When President F W de Klerk gave his speech at the opening of Parliament last Friday, he attempted an amazing juggle: extend a carrot to undecided blacks and give a sop to insecure whites. Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien examines the implications of the new dispensation he unveiled.

FW de Klerk ... no more early releases.

South Africa will fall under a Department of National Education which will restructure education completely by March 31 1994. During this transitional phase “education will continue to be provided by the existing departments”, De Klerk said.

The most significant of his announced changes was that he would phase out the President’s Council, which during the earlier days of the tricameral parliament had become the NP’s traditional weapon.

Controversial legislation
In the past, when the NP was unable to pass controversial legislation through the three chambers of Parliament it would use the powers of the PC to pass it as it did with the Further Indemnity Bill late last year.

De Klerk’s speech was, in total, indicative of the times South Africa is in, in that it tidied up the political uncertainties of the past two weeks of negotiations with the ANC and Inkhatha Freedom Party.

He did, however, take a small swipe at his political opposition and tended to appease the white electorate.

Tired of violence
Reportedly “tired of the violence”, whites have been losing faith in De Klerk. As a sop (read electioneering) De Klerk announced bold new moves against violence in the country.

He announced that legislation would be passed to give the National Peace Accord substantive power and that nationwide network of community-based protection and crime prevention structures would be created.

De Klerk also said there will be no more early release programmes for convicted criminals.

And most significant in this regard, he promised that the moratorium on executions would be reviewed because of the escalating rate of murders in South Africa.

According to official police information, 15 772 murders were committed between January and October last year.
Malan Resigns: Work tipped as next to go in reshuffle

(30th April 1943)
PAC terms for negotiations

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday closed ranks and restated its position on negotiations - that a new forum outside of Codesa should be created to reach a political settlement.

The PAC's national executive committee held its quarterly strategy meeting in Johannesburg where it discussed the negotiations process, its impact on the international scene and the relationship with its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apia).

Although the full statement on the meeting will only be issued today, the PAC rejected out of hand deals between the Government, the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The PAC also reaffirmed its commitment to negotiations and increased its negotiations team from six to nine members.

The meeting, described in political circles as an emergency, also focused on the PAC's relationship with Apia and decided the two were united and had a common purpose. It also came when speculation was rife that a split within its leadership ranks was imminent, fuelled by reports last week that three national executive members were to announce their resignation.

The PAC's political affairs secretary, Mr Johny Seroke, told Soweto yesterday that this rumour was discussed and the three members concerned said they had no intention of resigning.

Seroke said the PAC rejected conditions set by the Government last week demanding that the organisation denounce Apia and the armed struggle.

"We are committed to negotiations but we will do so without conditions and without entering into any form of bilateral deals."
Opening speech paves way for drastic changes

CAPE TOWN — Announcements made in President F W de Klerk's opening of Parliament speech would herald dramatic changes in the structure of government and the composition of the Cabinet, parliamentary observers said at the weekend.

The Cabinet may once again include people of colour, parliamentary sources said, although they added that a reshuffle was not likely for at least a week.

Ministers who may lose their jobs are Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok and Home Affairs and Environment Minister Louis Pleniar, who is understood to be in poor health.

There has also been speculation about Defence Minister Gene Lourie, although sources said yesterday this would be highly disruptive as the new Minister would be the fifth in two years.

De Klerk's announcements that some own affairs administrations would be phased out via a "direct route", and that the President's Council would be scrapped, have caused a stir in government.

More than 20 officials in the Ministers' Council would be affected by its abolition although some could be accommodated in expanded provincial executive committees.

The proposed changes have also encouraged the NP to make a concerted drive to recruit MPs in the House of Delegates, in which it is expected to gain a majority by the end of the week.

The NP would then have the majority in all three houses.

This would make it impossible for the passing of legislation to be impeded in any way, and obviate the necessity for government to use the President's Council as an arbitration mechanism.

The moves herald the end of the tripartite system, which lasted less than a decade, making it one of the most short lived in history, constitutional expert and DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said at the weekend.

"It will be un mourned and unmissed by many except those who benefit from it," he said.

Other moves expected as a result of the speech are the excising of sexual and racial discrimination from the statutes following the introduction of a Bill of Rights.

De Klerk hinted at this move, saying government had already launched a comprehensive action in recent months to "identify statutory provisions which are not compatible with fundamental rights".

"Government is in favour of the introduction of such a Bill already during the transitional constitutional phase," he said.

De Klerk's speech, which was unspecific on constitutional questions, reflected the uncertain stage of the negotiation process, although he expressed confidence that the process would be completed.

Consensus was slowly beginning to take shape, he said.
Former military chief
Malan calls it a day

Political Staff

General Magnus Malan, former military strongman of President P W Botha, quit politics last night — a departure expected to be followed soon by other Ministers as the transition to power sharing gathers pace.

Malan (63), shifted by President F W de Klerk from Defence to the less important Water Affairs and Forestry portfolio, announced he would retire on March 1 from the Cabinet, from Parliament and as chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly.

Although his resignation was expected, Malan wasted no time in leading the exit from the Cabinet after De Klerk's announcement on Friday that the "own affairs" system would be phased out and replaced by a transitional executive.

In a statement Malan said he had served in politics for 12 years and had made his contribution in the Defence, Water Affairs and Forestry portfolios and as chairman of the Ministers' Council.

He said the basis for the rationalisation of the own affairs administration had been established.

The commercialisation of the Forestry branch was on its way and the Water Affairs department was operating smoothly.

"It is therefore the appropriate moment for me to retire."

He had informed the NP divisional council of Mosedel Fontein of his decision.

He said he wanted to state clearly that he wholeheartedly supported De Klerk, the Government and the National Party.

Shake-up

Malan, who as Minister of Defence became one of the most controversial figures in the Cabinet and was subsequently demoted to his current portfolio, added: "I stand by the security forces, whom I believe remain the security shield for South Africa's stability and the maintenance of order."

A major Cabinet shake-up is now inevitable during the next few months as other own affairs Ministers are expected to follow suit.

Former Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok, now Correctional Services Minister, is also likely to retire.

And several ministerial jobs in the Ministers' Councils of the Houses of Representatives and Delegates will also become redundant on April 1 when the bulk of the own affairs ministries become general affairs.

The first to go will be the coloured and Indian Ministers of agriculture, health and local government, whose portfolios will disappear.

De Klerk's decision to phase out segregated education from April under a transitional education ministry should also necessitate some changes in the Cabinet.

The domino effect could see a whole range of moves in the Government's senior executive.

The advent of transitional executive councils is the most likely moment for the departure of Vlok who, like Malan, occupies an own affairs portfolio as well as a general affairs position.

Rumours are also circulating that Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar and Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers are to be removed or retired.

Pienaar said last night he reserved the right to review the Government's plans and the state of negotiations are certain to provoke a furious debate, with the Conservative Party likely to exploit uncertainty and division within NP ranks about perceptions that it is too eager to appease the ANC.

The defection to the Inkatha Freedom Party last week of senior NP frontbencher Jurie Mentsz will give the CP added ammunition for its attack.
Total Strategy

Signals end of

Magna

By Harry Stern

The Irishman General

after several controversial polls to be

 Burst to power

last third... Can Gardner pocket a Cope Town cancer last night for a less legal thing before the

government's midfield deadline last might. Judge Minster, My Lord Cattle, was well ordered el gaming

 specially, the major feature in 1995. The thing has not

progress on the track or the side. It is a small,

progress of the record on the side. It is a small,
Voters to get IFP education

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party has embarked on a voter education programme to teach people voting procedures and different electoral systems, IFP Transvaal executive committee member Mr Humphrey Ndlovu said yesterday.

The programme would help people to understand how their votes would be translated into representation, he said in a statement.

"Illiteracy, fear of the process and the perception that their votes will not make a difference are some of the problems that the IFP is addressing.

"We will ensure that any future ballot paper is voter-friendly, so that illiterate persons will also be able to exercise their democratic right." — Sapa
Scene is set for cabinet shuffle

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa faces a period of political turmoil this week with an intense censure debate in Parliament, the National Party taking control in the House of Delegates and progress on the negotiations front on the cards.

With the retirement of minister General Magnus Malan and speculation about the impending retirement of Mr Adriana Vlok, President F W de Klerk may make some sweeping changes to his cabinet.

The government is due to reveal its proposals for a bill of rights tomorrow and this could focus attention on transition and the new constitution.

The government is determined to seize the political initiative again and, following Mr De Klerk's speech opening Parliament on Friday, it has laid the basis for this on various levels.

The Conservative Party, however, is determined to fight the government all the way and its walkout of the House of Assembly last week, when new MPs were sworn in, is an indication it will use every opportunity to fight the introduction of an interim government and a transitional process.

The NP takeover of the House of Delegates, where it has 24 of the 45 members, could be consolidated on Friday when the House debates a motion of confidence in Dr J N Reddy's Ministers' Council.

Both this week's debate and the scheduled meeting between the ANC and the government on Thursday could consolidate the process towards the resumption of multi-party talks in March.

It is not yet clear when Mr De Klerk will reshuffle his cabinet but the retirement of General Malan, Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs, and possibly Mr Vlok, Minister of Correctional Services, has been expected ever since they were denied last year.

The decision to scrap own affairs departments and the need to bring younger leadership, including NP MPs from the other two houses, has increased pressure for a cabinet reshuffle.
DP team dominates Sandton committee

THE Sandton Town Council elected an interim management committee last night, but there was mixed response to the new line-up.

DP councillor Bruce Stewart, a member of the previous management committee, was elected unopposed as chairman, with independent candidate Max Strous as his deputy. 610m-9 2/12/93.

The DP caucus dominates the new committee with three members. They are Stewart, Melanie Stewart and Dennis Grevensteyn. The remaining member is independent candidate Dave Jordan.

Sandton Federation of Ratepayers (Sanfed) chairman Gail Daus said her organisation was disappointed as the controversial "Junta" previously in office had simply been replaced with a DP-dominated team.

She said the candidates were selected more because of their political affiliations than for their skills, and she feared they would place national political issues before the interests of Sandton residents.

The DP did not have a very good track record for giving local matters priority, she said. But she added that she hoped the new committee would make every effort to restore the morale of council officials.

Jordan said he believed the composition of the team would make for a "more harmonious" management committee.

Because of March by-elections in two Sandton wards, the committee will be re-elected at the end of March.

Sandton has operated without a management committee since the resignation of the previous committee two weeks ago.
Agreement before elections

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE principles of a final constitution and details of power sharing must be secured before elections to a constituent assembly, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, has said.

Meyer said yesterday these details, as well as a Bill of Rights, had to be agreed upon and entrenched in a transitional constitution before elections could be held.

Meyer says Bill of Rights must be in place before polls:

He said this would form the bedrock of the final constitution.

Meyer said it was possible that the constituent assembly or constitution-making body (CMB) could also make no changes at all to the transitional constitution.

Asked whether he did not think this made a farce of the notion of a CMB, Meyer said that if the CMB wanted to, it could also change the transitional constitution.

"The ANC has recognised that there was a need for a transitional arrangement.

"The intention is not to limit the constitution-making body. It might also be satisfied with the transitional constitution," Meyer said.

He foresees a lot of other work for the CMB like "creating new government structures".

Meyer believes that the principles which are to be entrenched in a new constitution should be secured before the transitional executive council is established.
Solidarity MPs join NP

The National Party looks set to take over the House of Delegates. It now has 17 seats, with the defection yesterday of three more Solidarity members to the NP. They are chief whip Yakoba Makda, Abdus Kahn and Sattar Akoob.
NP to go it alone in election

CAPE TOWN—In a surprise switch in election tactics, the NP yesterday indicated it would not contest an election with alliance partners.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer also said in Parliament that political realities excluded the possibility of the ANC and government being allies in the elections.

"In the coming political electoral contest, the NP will stand for a clear objective. The party will follow its own clear path. Other parties will then be free to accept the NP's leadership," he said, apparently spurning the speculated alliance with Inkatha.

"Ill-disposed commentators who stupidly and opportunistically denigrate the negotiation discussion between government and the ANC, for example, as the formation of political alliances are deliberately engaging in opportunistic political misrepresentation," he said.

He described as "utter nonsense" speculation that bilateral agreements had been entered into with the ANC or that secret agreements had been made.

Meyer spelt out differences on constitutional matters, saying differences with the ANC were largely substantive while those with Inkatha were mainly concerned with the process.

Meyer also aired government's constitutional strategy, stipulating that it would press for a range of liberal constitutional

features.

These would include a bill of rights, constitutional continuity, participatory democracy and "unity in diversity".

On this subject, Meyer said the concept of power-sharing at executive government level was no longer contentious in negotiations about a transitional constitution.

But on whether this suggestion, propagated mainly by government, could be written into a final constitution, Meyer was not specific, saying only that government would make its view known soon.

On regional government, Meyer said the NP was proposing five to nine provinces with constitutionally entrenched powers.

The ANC was in favour of 10 to 16 regions over which central government would have overriding jurisdiction.

Inkatha used the label "federalism", but it was really pressing for an independent state participating in a confederal association.

Despite the difference, Meyer said there were signs that all parties recognised reality and were prepared to accommodate viewpoints other than their own.
Second Natal MP quits to join IFP

Political Staff
MIKE TARR, Democratic Party MP for Maritzburg North, today resigned from the DP and has joined the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He is the second Natal MP to join the IFP. Last week Mr Jurie Mentz (Vryheid) did so.

More MPs could follow, parliamentary sources said.

Mr Tarr now takes his place with Mr Mentz on the back benches.

Mr Tarr is to meet the DP's constituency council in Maritzburg North to explain his move.

He said he had been agonising over this move for a long time. He had no quarrel with the DP, and liked their policy, "but they are not the right vehicle in Natal".
**focus on Malan**

**By his own admission,** General Magnus Malan, Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry and former Minister of Defence, has no further role to play in South Africa.

Malan told Die Burger, the National Party's propaganda sheet in Cape Town, that the Cabinet had already decided to commercialise forestry and that as Own Affairs will be abolished, his work was done. Malan was the chairman of the Minister's Council in the (white) House of Assembly.

In simpler terms: where South Africa is heading, there is no room for Magnus Malan. That is why he has stepped out of politics — relinquishing his position in the Cabinet on Sunday.

Malan's resignation is, however, not a simple administrative calculation, as some Government sources might want to suggest.

**Break with the past**

In a holistic way, Malan's resignation perhaps signifies the greatest break with the past by South Africa's ruling elite and the most symbolic end yet of Mr PW Botha's anti-communist Total Onslaught psyche that pervaded the country during the 1980s.

