Africa, democratic or not, would continue to fumble through its foreign relations, making serious mistakes along the way.

There was some opposition to establishing a commission to examine various foreign policy options in today’s rapidly changing world.

Delegates from the government and the liberation movements did not think it feasible to attempt to shape the diplomacy of a future democratic SA until a new government was in place and had articulated its foreign policy.

The ANC’s Ms Frene Ginwala and the PAC’s Mr Gosa Ebrahim said, however, that any research by academics would be valuable inputs to all parties as they considered their foreign policy options.

Ginwala said that the conference had been important because part of the legacy of apartheid, censorship and oppression was the closed minds and different realities within which South Africans operated.

This posed immense barriers in negotiations for a new South Africa as many people used the same words to mean different things.

It was therefore vital to develop a common basis at conferences such as this from which all parties could move forward.
GHOST WRITERS

named Lawyers US EX-ANC

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INKATHA'S

By Sibonelo Mngadi

Clamp 24/11/93
By S'BU MNGADI

PINGERS are pointing at two US lawyers and a former senior ANC activist as authors of a contentious document which rocked this week’s two-day talks between high-powered delegations of Inkatha and the SA government.

Senior Inkatha officials yesterday said the document could have been drafted only by conservative US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini, and recently returned former ANC exile Joe Matthews.

Sources said the three drafted the document in consultation with Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and senior colleague Dr Bernard Ngubane, but that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had the final say.

This memorandum, which the government delegation later described as “the last straw”, has driven a further wedge between the two parties.

The talks were the first since Inkatha suspended contact with the government last year in protest against the record of understanding signed by State President FW de Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela.

According to a Johannesburg daily, when talks started in Cape Town on Monday, Mdlalose tabled a memorandum to the government containing a series of serious allegations about the government/ANC connivance in negotiations.

In an equally blistering counter-memorandum, the government replied: “The document leaves one with a sense of shocked disbelief that such a piece of baloney could be produced from within the ranks of a respected political party and of the proud Zulu nation.

“The explanation clearly lies in the fact that this document was compiled by a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives. It would appear that senior members of the Inkatha delegation had no hand in the compilation of the document.”

Blaustein, Ariano-Ambrosini and Matthews were instrumental in drawing up the UDl-style constitution for the state of KwaZulu/Natal.

That the three drew up this week’s memorandum was partly confirmed by Mdlalose’s and Ngubane’s secretaries, who said the two Inkatha chief negotiators had referred all media enquiries about the document to Matthews.

Matthews, the son of the late ANC general-secretary, ZK Matthews, and Inkatha’s legal advisor, denied helping draw up the document.

Buthelezi said the memorandum “absolutely” represented the views of Inkatha, and that he had never before encountered questions over who had written a memorandum.

The government’s attacks on Inkatha will be discussed by the organisation’s central committee in Ulundi today.

Some political observers think the contentious document was a play by Inkatha’s pro-autonomy faction to scuttle national negotiations and speed up KwaZulu/Natal’s unilateral declaration of independence just before an interim government takes over the country.

Rape rap shocks locals

By ELIAS MALULEKE

THE arrest last week of Mamelodi businessman and socialite Chad “Mabeshane” Shabangu on charges of allegedly raping three women employees has shocked the Pretoria township.

He was released on warning and is to appear in court on March 3.

Shabangu said this week that scores of people from all areas had phoned to offer him their support.

Police said they were investigating several other charges against Shabangu, including indecent assault, assault and pointing a firearm at his victims.
NATIONAL

Invasive plants over as important in bilateral talks and in better ecology

perceive "off-the-record" in a bilateral

Insured

Increase in the number of the

HIT BACK

The government hit back.
Parliament's main aim is to talk itself out of a job
SOUTH African politics is Janus-faced: at the top there is an emerging consensus in favour of multiparty democracy, an interim government and an imminent universal franchise election. But at the grassroots level it's a poisonous cocktail in which incivility flourishes, political meetings get broken up and people die for carrying the wrong party card.

Leaders issue pious statements and denounce violence. But a free speech and political competition which allows anyone out there listening or watching.

The sentiment and danger are palpable. Informal politicians and liberation spirit artists who assume (as Jonathan Eyal noted in another context) that the mob licence now playing its usual role in some form of growing violence, a mere child of political conflict, which when confronted with the reality of an election will find its own cure. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Tony Leon says we need a voting system that inoculates against intolerance.

ANC in Ulundi, how do you have an election based on an informed choice rather than the election of an army or a street committee?

Kenya is a useful example of the grotesque mockery of conducting a poll when the government declares certain key areas “no-go” zones to all but its own supporters.

We are, right now, storing up trouble for the future. If the DP or the MDC gets thrown out of the coalition, what happens when the opposition enters

Tony Leon says we need a voting system that inoculates against intolerance.

ANC in Ulundi, how do you have an election based on an informed choice rather than the election of an army or a street committee?

Kenya is a useful example of the grotesque mockery of conducting a poll when the government declares certain key areas “no-go” zones to all but its own supporters.

And place faint hope in foreign observers. They were there – and in Angola – in droves. And when the police appeared rigged they wrung their hands and packed their bags for more temperate political climes.

There is, of course, nothing uniquely African in this tide running towards mob rule. In revolutionary France the Jacobin ascendency cried: “Those are not for us are against us!” Saint-Just told the Assembly: “What are they but enemies of the people.”

There you had it: a rigid or anti-clerical. Here if you weren’t for “the oppressed” you must be in opposition to them. In both contexts middle positions or suspended judgments, or even indifference, get dramatically and violently denounced. Robespierre: “Meet Winnie Mandela.”

Yet if the incipient freedoms of speech, assembly and movement are not exercised they stagnate and wither. Those who oppose their exercise will know the truth behind the arch observation of Bernard Crick: “When you give people liberty you never know what they will do with it.” The actions of free men and women are always unpredictable.

The key solution does not lie in platitudinous statements and hotel summits. It lies in designing a voting system which induces changes in behaviour while remaining consistent with accepted democratic practices. It must inoculate against the spread of the disease we're now witnessing. In sum, it must reward democrats and penalize totalitarians.

Edward de Bono recently extended his lateral thinking to the issue of making extreme a non-viable strategy. He suggests that South Africans be given a negative vote as well as a positive one. For a party to see support by creating an “enemy” group will simply ensure that all the “enemy” supporters will cast negative votes against candidates of the hostile group.

If, for example, 60 percent like a candidate but accepted 40 percent don't, then he might lose only 20 percent of the vote. Equally, if 30 percent like another candidate, 60 percent are indifferent, he will receive 30 percent of the vote.

There are a host of objections, no doubt, to such a system. It rewards blandness and is highly peculiar. But it has the merit of simplicity and originality.

Far more sophisticated and in a sense easier to sell is a powerful political insight – “vote pooling.”

The 1991 study by mass political scientist and colleague Donald Horowitz amends the ethnic fault line dividing South Africa. It tells us that moderation a democratic behaviour has to be made politically possible. Horowitz is unimpressed with politicians who make the incentives strong enough, he says, and yet alter their conduct.

By designing the right voting system, you can avoid the first election being simply “polarizing census”. In such a situation the system must make politicians “reciprocally dependent” on the votes of parties other than their own.

By making the electorate system (rather than poor voting arrangements or constitutional jiggery-pokery) a centre stage, you oblige political leaders to communicate, persuade and persuade their followers to toe the line up front.
Rough times rumoured at Bumpys Bosberaad
ANC unveils plan to woo 5-m voters

Staff Reporter

Optimism for the transitional process was underlined by the ANC PWV region's plan for a mass recruitment drive for voters, which was announced at the weekend.

The three-phase campaign, which is aimed at about 5 million potential voters in the region, kicks off today with the mobilisation of all ANC activists.

The first phase prepares the organisation for elections, and activists have been called upon to consolidate structures and rebuild street and block committees.

According to a press statement, the second phase begins in mid-March with a mass recruitment drive and a campaign to educate voters about ANC policies and fund-raising.

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance and other sympathetic organisations will establish election structures during this phase.

The final phase is to begin in May with a "Votes for All Campaign." Activities include house meetings, public meetings and debates, and visits to voters by regional and national ANC leaders.

Peace will be a recurring theme throughout the campaign and peace summits are to be organised in all regions. "There can be no free and fair elections unless peace prevails," the statement says.
Inkatha hopeful on talks

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Dr Frank Mdlaylase attempted today to throw cold water on the row between his party and the Government, saying he was optimistic they would "find one another" at Wednesday's meeting.

Speaking from Ulundi, national chairman Mdlaylase said it was "unfortunate" that "someone clever" had leaked the memoranda which have made public the degree of difference between the IFP and the Government.

He conceded that this had "bedevilled" the talks.

The two sides have agreed to meet in Cape Town on Wednesday for another bilateral meeting following last week's encounter which produced little by way of a positive resolution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer characterized last week's meeting as having broken down on the issue of mistrust which dated back to the IFP's suspicions about a Government-ANC deal following the signing of the Record of Understanding between those parties on September 26.

The public mud-slinging between the IFP and the Government since the leaking of the memoranda last week and the singling out of personalities like IFP's Walter Foulgate and the Government's Meyer as among major obstacles to a resolution has done little to mend the rift.

But Mdlaylase said today he was still hopeful that common ground could be found.

He denied speculation that there were rifts within the IFP itself and that he was among those unhappy with the contents of the IFP memorandum which criticized the Government and questioned the integrity of the National Party.

The healing of the IFP-Government rift seems now one of the major obstacles to the resumption of multiparty talks, a goal to which the Government and ANC have now committed themselves with equal vigour.

Whether the Government would be prepared to go ahead with multilateral discussions in the absence of the IFP remains to be seen, but the leaked Government memorandum certainly revealed a good deal of Government impatience with the intransigent position of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Meanwhile, the Government and ANC resume their extended Bosberaad today at a nature reserve along the Cape south coast.
Negotiations
heading for
decisive week

The negotiation process enters a crucial stage this week, with the immediate future of multiparty talks depending on the Government's meetings with the ANC and Inkatha.

The future of multiparty discussions hangs on the outcome of three separate events — the ANC-Government bosberaad, the second round of talks between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, and President FW de Klerk's opening address to Parliament on Friday.

The bosberaad, which started in Pretoria last week, is expected to end in Cape Town tomorrow. According to sources, the ANC and the Government were to discuss constitutional matters, including the reincorporation of the TBVC states and a draft electoral Bill.

The second round of IFP-Government talks is to resume on Wednesday after the collapse of discussions last week, when a flurry of acrimonious and accusatory memoranda changed hands.

De Klerk's speech will set the tone for the forthcoming legislative session — probably the last under the present dispensation. The talks with the ANC will be critical in this regard, and the Government is confident the discussions will be concluded successfully.

If all goes well, legislation easing the way for transition will be passed. This includes the creation of transitional executive councils, legislation to facilitate a transition, and the passing of an interim constitution effectively ending the present dispensation.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday: "This is a fairly decisive week. The whole function of Parliament is to introduce legislation to facilitate the transition process. This legislation should be drawn up according to the agreements reached with other parties, and hinges on the talks with the ANC."

Sapa reports that the IFP yesterday demanded "open disclosure" by the Government of transitional and constitutional discussions between itself and the ANC-SA Communist Party alliance. It was reacting to the Government's angry response to an IFP document submitted to it last week.
Callaghan sees greater hopes for peace in SA

CAPE TOWN - Former British Prime Minister Lord Callaghan said a three-day summit of world leaders held in Cape Town last week had given him greater confidence about the prospects for a peaceful political settlement in SA.