It brings to an end "one of the darkest periods of South Africa's history," Professor Samie Terreblanche, of the University of Stellenbosch, said yesterday.

"People talk about apartheid, and it was ugly; the Total Onslaught was preposterous. I can actually not find a word to describe just how preposterous it was," Terreblanche, himself a former member of the Broederbond and presently a political economist, said.

Malan was appointed as Minister of Defence by Botha in 1980 when Defence spending was marginal. Under him, Defence spending soared to R80 billion, Terreblanche explained.

**New culture**

"The Government could have spent at least R4 billion a year to upgrade the Sowetos of South Africa," he said.

"Besides overspending, a new culture was created that formed the basis for corruption in Government," Terreblanche said.

Other names, some representative of the Total Onslaught era, but more generally of the old order and very much part of Terreblanche's "culture", have been mentioned as facing the forced retirement.

Of note is the former deputy and later Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adrian Viljoen, who is presently the Minister of Correctional Services. Viljoen and Malan were the bane of activists' lives in South Africa and in the Frontline States. While Viljoen policed internally, Malan policed, as it were, across South Africa's borders and supported the South African Police in the country's townships.

Terreblanche believes that "the truth about cross-border raids, hot pursuits and what really happened in Mozambique, Angola and other Frontline States might never be known".

"The question that is not being asked (about Malan's resignation) is: Is he not resigning because he is unhappy with the way senior members of the SADF were purged (by President PW de Klerk) in December?" Terreblanche said, with just a hint a cynicism yesterday.

Malan refutes this and pledges his support for de Klerk and the negotiation process.

"We will have to move in a democratic way to a new order where each South African has equal rights and privileges regardless of race, religion or sex, based on power-sharing. This will have to be achieved through negotiations. It's the only solution," Malan has said.

His preference for a political settlement (over a military one) does in fact stretch back to the Total Onslaught era.

Apparently aware of the enormous impact South Africa's border (and cross-border) wars had on the economy, Malan advised Botha that the country's problems were ultimately political and not military.

**State of emergency**

When the national state of emergency was declared in 1986, Malan said that political activists were exploiting the black community and that black people were not terribly concerned with political rights.

The next year he publicly admitted that South African Defence Force troops were aiding Unita in Angola.

He was part of the process of negotiations which led to the independence of Namibia — a quid pro quo for the exit of Cuban troops from Angola.

Malan says that the departure from Angola of Cubans (the call them communists) was one of his greatest achievements.

**Mass purge**

He leaves office at the end of this month both as a Cabinet Minister and as the member of Parliament for Modderfontein.

By the time Malan leaves, greater clarity might emerge on the positions of Mr Louis Pienaar, the Minister of Home Affairs and the Environment; Mr Gene Louw, the Minister of Defence; and Mr Jacob de Villiers, the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, all of whom are said to be well on their way to the main exit of politics.

Knowledgeable sources feel that Malan precipitated a "mass purge" of the old guard from the Cabinet by stepping out earlier, before a whole bunch of them would unceremoniously be dropped from Government.
By Alan Debe

No charges put to them: Taxmen released

Sanctions must be lifted for release of rights: Democratic and Labour Parties say Nats are guilty of abuses

NEWS

"What is this country coming to?"
Apartheid still lives — Zach

CAPE TOWN — The continued existence of the homelands was living, visible proof that apartheid was not dead, DP leader Zach de Beer said during the debate in Parliament yesterday on President F W de Klerk's opening address.

The own affairs system was being done away with because it was racist and expensive, but the system of bantustans was much more expensive, racist and corrupt.

"It must go: and before Nationalist speakers start talking constitutional drivel, let me say Pretoria's financial stranglehold is all that is needed to bring the TBVC states into line, whereas Pretoria's sovereignty over so-called self-governing territories is not in question at all."

ANC-supporting MP for Sandton David Dalling said government would leave behind racial ghettos, a mass of uneducated black South Africans living in grinding poverty, and massive international debt.

While South Africans should be thankful that the ANC was the dominant force in black politics because of its truly non-racial attitudes, Dalling said.

Sapa reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht said consensus would never be reached in SA if its variety of nations was not recognised.

"That is why Codesa failed," said the CP leader.

There was an unhealthy speed with which government and the ANC wanted to force a system on SA when clarity had not even been attained on federalism or regionalism. Government was now further away from consensus than it had been a year ago.

Jurie Mentz (Vryheid), the former NP MP who joined Inkatha last week and sits now as an independent, said people were sick and tired of violence and destabilisation.

Inkatha and the Zulu nation had proved through the years to be a disciplined people and had never conducted a campaign to eliminate policemen.

The party could play a bridging and moderating role in SA politics, he said.
Government, ANC closer
to unity compromise

Political Staff

THE ANC and the government are moving closer together in negotiations on the crucial issues of powersharing and regionalism.

The possibility of compromise on these two central questions — and therefore an early settlement — is emerging in political circles after the recent ANC/government bosheredas.

The two sides are now considering draft joint proposals on a government of national unity, regionalism, control of the security forces and reincorporation of the homelands.

These proposals have not been agreed to by negotiators and will be discussed when they meet again this week.

Widespread agreement to be reached they could see the government and the ANC promoting a joint approach in multiparty negotiations.

Both sides have stressed that this does not amount to a “deal” which will be imposed on other parties.

Yesterday, in a wide-ranging briefing on the state of negotiations, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer indicated that:

- The government is re-thinking its previously tough position on entrenched power-sharing in a final constitution.
- The ANC is easing its opposition to the government’s plan that the powers and boundaries of regions should be decided in multiparty negotiations before the implementation of a transitional constitution.

These two important concessions by each side could ease the way to a constitutional settlement.
Bilateral talks out, says PAC

A new negotiating forum free from the flaws of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was needed, Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander said yesterday.

Speaking after a two-day national executive committee meeting, he said the PAC had committed itself to a transfer of power through an elected constituent assembly "unfettered by bilateral dealings".

"Bilateral talks have served their purpose and continuing with them would be a source of serious conflict," he said. "Alexander said a new negotiating forum should:

- Consist only of political parties with a national character.
- Have neutral, international involvement in convenership, chairmanship, administration and security.
- Be transparent, so that the media and the public could follow the process and not only the results.

He added that the forum should not be a decision-making body, but rather a facilitating body for the realisation of a constituent assembly.

The PAC and SA Council of Churches met yesterday. A joint press statement said the organisations talked about a patriotic united front. — Sapa.
Charter spells out rights

CAPE TOWN — The rights of detainees, women, and children feature strongly in the Government's long-awaited proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights, published today.

The proposed charter recognises that rights have been infringed under the present system of parliamentary sovereignty, and that the system has to be adjusted fundamentally to provide guarantees against future infringements.

In the introduction to the proposed charter, the Government said it was committed to a new constitutional dispensation in which the powers of the various branches of state authority were limited by, and subject to, universally accepted norms.

In one of the first of 37 outlined points it recognises the most basic right to life, but retains the imposition of the death sentence as a permissible form of punishment for specific crimes.

According to Section Six of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the death penalty may not be imposed on anyone under the age of 18 for "most serious crimes".

However, a future parliament may abolish the death penalty or later reimpose it if public opinion so demands.

The proposed charter says abortion is contentious and leaves it to a future constitutional court to decide on the permissibility of abortion "under given circumstances". The matter is regulated by statute at present.

The proposed charter also outlines citizens' and political rights. It emphasises that every citizen will have the right to vote.

* Denied or deprived of citizenship.
* Exiled from the country.
* Prohibited from returning to the country.
* To Page 3.
Agreement firming
on power-sharing

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

CAPE TOWN — The ANC
and the Government are
moving closer together in
negotiations on the crucial
issues of power-sharing and
regionalism.

The possibility of compromise
on these two central ques-
tions — and therefore an early
settlement — is emerging in pol-
itical circles after the recent
ANC-Government meetings.

The two sides are now consid-
ering draft joint proposals on a
government of national unity,
regionalism, control of the secu-
rity forces and reincorporation
of the homelands.

These proposals have not
been agreed to by negotiators
and will be discussed when they
meet again this week.

But if they are agreed upon,
it could lead to the Government
and ANC promoting a joint ap-
proach in multiparty negotia-
tions.

Both sides have stressed that
this does not amount to a "deal"
to be imposed on other parties.

Yesterday, in a wide-ranging
briefing on the state of negotia-
tions, Constitutional Develop-
ment Minister Roelf Meyer in-
dicated that the Government
was rethinking its previously
strong position on entrenched
power-sharing in a final consti-
tution, and that the ANC was
examining its opposition to the Gov-
ernment's plan that the powers
and boundaries of regions
should be decided in multiparty
negotiations before the implemen-
tation of a transitional con-
stitution.

Entrenched power-sharing in
perpetuity is at present the key-
stone of National Party constitu-
tional thinking. Meyer said
the ANC had originally been op-
posed to power-sharing but by
the last quarter of last year had
come "very favourable" to the
idea.

This referred mainly to the
transitional phase, and details
still had to be worked out on
issues such as constructing an
executive.

"But the question remains
what will happen thereafter —
in other words, how we are to
construct power-sharing in the
final model."

On regionalism, Meyer said
the ANC had originally been op-
posed to the idea of letting re-
gions have a say in determin-
ing their own positions during
the transition.

Since then, there had been
growing convergence that the
powers, functions and bound-
daries of regions should be
agreed to before the transition-
al phase, and that these should
be changed only with the co-
operation of regional representa-
tives in the constitution-making
process.

If the issue of regionalism
were resolved, then the problem
of the majority required to pass
a final constitution would fall
into place, the Minister said.

This was the issue that had
wrecked Codew 2.
NP aims to go it alone in election

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

In a surprise switch in election tactics, the National Party has indicated for the first time that it might ditch its Ciskei alliance partners and go it alone in South Africa's first all-in election.

The move could have a decisive impact on the ruling party's fortunes at the poll, widely expected to take place in the next nine to 12 months.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr. Roelf Meyer, told Parliament yesterday that the NP would "follow its own clear path" in the run-up to the elections.

He added pointedly: "Other parties will then be free to accept the NP's leadership."

This was seen as a reference to the refusal of the NP to bend over backwards to continue trying to accommodate potential election allies such as the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Another seven Ciskei parties were also solidly in the NP camp before the break-up of the negotiating forum last year, but some — notably the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — have since formed the Concerned South Africans Group along with the CP and other right-wingers.

During yesterday's debate on the State President's opening of Parliament speech, Mr. Meyer told
21-m voters set to stretch resources

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Approximately 21.7 million South Africans are eligible to vote in the forthcoming elections, according to estimates made by Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar.

Speaking at a parliamentary briefing yesterday, Pienaar said the next elections would place a great strain on South Africa's administrative capabilities. There were only 6 million eligible voters in the 1960 election.

He said some 7 000 polling stations would be needed and the process of identifying possible locations had begun.

His department was making preparations for elections despite the fact that the exact format and nature of future elections was still subject to negotiation.

To avoid criticism that the Government was acting unilaterally, he proposed an interim independent structure which would monitor the work of his department until an independent election commission was established.

This body is expected to come into being at the same time as the proposed transitional executive councils.
The national government faces a number of challenges in regulating the power of political parties. This is because the Constitution gives political parties a significant amount of power, which can be used to undermine the democratic process. The Constitution guarantees political parties the right to form and operate independently, and this protection is essential for a healthy democracy. However, political parties also have a responsibility to ensure that their actions are in the best interests of the country. This includes respecting the rights of others, promoting healthy competition, and avoiding corruption. The government must work to balance the power of political parties with the need for accountability and transparency. This can be done through regulations that limit the influence of political parties in areas such as campaign financing and public spending. Ultimately, the goal is to create an environment in which political parties can thrive while also serving the needs of the people.
'NP's legacy of racial ghettos'

Political Staff

The government would leave behind racial ghettos, a mass of uneducated blacks living in grinding poverty and massive international debt, the ANC's MP for Sandton, Mr. David Dalling, said yesterday.

All the political structures the National Party had built since 1948 would have collapsed or been demolished, including the Group Areas Board, the Race Classification Board, the bicameral Parliament and the President's Council.

Mr. Dalling, who was speaking in the debate on President F.W. de Klerk's speech opening Parliament, said none of these untransformed institutions, nor those greedy and selfish policies, would survive.

Within two years, none of the ethnically exclusive white minority would like the Nazis after the war — admit to ever having supported apartheid.

Whites should be thankful that the ANC was the dominant force in black politics because of its truly non-racial attitudes.

"It has leadership of quality and integrity, which displays a lack of bitterness to a degree which is astonishing."

"This is a year in which all of us must strive to reach an accommodation."

"Our bleeding country cannot afford another year like 1982."

An honourable settlement was attainable and the ANC had put constitutional proposals to the government which were generous to the extreme.

"Take their proffered hands. Do not rebuff them. Our country is too close to disaster to do otherwise," Mr. Dalling said.
Electoral structures advanced

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PREPARATIONS for the infrastructural needs for South Africa's first all-in elections were already well advanced, the Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Louis Pienaar, disclosed yesterday.

The minister told a parliamentary briefing session that it would not be acceptable for elections — expected in the next 12 months — to be delayed unduly once negotiating parties had reached agreement on the form the poll should take.

The preparatory actions included the identification of 7000 sites for polling stations for an estimated 22.5 million potential voters.

Enough polling booths and ballot boxes had been manufactured and the purchase of other supplies had almost been completed.

However, there are an estimated 4.4 million potential voters in South Africa and the TBVC homelands who are without proper identity documents.
NP poised for power in HoD as MPs waver

Political Staff

THE National Party is only one seat away from becoming the majority party in the House of Delegates — and three HoD Ministers' Council members are poised to join the NP today.

Education and Culture Minister Dr Kisten Rajoo, Housing and Agriculture Minister Mr P I Devan and Deputy Minister of Housing Mr S V Naicker are all expected to cut their ties with the ruling Solidarity Party today.

By last night Solidarity's membership in the House had been reduced to 18 when three more of its MPs defected to the NP, swelling its numbers to 17.

The three were Mr Abdool Akoob, MP for Lautium, Mr A S Khan (Eastern Transvaal) and Mr Yakoob Makda (North-Western Transvaal).

Should another three HoD MPs join the NP it will be sure to win the censure debate in the 45-strong House on Friday — and assume power when the State President reconstitutes the Presidents' Council.

However, it is understood that the State President might be considering using the opportunity to exercise power-sharing and form a Ministers' Council which would still contain some Solidarity members.
Govt 'afraid to make welfare general affair'  

By Barry Streeter  
Political Staff

RACIAL discrimination in pensions and discrepancies in subsidies caused welfare to be excluded from the own affairs matters to be abolished from April 1, the Democratic Party charged yesterday.

The DP's health and welfare group said in a statement that President PW de Klerk had failed to meaningfully address welfare issues.

The DP noted that while "own affairs" such as education, health, agriculture and local government would be phased out as own affairs from April 1, welfare had not been included.

"Opening welfare institutions to all races poses a minefield of problems the government clearly does not want to tackle," the DP said.
MP's defection to Inkatha jars DP

CAPE TOWN—Inkatha gained its second MP yesterday with the defection of Mike Tarr, DP MP for Maritzburg North.

The move took the DP by surprise, DP leader Zach de Beer said.

Tarr said: "This has been concerning me for some time. I have been thinking and agonising about it and I feel that if I have any political contribution to make, in Natal, then the IFP is the best place."

He said it was time white South Africans walked "the extra yard" to join predominantly black political organisations.

Among the aims he set for his work within Inkatha were the promotion of peace and reconciliation and ensuring that a federal system came into being in SA.

Tarr told De Beer of his decision early yesterday. He had also told Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi of his intention; but had been given no indication of whether he would join the central committee.

De Beer said yesterday: "I cannot pretend to understand Tarr's action, and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability which exists in our country at present."

Wessel Nel (DP Mool River) said Inkatha's proposals were not compatible with DP policy as they envisaged a sovereign state of Natal.

Ken Andrew (DP Gardes) said Tarr could be in for a "nasty shock," Sapa reports. Speaking during debate on the President's opening address to Parliament, he said Tarr would learn that it was not what political parties stated on paper which was important, but how they behaved in public.

"If he believes in political democracy and tolerance, he is in for a nasty shock."
ANC, IFP to meet government

MEETINGS aimed at resuming multiparty negotiations start in Cape Town tomorrow.

The ANC and government continue their discussion on security matters at "sub-committee level" tomorrow, while a fully-fledged two-day meeting between them is scheduled for next Wednesday and Thursday.

Draft proposals focusing on a government of national unity, control of the security forces, reincorporation of the homelands and regionalism, which emerged from their extended meeting last month are being considered by both sides.

The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are to meet on Monday. After a meeting last month they said preparations for a multiparty conference were being discussed.
Charting of rights proposes to bring an end to apartheid abuses
Breakthrough in talks indicated

The ANC said yesterday it was in favour of the common proposals thrashed out with government earlier this year on constitutional principles.

This points to a breakthrough in talks with government.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa also spelled out yesterday the differences between his organisation and government on the two key stumbling blocks in their talks — power-sharing and regionalism.

"We both parties had shifted from their mandated positions the proposals had to be taken back to their principals," he said.

Ramaphosa yesterday indicated clearly that the ANC was happy with them.

He said the ANC had been meeting patriotic front members to report back on the extended bilateral meetings the organisation had with government between January 20 and 26.

The proposals and the general approach emerging from the bilateral meetings are not in conflict with key policy positions of the ANC," he said.

However, his organisation was happy with power-sharing as an interim constitution.

Transition plan set to be delayed

The implementation of the first stage of interim government could be delayed and the transition schedule disrupted whilst political parties battled to agree on an interim constitution, negotiation sources said yesterday.

There are two major problems facing negotiators trying to keep the talks and agreement within the time frames announced by President FW de Klerk in November.

In terms of agreements reached at Codesa and other meetings the transitional executive council — the first stage of an interim government — cannot be finalised until agreement has been reached on an interim constitution.

This was mainly at the insistence of the ANC which sought to guard against government introducing the first stage of an interim government and then delaying the whole process.

Secondly, Inkatha is insisting the multiparty planning conference be a full scale negotiations forum.

The ANC, government and Inkatha want the planning conference to take place by mid-February so a new multiparty forum would start constitutional negotiations by the beginning of March.

But according to a government source time was running out fast and the planning conference would probably happen later, possibly only in March.

At the moment negotiations on the transitional executive council have been put on the back burner while we try to get agreement on an interim government and other constitutional principles," a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

Government and the ANC will meet on Friday and Saturday to try to iron out differences on constitutional and other issues to advance the pace of bilateral talks, an ANC source confirmed yesterday.

And another joint ANC-government committee, trying to resolve problems of joint control and monitoring of the variety of armed formations and state security forces, will meet tomorrow.

According to the source, if the implementation of the transitional executive council and the establishment of an electoral commission could be brought forward "it would greatly facilitate agreements being reached on an interim government".

He acknowledged that government saw substantial problems with Inkatha's position of wanting to withdraw from the planning conference.

Vlok outlines new measures to keep offenders in jail

CAPE TOWN — Stacked prison bunk beds, correctional supervision and building more jail cells featured in a new government strategy to phase out early prisoner releases, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok said yesterday.

Pretoria 3/21/93

Vlok said the system of early prisoner releases, which he described as "a burden on the community", was a major cause of crime in the country.

He said the system was being changed to allow parole as a last resort after new methods of supervision like the "corrective" system had been developed.

The measures included abolishing remission of sentence, setting up an infrastructure for effective correctional supervision, increasing prison accommodation and creating a more comprehensive parole system.

The planning conference would probably happen later, possibly only in March.

"At the moment negotiations on the transitional executive council have been put on the back burner while we try to get agreement on an interim government and other constitutional principles," a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

Government and the ANC will meet on Friday and Saturday to try to iron out differences on "constitutional and other issues" to advance the pace of bilateral talks, an ANC source confirmed yesterday.

And another joint ANC-government committee, trying to resolve problems of joint control and monitoring of the variety of armed formations and state security forces, will meet tomorrow.

According to the source, if the implementation of the transitional executive council and the establishment of an electoral commission could be brought forward "it would greatly facilitate agreements being reached on an interim government".

He acknowledged that government saw substantial problems with Inkatha's position of wanting to withdraw from the planning conference.

Vlok said the system of early prisoner releases, which he described as "a burden on the community", was a major cause of crime in the country.

He said the system was being changed to allow parole as a last resort after new methods of supervision like the "corrective" system had been developed.

The measures included abolishing remission of sentence, setting up an infrastructure for effective correctional supervision, increasing prison accommodation and creating a more comprehensive parole system.

SA's daily jail population was about 100 000; more than 2 000 offenders were under correctional supervision. It cost R42 a day to keep a person in prison, against R15 a day for correctional supervision.

Vlok said he had no plans to resign, after former Defence Minister Gen Magnus Malan announced his intention to resign this week. — Sapa.
IFP gains a DP MP

Speculation that more MPs could follow:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent 3/2/93

The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday gained another Member of Parliament when Mr Mike Tarr of the Democratic Party joined the former National Party MP for Vryheid Mr Jurie Mentz in the cross-benches.

Mentz last week resigned from the NP after 40 years in that party and after 16 years as its MP for Vryheid to join Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

Speculation in and around Parliament is that more MPs could follow them. Mentz said after his startling announcement last week that there were DP members who were thinking of following him into the IFP.

Predecessor

Tarr joined the predecessor of the DP in 1959 as a schoolboy. He was elected as a Progressive Federal Party MP in 1981, but lost his seat in 1987. He was re-elected for the DP in 1989.

He said yesterday: "I believe that it is time white South Africans were prepared to walk the extra yard and join predominantly black political organisations. "It is unrealistic to expect black South Africans in large numbers to join what have been predominantly white political parties and part of the white-dominated power system."

Buthelezi is expected to nominate Tarr for membership to the IFP's central committee.

Reacting to Tarr's resignation, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said it had come as a surprise. "I cannot pretend to understand Mr Tarr's action and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability in our country."
DURBAN — Democratic Party MP for Pietermaritzburg North, Mike Tarr, resigned from the DP yesterday morning to join the Inkatha Freedom Party.

His move took the DP by surprise, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said.

Tarr said in Cape Town he had told the DP of his decision and he had made a formal announcement in Parliament earlier in the day.

Tarr said he intended joining the IFP as soon as possible. He had spoken to Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who had said he would be welcome.

"I think it's time white South Africans walked that extra yard and joined predominantly black organisations," he said.

He added that he fully identified with Inkatha's principles, specifically on federalism, and that since Inkatha did not differ in any major respect from DP policy proposals, it made little sense having two parties propagating similar views.

De Beer said: "I cannot pretend to understand Tarr's action, and must regard it as simply one more symptom of the political instability in our country." — Sapa.
New round of talks begins tomorrow

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

A new round of meetings aimed at restarting multiparty talks begins in Cape Town tomorrow.

The three sets of talks between the ANC and Government, and the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, are a continuation of meetings begun last month.

Tomorrow, the ANC and Government discuss security matters at "sub-committee level".

A newly fledged two-day ANC-Government meeting takes place in Cape Town next Wednesday and Thursday.

The Government and IFP meet in Cape Town on Sunday. After a meeting last month the two parties said preparations for a multiparty planning conference were being discussed.

The Government and the ANC are considering draft proposals focusing on a government of national unity, control of the security forces, regionalism, and reincorporation of homelands.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC remained opposed to entrenched power-sharing.
SA poll date ‘critical’

Johannesburg. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said it was critical for South Africa that a date be set soon for the country's first non-racial elections.

Speaking here after meeting a delegation of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), he said: “I told them it was critical that a date for a general election be set soon.”

However, there remained differences between the ANC and the government regarding power-sharing and a government of national unity.

The head of the ICFTU delegation, Mr Bob White, said they were in South Africa to assess the violence plaguing “progressive movements” and trade union federations.

The Brussels-based ICFTU represents 115 million workers worldwide.

Mr Mandela and the ANC's economics chief, Mr Trevor Manuel, yesterday also met with a delegation from Caltex International. — Sapa.
Praise, criticism for draft Bill of Rights

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government’s draft Bill of Rights published yesterday has been widely welcomed, although grave reservations have been expressed about certain clauses such as a controversial one legitimising the death penalty.

The draft Bill proposes that the present sovereignty of Parliament should be surrendered to a Bill of basic rights justiciable by a constitutional court.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said at a press conference yesterday that after the basic principles of a Bill of Rights had been approved by Parliament, the Government would table an omnibus Bill to expunge all laws from the statute book which fell foul of the Bill of Rights.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said a Bill of Rights would enjoy legitimacy and authority only if it were drafted and adopted by an elected constituent assembly.

The draft Bill lists 37 basic rights, including the usual ones such as the right to life, to freedom of speech, to practise politics freely, to free worship, to equality before the law and fair trial, to free movement and free association.

It also enshrines the right of women to equality with men.

But it has unusual features:

● Clause 4 says no person shall be deprived of life save in the execution of a death sentence imposed in accordance with Section 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

● The right to personal freedom is also qualified by clause 23 (3)(a) which suggests that a person may be detained indefinitely pending being charged, while clause 27(d) limits the period of detention to 10 days.

The Bill also enshrines the right of the individual to an unpolluted environment — an uncommon feature in Bills of Rights.

The women’s rights clause has what has been described as an affirmative action clause, stating that the principle of equality of women should not disqualify laws aimed at achieving equality.

This was welcomed by Democratic Party women’s rights spokesman Dene Smuts.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon last night welcomed much of the Bill but said it was disturbing that it made specific provision for the death penalty.

He criticised the provisions on equality before the law and free association for not expressly prohibiting the granting of public funds to institutions discriminating on racial grounds.

He also criticised the detention-without-trial provisions, saying the maximum detention period of 10 days was too long and that courts should be able to rule on the legitimacy of individual detentions.

Clause 9 enshrines the right to freedom of speech but adds that this shall not preclude the registration and licensing of media.

Coetsee said yesterday the Government would spend more than R1 million of taxpayers’ money to promote its draft Bill of Rights — an announcement the DP criticised.

Asked why the right to abortion was not dealt with as a women’s right, Coetsee said it was dealt with under the right to life section and that Parliament would have to decide whether women should have the right to abortion.

He denied that the Government’s Further Indemnity Act of 1993 contradicted the provision in the Bill forbidding a government from indemnifying State officials for murder.

● Govt vision draws fire

— Page 17
Imagine: Nats sponsoring own ultimate gymnastics

B R I N D The weaponry coord
Interim schedule could be set back

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The implementation of the first stage of the interim government could be delayed and the whole transition schedule disrupted while political parties battle to get agreement on an interim constitution, negotiation sources said yesterday.

Two major problems face the negotiators trying to keep the talks on track within the time frames announced by President F W de Klerk in November.

In terms of agreements the transitional executive council — the first stage of interim government — cannot be finalised until there is agreement on an interim constitution.

This was mainly at the insistence of the ANC who want to guard against the government introducing the first stage of an interim government and then delaying the whole process.

The second problem is that Inkatha is insisting that the multi-party planning conference be a full-scale negotiating forum, which could become bogged down in trying to resolve detailed agreements on federalism and other issues.

'Time fast running out'

The three key players — the government, ANC and Inkatha — want the planning conference to be held by mid-February, so that a new multi-party forum can start constitutional negotiations by the beginning of March.

But a government source said time was fast running out and this would now probably happen later.

"At the moment negotiations on the transitional executive council have been put on the back burner while we try to get agreement on an interim government and other constitutional principles," a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

The government and the ANC are to meet on Friday and Saturday to try to iron out differences to advance the pace of bilateral talks, an ANC negotiations source confirmed yesterday.

It is understood that the two-day committee meeting will look at the issues of power-sharing in an interim government, regionalism and specific constitutional principles to bind the elected body that will draft a new constitution.
New Nats' already bristling

Patrick Lawrence advises journalists to prepare to defend press freedom once more.
Goat Vision Draws Fire

Snr. 321 93
Nats hold reins in all three Houses

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National Party now holds the majority of seats in the House of Delegates. It holds 18 of the 45 seats — since Education and Culture Minister Dr Kisten Rajoo joined them yesterday. Solidarity now holds 16 seats.

There is a possibility that more members of the Ministers' Council could join the NP. Matters come to a head on Friday when the House debates a motion put by the first Member to join the NP, Sathe Naidoo, that the Ministers' Council is deserving of censure.

For the time being Dr Rajoo keeps his post as Minister. But his term of office has been controversial and there is a chance he could be replaced by another NP member, Kamal Pahday.

Departing Solidarity members have given two main reasons for leaving: they had lost confidence in Dr Reddy's leadership and felt Solidarity would not contest the first all-in democratic election.