Speaking at the end of the Interaction Council's three-day summit in Cape Town on Saturday, Callaghan said he was "deeply impressed" by the presentations made by prominent South Africans at the summit on Friday and Saturday.

President F.W. de Klerk, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi were among the political, business, church and academic leaders who addressed the delegates.

Callaghan said the South Africans fully realised that "democracy by itself does not solve economic problems or bring prosperity." He cautioned against high expectations after a new government had taken office in SA.

"The task of addressing the evils of generations cannot be addressed overnight. It is vital that people should not expect houses and jobs overnight. The Press can play a large role in moderating expectations," he said.

Callaghan, who chaired three days of talks in Africa by six former government leaders and a host of high-level international officials, said a report based on the deliberations would be prepared for presentation at the council's next meeting in Shanghai, China, in May.

The 36-member Interaction Council is a think-tank of elder statesmen who pool their skills, experience and resources to address international political and economic problems.

Sisulu, who met the delegates in the absence of ANC president Nelson Mandela, said the ANC, government and other political players had almost reached consensus on the need for an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly, which will draft a new constitution.

"The ANC insisted however that whatever form the new SA took, its major institutions and structures had to be shaped and informed by the fundamental principles of democracy.

"It must be a united and democratic country based on a clear separation of powers. Fundamental human rights, enshrined in a justiciable bill of rights, should be built into the constitution.

"Sisulu said 1993 would be "a decisive year in our long march to freedom." The ANC would ensure that an interim government of national unity was installed and elections held for a constituent assembly this year.

"It is our considered view that the process of negotiations should be inclusive. At the same time, we believe that no single party or group of parties should be allowed to hold the negotiation process to ransom."

PAC spokesman Barney Desai said the PAC was committed to negotiations and a peaceful transition. Several delegates expressed concern at the PAC's continued armed struggle.

Desai said the PAC was committed to negotiations and a peaceful transition.

SAPA.
Big push to get all party talks under way

THE government is to make a supreme effort in talks with the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party this week to secure agreement on the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and his top negotiators continue bilateral talks with the ANC at a southern Cape nature reserve today and tomorrow and then meet an IFP delegation in Cape Town on Wednesday.

Their main objective is to secure an agreement which will lead to multilateral talks — particularly a firm commitment by the ANC and IFP — which will allow President de Klerk to report progress when he opens parliament on Friday.
Future ‘optimistic for SA’

THE resurgence of democracy in Africa and recognition of the failure of centrally-planned economies were positive features in reversing the marginalisation of the continent, former British prime minister Lord Callaghan said.

Addressing a press conference at the end of the Interaction Council’s “Africa summit”, he said the process of reintegrating Africa into the mainstream of the international system had already begun.

Consensus on the universal principles of democracy and the shift to market-based economies in many African states were advances which would have a positive effect on countering marginalisation.

Lord Callaghan said a report based on the deliberations would be prepared for presentation to the council’s next meeting.

Lord Callaghan said delegates had agreed on seven key areas to combat Africa’s problems.

With the continent’s enormous resources, self-sufficiency in food production had to be ensured. Massive investment in education, especially for women, was essential.

Military spending had to be reduced. “It is obscene that more money is spent on defence than education,” Lord Callaghan said.

He said Africa had enormous potential and its people had to be offered hope. — Sapa
Govt pushing for agreement

THE government is to make a supreme effort in talks with the ANC and Inkatha this week to secure agreement on the resumption of multi-party talks. Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and his top negotiators will be holding bilateral talks with the ANC at a southern Cape nature reserve today and tomorrow and will then meet an IFP delegation in Cape Town on Wednesday. But the IFP yesterday also vowed to re-submit its controversial memorandum and retain the white "advisers" — including founder-member Mr Walter Pelgate — whom the government believes are intent on bedevilling relations between the two organisations. Mr Pelgate yesterday rejected the charges and accused Mr Meyer of attempting to drive a wedge through the IFP. The government has insisted that the IFP should withdraw its memorandum. Yesterday the IFP's central committee resolved after a mammoth meeting in Ulundi "to formally restate the points in our memorandum to which the government so vehemently objected". — Political Staff, Sapa
Sisulu: Interim rule by March this year

THE African National Congress hoped to see the inauguration of an interim government by March this year, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu said at the weekend.

Mr Sisulu was speaking at the InterAction Council's three-day "Africa summit". He said a consensus on the need for an interim government and the election of a constituent assembly had almost been reached.

"It must be a united and democratic country based on a clear separation of powers. Fundamental human rights, enshrined in a justiciable bill of rights, should be built into the constitution." — Sapa

CT 25/1/93
Carey attacks the 'agony of apartheid'

CAPE TOWN — It would be "wrong to neglect the appalling pain and terrible agony" South Africans had suffered under apartheid, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey, said yesterday.

Preaching to thousands in the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town, Carey made a strong attack on apartheid, saying "a whole population has been subjugated by an evil system".

He added: "Christ has been crucified time and again in South Africa."

Carey also called on the international community to adopt a new vision of Africa.

"Few people can be unmoved today by the terrible suffering that afflicts the great continent of Africa," he said.

"Africa lies wounded and bleeding and we who live elsewhere must not pass by on the other side."

He added: "We cannot claim to obey Christ's call and follow him if we neglect those who walk with us. Here on the African continent 18 of the poorest countries of the world are to be found. We Anglicans are in these countries. We know their anguish at first hand."

"Today we meet in a country where the scourge of apartheid has left deep scars of violence, shame and anger on black and white alike."

— Sapa.
ANC, govt mum on talks

TALKS between government and the ANC, which began in Pretoria last Wednesday, will continue in Cape Town today and tomorrow. No comments could be obtained from either party yesterday on the direction the talks were taking. Senior ANC officials said an undertaking had been made by both sides not to comment until the talks were concluded.

A source close to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said a statement on the talks would be made either tomorrow or on Wednesday. However, substantial progress on the future control of security forces has reportedly been made:

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that government and ANC negotiators discussed a package which would establish a multi-party transitional executive council to control all armed forces. It is envisaged to be in place by July. Also discussed were mass action, statements insisting violence and the peace accord.

Warning over unilateral change to education

UNILATERAL action by government on restructuring the education system into a single department could alienate a large portion of the population, the ANC warned at the weekend.

The organisation was reacting to reports last week that education would be brought under a single non-racial ministry and department within months. It is expected the new department will be restructured on a regional rather than ethnic lines and reports said the changes could be announced as early as this week.

ANC education department head John Samuel said while the organisation was clearly encouraging a shift to a single non-discriminatory education system, the ANC warned that such an announcement in this regard would be made without consultation with other parties was of great concern.

Samuel said the ANC had not been involved in the negotiations, and he criticised government's 'automatic assumption' concerning the regionalisation of education.

The envisaged changes were confirmed by the House of Representatives' Department of Education, which had been abandoned after extensive teacher union opposition last year. This was only a part of the rationalisation options which government was considering, sources said.

He said education ministers of the three houses of parliament had been working together for some time to establish the single department.

Sources close to the Pretoria talks confirmed that there were plans for a single education system and said the move was necessitated by the dire financial straits facing education.

Extreme economic pressure on the state coffers has left government no option but to continue with the rationalisation in the House of Representatives' department, which had been abandoned after extensive teacher union opposition last year. This was only a part of the rationalisation options which government was considering, sources said.
CP regains official opposition status

CAPE TOWN—The DP has lost its status as the majority opposition party in Parliament, after the defection of Tongaat MP Michael Abraham to the NP. This reduced the DP to 35 seats — the same number as the CP.

At yesterday's whips' meeting Speaker Eli Louw ruled that, because the CP was the official opposition in the House of Assembly and the DP did not enjoy this status in any of the Houses, the CP would regain its status as majority opposition party.

Just how long the CP will enjoy its new position is questionable, as a number of Labour MPs are likely to cross to the DP during the course of the session.

It was also decided at yesterday’s meeting that Parliament would not adjourn for two days a week when negotiations at Cosatu resumed. Instead it was decided that there would be no sitting for the duration of the talks — possibly two weeks.
For Angola, just read S Africa

THE guns are once again doing the talking in Angola and the drama unfolding in that God-forsaken country holds serious consequences for the whole region, and for South Africa in particular.

Angola is merely a trial run of what could happen here. The political landscape in Angola is similar to South Africa's in many ways. Both countries are in a state of transition after many years of one-party oppressive rule. Formerly banned groups are back competing for power. Both countries are lacking the one important ingredient necessary to make a settlement stick: outside mediators that could threaten and drag them to seal a deal and abide by it.

But of course SA has had a decisive say in the destiny of Angola. With the enthusiastic support of the US it built Jonas Savimbi into a little African god and put whatever he needed at his disposal.

There are politicians in our midst who look as though they have been cut out from the same cloth as Savimbi — the personality cult, the short fuse, the dubious doctorates. They have been feathered and pampered by Pretoria and mollified by the right-wing governments of the '80s to a point where their egos tend to blind their visions. They have, so to speak, been travelling first class on a second-class ticket. They will pull down the house at the slightest threat.

The aborting of the electoral process in Angola — and let it be said, Savimbi is to blame — with the rigging of the Kenyan elections by Daniel arap Moi's party have coincided with the break-up of meetings by certain groups in our townships. Ah, you see, say our one-eyed commentators, these people are not ready for democracy!

Trouble is when you're one-eyed, you tend to have great difficulty noticing the speck in your own eye. PW Botha is a name that most South Africans will be familiar with. As a National Party organiser, this fellow made a name for himself by breaking up United Party meetings. Nobody at the time even suggested that the Afrikaners were not ready for democracy. In fact, PW was so successful at it that his climb to the top in the National Party was very swift.

What is apartheid after all, if not the highest form of political intolerance? You don't just break-up meetings; you use brute force to crush your political opponents. Intolerance is therefore not uniquely African. It has been the policy of the land for decades.

It can be argued that Savimbi's actions have a lot to do with his nannies in Pretoria. After all, they have sacrificed young South Africans lives for his cause. They would be prepared, he must have reasoned, to see this thing through, to see him finally installed in Luanda as president of Angola.

'Pik Botha', of course, went over as a "peacemaker". One didn't know whether to laugh or cry. After visiting such horrendous damnation on the country, you offer yourself as a peacemaker. Such cynicism simply defies comprehension. And the MPLA, fools that they are, swallowed the line.

Now the Angolan government says peace was never the subject in Botha's discussions with Savimbi. We have no way of knowing. Savimbi's subsequent actions are not of a man desirous of peace. And we have been lied to so often by this government to believe their protestations.

But what is envisaged in Angola by Savimbi supporters fits in with what certain politicians in this country describe as a power-sharing arrangement. They want to remove the idea from the public mind that the vote or ballot is the source of political power. Losing an election does not necessarily mean losing political power. You can negotiate a power-sharing arrangement after losing free and fair elections as long as you have guns on your side. Angola and Mozambique later this year will be a testing ground for this theory.

The United Nations has given the parties until April to start negotiations or it will pull out. What, one may ask, exactly is there to be negotiated? Savimbi lost the elections. He should accept the results or be treated as an outlaw.
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government has not abandoned hope of settling its quarrel with the Inhatha Freedom Party tomorrow, despite the apparently tough line taken by the IFP central committee at the weekend.

The central committee decided it would once again present to the Government a highly critical memorandum which the Government has insisted it should withdraw.

The memorandum, presented by the IFP at a meeting with the Government last week, accused Pretoria of doing secret deals with the ANC.