With the pending scrapping of the President's Council, the NP has an interest in taking control of the HoD — it gives the party control of all three Houses.
Unrest ‘hasn’t weakened FW’

CT32493 From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — Millions of Britons watched President F W de Klerk on Monday night challenge an assertion that his position was “weak” because of increasing violence and the constitutional need to hold elections before September 1994.

He told Mr David Dimbleby in a television interview for the BBC’s Panorama programme, Coming to Terms: “I am not without authority. I am not without resources.”

Emphasising the goodwill needed to draw up a new constitution, Mr De Klerk said his party would ensure it contained “checks and balances to prevent a Hitler or an Idi Amin from coming to power”.

The government would also delay elections if violence continued to ravage the country.

People were fighting because their leaders were not talking to one another, because they did not believe progress was being made and because they felt there was “a grave risk that they might be tricked out of the role that they foresee for themselves”, he said. Successful negotiation would remove the causes of violence.

There was now pressure on all political leaders to reach agreement, not just himself. None of the parties could afford to delay multi-party elections.
DP ‘predicted’ political events

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

The Democratic Party had plotted the convergence of political groupings at the end of 1989 but, although this had taken place, it had not grown as it should have apart from lavish promises, the party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday.

He also said people should have no doubt about the deadly seriousness about the DP in future elections and it was determined to win between ten and 12% of the vote.

This would ensure the party was able to find a liberal-democratic cushion between the ANC and the National Party, he said at a lunch for newspaper editors in Cape Town.

Wherever the DP went it won praise for its approach and was told: “Thank God for the sanity we bring with our policies.”

However, the people who say this do not give the party votes or financial support, and it was getting sick of this.

Dr De Beer said it was a matter of considerable satisfaction to the DP that there had been so much convergence by other parties, as this had been its deliberate strategy since the end of 1989.

The other side of the coin was that confusion had developed over which party would in fact protect liberal values.
R400 000 and two pensions for Malan
ANC/NP alliance 'temporary'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

RUMOURS that the ANC and the National Party were getting into bed together were causing great confusion among their members, but any power-sharing between them would not be a cosy relationship, Claremont MP and ANC member Mr Jan van Eck said yesterday.

The ANC and the NP were indeed, as Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer confirmed this week, "partners in negotiation".

"We will try and wipe the NP out at the polls to deny them a position of power in the future," Mr Van Eck said in Parliament during the debate on President FW de Klerk's opening address.

"Any power-sharing between the ANC and NP in a future government of national unity will not be a cosy relationship and will be no more than a pragmatic temporary get-together for the specific purpose of ensuring that the transition from racist minority rule to democratic rule takes place in as stable an environment as possible.

"The ANC will not agree to any proposals that try to prevent us from obtaining true democracy."

Mr Van Eck said once the relatively short-term government of national unity had expired, any future coalition governments would only happen at the request of the majority party.
Inkatha gets second MP as DP man quits

Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party got its second MP in Parliament yesterday when the MP for Maritzburg North, Mr Mike Tarr, shocked the Democratic Party by quitting suddenly.

There is now increasing speculation that more MPs are set to follow Mr Tarr and the former National Party MP for Vryheid, Mr Jurie Menta, who joined the IFP last Thursday.

A senior NP member in Natal is expected to join the IFP soon. Mr Tarr's move ended the DP's representation in Maritzburg — last year Mr Rob Haswell, MP for Maritzburg South, joined the ANC.
More MPs set to join Inkatha-Mentz

CAPE TOWN: More MPs are poised to join Inkatha, including at least one from the House of Delegates, says Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz.

The Inkatha-supporting MP's claim comes amid increasing turmoil in the House of Delegates, where a second Ministers' Council member yesterday defected to the NP from Solidarity. Three National People's Party members were understood to have signed up with the NP, giving it a clear majority in the House.

Mentz said yesterday he had been approached by three House of Delegates members about joining Inkatha after he defected from the NP last week. He was subsequently joined by Mike Tarr (DP Maritzburg North).

A Natal Indian MP would join Inkatha this month, Mentz said. There was also a possibility that a House of Representatives MP would move.
The induction of the Three Amigos into the Cabinet on April Fools’ Day only goes to prove that the National Party believes it can still control the power play in local politics in South Africa.

Cabinet

IN ORDER OF SENIORITY
Foreign Affairs — RF (Pik) Botha.
Public Enterprises — Dr DJ (Danie) de Villiers.
Justice and Defence — HJ (Kobie) Coetzee.
States Expenditure — JA (Koos) Venter.
Population Development — JA (Jacob) Zabe.
Correctional Services — AJ (Adrian) Vlok.
Education and Training — National Housing and Administration (One) van Nienkerk.
Mineral and Energy Affairs — Dr Peter Boobler.
Agriculture — Dr Al (Kinn) van Nienkerk.
National Health and Welfare — Dr EH (Rina) Verwoerd.
Law and Order — HJ (Hendrik) Verwoerd.
Transport and Post and Telecommunications — P (Piet) Marais.
Constitutional Development and Communication — RP (Rudi) Meyer.
Manpower — Leon Wessels.
National Education and Education Coordination — AG (Piet) Marais.
Finance and Trade and Industry — DL (Derek) Hayes.
Sport — Abe Williams.
Local Government — DTT (Frans) De Jager.
Tourism — Dr Be (Dial) Ranchor.
Environment Affairs and Water Affairs — JA (Japie) van Wyk.
Regional and Land Affairs — Andre Fourie.
Home Affairs — IPA (Danie) Schutte.

Deputy Ministers

Defence and Environment Affairs — WM (Wynand) Breytenbach.
Finance — Dr TG (Theo) Alant.
Land Affairs — JF (Johan) Steyn.
Agriculture — AT (Toeti) Meyer.
Trade and Industry — D de V (Daan) de Graaf.
Constitutional Development and Communication — SJ (Stem) Schoeman.
Foreign Affairs — RS (Rientie) Schoeman.
Welfare — GME (Glen) Cedric.
Law and Order — BG (Bert) Myburgh.
National Health — Dr BL (Bobby) Godfrey.
Local Government — YK (Yvonne) Maluleka.
Justice — SM (Shabaz) Camara.

House of Assembly

Chairman, Budget and Housing and Works — AJ (Adriaan) Vlok.
Welfare — Dr EH (Rina) Venter.
Education and Culture — PG (Piet) Marais.
Deputy Minister of Welfare and of Education and Culture — BL (Bobby) Godfrey.

House of Delegates

Chairman and Budget — Dr BM (Bhadra) Ranchor.
Housing and Welfare — SV (Tulio) Weidman.
Education and Culture — Mrs D Gowender.
Deputy Minister of Housing and Welfare — YK (Yvonne) Maluleka.

House of Representatives

Chairman — JA (Jacob) Zabe.
Budget and Housing — GF (Gerald) Morkel.

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

Normally, in the days when you could still find somebody who supported apartheid and who voted for the National Party, a Cabinet reshuffle meant little or nothing to black people.

During those days, when politics in South Africa played itself out in black and white, Cabinet changes were no more than a blur of faces on a carousel of callous candidates.

But last weekend’s Cabinet reshuffle was different. It meant something. In some ways it was significant, while in others it was incongruous and out of synch with the times.

In a holistic way, however, it was unfortunately indicative of the grip that the National Party has on the levers of power in South Africa.

In the run-up to the country’s historic first election that will include indigenous Africans for the first time ever and drop the curtain on the last act of colonialism on the continent, South Africa’s ruling NP has revamped the Cabinet — supposedly the executive of the country — and has turned it into an election machine for itself.

President PW de Klerk has taken two series of coloured persons and one of Indian descent, and has given them positions in the Cabinet, clearly with an eye to using them as wedges of white might in their respective communities.

Mr Abe Williams has been made Minister of Sport and Mr Jac Rabie has been appointed as Minister of Population Development.

Both positions are superfluous in the grand scheme of things.

The majority of people have never heard of Rabie, who is discriminated among millions and millions of people because of his participation in the trienmal parliament, and to whom he now has to say: Stop having babies.

As Minister of Sport, Williams is up against the ANC’s Mr Steve Tshwete; one need say no more.

Mr Bhadrach Ranchor, who has been appointed as the Minister of Tourism, is a curious choice.

His new position is critically contingent on the pace of negotiations and very much on the levels of violence, both of which have become unpredictable and both of which he has no hand or say in.

Furthermore, Ranchor’s portfolio and his very ability to sell South Africa in any way is similarly contingent upon the international influence of the ANC’s Mr Thabo Mbeki and the PAC’s Mr Gora Ebrahim.

In other words, relative to their portfolios, these three appointees have little to no influence inside or outside the country.

Therefore, the only use De Klerk could envisage for the Three Amigos is to secure votes for the National Party in the upcoming elections among people whom this same party has robbed of their dignity (and often) their very humanity.

And if the support for “coloured” and Indian persons (on this basis) in elections for the trienmal parliament over the past 10 years is anything to go by, the shock are in for a rude awakening.

They could of course have been chosen simply to, at some stage, retire with Cabinet Ministers’ pensions after having served the National Party’s interests (Williams and Rabie) locally over the past year or so and Ranchor abroad, for his unheralded work in the European community.

The fact of the matter is, when the election is held later this year or early next year, very few people, if any at all, who ever entered the trienmal parliament’s Houses of Representatives and Delegates will be remembered for more than the bad taste they will leave in the country’s mouth.

Besides its deliberate exclusion of indigenous Africans, if the trienmal parliament was either a success or relatively workable, why would it have been necessary to abolish it?
Bishops plan voter education

VOTERS should know which candidates to reject in elections because MPs were employees accountable to the electorate, Catholic Archbishop of Durban-Wilfrid Napier said yesterday.

He told a news conference at the end of the plenary session of the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference in Pretoria that the Catholic Church had started an "Education for Democracy" campaign.

Napier also criticised a provision in government's draft Bill of Rights making the death penalty permissible. He said this seemed to be a denial of government members' claim to Christianity. If executed, criminals would not have the opportunity to repent.
Funding plan for
Groot Constantia
21 Sep 93 / Political Staff / 2OL

CAPE TOWN — The state and taxpayers should be relieved of the financial responsibility for Groot Constantia, the wine estate's management board said yesterday.

"A sound financial future should be created for an integrated Groot Constantia which will allow viticulture to be proceeded with in a manner consistent with the status of the farm where the SA wine industry started," it said in its 1992 report, which was tabled in Parliament.

This would ensure also the restoration work to the cultural historic section was not only completed but adequately maintained in the future.

The board's decision to recommend the formation of a non-profit trust or company to take over control of Groot Constantia was strongly criticised last week by the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco), which said it should remain under government control. Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk has denied that there were any sinister plans behind the proposals.

The board favours the SA Cultural History Museum continuing activities at Groot Constantia.

"Groot Constantia should remain accessible to the public in the interests of all SA's peoples and should be so managed as to cater for the burgeoning tourist industry, while at the same time serving as a showcase for our country's wine industry," it said.
Sacob hails ‘positive’
economic rights input

A FUTURE SA constitution should include a Bill of Rights which safeguarded human rights and freedoms that were universally accepted to be of an inalienable nature, the South African Chamber of Business said yesterday.

Commenting on government’s proposed Bill of Rights, Scob said it welcomed the positive contribution from major political participants, including government, on the question of a Bill of Rights, especially economic rights.

“Sacob supports the concept that no one should be deprived of his property without due process of law and fair compensation. This is one important reassurance required for business and investor confidence in the future.”

The CP rejected government’s proposals because they provided only for individual rights within a unitary state, CP justice spokesman Panie Jacobs said.

The CP was disappointed that government had continued to ignore group rights, such as the right to self-determination of nations. This deficiency would create conflict rather than regulate it.

Government was also naive to believe it could correct its past political faults with a charter of fundamental rights, or that a future ANC-SACP government would consider itself bound by such a charter.

LNP national chairman Luwellyn Landers said the NP’s draft charter on human rights and its plan of action to propagate it was ludicrous.

He said the NP needed to be educated in the protection of human rights.

The abuse of human rights has developed into a culture and tradition within the NP. Its draft charter and action plan has the potential and danger of delegitimising and devaluing the event Bill of Rights,” Azapo, secretary-general Don Nkazimeng said apartheid had so diminished the integrity of the judicial system that government’s announcement of a justiciable Bill of Rights within the next 12 months failed to excite the black community.

“In any other society people would have hailed this development as a milestone in the protection of individual rights,” Nkazimeng said.

In spite of their integrity, white judges would always be viewed by blacks as oppressors.

LINDAensor reports that the National Association of Democratic Lawyers’ Western Cape spokesman, Essa Moosa said government’s charter was designed to entrenched the rights and privileges of the beneficiaries of apartheid.

“The charter essentially provides for individual civil rights. No provision is made for socio-economic rights and only one short paragraph provides for environmental rights. The moral rights are meaningless to a people who suffer starvation; people who are plagued by illness, people who are homeless and people who are unemployed,” he said.

Boerestuut Party leader Robert van Tonder said it was clear the existence and rights of the Boer people had been entirely overlooked. The Bill was full of high-sounding phrases but the important word “volk” had been avoided.

“The Bill will be nothing more than a waste of gold-paper, seeing that SA will this year, with the establishment of an interim government, take the final steps to a backward Third World state.

“African governments have without exception torn all the nice little constitutional laws written for them, and the Bill reminds one of the nice paintings hung by those condemned to death as they walk towards the gallows,” Van Tonder said.

"Comment: Page 12"
Pretoria — The introduction of a Bill of Rights could have significant financial implications for SA's criminal justice system, Transvaal Attorney-General Jan D'Oliveira said yesterday.

In an interview, D'Oliveira said once certain entitlements usually due to the accused had become entrenched as fundamental rights, new avenues for challenging aspects of legal proceedings would become available.

This would place an additional burden on prosecutors and would have significant financial implications for SA's criminal justice system, he said.

"At present we do not test laws, we interpret and apply them."

While a few material changes could be expected in the conduct of a criminal trial, a "change of gear" was likely once the Bill had been agreed upon, he said.

"We will have to wait until we get an indication of what the Bill will contain before we start addressing its implications," he said.

D'Oliveira, who was appointed Attorney-General of the Transvaal in May last year, said the training of prosecutors and improving the accessibility of his office to both victims and witnesses were key objectives of his tenure.

"For any system of justice to work, there must be real co-operation between the public, the police and the prosecutors," he said. "My hope is that the political process will restore citizens' confidence in public institutions."

With white-collar crime on the increase, D'Oliveira believed businessmen had a responsibility to disclose information relevant to actions which undermined the country's economy.

"I can't prescribe a high morality for businessmen. It is an assumption, an axiom, that we rely upon. What is important is that where something goes amiss, disclosure must be forthcoming."

D'Oliveira said making known the accessibility and independence of the public service rendered by the Attorney-General's office and "doing everything to improve the quality of criminal justice" were critical to dealing effectively with rising criminality in SA.
No election before next November

Elections could be delayed until as late as November 1994 because negotiators had underestimated the complexities of negotiations and were still following partisan interests, political analyst and former PFP leader Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday.

In an interview, he said despite favourable indications from negotiators about progress, political parties had neglected too many areas. Public posturing by those involved in talks would bedevil the process and extend the transition period.

Parties had concentrated too much on constitutional negotiations at the expense of setting three vital areas — stability, legitimacy and setting of development priorities.

"The whole dilemma we are in is exactly that these things all have to be done concurrently with constitutional negotiations," he said.

He said there had to be agreement on the acceptability of the security forces as an instrument to maintain transitional stability as well as a common cause on taking action on private militia carrying arms.

It would be almost impossible to combat crime or violence without a common view on this.

The government claimed it was responsible for maintaining law and order but it had no legitimacy, Slabbert said.

He said the more inclusive Codesa 3 was, the greater transitional legitimacy would be and the easier the implementation of the transition agenda.

Setting of development priorities was crucial and had to be taken out of the political arena, he said.

Main issues in the development arena were finance and getting the civil service to make itself serviceable to the goals of development.

Slabbert singled out the Budget as the issue most likely to suffer from the charge of unilateral action because it had been determined and finalised so long before its delivery.

"We will be lucky if we get away with this Budget with a minimum of political controversy. Taxation is one of the main areas that will have to be sorted out before the Budget is announced," he said, adding that he hoped the economic forum could clear up some of the problems.

He said that if the Budget became an arena of political controversy, the transition would extend a lot further into the future.

"As it is, I listen to these guys and say 'add another six months to the time'. Just by what they are saying and trying to see how these get factored into the talks makes it clear that elections this year is too early.

"The worst thing this country can do is rush into elections prematurely and just hopelessly mess up," he said.

The transition would be protracted because the agenda kept changing and because of parties' fragile commitment to a settlement.

"Taking all that together and putting my head on a block I would say elections would only be held by November next year," Slabbert said.

He said that once the transitional executive council was in place the process might speed up because politicians and groups would start to move and "season each others minds on the realities of development" and start working together rather than fighting each other at the expense of the country.

Slabbert said there were some indications the ANC and government were beginning to move in that direction.

"The DP has been there all the time and Inkatha talks that way but then it produces a separate divisive constitution for Natal/KwaZulu."

BILLY PADDOCK

NP will outdo poll rivals

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk predicted yesterday that the NP would fare better than its rivals in SA's first non-racial poll.

Announcing steps to revamp the NP's organisation and propaganda machine ahead of the election, de Klerk told a media briefing it was "within the reach of the NP to get the highest percentage of all parties".

He was speaking against the background of recent opinion poll findings, which showed a drop in support for the party among blacks and whites.

The decision "to move up a gear" and place the NP on an "election footing also comes at a time of growing fear among the NP's traditional supporters that the party is losing its nerve in negotiations.

De Klerk said the NP would appoint a national information management committee to improve communication of party propaganda and beef up election planning and fundraising.

NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers would serve as committee chairman and Transvaal MEC Olaus van Zyl as executive director. The post of NP secretary-general would fall away.

De Klerk said the NP was going through a period of "astonishing broadening" of its support base. The party's research had shown it had "tremendous potential" for growth among all race groups. The perception that the NP was "simply not true".
Ruling a nation where angels fear to tread

CAPE TOWN — SA was in such a predicament that even the archangel Gabriel was bound to make a mess of government, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Endorsing the concept of a government of national unity, he told a media briefing that 40 years of apartheid and three years of violent turmoil would inevitably result in any single government which took over the new SA burning its fingers.

He welcomed the ANC's “wise decision” to take part in a broad-based government of national unity, but warned that such a government, which would include all except the far left and far right, was dangerous because it would have so much power and its opposition would be so weak.

The risk that such a government would drift towards authoritarianism and corruption was considerable, he said.

A government of national unity could be tolerated temporarily — between three and five years — and only in an emergency. “I suggest we do have an emergency.” The unified government would have to be in existence for some years because it would otherwise not have the opportunity to restore law and order and economic confidence.

In contrast to government’s insistence that the timetable for constitutional transition could be achieved, De Beer warned that writing a transitional constitution was a formidable task and could delay a new dispensation. The DP believed a sensible procedure would be to hold a constitutional conference while the tricameral constitution was still in force to draw up a final constitution in a semi-academic atmosphere, “and then we can institute it”.

TIM COHEN
Four Delegates

MPs cross floor to Nats

The National Party tightened its control of the House of Delegates last night when Housing and Agriculture Minister P Devan, of Solidarity, and three National People's Party MPs crossed the floor to join it.

With an estimated 22 MPs, the National Party now has a majority in this House and controls all three Houses. The defection of the three NPP MPs has left NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi as the sole representative of the party which used to run the House. — Political Correspondent. (3044)
For Malan the fight lies elsewhere now

Political Staff

A nostalgic — and ironic — valedictory speech yesterday, outgoing Water Affairs Minister General Magnus Malan returned to the soldiering theme that earned him both recognition and notoriety as the commander of one of the most feared armies in Africa.

But gone was the militant tone of the “total onslaught” rhetoric that defined his public performances first as Chief of the Defence Force from 1976 to 1980 and then as Minister of Defence from 1980 to 1991.

Now, at the close of a 12-year parliamentary career, the general contented himself with a more reflective assessment of the role of the SADF as the defender of democracy.

Even so, he was quite blunt in warning that the defence force could not afford becoming merely a hotch-potch of all or any combatants “or people who can’t find jobs”.

Obliquely addressing the matter of water affairs early on in his speech — urging central control over this scarce resourc...
Dr Zach de Beer discusses how the DP and IFP differ in their styles

Why did Tarr switch parties?

Michael Tarr MP, in his statement he issued on Tuesday, said he was joining the IFP.

The first reason he gave for doing so was that IFP policy "does not differ in any major aspect from the DP policy proposals".

If one looks at the written policies of the two parties, Mr Tarr is largely correct. The question then arises: why switch parties in order to fight for the same aims?

I have said for years that there is no major difference in formal policy between the two parties. The difference is one of style.

Let's start with the Democratic Party. Its philosophy begins with the proposition that the individual human being is all important. His or her dignity and freedom must be nurtured and protected by the political system. Dignity implies equal rights. Freedom must be ensured in social and political life and economic matters.

The philosophy of individualism abhors any undue stress on regional factors or group loyalties. It would be utterly foreign to the nature of the DP to cultivate special loyalty to any tradition, religious faith or ethnicity.

Similarly, it will not align itself in any permanent way with the cause of workers against the manager class, or vice versa. An author referred to us recently as being distinguished by "middle class decency", but there is no conscious aim to represent the middle class in any exclusive way.

Commonly, though not invariably, liberals support federal forms of government. The DP and its predecessors have always done so. However, this is not done with the primary aim that different ethnic groups or regions may be self-governing. It is done because federalism divides power and authority, thus protecting freedom and making totalitarianism and tyranny more difficult.

I must turn to the IFP which Mr Tarr has joined. I stress again that the two parties have much in common. We have worked together often and I sincerely hope we shall do so again.

The IFP has its origin in Inkatha, a traditional cultural movement among the Zulu people which was revived and, as it were, refurbished by Mangosuthu Buthelezi a number of years ago. He membership is open to all, and indeed there are a number of white people in very influential positions within it, but it is overwhelmingly Zulu in character.

Its strength is in northern Natal and among Zulu workers on the Witwatersrand. It has become strongly federalist in its approach to politics, and all analysts suggest this federalism is aimed at giving the KwaZulu/Natal, and the maximum possible degree of autonomy and power within a federal South Africa.

Once again, the DP and IFP share a belief in federalism, but express it in different ways.

One noticeable difference between the DP and IFP concerns the issue of traditional weapons. The IFP has fought a running battle with the Government about what it calls the traditional right of Zulus to carry such weapons.

The DP finds the matter of weapons and violence distasteful. Our participation in Peace Accord activities is well known.

We take note of the IFP claim that participation by its members in violence is defensive, as we do of the similar claims made by the ANC. We are distressed by the strength of the mutual antipathy between these two organisations, but we refuse to take sides.

Finally, any observer of the DP and IFP will detect a marked difference in leadership style. This will no doubt be attributed by many people to the extraordinary strength of Dr Buthelezi's personality, but others will think it owes a good deal to the different characteristics of the organisations.

The DP is serious in its determination to participate nationwide in the forthcoming one-person-one-vote election with the aim of securing enough support to be effective in a future SA Parliament. So, I am sure, is the IFP.

It will be strange to be fighting against Mike Tarr.

Dr Zach de Beer is leader of the Democratic Party.
NP put on election footing to woo voters

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — A major revamp of the National Party's organisation and propaganda machine — putting it on an election footing — was announced yesterday by party leader F W de Klerk.

The announcement came against the background of serious misgivings within the party about a sharp drop in support, especially among white voters.

Nationalist commentators have been calling for improved communications between the party and the voters to stem perceptions that a handover of power by the Government was on the way.

President de Klerk said that in order to expand the party's ability and to increase its effectiveness, it had been decided to appoint a national information and management committee under the chairmanship of Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Transvaal MEC Olau van Zyl would be executive director of the party from March 1.

The main focus of the committee would be to broaden the National Party's support base through improved communications and information as well as through election-orientated planning, co-ordination and fund-raising with a view to effective organisation.

Negotiation

The management committee would also play an important role in negotiation and liaison with other parties, complementary to present negotiations.

The post of secretary-general would fall away.

The organisation and administration of the party in the provinces would be expanded to ensure the effective implementation of the committee's guidelines and strategy.

De Klerk said the National Party was going through a period of an outstanding broadening of its support base.

"There is a tremendous potential for support among all population groups. We intend to fully unlock that potential and to reach each and every South African in order to ensure that those who want to join hands with the NP in order to make the future of this country secure are reached."

The party aimed to consolidate moderate South Africans, and it no longer represented only whites.

Asked about recent opinion polls which had shown a sharp drop in support, De Klerk said the NP had had low curves before but had pulled out of these.

He said he was not in the habit of making predictions before an election, but he thought the NP could well. "We can make a tremendous impact. It is within our reach to get the highest percentage of votes."

He said the NP was not looking for alliance partners for the first election. Alliance-forming would be more natural once support had been demonstrated in an election.
Zach stands by pamphlet

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday he stood by a DP pamphlet distributed in townships which describes the ANC as having links to international terrorism. The pamphlet was "pretty rough", but there was nothing in it he had to apologise for, he said. The pamphlet says the ANC's political record is one of "armed struggle, bombings, necklacings, mass action, intimidation, internment camps, links to international terrorism through Castro, Gaddafi, Arafat...".
Govt’s constitutional plans come under fire in House

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional negotiations, education and the economy were some of the subjects addressed yesterday during the first day’s debate on the State President’s opening of Parliament speech.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, attacked the Government on a number of matters.

He said consensus would never be reached in South Africa if the variety of nations in the country were not recognised. “That is why Codesa failed,” he said.

There was an unhealthy speed with which the Government and the ANC wanted to force a system on South Africa when clarity had not even been attained on federalism or regionalism.

The Government was now further away from consensus than it had been a year ago, Treurnicht said.

Ministers’ Council chairman in the House of Representatives, Joe Raba, said the Government should insist that negotiations be held in public. In that way, the public would not be fed any disinformation and would be able to ascertain what or who was being unreasonable.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said that without a government of national unity, violence would not end nor would the economy recover.

“We must create trust in South Africa. Without it we will perish,” De Beer said.

Jurie Mentz (Ind Vryheid) — the former NP MP who joined the Inkatha Freedom Party last week and sits as an independent — said people were sick and tired of violence and destabilisation.

The IFP and the Zulu nation had proved through the years to be a disciplined people and had never conducted a campaign to eliminate policemen.

The party could play a bridging and moderating role in South African politics, Mentz said.

Natal leader of the NP and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett said criticism of those who had and would still change parties should be tempered.

Referring to Mentz, he said: “While there will be political differences between him and myself, I respect his right to follow his political instincts. I hope he will propagate political tolerance among those he works with.”

Charles Green (Ind Haarlem) congratulated Mentz on his action, saying “his conscience had spoken”.

Independent MP for Sandton and ANC-aligned MP Dave Dalling said this session would legislate the demise of the tri-cameral Parliament and give birth to a new and democratic dispensation in South Africa, which had been afflicted for so long with a Government which had enacted repugnant laws.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said 1993 would be a decisive year because, if rapid progress were not made on the constitutional front, the international community would turn its back on South Africa.

It was vitally important that the question of regionalism be solved soon, the Minister said. Andrew Gerber (CP Brits) wanted to know what gave the State President the right to phase out own affairs.

“Aren’t you ashamed of yourself?” he asked.

“It is tragic when a first citizen of a country breaks his word to his people,” Gerber said.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said his organisation supported constitutional change to accommodate the reasonable aspirations of people. This could be achieved only in a spirit of reasonableness and not by being obstructionist.

He pleaded for closer cooperation between Afrikaners to promote their best interests.

— Sapa.
Revamp of NP propaganda

A major revamp of the National Party's organisation and propaganda machine — putting it on an election footing — was announced yesterday by party leader F W de Klerk amid misgivings about a sharp drop in support.

Page 17
DP lacks funds to
contest poll – Zach

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday that his party was having difficulty in raising funds to fight the country’s first democratic election.

"If someone gave me R15 million tomorrow, we could win 10 percent of the vote in the first elections," he told a briefing in Parliament.

De Beer said he had not given up hope to raise the R15 million needed to fight the elections, but in the meantime he had a problem in finding cash to fund the infrastructure which had to be installed now — such as setting up offices.

De Beer said the DP was targeting the black vote as it believed it had reached its ceiling among whites.

He conceded it would be difficult to make inroads into black support as most blacks would tend to support the liberation movements, for "understandable reasons."

But the DP had been well received in "brown" — coloured and Indian — areas, he said.

Zach de Beer... R15 million
for 10 percent of the vote.

De Beer said the DP believed in coalitions but its problem was to find an appropriate coalition partner. He raised the possibility of an alliance with the Inkatha Freedom Party, to which one of his MPs defected this week — saying the written policies of the two parties were very similar.