The Government retaliated with a stinging attack on the IFP, implicitly blaming white advisers for misleading IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and suggesting the document did not represent the views of the "proud Zulu nation".

But on Sunday the IFP central committee officially endorsed the memorandum, deciding that it should be presented again tomorrow and that the white advisers would be retained.

IFP sources pointed out yesterday that there were positive signs of a conciliatory mood in the central committee statement. The committee resolved "to formally re-state the points in our memorandum to which the Government so vehemently objected".

Government sources said last night this raised hopes of reconciliation.

There was no flexibility in the central committee's full endorsement of the IFP's white advisers.
Elections date to be set today

**BUSH CAUCUS** Sources believe decision on polls taken during their five-day meeting:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

The African National Congress Government "bush caucus" which ends today is to finalise the date for general elections, to be formally announced in June, sources say.

This "agreement" would be put forth as a proposal at bilateral meetings with political parties involved in the negotiations process. It is widely believed in Government and ANC circles that multi-party negotiations - with at least the Inkatha Freedom Party returning to the table - will resume in March.

These disclosures coincided with the ANC PWV region's announcement of a recruitment campaign for voters in 1993.

The ANC and the Government are expected to issue a statement today after meeting for five days at a secret venue.

The ANC campaign - and perhaps its overall strategy for 1993 - was hinted at by its national executive committee member Mr. Ronnie Kasrils when he addressed the ANC's PWV regional general council in Johannesburg: "Possibilities exist that by June a date for the elections can be announced. "The election date might be in November or February 1994."
IFP dampens talks progress

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC had managed solid progress at their five-day bosberaad, according to sources close to the talks.

However, the ongoing row between the government and Inkatha has hung like a cloud over the discussions and threatens to delay a swift return to multiparty negotiations.

Well-placed sources said four major points of contention had crystallised at the government-ANC talks which yesterday switched venues from Pretoria to a site near Arniston:

- The powers to be given to regions in a new dispensation.
- The future of the TBVC territories.
- The extent to which power-sharing will be entrenched in a new political order.
- The future of the ANC’s military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK).

Although differences remained about how much power central government should surrender to the regions, the two sides are said to have closed the gaps in their thinking.

Progress has also been made on the re-incorporation of the homelands, with Bophuthatswana presenting the major headache for the negotiators.

The ANC has agreed to some of the government’s proposals for entrenched power-sharing for an interim government but is still strongly opposed to government plans for a forced coalition in a final constitution.

Deliberations on the future are at a “very sensitive” stage.

The government is worried about the apparent inability of the ANC to control all of its MK cadres.

But commitment by negotiators on both sides to end political violence and agreements on the need to change security legislation has raised hopes for a breakthrough in the next few weeks on the MK issue.

The government wraps up its talks with the ANC today and moves to Cape Town tomorrow to begin what promises to be a bruising bilateral session with Inkatha.
Parliament to open with little pomp and ceremony

Tos Wentzel
Political Staff

THE opening of the new session of parliament by President De Klerk on Friday will be a scaled-down occasion with little pomp and ceremony.

All four units of the Defence Force - the Army, Air Force, Navy and the Medical Corps - will have troops lining the route that the president will follow from the top of Roeland Street.

Mr and Mrs De Klerk will drive from their official residence, Groote Schuur, They will go down Roeland Street, into Plein Street and Spin Street and then up Parliament Street.

From Roeland Street they will be escorted by the ceremonial motorcycle unit of the military police.

At the entrance to the Great Hall of Parliament a guard of honour and a military band will await them. They will arrive there at 10.55am.

While the band plays the National Salute, a 21-gun salute will be fired from Signal Hill.

As it is a scaled-down opening there will not be a fly-past by military aircraft and there will not, as in the past, be a fanfare of trumpeters as they enter the parliamentary buildings.

The Speaker, Mr E H Louw, will meet the presidential couple at the entrance and will accompany them into the Great Hall, where Mr De Klerk will start his opening speech soon after 11am. Dress rehearsal for the opening will be held late this afternoon and on Thursday afternoon.

In addition to this session, there is also likely to be a short session later in the year.
Govt in race to win accord

GOVERNMENT negotiators, involved in two crucial bilateral meetings this week, are racing against time to get the major parties to agree to draft legislation ushering in a transitional executive council and power-sharing.

They also want agreement with the ANC and Inkatha in the next few days on the resumption of multiparty talks.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk is intent on pressing ahead with his schedule of transition and wants to announce in his opening address to Parliament government's intention to pass the legislation. He also wants to be in a position to announce that multiparty talks will be under way by March, leading to non-racial elections within a year.

"The schedule is tough and the task a tall order," a government source said yesterday, adding there was no certainty deals could be finalised in time for Friday's opening of Parliament.

Should agreement on the council not be reached, De Klerk was expected to announce that "enabling legislation would be tabled to be passed by Parliament for the council which includes the reincorporation of homelands and some form of power-sharing with joint committees overseeing different areas of government".

The source said it appeared negotiations between government and the ANC, due to end today, were progressing well but that there was a lot of anxiety about tomorrow's meeting in Cape Town with Inkatha.

However, the chances of government and Inkatha patching up their differences received a boost yesterday when Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he wanted a new constitutional dispensation by next year and that he accepted De Klerk's transitional schedule deadline.

"I say let there now be peace so that negotiations for democracy can commence in time for us to meet the 1994 deadline for a final constitutional dispensation," he said.

Inkatha national chairperson Fikile Mdlalose said he was optimistic that government and Inkatha delegates "would find one another" at the meeting tomorrow. Inkatha was still demanding open disclosure would be met when all agreements were scrutinised at this conference by all participants.

It seems another Inkatha demand may be partly met by the provisional agreement between government and the ANC that all armed formations, including Inkomo we Sizwe, come under joint political control under the transitional executive council.
Govt an to heal rift

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Government and Inkatha Freedom Party will meet in Cape Town today in what is hoped would heal the rift emerging between the two.

IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos yesterday echoed party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose's sentiment: "We will be going to the meeting looking for a constructive way forward."

The two parties ended their first meeting inconclusively last week, with a row erupting over a memorandum the IFP presented and which accused the Government of making secret deals with the African National Congress.

Vos said "every South African" wanted to see things done in the open and the IFP objected to bilateral agreements which became binding for other parties, such as the September 26 Record of Understanding.

Meanwhile, Government sources said there was optimism on its side that the IFP would today soften its stance.
Nats, ANC ‘reach crucial agreements’

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Government emerged cautiously from its crucial “bush caucus” with the ANC yesterday on the eve of an even more critical meeting today with the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Negotiators from both sides could not be reached last night but a bland statement issued earlier in the day suggested that serious but tentative agreements had been reached between them.

Results of the talks could form basis for FW’s speech in Parliament:

The agreements included steps which would result in the speedy resolution of multi-party negotiations.

If all goes well at the IFP-Government meeting today, agreements reached at both meetings could form the nucleus of President FW de Klerk’s opening of Parliament speech on Friday, sources close to the centre of talks speculated last night.

The meeting between the ANC and Government discussed issues surrounding power-sharing in the transitional period, new electoral laws, joint control of the security forces and measures aimed at levelling the political playing field before elections, including the restructuring of the SABC.

They gave no formal indication of progress, although Government sources said the meeting had gone well.

It is understood that Government had approached “the issue of Umkhonto we Sizwe in a tolerant and understanding manner”.

[UNIQA STUDENTS]
Election turnout could be low

WASHINGTON — Fear, cynicism and confusion could lead to a disappointingly low black turnout in SA's first nonracial election, soon to be published research sponsored by the Matla Trust shows.

"It would be a mistake to believe that voter turnout will be high," Craig Charney, the Wits sociologist who is running the study, told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday.

The finding, based on interviews with 24 focus groups throughout SA last November, appeared to reinforce ANC president Nelson Mandela's appeal for electoral assistance during his visit here last week.

Key factors included "widespread fear of retribution", Charney said. Interviewees "were afraid of violence if they do vote, if they don't vote, or if they vote for the wrong people".

The researcher quoted as typical a woman in the Free State who said: "I would be afraid to vote because I am afraid to die." 

There was widespread cynicism, not only about the fairness of the process and the secrecy of ballots, but about the capabilities of the resulting black government.

There was also confusion about what voting entailed, indicating the need for a massive voter education programme.

For many interviewees, the costs of voting seemed to outweigh the perceived benefits, a situation those with an interest in a low turnout would seek to exploit.

Foreign governments, the UN and private groups could play an important part in supporting voter education, mediating disputes on electoral codes and rules, and in providing monitoring and security.
ANC end talks
as govt. 'struck'

By Anthony Johnson

ANC government's talks in Cape Town today to end talks after their five-day crisis meeting with internal ANC leadership ended without agreement. Sources said that no deal was reached on resolving disagreements over a list of priorities for the next four years.

The cabinet and the ANC leaders met this morning to discuss their principals before continuing negotiations with the government. A committee has been set up to resolve the differences.

The ANC had earlier announced that it would end its talks with the government after five days of meetings failed to reach an agreement on key issues.
Outlook for SA brighter - HSRC

BY AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

THE medium-term outlook for SA is brighter than most people think and business and investor confidence should be higher, Lawrence Schlemmer, a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) GM, told 500 leading Cape Town business people yesterday.

Stressing that a political settlement was "virtually assured" and there would have to be simultaneous agreement on an economic policy, Schlemmer said there was increasing consensus and pragmatism among all parties.

Surveys had shown that most blacks expected a coalition government.

And many of SA's problems, including politically-inspired violence, would disappear once a settlement had been reached.

Schlemmer was among speakers at the first public presentation of "Platform for Investment," at the Baxter Theatre.

It was prepared by teams from Sanlam, the HSRC, stockbrokers Frankel, Max Pollak, Vinderine and accountants Ernst & Young.

Other speakers who had worked on the forecast included Mike Brown, chief economist with Frankel, Max Pollak, Vinderine, and Ian MacKenzie, a national director of Ernst & Young.

Brown stressed the need for more jobs, which discussions with urban blacks had shown was their first priority.

He said unemployment was the worst problem facing SA now. There was a need for the development of labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive industries, and more money should be available to loans from the Small Business Development Corporation in addition to projects intended to kick-start the economy such as low-cost housing and electrification.

MacKenzie said the corporate tax rate should be reduced to 40% over the shortest possible period. A reduction to 35% should be aimed at but was probably not achievable in the medium term.

The maximum rate for individual taxation should also be reduced to 40% and this level should only be reached with an income of R150 000 a year. There should be only four tax brackets below this.

He suggested incentives to manufacturing industry should not be limited to exporters.

"Platform for Investment," based on interviews with more than 12 000 South Africans of all races including 30 in key positions, takes previous published scenarios into account. It will be published in book form this year.

Schlemmer explained that it did not present alternative possible scenarios but contained "careful, balanced perceptions of what SA's most probable future was likely to be," as a guide to investors and policymakers.

Although it would not be a rose garden, "SA's medium-term future will be much more stable than currently feared or expected.

"The future operating environment will be somewhere between a second prize and third prize situation but certainly not the booby prize.

"Much greater business and investor confidence than exists at present is more than justified."
Obstacles to full negotiations being cleared

Tos Wentzel Political Staff

THE Big 3 are drawing closer.

After successful talks between the government and the ANC and renewed efforts today to settle differences with Inkatha, indications are that obstacles to full negotiations — especially on interim government arrangements — are being cleared.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer indicated today that progress had been made in government-ANC talks which ended last night. He said the talks had touched on "the heart of a future constitutional dispensation".