But there were important differences of style, leadership and regional emphasis, so a coalition was "not really on."

De Beer added there were strong rumours in Parliament that the Government was at the moment giving up its insistence on entrenched power-sharing in a final constitution...
On working with the bureaucracy

Well, I really expected to have a certain level of frustration as one has in any job. I haven't had it. (Governments are bureaucratic) but large mining houses are not. They have examples of bureaucracy either. Bureaucracies and inertia aren't confined to the public sector. But if you want to get results through the civil service, you have to know how to go about it. It takes a bit of careful handling.

On his non-combative approach to Government's opponents

There's no doubt (the approach) hasn't worked, but I really regard what I am doing on the economic side as equivalent to what other Ministers are doing— it has become a general style now.

On the response to him from the ANC

I was delighted when Nelson Mandela responded to my warnings about the economy because that was the first example of a political leader giving primacy to the economic considerations. My relationships with the ANC on economic issues suggest that there is a growing convergence of views. And of course we're shifting too— it's not just that they've seen the error of their ways.

On canvassing the Budget

I'm giving a presentation at which Trevor Manuel (of the ANC) was present, and I'm hoping to carry on further discussions with the National Economic Forum. This year there will be far more consultation (than in the past)— there has to be. But it can't be in anybody's interests to go into a "deal" with me in terms of which they become co-responsible. I accept I have to carry the responsibility; all I want is to make sure that I have discussed the issues with all the important players.

I haven't met Mr Mandela, because I haven't been involved in the political negotiations. I know Cyril Ramaphosa very well from the mining industry. I see ANC leaders often, and I get called into political negotiations when it's necessary for economic issues to be addressed. It's just automatic that as we move closer to a government of national unity, there's more and more contact on economic issues.

There's quite regular and easy contact between the department and ANC people and so on. Various issues, like IMF membership, require consultation.

On the calibre of opposition leaders

It would be presumptuous of me to judge, but fundamentally, yes, I don't have any doubts about their responsibility and capabilities. But let me tell you what my colleague in Gencor, Naas Kleynhans, said about Cyril Ramaphosa. He was dealing with him from about 1978 to when Ramaphosa became secretary-general of the ANC. Naas said that in all that time, Cyril had never told him a lie, and he had never failed to honour our agreement.

On why SA's democratisation is possible

I don't agree with the statement (that democratisation is not possible in conditions of a declining economy). That's just groupthink. We're proving it wrong. I think the crunch has already come. Incomes per capita of whites—the power elite—have gone down markedly. For blacks, it has improved, and secondly they are enjoying fantastic psychic gains. That's not enough, of course, but this is a wonderful time for black South Africans. The process of blacks getting more, which is already going on, may have to go on faster. But the usual reason that you can't democratise in a stagnating economy, is that the people who are getting poorer won't stand for it. Well, we whites are getting poorer, and we are standing for it. And blacks aren't getting poorer at the moment. So if we could do that against the background of the kind of economy we've had—which is not going to continue—then I'm not worried. We can roll.
On retaining a downward inflation trend

Inflation's not just below 10 percent now, it's below 10 percent year on year. We can (maintain this trend) if we have a responsi-
sible budget. It turns on that, and I hope I can present a re-
 sponsible budget.

On the deficit

I'm very happy to sell State assets, but provided they're in the sort of shape that one would put a business in when one sold it. Very few existing Government businesses qualify for that. You couldn't privatise Tel-
kom at the moment, or Spoor-
net, or even the airways, be-
cause we very cleverly over-
estimated the airways before we pri-
valised the then-profitable air-
line.

But a second point (about the deficit) is more important. I want us to approach the budget deficit as a structural problem, and address it structurally. Sell-
ing off the family silver to mask the fact that we've got the prob-
lem isn't what I have in mind. How will I do it? Watch this space, March 17.

On the problem of pensions

This is an area in which I'm try-
ing to do some creative work. It'll take a little while, and I'll be saying quite a bit about it in the Budget. Because you can't fundamentally deal with the Budget deficit without dealing with this problem. And when I do address it I want to do so in a way that doesn't raise inse-
curity as far as the recipients are concerned.

I can't go into detail now, but I can say that there isn't a prob-
lem dealing with the situation. I know its scale, and we can deal with it better.

On the 'drain' into the TBVC states

I'll give you a different perspec-
tive. The TBVC countries are full of South Africans, they are not foreign areas to whom we shouldn't be giving money. There's corruption in most sys-
tems, but the extent of the need in those areas for the basics is there. Stuff does dribble out (through corruption), and the (homelands) are not a good sys-
tem. But it's not a cesspool.

Most of the problems came from the wrong ideology, the wrong concepts, more than cor-
ruption. The idea was that if they were given the trappings of independence, something would happen there and the problem would be taken off our shoulders. Which was nonsense.

But most of the examples are the result of a system working to implement the wrong ideolo-
gy, and there is some corruption as well.

On his workload as Minister of Finance

I like thinking about problems. It provides 24-hour material, whereas in Gencor when I was contemplating leaving I had most of my problems pigeon-
holed. Now I've got new ones all the time. A thing like the Bud-
get obsesses me. I think about it all the time — when I wake up in the middle of the night I'm thinkning about the Budget.

As far as stress is concerned, I'll tell you the story of my doctor. He gave me the annual checkup at Gencor, and said: "How do you handle this stress so well?" I said it was my daily exercises. "Oh," he said, "what do you do?" And I said: I'm on my knees (praying), twice a day.□
‘I’m just here to

Finance Minister Derek Keys has now been in Government for a year and has risen to great prominence very quickly. But the public knows little about Keys the man, as he has fought shy of publicity. In this exclusive interview with RICHARD STEYN, SHAWN JOHNSON and PETER FABRICIUS of The Star, Keys (right) opens up on what it’s like to suddenly find oneself in Government, what his new colleagues are like, how he views the ANC, and what his hopes are for economic and political change.

On his first year in politics

By and large I’ve been made much more welcome (in Government) than I could have ever expected. President de Klerk made me chairman of the economic committee which filters input for the Cabinet — at a stroke he took his most junior Minister and gave him almost a management position in terms of organising the economic issues. That’s been a tremendous challenge and opportunity.

On his loyalties and ambitions

The honest answer is: I’m here to help FW. I believe he is a political genius, and he is our hope for doing something good. Personally I haven’t thought about (a political role for myself beyond the transition).

You know I’ve been totally shielded from politics, I have no constituency, I’m just here doing my work. I enjoy Parliament, but I don’t think that’s necessarily politics. I go back to my statement about FW: that’s my prospectus at present. Assisting in whatever way I can to do his thing.

On his fellow-Ministers

The Ministers who sit with me — and are all senior to me — have all co-operated and collaborated with me in a most remarkable way. So I really have a rather higher opinion of politicians now. This is not just talk: they’ve really gone out of their way to give me every chance.

And in that connection you really have to mention the State President.

You’ve seen how determined he is on this whole issue of consumption, expenditure, general government and so on. He’s just taken that ball and run with it. It’s a marvellous thing.

On the major differences with the ANC

There’s still a way to go. There are two fundamental concepts in economics: a stock concept and a flow concept. Stock is assets, capital, and flow is the income. I think there’s still a tendency in the ANC to think you can do a lot by getting hold of bits of the stock. Whereas my emphasis is totally on increasing the income that’s coming from the stock, and working on what one can do with it. That’s the main difference. I think, but of course I may also be wrong in wanting to protect the stock as carefully as I do. We’re talking about it.

On ANC leaders
Hidden agendas worse than useless — Slabbert

By BARRY STREEK

Political Staff

WHAT had passed for negotiations was nothing but moral one-upmanship, outbidding and scapegoating, said Idasa policy and planning director Dr Van Zyl Slabbert.

"Hidden agenda politics became worse than useless if parties tried to negotiate new rules for the political game," he wrote in the 1992 report of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

"Too often the government behaved as if a trick here or there would get a critical mass of political support on its side and it could go it alone."

"Too often the ANC behaved as if political transition was a great morality play where it deserved to be winner and everybody should accept the legitimacy of its claim."

"Too often Inkatha indulged in potently spoiling tactics to stake its claim to be part of the process." No party could afford to ignore the pivotal role of the civil service in guaranteeing the success of transition, but perhaps the most important lesson of 1992 was that the well-being of the economy was pivotal for the success of whatever followed a negotiation transition, Dr Slabbert said.
ANY party taking responsibility for running the country after South Africa's first non-racial election would burn its fingers, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

He told a press conference: "Even if the Archangel Gabriel was put in charge of the next government he would make a mess of it."

Dr De Beer said the country was in such a bad way after years of apartheid rule that any government trying to run a new administration would be unpopular.

He said the DP favoured a government of national unity which included both the NP and the ANC.

He said the ANC would serve as a good break on the "racial arrogance" of the NP and the NP would serve as a good break on the "totalitarian tendencies" of the ANC.

Dr De Beer said that if the DP had R15 million in its election war chest he believed the party could garner 10% of the votes in an election.
De Klerk: Nats will do best in polls

By ANTHONY JOHNSON Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday predicted that the National Party would fare better than any of its rivals in South Africa's first non-racial poll.

Announcing steps to revamp the NP's organisation and propaganda machine ahead of the election, Mr De Klerk told a media briefing that it was "within the reach of the NP to get the highest percentage of all parties".

The NP leader was speaking against a background of recent opinion polls showing a drop in support for the NP among both blacks and whites.

The decision "to move up a gear" and place the NP on an election footing also comes at a time of growing fears among the NP's traditional supporters that the party is losing its nerve in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk announced that the NP had decided to appoint a National Information Management Committee (NIMC) to improve communication of party propaganda and to beef up election planning and fundraising.

NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers will serve as chairman of the NIMC and Transvaal MEC Mr Olaus van Zyl as executive director. The post of NP secretary-general will fall away.

Mr De Klerk said the NP was going through a period of "an astonishing broadening of our support base" and said the party's research had shown that it had "tremendous potential" for growth among all race groups.

"We intend to fully unlock that potential. We want to... consolidate that vast potential support," he said perceptions that the NP was a white party were "simply not true".

On the NP's poor poll showings, Mr De Klerk said all parties' support fluctuated, and a ruling party was often criticised during economic recession.

Mr De Klerk confirmed that the NP would not actively pursue formal alliances ahead of the election.

He did believe that an alliance formation would develop after the election, "once the support base of the different parties has been defined".
WHAT happens if, by August this year, negotiations are still bogged down, causing costly time delays? Smaller parties with questionnable or limited sectional support may withhold the consensus needed in multiparty talks, or refuse to co-operate at all—leaving the process stuck. The answer may be that the “big ones”, the parties with the most power and/or support, could call for the country’s first national, non-racial referendum.

The emerging agenda between, predominantly, the National Party and the African National Congress has to be sold to a few reluctant, even suspicious, parties such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Conservative Party and the Azanian People’s Organisation. Before elections can be held, two phases have to be dealt with, Codesa III and the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), both of which are laden with potential problems that could cause deadlocks.

In the Codesa III phase, talks between parties have to move from bilateral to multilateral discussions, which will then end in a multiparty conference of some kind to be called “Codesa III”. President FW de Klerk himself admitted, on November 24, 1992, that this may be the most difficult and time-consuming phase because the emerging consensus between the ANC and NP on how the agenda should unfold has to be sold to the other parties.

By implication, the other parties have to at least the next phase of the agenda, if not the critical phase of elections and the bringing into being of a government of national unity. Even assuming that this phase runs smoothly and we move to the TEC, the problems in this phase are as daunting and controversial. In the TEC phase, there has to be consensus on:

- The nature of regional government and the status of homeland and TBVC governments
- The security system and what is to be done with homelands and TBVC police and armies, as well as private militias such as Umkhonto weSizwe, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, Aquila, etc.
- The creation of a media council to oversee the role of the media, particularly radio and television, during and after elections.
- The creation of an electoral commission (presuming the principle of an election is accepted) to oversee the voting in all its facets.
- Transitional constitutional principles that will be binding on an interim government and perhaps the deliberations of an elected constituent assembly (provided the principle of the latter is accepted).

Consensus on these issues is deemed to be essential before there can be progress towards an election. Parties may differ on whether there should be “complete consensus” (a tautology) or “sufficient consensus” (whatever that means) or they may differ on whether consensus of any kind is necessary for all, or only some, of these issues.

Whatever the case, progress by consensus is dependent on the absence of a minority veto of some sort. If all parties, whatever their policies or constituencies, are given more or less equal weighting in making up the consensus, it will be cumbersome and time-consuming process.

Listening to De Klerk opening parliament, the one thing that was quite clear was that the one commodity that South Africa cannot afford to squander.

The “big ones” may be tempted to go for a referendum.

A referendum will provide some kind of popular mandate for a transitional agenda. Secondy, it will determine the extent to which smaller parties can extend from the margins.

Thirdly, it would make it easier for an emerging interim government to act on problems of security, violence and crime.

Fourthly, it would find favour in the international community as it would be the clearest indication thus far of transitional legitimacy.

Fifthly, in the lack of progress on negotiations, it would provide some clear guidance and stability for those interested in the economy and development.

Sixthly, it would consolidate parties in the centre on a common agenda for transition.

It would also resolve some major constitutional issues by implication. For example, if the question was: “Do you favour elections for a government of national unity which can jointly govern transition and negotiate a democratic constitution for South Africa?”, then a “yes” vote would be a popular mandate for the emerging agenda of transition.

In the eighth place, a referendum could sidestep a premature election where many unresolved issues between competing parties could tear the country apart in turf battles for constituency space.

In the ninth place, depending on the question, a referendum will bring home to recall candidates to what extent their leadership stances reflect grassroots support.

Finally, losing parties in a referendum tend to lose some support, split or become more moderate after the event (again, of course, depending on the question).

There are some obvious drawbacks:

- Referenda create strange bedfellows which can cause ideological confusion and tension among the rank-and-file. Helen Suzman and Pjik Botha shared political platforms in the all-white election, De Klerk and Nelson Mandela, or even stranger, Joe Slovo and Hermus Kriel may have to do so in this one. Opponents would immediately dub it an “NP-SACP” coalition referendum. Parties would have to calculate the risk of losing support by going into such temporary coalitions.

- Opposing parties may feel deliberately marginalised and this may increase political volatility and militancy. Referendum mandates are never very focused and unambiguous and may cause some tension between the leaders on the meaning of the outcome.

- Bigger parties may lose the referendum, in which case the whole process of negotiation could be put at risk.

However, given the pitfalls and problems in the Codesa III and TEC phase, there appears to be ample opportunity for recall candidates to delay progress by withholding consensus. Under such circumstances, the bigger ones have to choose between negotiations indefinitely stalling or some other course of action.

The latter could mean ignoring some parties and proceeding regardless. This raises the prospect of premature elections in which excluded parties can play havoc with the election process.

Or the bigger parties could begin to gear toward a referendum as a means of digging themselves out of the hole of bogged-down negotiations.

De Klerk dug himself out of the hole that the Potchefstroom by-election results created. Maybe the NP and the ANC may do so later on if there is not sufficient progress in negotiations and time seriously starts running out.
Not remaining silent

THESE TIMES: A DECADE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS by Ken Owen (Jonathan Ball, 314pp, R89,95).

Any practising politician who wants to find out what he has done wrong during the last few years need only consult this book. But as it has no index, my quotations are garnished with page references.

Returning from a sickbed to the chair at Business Day two weeks after President F W De Klerk's pronouncement of February 2, 1990, Owen wrote: "The release of Nelson Mandela was first celebrated, appropriately, by the looting of a booze shop — an early example of the policy of appropriating other people's property, to which Mandela immediately gave his support. Nationalisation at heart the policy of the hooligan. UDF marshalls, missing the point, tried to stop the looting and got roughed up. It's a mistake to come between a freedom fighter and his bottle."

Will the intoxication of хочу be less potent than that of liquor?

Owen's early reaction to the process of change since February 2, 1990 was one of optimism. Horrified as he was by people's courts and necklacing on suspicion, he headed one of his early articles in Business Day "Hope Outweighs the Violence." Not by much; he was soon to attack "the savage totalitarian spirit which prevails in the township" and the condonation of this by public opinion: "...we have for so long conceded some killings while condemning others, applauded mob violence while condemning police violence, and overlooked kangaroo court executions while campaigning against the death penalty, that our moral sense has become corrupted; we remain silent." (Page 235).

Owen analyses the strategies open to the ANC: the armed struggle, mass action and sanctions. Of these, sanctions "constitute the only credible pressure that moderate leaders like Mandela can invoke." So Owen characterised white calls for the ending of sanctions as unrealistic.

In the bright dawn of early 1990, he felt no nostalgia for apartheid: "I am not one of those who regret the passing of apartheid for fear of what might follow. The end of apartheid is an unqualified blessing, a dawn of bliss only if the present is bloody and the future daunting. We expected apartheid to end in fire and blood, a battle over a wasteland; President De Klerk, in a remarkable display of statesmanship, has transformed that outlook. He is not, like Ian Smith, bankrupt and beaten as he goes to the negotiating table." (Page 251). Whether Owen sees De Klerk as having negotiated wisely is another matter.

On the role of liberals, Owen's views have changed little: "The prospect that English liberals, and in fact the English community as a whole, will be further marginalised by the negotiating process is great. It's no great tragedy. Events — and indeed the diverse character of the nation — are forcing all parties towards a solution that will, in its essential elements, be liberal." (Page 253, but see pages 284-296). It seems paradoxical to suppose that liberal solutions will somehow impose themselves on negotiators of whom none, or few, espouse liberalism.

After examining the incomes of the unionised workers in Soweto, Owen says: "In such a community, any talk of 'redistributing wealth' goes down well only if it is cast in racist terms ... from 'rich whites' to 'poor blacks.' But the union leaders are not stupid; they know that increasingly the interests of the unionised workers diverge from the interests of the deprived underclass. The underclass may respond with passion to the call for revolution, but the unionised workers, if they are to keep the relative privileges which they have already gained, need stability, investment, growth, order. They don't need mayhem." (Page 263).

Yet the example of the NP will make it harder for the forces of reason within the ANC/Cosatu alliance to prevail against the spoilers. One of Owen's most forceful articles, titled "Like Topsy, it just Grows and Grows," shows how Afrikaner employment has been kept from falling by letting the public service grow as its functions diminish. (Page 298).

Owen delights in what he calls the discomfiture of the Left, which, he says, "is in total disarray, its theories have been disproved by events; its violent strategies have been revealed as barbarous and futile; its most prominent leaders are hobnobbing daily with the Nats, commuting by Mercedes. Yet the chimera of supporting 'the struggle' still exerts its appeal. (Some) DP members can't bring themselves to join the ANC, but want to sizzle close." (Page 268).

"The chimera of supporting 'the struggle' ... but a struggle which bears the scars of historical reality breeds the kind of chimera that is invincible, whatever its programmatic shortcomings.

Could this horrid truth find more forceful expression? Owen says: "Having watched at close quarters the liberation of African countries from the Sudan southwards, I suspect that in the end the mantle of liberation, the myths of the freedom struggle, the sheer psychological exuberance of racial rehabilitation, will prove too strong, and we shall end up with an ANC government." (Page 301).

That is to say, one which "makes a pretense of accepting democratic safeguards, but is not convincing. It will not, for example, relinquish majoritarian tyranny — it merely bargains over the size of the majority that is required before its authority becomes total ..."

On key issues, the ANC speaks with forked tongue, offering press freedom but demanding 'control' of State media, or offering a guarantee of private property while continuing to whip up expectations of nationalisation and redistribution. It talks of democracy and conspires for majoritarian power." (Page 302).

If Owen were the sort of oracle whose responses were completely consistent, he would be less impressive.

Redford Jordan
FW defends his party's position

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk staunchly defended his government's past yesterday, at the conclusion of the no-confidence debate in Parliament, by asserting government's past was "crush the mould of old-time politics."

He called on all parties to join the negotiations: process, saying although thousands had died over the past two years, millions more would have died had government not opted for negotiations.

The year ahead would be decisive, he said, suggesting that the overwhelming majority of the population should agree on basic principles. These should include the principle that the form of dispensation should not be replaced by another.

Looking back, he defended the honour of past NP leaders D F Malan, J G Strijdom and H F Verwoerd, saying they had honestly believed that what they were doing was in the interests of all South Africans.

But as reflecting the new spirit in his party — he welcomed new members to its ranks, notably in the House of Delegates, where the NP is now the majority party — in a wide-ranging speech, the President defended policy on the TBVC states, asserted that government was not trying to cover up security force irregularities and again expressed confidence that the transition timetable could be met.

He said DP leader Zach de Beer had been "high-handed" in calling "use government."

De Klerk said prosecutions were likely to follow investigations. But the baby should not be thrown out with the bathwater; it is time we stopped designating our security forces for the sake of scoring political points."

The criticism of government by independent MPs belonging to the ANC was deficient because it rested largely on government's past policies. "Because they can't criticise the NP on the basis of its current policies, they resort to the past."
Talks crisis over ANC arms cache

The ANC/government negotiations were plunged into crisis yesterday over the role of Umkhonto we Sizwe following the arrest of MK cadres and the seizure of a large arms cache.

Foreign Minister P.W. Botha told diplomats in a special briefing that government might withdraw from talks with the ANC unless MK's role during the transition was defined.

But in urgent talks last night, senior ANC and government members managed to reach a compromise to defuse the crisis.

The ANC leadership convinced government that neither it nor top MK structures had known anything about the arms smuggling incident.

Police had found the arms during a routine check at a roadblock near Golola on the Natal/Swaziland border.

The weapons apparently came from Mozambique and included two RPG-7 rocket launchers with six rockets, 54 hand-grenades, about 3,000 AK-47 rifle cartridges, nine Makarov pistols and 13 Stechkin pistols.

Botha told diplomats that three MK members were arrested - one commander in Natal and two cadres acting under his instructions.

He said they had made confessions and the "purpose of the action was to kill more Inkatha people".

Botha said that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had warned government that MK was still operative, but government had denied this and defended the ANC.

The meeting last night resolved that the top leadership of MK, including its commander in chief, would go to Durban, see the three detainees and assist the police fully in investigating the matter.

The top-level negotiations involved Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and international affairs head Thabo Mbeki.

It is understood the ANC was badly shaken by the incident, with the discovery of the smuggling operation weakening its negotiators' position that the organisation was disciplined and in control.

Low-level subcommittee talks yesterday - displaced by the crisis - had been expected to move towards closing the deal whereby the ANC would surrender control of its weapons' stockpile and share political control of all security forces.

In 1991 the ANC signed an agreement with government to suspend the armed struggle and stop the traffic of weapons and cadres into the country.

Botha, in his briefing to the diplomats, said that government would not tolerate such flagrant disregard of agreements and MK's continued unlawful actions.

He threatened that if the ANC did not distance itself from the action and condemn it, government would pull out of negotiations with the ANC.

This would have resulted in a total breakdown of constitutional talks.

Botha appealed to the foreign commun...
Dalling predicts that the DP will be crushed in the general elections.

Politics

Will not be changed
The DP will not be censured.

Sunday Blasting Law

Politics

Sunday Blasting Law
INKATHA has launched a Transvaal election education campaign in competition with the ANC PWV region's project.

INKATHA Transvaal official Humphrey Ndlovu said any organisation which did not embark on voter education ran the risk of being consigned to oblivion.

The ANC PWV region unveiled its plans recently for attracting the estimated 5-million potential voters in the region. The campaign, which kicked off last week, would be characterised by house meetings, public debates and visits to voters by the organisation's leaders.

INKATHA's campaign began in Johannesburg this week and, Ndlovu said, was aimed not only at Inkatha members and supporters but at all people who had never voted before. It also hoped to attract many new members.

In the coming weeks meetings would be convened in all parts of the province to provide details of voting procedures.

It could not be established this week whether Inkatha's other regions had embarked on a similar campaign. But Ndlovu said the campaign would be "low-key and national in nature".

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Inkatha-supporting MP Jurie Mentz said in Cape Town yesterday Inkatha and ANC supporters in Natal were evenly balanced in their political war for territory, but the Zulu King could order an Inkatha election victory.

He said the ANC had more support nationally, but not in Natal.

Mentz said Inkatha and its supporters would destroy the country if they were not included in a constitutional settlement.

"If we cannot take these people with us, I want to warn you...that an existing situation can develop into an disastrous as Mozambique," he said. "If they go underground, they will destroy the country.

MP Mike Tarr, who this week joined Inkatha, agreed that the party had the potential to win an election in Natal. He said it was clear that the political future of Natal lay between the ANC and Inkatha, as there was no longer much difference between the NP and DP.

"This mould of white politics needs to be smashed once and for all. It is not realistic for parties like the DP and NP to get most black support," Whites had to take the step of joining Inkatha or the ANC, Tarr said.
By Philip Anneck

Black humour, white politics.

Author's note: This piece is not intended to be a comprehensive analysis of the current political climate. Instead, it is a personal reflection on the role of satire in politics and its impact on public perception. 

The image at the bottom of the page shows a group of people, possibly politicians or activists, standing together. The text on the page discusses the use of humor in political discourse and its implications for public opinion.
Forget the past, face the future, says FW

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

A BITTER election battle between the ANC and the National Party over their apartheid and terrorist pasts would be "damning evidence of a fatal inability and lack of will to create a new and just South Africa'', President De Klerk has warned.

"Peace cannot be built on bitterness,'' he told parliament, "and violence cannot be brought to an end by fanning flames of past grievances.''

In a strong appeal to all parties to face the future and resist the temptation to drag up the past, he said: "We need seriously to ask the question: does a debate in which we become bogged down in the past really make any contribution to reconciliation?"

"The answer is no. It serves no purpose to flog a dead horse."

"If the ANC, the Democratic Party and the Labour Party were to build their election platform on the NP's participation in apartheid, and the NP built its election platform on the ANC's espousal of terrorism and armed struggle, it would be damning evidence of a fatal inability and lack of will to create a new and just South Africa," he said.

He was responding to ANC MP Mr David Dalling's reference to the former Prime Ministers Dr D F Malan, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd and Mr J G Strijdom as "evil".
Over MK talks crisis

See page 2

of the "suggested crisis" in the country announced diplomatic concern

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha officials met to discuss the issue.

While Senator Government and ANC was scheduled for yesterday.

cast a cloud over bilateral talks which cast a cloud over bilateral talks with arms.

The arrests on the Swaziland border.

The arrests on the Swaziland border.

The arrests on the Swaziland border.

He said that an admission of

He said that an admission of
Terre'Blanche and the battle of the generals

By JAN TALJAARD

DETAILS of a volatile meeting in which effective power was wrested from Afrikaner Weerstandsbevordering leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and moved into the hands of his "generals" emerged this week as Terre'-Blanche prepared for his first public appearance after the secret meeting.

Last month an emotional Terre'-Blanche literally threw down an AWB flag in a symbolic gesture after succumbing in a showdown with the general staff of the AWB's para-military arm, the Wemkommando.

The incident took place during a secret planning meeting held at Welkom. At the time, tensions inside the AWB were stretched to breaking point following the arrest of several AWB members in connection with an arms theft.

As personal resentments and objections to his style of leadership surfaced during the meeting, Terre'Blanche ripped an AWB flag from the wall. Flinging it on a table, he asked the generals to take the flag, symbolising the AWB, as well as control of the organisation.

Staying on as ostensible leader of the organisation, Terre'Blanche has now, for all practical purposes, become a mere figurehead. Ever since that meeting all statements emanating from the AWB have been issued by the general staff.

Shortly after this meeting, disgruntled members of the AWB made contact with other rightwing organisations, such as the World Apartheid Movement of Koos Vermeulen, to discuss future options.

It seems, however, that the current school of thought among disgruntled members is that Terre'Blanche is inextricably linked to the organisation, and remains its strongest drawcard.

He may no longer be allowed to run the AWB as he wishes, but is still needed to swell the numbers and money coffers.

Apart from what may be the most important shift of power inside the AWB since its inception, last night's AWB rally in Pretoria's Portuguese Hall was also preceded by problems in finding a rally venue.

With the Pretoria City Hall closed for renovations and the R4 000 asked for Pretoria's Tortoise Hall apparently too steep, the AWB eventually hired the Portuguese Hall in Pretoria West.

The problems did not end there. A visiting parliamentarian from Portugal, Carlos Miguel Oliveira, this week criticised the decision of the Portuguese Club to make the hall available to an organisation he described as being "extremist, violent and racist".
Making spending targets stick is crucial to the strategy, since Zambia obtained general debt relief from western donors last year, reducing its debt-service burden from 1992-1995 by US$816m. If he can't meet the agreed targets, the debt-relief package will be threatened and the whole edifice of spending restraint will come tumbling down.

The challenge now is to see off labour unions and other lobbies demanding higher State spending. All subsidies have been abolished, privatisation is gathering pace with another 39 State enterprises named to be sold this year, and — in a move that did not please some in the business community — Kasombe announced the abolition of some of the 1991 investment incentives, notably tax holidays and exemptions from import duty.