The talks were about power-sharing in the transitional period and beyond and about measures to level the political playing field before elections — including restructuring the SABC, new electoral laws and joint control of the security forces.

The two sides will now report to their principals and there will be further meetings.

Inkatha negotiators faced the task today of convincing the government that the party wanted to play a meaningful, positive role in constitutional negotiations.

Giant strides towards establishing an interim government will dominate the momentous session of parliament to be opened by President de Klerk on Friday.

In his opening speech, he is expected to deal again with the timetable for setting up a new constitutional system.

A lot of what Mr de Klerk says will reflect progress made in talks with the ANC.

Mr de Klerk's strategy appears to be to try to make a deal with the ANC and then to get other negotiation partners to come in on it.

In the talks with Inkatha this week, last-minute attempts are being made to resolve problems which have arisen between it and the government.

In his opening speech Mr de Klerk is expected to deal mainly with the prospects for progress towards a fully democratic system.

In terms of a timetable he set out late last year there should, after bilateral talks, be agreement on the resumption of negotiations in a new forum or a more representative and restricted Codesa.

Before the end of March, multilateral discussions would start.

Before the end of May there would be multilateral agreement on a transitional constitution, transitional executive council and electoral commission.

In May/June legislation would be adopted by parliament providing for a transitional council and electoral commission.

Before the end of June the council and the commission would be set up.

The transitional constitution would be enacted before the end of September.
Basic differences remain after talks

FUNDAMENTAL differences remained between government and the ANC on how power would be distributed in the first phase of an interim government, a senior government source indicated yesterday at the end of the five-day bilateral meeting.

"A great deal of good progress" was made, but there were still "quite a lot of differences on issues such as power sharing and regionalism," he said.

The main area of disagreement appeared to concern how the transitional executive council — the first phase of interim government — would function in the run-up to nonracial elections.

He said government had not envisaged the council functioning as a government, but the ANC wanted definitive authority vested in it.

Government envisaged seeing facets of government and ensuring

Talks 61037

that no political party gained unfairly from government action. "It was always seen as a mechanism for levelling the playing field," he said.

A joint statement by the delegations also indicated that expected progress had not been made. It gave little detail of the substantial agenda and lengthy discussions, and said: "Further discussions will be taking place."

The delegations, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, agreed more talks were necessary for the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The parties' differences did not, however, appear insurmountable. The statement said the delegations would report to their principals "with a view to resolving matters and facilitating the resumption of multiparty negotiations."

It said security matters were discussed during the first two days of talks.

The government source said good progress was made on security forces and private armies. Close monitoring of all armed formations was envisaged to ensure a level playing field before elections.

The statement said models of such issues such as a government of national unity and regional government were considered.

"Various matters that were canvassed at Cofessa, such as procedures to appoint a new SABC board and independent media commission, independent electoral commission and the reincorporation of the TBVC states were also explored."

On regionalism, government still wanted to get agreement that the powers and duties of regions be negotiated and set down as a principle before a constituent assembly was elected. The ANC resisted this being the preserve of the elected body.

Ahead of today's meeting with Inkatha in Cape Town, government was optimistic that it would resolve the row over Inkatha's controversial memorandum.
First crucial obstacle cleared

Talks: now for the next hurdle

Political Staff

The first hurdle has been cleared in one of the most crucial negotiating weeks since South Africa's reform process started, and the second will be faced today.

Yesterday, Government and ANC negotiators completed a successful — although not conclusive — five-day brainstorm, agreeing to consult their principals with a view to further talks soon on the transition.

Today, Government and Inkhata Freedom Party delegates gather in the parliamentary complex in Cape Town for a two-day meeting aimed at salvaging their inter-related relationship.

Political observers described the two high-level bilateral meetings as crucial in determining whether President de Klerk will be able to deliver a clear message of optimism in his opening address to Parliament on Friday.

Hope

It is understood he will hold back until the last minute before finalising his speech — and its tenor will depend largely on whether a rapprochement is achieved with the IFP.

Sources in both the Government and the ANC say privately they still hope de Klerk will be able to announce that the next session of Parliament might see the tabling of legislation paving the way for transitional government. If this is achieved, they say, the broadly agreed timetable providing for elections within a year to 18 months will be realistic.

At a meeting last week, Government and IFP negotiators exchanged acrimonious memoranda. Both sides have since tempered their rhetoric, stressing their commitment to the resumption of multiparty talks — an essential precursor to transitional power-sharing.

The negotiations process is likely to be the fact that no detailed breakthroughs were achieved during Government-ANC talks, coupled with uncertainty about how the IFP talks will go, suggest that de Klerk may have to adopt a cautious approach on Friday.

Sources close to the Government-ANC talks, which ended at a secret western Cape venue, said they would meet again for another plebiscite session early in February to try to resolve remaining differences.

Delegations led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met for three days in Pretoria last week and then for two days in the Western Cape to discuss transitional arrangements.

They talked about power-sharing in the transition period and beyond and about measures to level the political playing field before elections, including restructuring the SACO, new electoral laws and joint control of the security forces.

Sources said the two delegations had returned with some tentative agreements but had failed to agree on others.

They had perhaps been "a bit ambitious" in trying to resolve all differences, one negotiator said.

Among the thornier problems were power-sharing beyond the phase of interim government and the powers of regional government.

Some observers suggested that both sides may have underestimated the extent of agreement to avoid fueling the suspicion that they were cutting far-reaching "deals" alone.

This would especially be so in the light of today's meeting between the Government and the IFP.

The Government has demanded that the IFP withdraw its highly critical memorandum presented last week, but IFP leaders have indicated they intend to stand firm.

Much will depend on the atmosphere in which the meeting is conducted, even if differences persist.
Elitist deal-cutting actually SA’s best way

A STRANGE assortment of critics, from Winnie Mandela to the Sunday Times, have begun criticizing the bilateral negotiations between the ANC and the National Party as elitist deal-cutting to share the spoils of power while the underprivileged masses are forgotten.

In Mrs Mandela’s harsh phrase, “the NP elite is getting into bed with the ANC in order to preserve its silken sheets, and the leadership in the ANC is getting into bed with the NP to enjoy this new-found luxury”.

The implication is that the form the negotiations has taken is essentially undemocratic and will produce a backlash from the disillusioned masses whose interests are being abandoned in the rush for the gravy train.

It is a criticism the political leaders should heed, to the extent that it is a warning of how carefully they must be not to give the impression of fat-cutting once they are part of an interim government. But in itself, the criticism is a serious misinterpretation of the process taking place.

What is happening is the negotiation of a series of pacts between the major political organizations, which is the classical form for a transition to democracy to take. The process is well established.

Four years ago, South African political analysts became aware of an extensive study by a team of American scholars of 13 countries— including Spain, Greece, Brazil, Venezuela, Uruguay and Argentina—that have moved from right-wing authoritarianism to democracy without revolution since World War 2.

One of the team, Philip Schmitter, came here as a guest of Idaas. He has since sent me his further studies of transitions in Chile and eastern Europe.

In attempting to pinpoint the key factors which enabled these transitions to take place, the authors of what is now a weighty literature on the subject found that “pact”, or negotiated compromises between the major political players, was the most important.

These pacts usually emerge, the authors say, when a series of crises has created an “unsustainable equilibrium” between the authoritarian forces of the state and those thrusting for democracy, when the regime loses legitimacy but the democratic forces still cannot oust it.

Exactly what has happened in South Africa.

The two sides then try to negotiate a new dispensation. Attempts to do this in large democratic forums usually fail because of the disparity of views and the difficulty of making compromises to cherished positions in a public arena.

Hence the process of pact-forming by leaders. These pacts define the rules under which the parties will operate, with each agreeing to modify its own policy position to accommodate the other’s vital interests. When the deal is struck, a founding election is held, and the new dispensation is then legitimized by the population at large.

Since they are agreements reached by political leaders, they are obviously acts of political elitism. That means they are vulnerable to attack as undemocratic. Yet they are essential to achieving democracy.

As Schmitter and co-author, Guillermo O’Donnell put it in a summary volume, “Ironically, such modern pacts move the policies towards democracy by undemocratic means. They are typically negotiated among a small number of participants representing established (and often highly oligarchical) groups or institutions; they tend to reduce competitiveness as well as conflict; they seek to limit accountability to wider publics; they attempt to control the agenda of policy concerns; and they deliberately distort the principle of citizen equality.”

Nonetheless, they alter power relations, set loose new political processes and open the way to democracy.

“Pacts are not always possible,” the authors say, “but we are convinced that where they are a feature of the transition, they are decisive— that is, they enhance the probability that the process will lead to a viable political democracy.”

It is understandable that lay members feel uneasy when their leaders cut deals behind closed doors. But it is the end result that counts more than the means of getting there. The process, however elitist, is going to lead to an election—and that is when the democracy will begin and the ordinary people have their say.

Even then it will not come in a single step but in instalments. The first steps will be limited—transitional executive councils with power (as with those in the past) of elected representatives.

With each step the democracy will be widened and the people will become more involved. That is the transforming process. Democracy itself changes the whole game, opening the way for the emergence of new forces in the relationship between the old players who will change and new players will emerge. A changing class stratification will transform the political landscape.

The mistake is to imagine we are creating the whole thing now, designing Utopia in one great act of political creation. What we are doing is starting a democratising process. Even then democracy is not an end, but a beginning. It does not end the struggles over the form and purpose of politics. All it does is institutionalize those struggles providing a framework in which they can take place constructively and peacefully.

This is the only way.
GOVERNMENT and Inkatha held cordial discussions yesterday after last week's angry interchanges, and they and the ANC have agreed on the need for a planning conference — within weeks — for multiparty talks.

However, it has become increasingly clear that, even after the five days of talks between the ANC and government, few of the crucial issues which divided them at Codesa have been resolved, and government and Inkatha have barely discussed constitutional issues.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said in Johannesburg yesterday that the meeting had agreed a planning conference should take place "by the end of February, and preferably sooner so that it does not dislocate the rest of the transitional schedule".

And in a joint statement after their meeting, government and Inkatha said they had appointed a three-a-side committee in "an urgent joint effort aimed at the realisation of the envisaged multiparty planning conference as soon as possible".

The parties "were encouraged by the conciliatory and positive spirit" at yesterday's meeting.

Constitutional Minister Rosel Meyer said time had not allowed anything more than an overview of constitutional questions, and it was government's view that it and Inkatha needed to make up ground.

Ramaphosa, referring to the government/ANC meeting, said: "There has been no breakthrough." There was, however, "a promise of settlement when we next meet the government." He added: "There exists a lot of common ground on a number of issues but there are a number of areas where there are deep disagreements."

One of these is believed to be the powers of the transitional executive council which would operate during the first phase of an interim government. Government sees the council as subordinate to the Cabinet, while the ANC believes it should have executive powers. A subcommittee has been set up to deal with this question.

It is also understood there has been extensive discussion on the constitution-making issues which caused the breakdown of Codesa II. A jointly formulated proposal is to be referred to the two parties' principals for consideration.

The proposal is believed to suggest that there be no provision in the constitutional principles for permanent power-sharing. The powers, functions and duties of regions would also not be predetermined by the multiparty forum but be left to the elected constitution-making body.

There would also not be two chambers in the constitution-making body, but a single
IFP, NP make up

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party renewed their old friendship yesterday after months of acrimony which culminated in verbal exchanges last week.

The two parties emerged from their meeting yesterday much closer to each other. They could, however, report no tangible progress towards the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

They established a sub-committee which will meet on February 8 to discuss plans for a preparatory conference for the resumption of multi-party talks by March this year.

A joint statement signed by both parties read:

"The parties recognised that harm had been done to the relationship and the trust that had existed between the Government and the IFP, but were encouraged by the conciliatory and positive spirit that characterised today's meeting."

It was also evident that both parties differed on agreements that had already been reached at CODESA.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said after the meeting that as far as his organisation was concerned, CODESA was dead and that multiparty talks had to start afresh.

The Government and the ANC, however, still feel that agreements reached at CODESA should remain and that the process would at least initially follow these agreements.

Leading to elections

During the five-day meeting between the Government and the ANC, which ended in the southern Cape on Tuesday, there was accord on the principle of regionalism and on the envisaged time-frame for the process leading to elections.

A likely date for elections for a constitution-making body or constituent assembly now seems feasible during the first quarter of next year.

The appointment of a transitional executive structure which will prepare the country for elections seems likely to be in place by June this year at the latest.
Light at the end of talks tunnel

CAPE TOWN — The flurry of bilateral meetings held between the Government and the ANC and Inkatha had raised hopes that multiparty talks might resume soon, negotiators said last night.

Major obstacles have still to be overcome, but following successful meetings over the past week there is optimism that negotiations involving all the major political players could be resuscitated soon.

After a five-day meeting with the Government on the Cape coast, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said that although no breakthrough had been achieved, the talks had held out the promise of a settlement when the two sides met again next month.

Optimism was also boosted when Government and IFP delegations, led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, met in Cape Town yesterday and patched up the fierce quarrel which peaked with an exchange of insulting memoranda last week.

The delegations agreed to appoint a committee to arrange a multiparty planning conference to review all bilateral agreements. They meet again on February 8.

Announcing that Government-IFP relations were back on track, Mdlalose and Meyer said at a joint press conference that they shared many basic constitutional principles. They had not yet got down to discussing differences.

In Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said the ANC and the Government would meet next Thursday to discuss security and violence and then again from February 10 to 12 to resume discussions on constitutional matters. "The talks are currently holding out a promise which we hope will end up in some form of a conclusion or settlement when we next meet," he said.

There is a growing sense of urgency and a firmer commitment to stick to the timetable for transition which President de Klerk spelt out in November. It calls for the resumption of formal multiparty negotiations by April, a transitional council by June and elections for full interim government by March next year.

One source close to the negotiations said yesterday that South Africa had six months to reach an agreement on interim government, or else the international community would turn its back on the country.

But despite the urgency, it is clear that fundamental differences of principle still separate the main parties.

"The ANC and the Government still have a long way to go in reaching agreement on the powers to be devolved to regions, on whether power-sharing in a final constitution should be formal or informally entrenched, and on the powers of a transitional executive council to supervise the run-up to elections for an interim government," Mr. de Klerk said.

But it seems that at the ANC-Government meeting over the past week, the two positions began to converge on federalism as the ANC began to accept that regional powers should be devolved rather than simply delegated from the central government. — Political Staff and Sapa.
Voter education workshop

A TWO-DAY voter education trainers' workshop will be officially opened in Johannesburg on Saturday, the United States Information Service said yesterday. Workshop participants will receive an election kit containing a motivational/educational video, a trainers' manual, a collapsible cardboard polling booth and ballot forms containing actual South African political parties which will be utilised to train second-level trainers.
Low black turnout predicted for elections
for fresh start
parties ready
Three major

Talks on track
2-day voter education workshop

A two-day voter education trainers' workshop will be officially opened in Johannesburg on Saturday, the United States Information Service said yesterday.

Workshop participants will receive an election kit containing a motivational/educational video, trainers' manual, a collapsible cardboard polling booth, and ballot forms which will be used to train second-level trainers, known as "community educators."

— Sapa.
Govt, IFP optimistic on interim govt date

The Government remains convinced that an interim government could be in place in South Africa by the first quarter of 1994.

This view last night had the qualified support of Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Dr Ben Ngubane.

On the SABC programme, Agenda, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said following the bilateral talks between the Government and the IFP and the Government and the ANC, it looked as if everybody could keep to the (transition) timescales.

The ANC was not represented at the panel discussion. In an earlier statement the ANC said it objected to the way in which the SABC had approached the programme.

"The SABC only invited the ANC, Government and Inkatha Freedom Party to participate in a live debate about negotiations. Negotiations is not only a matter of the ANC, Government and the IFP, but many organisations are part of the process," it said.

Ngubane noted that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa talks had failed because of the exclusion of certain parties, such as the Conservative Party, the Zulu King and the Zulu cabinet.

Meyer conceded Conesa's Party had its flaws, but it had been a good exercise.

Despite hopes for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council by April, "serious differences" between the ANC and the Government still remained, ANC Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa warned yesterday, reports Brian Sokutu.
CAPE TOWN — Jurie Mentz, National Party MP for Vryheid for 19 years, dropped a political bombshell yesterday by resigning from his party and announcing he would seek membership of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Within hours he had been accepted as a member of the IFP with immediate promotion to its central committee.

Mentz will now become the IFP's first voice in Parliament and share the cross-bench in the House of Assembly and the chamber of Parliament with six unofficial ANC representatives.

The movement's president, Chief Magonothu Buthelezi, said Mentz and his constituency “will bring an important contribution to the political development of the IFP”.

Mentz attended a Natal NP caucus yesterday but gave his colleagues no indication of his intentions. Instead of moving on to a national caucus, however, he set about his stunning switch.

He has not discussed this move with President de Klerk nor, apparently, with Buthelezi.

Voters in Natal would have to choose between the IFP or ANC, Mentz said in announcing his move: “To me, in Natal/KwaZulu the moderate people I know and trust are the supporters of Inkatha.”

“We will never have peace in our country if Natal/KwaZulu is governed from Pretoria by the ANC/SACP or if Bantu Holomisa, Harry Gwala, or Chris Hani, are in control of our region.”

The number of National Party members in the House of Delegates continues to grow. It now stands at 14, with the announcement yesterday by Ashwin Mohanlal (Clare Estate) and Ganie Mohamed (Rylands) that they had joined the NP.

Mohanlal defected from the National Peoples' Party and Mohamed from Solidarity.

Piet Swanepoel, chairman of the NP's caucus, said NP membership in all three houses was now 146. This was the largest caucus in the history of the South African Parliament. The NP now had more than half of Parliament's 300 members.
Inkatha leaders clash with de Klerk’s team

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

A POLITICAL brawl with racial overtones, centring on Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s Inkatha organisation, is setting the scene for what is likely to prove a crucial week for South Africa’s negotiating process.

Government politicians and factions in Inkatha were busy exchanging insults at the weekend, in the wake of a row between negotiators over allegations by the de Klerk administration that a mysterious group of whites was manipulating Chief Buthelezi.

It began last week when talks between Inkatha and the government broke up after President F. W. de Klerk’s team accused Chief Buthelezi’s representatives of manufacturing lies and distortions. They were responding to a memorandum read out by the Inkatha chairman, Frank Milakose, accusing the government of trying to cling to power by reaching secret deals with the African National Congress. “Where is Afrikaner integrity and National Party honour?” it demanded.

The minister of constitutional development, Roelf Meyer, was so incensed by the attack that he asked for an adjournment to write a stinging rebuke. In language unprecedented between the two political groupings, the nationalists described the Inkatha document as “banal nonsense” written by “a person who is poorly informed, technically unqualified, and with questionable ulterior motives.”

The government negotiators also referred to “forces intent on destroying the trust and common purpose between us”.

Dr Meyer had latched on to the fact that the memorandum had been written by a shadowy adviser to Chief Buthelezi, Walter Felgate, an influential figure in Inkatha since the mid-1970s. The reference to destructive forces was seen as an attack on other white advisers, including a former chief-of-staff of South African military intelligence, Major General Tiene Greenwald, and two US constitutional experts, Albert Blaustein and Mario Ambrosini — who are credited with devising constitutional proposals recently produced by Chief Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi reacted with fury, denouncing the government attack as “a racist insult. “Are they saying that because I am a kaffir I can’t think for myself?” he demanded.

Nevertheless, the government broadside appears to have hit a sore spot in Inkatha.
NP man defects

A NATIONAL PARTY MP resigned yesterday, saying he was joining Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

Jurie Mentz, who represents Umgquazi in Natal, said he would ask Buthelezi to let him represent Inkatha in the whites-only House of Assembly, becoming the party's first MP from Natal.

Mentz said he wanted to join Inkatha because it was a staunch opponent of communism and had never used African National Congress tactics such as international isolation and economic destabilisation.

"We in Natal would prefer to be ruled by our own people and with Dr Buthelezi as our obvious leader," he said, referring to Inkatha's proposals for iwezaZulu and Natal to be run as a single autonomous state in a democratic, federal South Africa.
Now may be the hour for FW

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

WHEN President FW de Klerk today ascends the podium in Parliament to read his opening address, it might just be for the last time.

In fact, it might be the last time, too, that the opening of Parliament will be led by De Klerk and that the Conservative Party will be the main opposition party in the House of Assembly and the Democratic Party in the Joint Chamber.

The entire three-chamber structure self-destructs this year. Only a slight possibility exists that De Klerk might decide to resume Parliament again next year, shortly before the general election that has been earmarked for early 1994.

Today, therefore, can be said to be the first day of the last white Parliament of South Africa.

It has become tradition during the De Klerk years that the President would use the opening of Parliament to make grand, epoch-making speeches.

In his opening-of-Parliament speeches of the past three years he has made resounding declarations.

In 1990 he announced the unbanning of the liberation movements. In 1991 he announced that Parliament would that year dislodge apartheid’s cornerstone laws.

In 1992 he consolidated the progress, the gains and losses that had been made and set the stage for multi-party negotiations which started at Codesa on February 6.

There are great expectations that De Klerk will use the opening of Parliament again this year for a similarly dramatic announcement.
Last apartheid pillars to go soon

Reform plans on track – FW

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk opened Parliament on an optimistic note today, announcing measures to sweep away the last apartheid institutions to make way, by June, for the country’s first nonracial transitional executives.

Declaring that a broad consensus was developing in negotiations — which were still on track for an elected interim government early next year — De Klerk said most of the own-affairs departments would be scrapped on April 1.

● A transitional education department with its own Minister would be established on the same date to phase out segregated education and replace it with a system of nonracial regional departments.

This process should preferably be completed by March 31 1994.

● The President’s Council, which breaks deadlocks in legislation, is to be phased out by the time transitional structures emerge from negotiations.

Progress in negotiations meant that this could happen by June this year.

De Klerk’s speech was characterised by the absence of the usual sniping at the ANC — a sign of the growing consensus between the two parties.

De Klerk said that three years after his momentous February 2 1990 speech, he remained convinced that he had made the right choice.

“In spite of all the propaganda, protesting and positioning, something dramatic is beginning to happen. “A broad consensus is beginning to develop in respect of the course that we have to take if we are to ensure peace and prosperity.”

He said although a great deal of work remained to be done before binding agreements could be reached, the reform process was proceeding according to plan.

In a more sombre mood, the State President also addressed the fears of the man in the street by announcing tough new measures to try to combat soaring crime and violence. These include:

● Far-reaching measures to give the National Peace Accord more teeth. Government sources said this would include criminalising transgressions of the accord.

● The reversal of the controversial and unpopular policy of releasing prisoners early. In future they will serve their full sentences in one form or another.

● New legislation to impose a minimum sentence of five years — without the option of a fine — for the mere possession of AK-47s, other automatic weapons and explosives.

● The possible reimposition of the death penalty, ending the moratorium that has been in place since November 1989.

● A greater involvement of the community in policing, including the possible incorporation of township self-defence units into the Police Reserve.

On the phasing out of own affairs — which De Klerk said was necessary to cut costs — he announced that the own-affairs functions of agriculture, health and local government would be transferred to general affairs on April 1.

Remaining own-affairs functions, such as welfare and housing, would remain under Ministers’ Councils for the time being but would soon be transferred to general affairs. Some own-affairs functions would be transferred to provincial and local authorities.

De Klerk said the Government had begun discussions with the self-governing homelands to unite administrations and political decision-making.

The KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration had already asked for more powers for the Joint Executive Authority. Agreement had been reached for a pilot investigation into the feasibility of a joint administration by Qwaqwa and the Free State Provincial Administration.
National Party MP joins Inkatha
MP dumps Nats for Inkatha
Govt, ANC agree on key issues

THE crucial talks between government and the ANC had achieved a great deal of consensus on key issues, but the detail of how to implement the principles promised to be difficult to overcome, a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

He said the five-day bilateral meeting with the ANC had produced a common proposal on the main constitutional matters but because both delegations had shifted from their mandated positions, it was necessary to return to principals for further mandates.

It is understood there is very little difference between the parties on regionalism, with the ANC accepting that powers be devolved to regions rather than merely delegated.

"When you look at what they are saying about how they want the powers, functions and duties to be devolved to regions, there is very little difference between that and what government is pushing for," the negotiator said.

There was also strong convergence on an interim constitution with the ANC agreeing to power-sharing during this period. However, it objected to the entrenchment of power-sharing in the final constitution.

There were also differences on the powers of the transitional executive authority in the runup to elections: the ANC wants to accord it greater authority and government wants it merely to level the playing fields.

The source said the focus of the next few weeks would be to resume multiparty talks and intensity bilateral discussions to ensure success at the multiparty forum.

He said government wanted Inkatha to be kept in the process.

At Wednesday's bilateral meeting between government and Inkatha, it was agreed that a multiparty planning conference be convened soon with a commitment to reconvene multilateral negotiations in March.

However, yesterday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told OAU delegates he rejected the power-sharing agreement reached between the ANC and government and would not join multiparty negotiations under those conditions.

The government source said most of the hard bargaining would take place at bilateral meetings as this would minimise the chances of deadlock or breakdowns.

He said the major stumbling block was the issue of reincorporation.

He said Transkei, Ciskei and Venda had committed themselves to reincorporation but Bophuthatswana had reserved its position.
Kasiris launches bid to clear his name

Codesa will work, says Mandela

**Kasiris launches bid to clear his name**

The National Council of Resistance (NCR) today launched a formal complaint against the ANC (African National Congress) for allegedly attempting to disrupt its activities in the region.

**Codesa will work, says Mandela**

President Nelson Mandela said today that Codesa, the ANC's military wing, would continue to work towards a peaceful resolution of the conflict in the region.

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*RAY MARLEY*

**NOTES**

- The NCNDC has been established in the past year to initiate a dialogue between the ANC and the NCNDC to resolve the conflict.
- The NCNDC has been responsible for bringing the NCNDC and the ANC together for discussions on the conflict.
- The NCNDC has been working on a number of initiatives to bring about a peaceful resolution of the conflict.

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**Ray Marley**

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'Own affairs' to be scrapped soon

Political Correspondent

President de Klerk announced that the costly, fragmented and racially based own affairs system was to be scrapped sooner than originally planned. An interim phase, provided for in legislation passed during last year's short session, is to be dropped.

"A direct route to transforming own affairs into general affairs will be followed," Mr De Klerk said.

In line with this, the own affairs functions of agriculture, health and local government are to be transferred to general affairs departments from April 1, coinciding with the new financial year.

Remaining own affairs functions — including welfare and housing — will continue under the control of the Ministers' Councils for the time being, but they will lose their own affairs status "as soon as possible."

In some cases, functions will be devolved to provincial and local government level.

Acknowledging that the own affairs system was "expensive, fragmented and racially based," Mr De Klerk said the government had accepted the challenge to transform it through rationalisation into an efficient, cost-effective and non-discriminatory decentralised system.
Dissent over who should oversee election

Johannesburg — Despite hopes for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) by April, "serious differences" between the ANC and the government still remained, said African National Congress secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

He said the TEC would pave the way for the country's first democratic general election.

Mr Ramaphosa was speaking at the opening of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation's Johannesburg office. The foundation, named after a German working-class leader, gives support to trade unions and political organisations furthering democratic ideals.

Mr Ramaphosa said that during talks between the government and the ANC this week, the government had suggested that the Home Affairs Department should run the country's first democratic election. This was opposed by the ANC.

"We felt the Home Affairs Department was not an appropriate body for such a task and we suggested the ANC, because we ran our elections successfully in 1991.”

This suggestion drew a sharp rejection from the government, Mr Ramaphosa said.

The ANC then suggested an independent election commission.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC and the government agreed on constitutional principles and the reincorporation of the TVBC states.

On the future of the SABC, Mr Ramaphosa said the two delegations examined the possibility of appointing two judges, serving at Cedeza, to the SABC board by the end of March.
Nats stunned as MP defects to Inkatha

CAPE TOWN — In a day of musical chairs, Inkatha gained its first representation in Parliament and nine House of Delegates MPs defected to the NP.

The NP is now close to being the largest party in all three Houses, but the defection of Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz, an NP member for 40 years, shocked the party.

The NP, braced for more defections by senior Natal members to Inkatha, said nothing justified Mentz’s “drastic step.”

Mentz, describing himself as a “white Zulu”, said he hoped it would be understood that he was acting in the interests of the people of Natal/KwaZulu as a whole.

He stressed that he believed President F W de Klerk was “one of the greatest leaders this country has produced”, but he believed it would be “ideal for Dr (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and his IFP to become the major governing party in KwaZulu/Natal”. He would be devoting his energies towards keeping the ANC and socialist policies from power in Natal.

Inkatha said Buthelezi intended recommending that Mentz be included in the party’s central committee. National chairman Frank Mdlalose said Inkatha appreciated the bold step Mentz had taken and was “aware that there are others in his party disenchanted with the policy being pursued by the top hierarchy of the NP.”

The DP, which lost an MP to the NP but gained another House of Delegates member this week, said the defection was no surprise and predicted more would follow.

The DP’s Mike Ellis said it would be interesting to see the relationship between Inkatha and the ANC in Parliament: “They will be sitting very near each other and we trust they will conduct themselves along strict parliamentary lines.”

The nine defections to the House of Delegates means the NP, with 14 seats, has ousted the National People’s Party as the official opposition. It is now in a position to challenge Solidarity, which has 21 seats.

Solidarity member Farouk Cassim predicted that the NP would gain a total of 17 members, making it the largest party in the House although it would still be short of an absolute majority.
This may not be the last word...
Proposals await approval

There was no 'breakthrough' but if the cabinet and ANC executive agree to the proposals formulated at the bosberaad then the deadlock could be broken.

By PAUL STOBER and ANTON HARBER

The African National Congress and the government left this week's bosberaad with joint proposals covering the major issues that have so far separated them. These proposals, however, are still subject to agreement by the cabinet and the ANC national executive. If approval is granted, however, this will constitute a major breakthrough in the deadlock between these two parties.

This is why ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said on Wednesday that there had been "no breakthrough", but he held out the hope of "a promise of a settlement when we next meet the government".

He is hoping that when the meeting reconvenes in the next fortnight, they will have secured approval from their respective executives. It is understood that the full range of proposals drawn up at the meeting cover all the major points of issue between the two parties, including the government's insistence on a large majority for constituent assembly resolutions, a second house to approve the constitution, prior agreement on regional powers, entrenched power-sharing and a presidency in the interim arrangement.

In particular, it is understood that the government and the ANC hammered out a joint constitution-making proposal that provided the brightest spark in an otherwise straightforward meeting. Details are scarce but the government is thought to have accepted that the ANC cannot be seen to be enshrining power sharing in the constitution before a constituent assembly has met. Previously, the government had insisted that constitutional principles agreed to in negotiations before a CA was elected could not be changed by the constitution-making body.

However, the government remains committed to ensuring that minority rights and strong powers for the regions are guaranteed before the CA sits.

The ANC sold the idea of minority rights to its membership during its debates about "sunset clauses" late last year.

Delegates from both sides at the bosberaad are said to have undertaken to sell the resolutions to their principles.

An ANC source said this was not likely to be a problem for his organisation because "the proposals are in line with ANC thinking". However, he thought the government may face some difficulty getting the full support of the cabinet.

The question of the powers of the transitional executive council, which will oversee the election of a CA, was thrown back to a sub-committee after the government and ANC delegates failed to resolve their differences on the issue.

The government is believed to have continued to insist the transitional councils be subordinate to the existing cabinet while the ANC wants the councils to have executive power.

Sources indicated substantial progress had been made on technical issues regarding voter registration and the control of the security forces, private armies and the SABC in the run-up to the election for a CA.

The bosberaad also accepted that a planning conference be held before full-scale multi-party talks resume.

Observers see the conference as a last-ditch attempt to draw in parties which have refused to be part of the Codesa process.

Ramaphosa said the conference would be open to "all parties that were part of Codesa ... as well as those other parties outside Codesa."

Although Ramaphosa insisted that the ANC was not prepared to accept an Inkatha Freedom Party demand for a conference to review all Codesa agreements, most observers see the idea of a planning conference as a subtle concession to the IFP.

The acrimonious stand-off between the government and the IFP ended after a meeting between the two parties on Wednesday. IFP national chairman Frank Mdlalose cautiously described the latest meeting as an "improvement".

"We did have differences ... but they were smoothed over," he said after the meeting.

Mdlalose signalled the IFP's return to the negotiating fold by endorsing ANC and government targets of mid-February as a time for the planning conference and early March for the start of full-blown multi-party negotiations.
Domestics give Leon the nod, but save the ‘vivas’ for Naidoo

Tony Leon proved a hit at the DP’s jamboree for domestic workers, but Cosatu’s Jay Naidoo needn’t lose any sleep over it.

By FERIAL HAFFAJEE

On the face of it, the Democratic Party cleaned up at its jamboree for domestic workers in the smart Johannesburg suburb of Norwood last Saturday.

About 200 workers were expected, 2000 turned up and left the meeting with application forms. Ebulient young black men sported DP T-shirts and a young domestic worker somewhere now has a poster of Tony Leon, which she removed from the walls, hanging in her back room.

Leon was the man of the moment: after his stirring speech, which rivalled a Jay Naidoo special minus the “vivas”, hands reached up to grab at him and the business cards he eagerly handed out.

The articulate parliamentarian is an accomplished orator, and in a few minutes he whipped through the intricacies of the domestic worker legislation set for enactment this year.

“Some of you get no leave at all,” he said, kicking up the dust.

“Yeeees,” the crowd yelled back.

“Have any of your employers ever taken off money from your wages?”

“Yeeees,” they screamed again.

Less well received was his statement that “this law will not give you minimum wages, because if we do that too many of you will be out of work”. And his whistle-stop tour through labour law was a little too much to digest without the help of a public address system or an interpreter.

Should the same 2000 domestic workers decide to use his business cards and call him up or even join his party, Leon could face a conflict of interest with their employers. They are the party faithful he cannot afford to estrange.

Many of the workers who streamed to Saturday’s soirée were attracted not to the party’s promised lessons in “peace, freedom and democracy”, but to rumoured promises of help.

“We will vote for the party that stands for us,” said a woman who has worked in the area for 44 years.

“We want pay and we want time off and we don’t want apartheid and we want peace.”

Pressed for details, she consulted with friends and elaborated: “We want R900 to R1 000 a month, because there are no white shops and black shops, and we want a weekend off, off-days and leave pay.”

Rebecca Makhafolo came to the meeting hoping to find somebody to listen to her litany of complaints. The couple she has worked for for more than a decade recently divorced, she explained. Now she does the “cooking, washing, cleaning the dog s-t, and looking after the children”.

And she’s not on speaking terms with her employer any longer: “If he talks to me, I just keep quiet.”

“I just wish the inspectors could see how whites treat their people,” said Rebecca Molele.

But, claimed Johannesburg city councillor and Leon look-alike Cecil Bass, “conditions in the area are among the best in the country” — indicating the many rivers that need to be crossed for effective communication.

As police hovered nearby — presumably in case the jamboree degenerated into another Gugulethu-type disaster — DP volunteers poured cooldrinks and handed out stickers and application forms for identity documents and DP membership.

A little taken aback at the unexpected thousands who arrived, the volunteers soon regained their composure at the prospect of swelling membership figures.

“It’s a fantastic turnout,” enthused Barbara Burnet. “It’s a cause of great optimism for the DP and the democratic process.”

Councillor Bass said he believes the vast majority of DP supporters will accept the changes. Employers must realign that the era of privilege and exploitation is over.”

Domestic workers will be attracted to the DP because it has no armed wing, he added.

Before the DP starts celebrating, however, it should take note of two telling questions:

The first was asked by a worker called Alice: “We have been struggling for a long time. Why do they only do this now?”

The second came from her companion: “We know Naidoo, but who is the DP?”
Election campaign voting trail later this year
Boschreada brings promise of peace
Geneva-like peace role for Robben Island

DALE KNEEN
Weekend Argus Reporter

ROBBEN Island could become a centre for peace like Geneva.

Cape Town's deputy mayor, Mr Clive Keegan, says a plan to convert buildings on the island into a centre — possibly called the Albert Lithuli Centre for the Study of Peace in Africa — had been favourably received by African leaders including former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

The centre could be used as a venue for meetings to resolve conflicts between African countries as well as for South African peace initiatives.

An educational institution, possibly the University of Cape Town's Centre for Intergroup Studies, could be housed on the island and used by academics from around the world who were interested in peace in Africa.

"Cape Town could become the Geneva of sub-Saharan Africa as well as the academic, cultural and diplomatic capital of this country," Mr Keegan added.

"The island is of historical significance as, since the time of the frontier wars, political leaders have been imprisoned there. Its history is therefore politically sensitive."

"It's also the home of several Muslim shrines as well as an area of ecological importance."

Mr Keegan thought it would be inappropriate to use the island as a holiday resort, for a casino, for residential development or for a quarantine centre.
‘Missed
ANC’s Pallo Jordan att

□ TO THE POINT: Archbishop Desmond Tutu stresses a point to Nelson Mandela during a briefing, with the Archbishop of Cape Town, at the Consultative Conference at the University of the Western Cape.
President De Klerk is being criticised from all sides of the political spectrum after a speech widely considered to have fallen short of expectations.

Political Staff

President De Klerk faced criticism from virtually all quarters of the political spectrum in South Africa in the wake of a speech widely considered to have fallen short of expectations.

From right to left, political parties and movements found fault if not with the broad strokes, then the detail of his opening of parliament address.

The centrist Democratic Party stood alone in welcoming much that was "sound and healthy" in Mr De Klerk speech.

But in an unexpectedly strong response, the ANC's Dr Frans Jorgensen described Mr De Klerk as a procrastinator and someone who repeatedly missed opportunities. He accused the government of casting itself as the 'manager' of the transition process.

Dr Jorgensen said: "(His) opening speech failed to rise to the occasion. Rather than being statesmanlike, De Klerk chose to be belligerent. Instead of measured steps to involve his negotiating partners even more deeply in the process of transformation, he has chosen to cast blame around the government as managers of the process.

Dr Jorgensen's reaction was seen to be curiously at odds with the tenor of remarks by ANC and government negotiators following the talks which began last week and ended just days before parliament opened.

Dr Jorgensen, who has not been a member of the ANC negotiation delegation, accused Mr De Klerk of failing to act decisively on a number of issues, including the abolition of the homeland system and of own affairs.

In a rapid response from Ulundi, the Inkatha Freedom Party welcomed some aspects, but rejected the concept of any attempt to establish an interim government without wide consultation.

The IFP also called for a final constitutional dispensation to be established by September 1994. The IFP will resist any attempt to establish Transitional Executive Councils as a power-sharing arrangement. The TEC's should be limited to their original function - as envisaged at Codesa - to the levelling of the field of political confrontation.

"(Furthermore) the IFP states its opposition to the adoption of a transitional constitution and the empowerment of an interim government of national unity and a Constituent Assembly. It believes this process will delay the drafting of the final constitution of South Africa for many years to come," it said in a statement.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht warned that South Africans would not accept the constitutional programme Mr De Klerk outlined in his speech. The CP's proposals for development along ethnic lines would be preferable.

There was no hope of consensus between "communist terrorists" and people who sought their own freedom. "Last year everything was about Codesa and now Codesa is dead. He will have to make new plans determined through negotiations at which Cosag, which represents the majority of South Africans, will be present."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said the president's speech contained much that was sound and healthy. The phasing out of own affairs, rationalisation in the civil service, the early introduction of a Bill of Rights, and additional measures against crime and violence were all proposals which the party had been demanding for years.

"We shall be monitoring all these measures closely."

However, he added: "It is very disappointing that the president is still not seeing the problem of the so-called TBVC states."

These allegedly independent countries were not, nor ever had been, independent. They were the grotesque of the creatures of apartheid, an expensive nuisance and should be got rid of without delay.

PAC president Mr Clarence Mokwena said the speech "contains little new facts if any and it seems that he has no more new rabbits to pull from his hat."

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa predicted South Africa would be heading for its biggest deadlock yet when the multilateral conference took place soon.

This deadlock had been deliberately planned by the South African government to justify its prolonged stay in power.

Reacting to Mr De Klerk's speech, he said: The recent drumming up of the PAC/Apla fiasco by the State machinery which was immediately followed by the government's suspension of bilateral talks between it and the PAC is another good example of a delaying tactic."
WASHA MP for Problems and Western Cape

Chairman of the party explains why

concessing support in the campaign. JYSER

The Democratic Party is determined, in spite of the

Defend or lose. The meeting in England, to continue

If the vision the party adopts is the right one, the
country will be better. If the direction and policy of
our party is the correct one, the future of the
nation will be brighter. In the last few years, the
party has shown the electorate that it can
deliver on its promises. The party has
proven its commitment to the people of
South Africa. The party's goal is to
build a better country for all.

The party's program is based on the
principles of democracy, equality,
and justice. It is a program that
will ensure the common good for
all. The party will work tirelessly
to achieve these goals and to
deliver on its promises.

The party will continue to
fight for the rights of all
people, and to ensure that
the democratic process is
respectful and inclusive. The
party will continue to
represent the interests of all
South Africans.

The party's program includes a
number of key initiatives, such as
the implementation of a
demand-driven system of
education, the introduction of
a national health insurance
scheme, and the promotion of
economic development and
growth. The party will also
continue to work towards the
realization of a
democratic government.

The party's program is based on
the principle of equality and
justice. The party will work
towards the realization of a
society that is free of
discrimination and
oppression. The party will
continue to fight for the
rights of all people, and to
ensure that the democratic
process is respectful and
inclusive.

The party's program is based on
the principle of economic
development and growth. The
party will work towards the
realization of a society that
is prosperous and
prosperous. The party will
continue to fight for the
rights of all people, and to
ensure that the democratic
process is respectful and
inclusive.
FW to scrap President's Council
CP in walkout over new MPs

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr Andries Treurnicht led his party out of the House of Assembly yesterday morning, in protest against the swearing-in of five National Party MPs.

The five were nominated to replace NP MPs who resigned.

Legislation passed last year ended by-elections, allowing the party whose member resigned to nominate his successor. When the names of the new members were announced, Dr Treurnicht stated his wish to lead the CP from the House in protest. The 20 CP MPs then walked out.

As the CP MPs walked out, independent MP Mr Koos van der Merwe called out: "They have gone to mobilise."

The five new MPs were greeted with "yesterday's men" when they entered, while ANC MP Mr Dave Dalling asked: "Why don't you nominate Piet Koornhof — he has a lot of life left in him."

The new MPs in the House of Assembly are Mr Gustav du Toit (Vanderbijlpark), Mr Busie Coetzee (Durbanville), Prof Abraham Janse van Rensburg (Bethlehem), Mr N J Jansen van Rensburg (Umfoldzi) and Mr Dirk Bakker (Heiderbruin).

In the House of Representatives, Pastor H G Jansen was sworn in in Britstown for the NP.
"Needs of the hour not met"

JOHANNESBURG. — Extra-parliamentary groups criticised President F W de Klerk's opening speech to Parliament, saying he had failed to offer answers to the country's crises.

Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said he had failed to address adequately the economy, the violence and the need to move rapidly towards elections.

The Azanian People's Organisation said the speech had been a "damp squib" and Mr De Klerk had used it for early electioneering.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said Mr De Klerk had had a golden opportunity to present a comprehensive agenda to meet the crisis brought on by 40 years of NP misrule — but had failed to rise to the occasion.

Mr De Klerk's speech was well received in London and by European governments. — Sapa, Own Correspondent (J30/1/93)
Praise for FW's one small step

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk's opening speech in Parliament yesterday has been widely described as an important, but not earth-shattering, step towards an interim government.

Most parties and business organisations praised the measures he announced to demolish the remnants of the apartheid "own affairs" system and pave the way for multiracial transitional executive authorities by June. There was also positive reaction from the British government.

Most own affairs departments, including health and agriculture, are to be scrapped in April, while some will be phased out or absorbed into provincial and local government, De Klerk said.

A new transitional education administration under a new Minister would be established on April 1 to phase out the racially-segregated education system within a year and transform it into a single, non-racial system with regional departments.

De Klerk confirmed that his timetable for transition — including the resumption of multiparty talks by April and election by March next year — remained attainable, although there were still obstacles.

The Democratic Party welcomed the announcement, as the Conservative Party condemned it. "The Government's announcement that segregated education was to be phased out a year in April was a tough new step to counter crime and political violence, including compulsory five-year jail sentences for possessing automatic weapons such as the AK-47 and giving new teeth to the National Peace Accord, which were also generally well received."

But along with the Mundell of the popular press. "The world is not being won by the few, with visions of an uncertain future, and the press are becoming more spectacular about prospects for a political breakthrough."

But along with the Mundell, the new Government's negotiating team is still that early establishment is possible within the ANC, although the IFP is still a wildcard.

ANC information secretary Dr Palls Jordan, however, dismissed the President's speech as "extremely disappointing" and said it was a "false start" to secede the Government and ANC on a number of issues.

Addressing a press conference at the University of the Western Cape, he also castigated De Klerk for

Find truth about missing MK activist

THOUGH former police man Johnny Mhlongo claims the burial of victims of police torture were not substantiated by police investigations, the statement this week, they have triggered a campaign to uncover the truth about missing MK activist Gama Bopape.

Bopape, a civic leader and Umkhonto we Soweto cadre, disappeared while in military confinement in June 1988. His police allegation that he escaped has since spread from the start by his family and by critics of the Government's human rights record. Mhlongo's trading the police handling of the Bopape case. "We demand that police make documentation and witnesses available to the investigating officials," said Mantshile.

One of the documents that lawyers will present to Mantshile is a statement by Bopape's former family, Shibisheki, who was detained with Bopape. Although the statement was made in 1990, it is being released only this week.

In Nelspruit, now chair- man of the PWV region of the ANC Youth League, reports that police who interrogated him in the days after Bopape's disappearance repeatedly said Bopape was dead. In one instance, a John Vorster Square security personnel, identified as "Sykes", had said the police had shot and killed Bopape when he tried to escape. Nelspruit alleges Mantshile said the ANC was also demanding the immediate establishment of an independent commission to investigate
British government.

Most own affairs departments, including health and agriculture, are to be scrapped in April, while some will be phased out or absorbed into provincial and local government, De Klerk said.

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De Klerk confirmed that his timetable for transition — including the resumption of multiparty talks by April and elections by March next year — remained attainable, although there were still obstacles.

The Democratic Party welcomed — and the Conservative Party condemned — his announcement that segregated education was to be phased out in a year.

De Klerk's tough new steps to counter crime and political violence — including compulsory five-year jail sentences for possessing automatic weapons such as the AK-47 and giving new teeth to the National Peace Accord — were also generally well received. In a far-reaching measure, which is sure to have serious implications for firebrands in the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party, the Government intends to criminalise transgressions of the peace accord, such as making speeches inciting violence.

But along with the mood of rising hope fuelled by the president's speech, a few words of caution are being sounded that many obstacles remain. Some Government sources are cautioning that the country and the press are becoming too euphoric about prospects for a negotiations breakthrough, and that stubborn differences still remain between the Government and the ANC.

However, the indications from the Government's negotiating team are still that early settlement is possible with the ANC, although the IFP is still a wild card.

ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan, however, dismissed the president's speech as "extremely disappointing" and said a "huge gulf" still separated the Government and ANC on a number of issues.

Addressing a press conference at the University of the Western Cape, he also castigated De Klerk for taking unilateral measures instead of consulting his negotiation partners. "Rather than being statesmanlike, De Klerk chose to be boastful. Instead of measured steps to involve his negotiating partners even more deeply in the process of transition, he has chosen to cast himself and the Government as managers of the process," Jordan said.

De Klerk's only criticism of his own performance in the state by the TBVC states by giving them the option of becoming involved in his planned rationalising of administrations.

DP education spokesman Roger Burrows welcomed the decision to phase out segregated education, saying he could understand why it would take a year to get rid of 18 education departments.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said there was no hope of finding consensus between "communist terrorists" and people who claimed their own freedom.

The CP welcomed only De Klerk's announcement that he was considering reimposing the death penalty and other tougher security measures, but said that without the banning and disarming of the armies of the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress, law and order was an unattainable dream.

Jordan said the ANC was "utterly opposed" to the death penalty and would repeal it as soon as it came to power if Pretoria lifted the moratorium on it.

The British Foreign Office welcomed De Klerk's "evident determination to press ahead with the transition towards a new democratic constitution this year".
There is money in diplomacy.
Parliament
The Last Rascals
Cross Talk

Organizations with programs that include gender equity and fair employment practices often have more to offer than a workplace environment that is perceived as accepting of diversity. They may be more effective at retaining employees, increasing productivity, and reducing labor costs. In addition, they may be better able to attract and retain customers who value companies that value diversity. A positive workplace culture can help improve employee satisfaction and job performance, which in turn can lead to better customer satisfaction and retention. As a result, organizations that prioritize diversity and inclusion may be more competitive and successful in today's marketplace.
Page 3

Arrogance must make way for greater humility.

Peter Vale
Mr. Good's astroturf, but NP is set to be top dog in all three

The National Party

Political Correspondent

Nigerian West Africa's

MP goes astray, but NP is set to be top dog in all three
A new order takes shape, an old quest resumes

THREE years after President de Klerk's epochal speech of February 2, 1990, the euphoria has worn off. The weary quest for liberty, it turns out, stretches far into the future, probably into the next century. Nothing will be easy.

President de Klerk is taking us resolutely along a road at the end of which, he says, lies a rechtsstaat, a democracy under the rule of law. The difficulty, obviously, is to get from here to there. Analogies are notoriously tricky, but it is worth observing that Chairman Deng's China, where economic reform has preceded political change, is bustling along at growth rates of 12 percent a year, full of optimism. The Soviet Union, where political reform came first, has disintegrated, and is going through a brutal process of primitive capital accumulation in which it is hard to distinguish entrepreneurs from criminals.

South Africa has followed a path closer to the Soviet Union's than China's, choosing political reform ahead of economic liberalisation. The choice has not been a conscious one, but the result of delay, muddle, and confusion; nevertheless, the results are often quite similar to the Russian experience.

Similarities range from the trivial to the profound. Trivially, the emergence of a new class of township entrepreneurs has been no less brutal than in Moscow. Profoundly, reform has quickly descended, here as in Russia, from an idealistic search for democracy to a cat-fight among vested interests.

President de Klerk, like Mikhail Gorbachev, uses the rhetoric of democracy, but often in quaint and unfamiliar idiom. His vision does not seem to be the classically liberal idea: the maximum liberty for every individual that is compatible with equal liberty for all. He talks instead in the idiom of ethnicity, of recognising "cultural and linguistic diversity", and favours words like peace and prosperity, the currency not of liberty but of stability.

His purpose remains, at least to some of us, obscure. It is not clear whether he understands democracy as liberals do, or whether he is actually negotiating to secure a special position of power and influence for the 13 percent of the population who are white (or simply the nine percent who are white Afrikaners).

On the other hand, the clever lawyers of the ANC use the idiom of democracy with greater familiarity, but they lay more subtle traps. Confident that the ANC will command an electoral majority, they always demand the hand for the majority government. True to their Leninist roots, they seek freedom for government, not freedom from government.

President de Klerk now sees a broad consensus developing in the country: the rest of us, standing outside the magic circle of negotiation, see a convergence of ANC and National Party thinking on a constitution that will fix their relationships, and then secure the power allotted to each of them.

Not for nothing does Mr. Joe Slovo offer Nat politicians "sunset clauses" to enable them to see out their declining years in privilege, asking in return only that they not insist awkwardly on the classical protections for minorities. It's a trick, but no doubt many Nats will jump at the deal.

That, obviously, is the fear of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is clawing for his own, regionally-based interests, and of many of the other minor players who scavenge for cash at the edge of the firefight of the bosberade.

In fact, thousands of lesser players are fighting for a foothold of advantage in the future, or for amnesty from their past: bureaucrats sell out state land to white farmers, importers demand protection against overseas competition, exporters wheel and deal for subsidies, civil servants quickly top up their unbelieveably lavish pension schemes, private corporations curry favour with political parties by funding diners and rallies, black elites scramble to establish footholds in business and in the suburbs, and capital demand to be exonerated. It's a mad scramble for safety and new privilege.

To a large degree, this is a battle of ideas, a contest for national symbols and for moral high ground. That is why special interests vie so fiercely for control, or for influence, over the SABC and the newspapers, why black journalists are terrorised into silence, and why the tiny Democratic Party's public meetings are broken up by thugs. Our current politics mocks the culture of tolerance without which democracy is unachievable.

The advantage of beginning reforms with economic liberalisation, as China has done (and as liberals urged South Africans as early as the 50s and 60s to do) is that the old rigidities of the system are broken down by the fearsome power of capitalist growth. As new classes arise, and as interests proliferate, potential power struggles become more diffuse.

But when unequal, authoritarian societies leap directly into negotiations, as South Africa and the Soviet Union have done, the vast changes that threaten both class interests and personal fortunes inevitably render constitution-making hostage to power struggles. That is where we are today.

This is not to say that the South African transition is destined to fail, or that the Chinese transition is guaranteed success, but it does explain why we hear so little about the details of the rechtsstaat. The government shares with the leaders of the ANC a fear that political instability and economic stagnation may wreck not only the process of reform, but the state itself.

This, indeed, is the new consensus which President de Klerk senses: a belief that stability, and economic growth, outweigh airy notions of liberty. It is not to be mocked. A new stability, even under an authoritarian coalition of Nats and ANC, might well — provided only it avoids socialist folly — give us a second chance to liberalise the economy as a prelude to political change.

But South Africa's handful of liberals — the heirs of the tradition that resisted the regimes created in 1910, and 1961, and 1983 — might as well gather their courage, and steel their spirit, for a new time of struggle to reform, peacefully and progressively, the regime of 1994.

KEN OWEN
Govt of unity only way — Mandela

THE ANC had no alternative but to form a government of national unity if it wanted to remain in power after winning a non-racial election, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Cape Town on Friday.

He was addressing delegates at the Anglican Consultative Council conference at the University of the Western Cape following a half-an-hour meeting with the visiting Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr George Carey.

Mandela said a government of national unity was the only way to counter the “already incipient counter-revolutionary movement” in which elements of the security forces exploited tensions between the ANC and Inkatha in order to foment violence aimed at destabilising the ANC.

“To take political power in SA is easy. The most difficult thing is to retain that power,” Mandela said.
News in brief

Chiefs to meet FW

THE Congress of South African Traditional Leaders will formally introduce itself to President FW de Klerk in Pretoria tomorrow, the president of Contraliswa, Chief Patekile Holomisa, said yesterday.

Holomisa said the constitutional role of traditional leaders in a future democratic South Africa would be discussed. He said the alleged harassment of traditional leaders in homelands such as Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana was also on the agenda for tomorrow's meeting.
Whither negotiations, ask traditional leaders

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

President F W de Klerk will have to explain when he meets the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa) in Pretoria today where negotiations are heading. Contralesa president Chief Peteile Holomisa said yesterday.

The meeting, which will be held immediately after the Government's two-day talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party, is one of a series of bilateral meetings scheduled by at least three organisations with the Government this week.

This last round of bilaterals is expected to be a precursor to the resumption of full-scale multiparty negotiations in the near future.

Before its first direct meeting with the Government since President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding agreement on September 26 last year, the IFP delegation held talks with its Concerned Southern Africans Group (Cosag) allies in Pretoria yesterday. They will continue today.

Contralesa leader Holomisa said the direction in which negotiations were heading would be one of the issues on the agenda of his organisation's meeting with the Government today. Also on the agenda would be violence and land issues, on which Contralesa now wanted to be consulted before any action was taken.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday said his party had been shocked by reports that the Government and the ANC were negotiating an interim constitution and the reincorporation of homelands.

Referring to the week-long "bosberaad" the Government will hold with the ANC from tomorrow, Treurnicht said it was intolerable that while the planning committee for multiparty talks agreed to by Pretoria and Cosag in their meeting two weeks ago had not yet materialised, De Klerk was preparing totally unacceptable legislation with the ANC.

A member of the IFP-led Cosag, the CP has also tentatively given its nod to multiparty negotiations — a move which some political observers believe could precipitate a split in a party which has so far refused to talk to the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The ANC holds its "bosberaad" with de Klerk and his Cabinet colleagues at a secret venue tomorrow.

The "bosberaad", which is expected to last until Tuesday or Wednesday next week, comes after a similar bush indaba between the two major players last month.

Both the ANC and Pretoria hailed the meeting as having been a success.