It's a bold strategy from which governments elsewhere in the region, including SA, can learn.

**LABOUR**

**The job creation conundrum**

The deal offered by ANC president Nelson Mandela on sanctions raises a crucial question. Can business deliver? In Washington last month, Mandela said he would ask the ANC executive to endorse a call for an end to sanctions. But in return he wanted business to make a significant contribution towards cutting down unemployment and to pledge itself to a freeze on retrenchment.

Clearly an end to sanctions will help the economy. But no-one can estimate how long it will take to work through to new jobs. It's sometimes forgotten that business is just as keen as the ANC to see new jobs created. Rising levels of unemployment are often synonymous with rising prosperity for business.

Mandela, of course, was probably directing his remarks at his supporters rather than business. By establishing a connection between an end to sanctions and employment growth, he was justifying a move seen by many in his camp as premature.

But, having pointed out that job creation — and its flipside, retrenchment — is a function of the market and is not subject to the arbitrary manipulations of the business sector, business will no doubt consider what contribution it can make.

Frankel, Pollak, Vandermerede economist Mike Brown believes future investment should be directed into labour intensive activities. Small- and medium-sized businesses usually generate more jobs, so he suggests injecting capital through special development funds, independent of government, into infrastructure and into developing the informal, small and medium-sized business sector. Funding could come from foreign aid, contractual savings and capital market borrowings.

What part can big business play in this process?

The Small Business Development Corp's assistant GM, Dawie Crous, says companies could subcontract to small- and medium-sized businesses. In Japan, where 98% of all businesses are considered small- or medium-sized, this is enforced through legislation. But similar legislation could be disastrous in SA. If subcontracting is not cost effective, compulsion will erode productivity levels even further.

Cosatu's Neil Coleman suggests business should spend more on developing employee skills through education and training which, in turn, will increase competitiveness and generate sustainable employment. Few would argue with that.

There are thus limits to what business itself can contribute. Government can perhaps do more, but how successful its job creation strategies are is a moot point.

Brown estimates that R10bn spent on a work programme could create around 460 000 new jobs (roughly R21 400/new job) within 12-18 months. But Snyfret's economist Eimien de Kock believes Brown's estimate is high.

Brown stands by his figures which, he says, were collected from reliable sources. Statistics from a study undertaken by Development Bank of SA economist Carol Meinjies suggest Brown's figures are not seriously out. In 1990, capital of R28 000 created one new job in labour intensive industries, while R23 000 was required to generate one job in capital intensive industries.

But economist consultant Azar Jammine, of Econometric, argues that massive spending on job creation attacks the symptom rather than the cause of the problem. He contends the structure of the economy needs to be changed to make it more friendly to small businesses. This includes removing protective barriers and foreign exchange controls, educating the workforce and providing small businesses with tax incentives.

A problem UCT's Brian Kantor has with a single R10bn cash injection in job creation — apart from it being too large for practical purposes — is who would be responsible for directing it into labour intensive investment? He recommends "letting investment find the best return on its own merits."

Negative real interest rates for much of the Eighties cheapened the cost of capital relative to labour, says Fergusson Brothers economist Tim Hacker. Monetary policy since 1989 has been directed at reversing this.

Kantor identifies another important influence in the shift from labour to capital over the past 10 years. "The formal sector has been cutting back on labour creation following an increase in labour costs through wage push pressure."

Brian Allen, of labour consultants Andrew Levy & Associates, concurs, adding SA has one of the lowest productivity levels in terms of unit labour costs which, he believes, is the only true measure of productivity — and the reason for the industrialised and semi-industrialised nations. "Until we get this right, high technology production process will be more attractive to employers," he contends.

NederCorp's chief economist, Edward Oxhorn, is scornful of policies directed at expanding labour intensive industries. He maintains, in countries like SA, where much of the population is highly unproductive and ill-educated, it makes little sense to lower the capital to labour ratio — rather it should be increased. "Unless this country chooses to stop the world and get off, the competitive process will dictate that it continue as best it can with the modern stream of technological developments."

The unemployment problem is daunting. Under current capital/labour ratios, some 200 000 new job opportunities in the formal sector would be created should the economy grow at 5% to 6% in real terms — an almost impossible goal in the current circumstances.

The annual number of entrants to the labour market is estimated at 400 000. Admittedly, though, additional jobs would be created in the informal sector in a growing economy.

It thus seems that, other than providing training and funding educational projects, there is little that business can do to resolve SA's unemployment problem. The best course lies in removing restraints on the economy and allowing people to direct their energies where they see the most opportunities.
**Challenge by timetable**

**Stung by mounting criticism that it is being increasingly compromised by the reform process, government this week reaffirmed its commitment to a set of principles it insists must be included in a new constitution and added urgency to what is already a tight timetable for change.**

Opening parliament last Friday, President F W de Klerk dismissed perceptions that government's efforts to act as a neutral facilitator to promote the resumption of multi-party talks meant its own views were being given a lower priority.

"The government has a clear mandate for the constitutional model towards which it is working. I wish to give the assurance that the principles on which that mandate is based will be promoted forcefully and with conviction in every negotiation and discussion in which we are involved. And we are making good progress. We have not abandoned a single principle."

These principles, said De Klerk, included: power-sharing, strong regional government, checks and balances to prevent abuse of power, the accommodation of cultural and linguistic diversity, the assurance of economic security for owners and investors, protection of the security of tenure for officials and teachers and "all the other principles for which we have a mandate."

He said "good progress" was being made towards resuming multi-party talks next month. "If that happens we shall be able to move well within our projected time scales, and which result in a transitional executive council in June and a new transitional constitution this September."

Constitution Development Minister Roelf Meyer took the issue further this week in a comprehensive review of the current state of the negotiation process and a reaffirmation of government's standpoint. He told parliament that a set of constitutional principles would have to be agreed to by negotiating parties before a transitional constitution could be formulated.

In government's view these included:

- A Bill of Rights — a comprehensive proposed draft of which was released this week by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee;
- A participatory democracy including proportional representation;
- The devolution of power;
- Autonomy of civil society to ensure that people did not become "cogs in a uniform socialist State structure;"
- Executive power sharing in the transitional period and beyond it; and
- Strong regional government.

Meyer said government's target date for elections remained March or April next year. He also clarified exactly how government envisaged the proposed phases of the transition:

- The multi-party forum — the composition or name of which government does not feel particularly strongly about as long as it is representative — must reach agreement on a transitional constitution by the end of May. The transitional constitution must include constitutional principles which may not be amended by any subsequent constitution-making body;
- A non-elected Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and sub-councils and an electoral commission must be appointed by the end of June. He stressed that the TEC would not be a transitional government. The TEC would prepare for an election and the installation of a transitional government;
- The transitional constitution would be piloted through parliament by the end of September; and
- Elections for a transitional government would be held next year.

"After that," said Meyer, "it will be the task of the transitional government to govern the country in terms of the transitional constitution."

"The transitional parliament can change or substitute the transitional constitution but will have to comply with the constitutional principles already accepted by the multi-party negotiating forum before May. Government proposes that this task be completed within three years, failing which a further election will have to be held."

Meyer said these steps were based on agreements reached at Colesberg. However, he conceded that the Inkatha Freedom Party's views apparently differ with this outline and said the issue would be discussed in bilateral talks with the party. He also effectively admitted that there were still major differences of opinion between government, the ANC and IFP on the structure and powers of regional government.

In essence, what Meyer said was that the proposed TEC will operate alongside the existing government and make inputs into certain decisions, rather than take over its functions.

This means, for example, that the security forces will remain under the existing political control until after the election, when they will fall under the transitional government.

It is also clear that the transitional government — which government believes must be representative of all major parties that win votes in the election — could remain in power for three years or more, depending on progress made by the constitution-making elected assembly.

But many observers remain highly sceptical about government's timetable (the ANC is insisting on an even shorter period). Meyer's speech also highlighted what could be considered as other serious differences between the negotiating partners, some of which are unlikely to be resolved by the end of the month to allow multi-party talks to resume.

But in his opening speech, De Klerk said good progress was being made "quietly and constructively . . . in spite of all the propaganda, protecting and positioning, something dramatic is beginning to happen. A broad consensus is beginning to develop in respect of the course we have to take if we are to ensure peace and prosperity for all."

However, it was felt this week that while De Klerk's interpretation of behind-the-scenes events may well be accurate, the perceived obstacles to the resumption of multi-party talks were still so considerable that the current timetable was hopelessly over-optimistic.

Meyer, in fact, admitted that "the air is still full of tension and there is still a chance that problems may arise." However, he said there was no option other than to "persevere with negotiations until we achieve success for the sake of SA."

This year, his persistence will no doubt be tested to the limit.

**DEFECTIONS**

**Small earthquakes**

A "seismic shift in SA's political geography" was the first view of the defection by Natal National Party veteran Jurie Mentz, MP for Vryheid, to the hitherto non-existent In-
katha benches of the (white) House of Assembly. On closer consideration, however, Mentz's stroll across the floor seems barely to have triggered a vibration.

Granted, there was another desertion this week — from the Democratic Party to Inkatha — by Marlitzburg North MP Mike Tarr. But observers reckon this crossing, too, is likely to be more of academic than political significance — even if the two are the vanguard of a defection parade. White voters in Marlitzburg may feel differently; having voted in two DP representatives, they now have an Inkatha MP (Tarr) and an ANC MP (Rob Hazwell, who defected last year).

The debate about Tarr is more likely to revolve on whether it will affect the DP's standing as the largest opposition party in the three houses of parliament, than whether it denotes a meaningful political shift. In proportion to its overall presence in parliament, Tarr's defection will hurt the DP more than Mentz's will harm the Nats. Tarr's move adds salt to the wound opened by the earlier DP defections to the ANC.

Former Nat colleagues have, predictably, played down the defection of the 66-year-old member from Vryheid in northern Natal. Less understandable, on the face of it, is the lack of IFP fanfare at the acquisition of its first member of SA's last white parliament.

Mentz's motives for the move could be twofold. His given reason is his longstanding (and undeniable) admiration for the IFP and its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and his belief that Buthelezi is the only logical regional leader within a largely autonomous federated structure. Another possible reason could be disenchantment with the Nats. An elder statesman in the hierarchy — he joined in 1948 and has been an MP since 1978 — he feels slighted, according to rumours, at being constantly overlooked for plum jobs.

DP MP Peter Gastrow was reluctant to discuss the implications of Tarr's defection until it had been discussed by the DP caucus. However, he said of Mentz that there was a widely held belief that he was aggrieved at being overlooked in favour of George Bartlett as Natal leader, probably because the party wanted to project a more English image in the province.

A possible reason for the IFP's rather muted welcome of its new celebrities could also be put down to bad timing. It is quite probable that though the IFP and government have papered over their differences, Inkatha is still smarting over government's pointed criticism of the IFP's reliance on white advisers like Walter Felgate — apparently also the cause of a growing rift in the IFP.

Another point, made by the University of Cape Town's Robert Schrire, is that the importance of these shifts should be measured against a parliamentary system and political order which is on its last legs.

"They're all but dead and what once could have been a shattering blow is likely to leave the Nats unmoved, given the fact that, in a sense, every member of the existing tric-
alist or a radical, and whose integrity and political intellect are widely respected. He also happens to hail from a family with a strong military tradition. Another possible candidate is former PFP leader Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who has repeatedly argued that progress towards democracy is impossible until the role of the security forces is uncontested by major players. His acute insight and experience would be an asset.

Foreign Affairs cannot be left to stagnate, however long the interim period may be. It is known that Thabo Mbeki has strong aspirations to this post (his current shadow appointment in the ANC) and most observers would be happy if he were to be given the job. But there is a nagging feeling that the present Minister, Pik Botha, should not be lost to national life. His charisma, reformist image and experience (both in domestic politics and internationally) would lend weight to a transitional authority — and he could be vital in keeping nervous whites happy.

A place should be found for Zach de Beer, perhaps as Minister of Justice and Correctional Services. Another DP stalwart, Colin Eglint, would be good in a complicated portfolio like Home Affairs — which could include responsibility for the SABC.

An obvious choice for the Manpower portfolio would seem to be Ramaphosa, with his union background — but his seniority as secretary-general of the ANC demands a more important position.

Minister of Health & Welfare Services Rina Venter should stay in her present portfolio. It would be inappropriate to lose the sole woman incumbent, and a substitute does not easily come to mind.

In view of the painful history of education, it will be difficult to avoid the appointment of the leading ANC educationist, John Samuel — a quiet and competent professional who has no illusions.

Given Inkatha's sensitivity to regional issues, a IFP member should become Minister of Regional Affairs — national chairman Frank Mdlalose has built a reputation for conciliatory commonsense. An Inkatha member with a DP background, Mike Turr, could be entrusted with Agriculture — a hot portfolio best kept away from both the ANC and the Nats.

Housing and electrification could be combined under a capable technocrat who knows the world of business and has a record of getting things done — and the name that springs to mind here is Ian McCrae, due to retire by next year as CE of Eskom.

A possible transitional Cabinet could look like this:

- Nelson Mandela (joint president);
- FW de Klerk (joint president);
- Cyril Ramaphosa (joint chairman);
- Pik Botha (joint chairman);
- Derek Keys (Finance);
- Thabo Mbeki (Foreign Affairs);
- Colin Eglint (Home Affairs);
- Jacob Zuma (Defence);
- Van Zyl Slabbert (Security);
- Zach de Beer (Justice and Correctional Services);
- Rina Venter (Health);
- John Samuel (Education);
- Mike Turr (Agriculture); and
- Ian McCrae (Housing, Electricity.)

Naturally, not all the areas of government are covered in this list, but this is a transitional authority. Less controversial areas, where there are no ideological disputes and no crises to manage, might easily be left to the management of a senior civil servant, who would report to the joint chairman.

Such a cabinet obviously does not reflect the racial proportions in the country as a whole; it happens to have nobody who was once classified Indian or coloured, for instance, partly because competent politicians in these groups have shunned government because of "own affairs" and have therefore not become prominent.

However, two who might be considered are Franklin Sonn (education) and David Curry (housing).

Similar racial proportions could not be expected in a subsequent Cabinet drawn from a democratically elected parliament. What we want are people who can get us to the next stage in one piece.
People who won’t cut our throats

We need the best team possible to govern the transition

When the first Labour Party government took office in Britain in 1924, an elderly duchess wrote to No 10 Downing Street wanting to know if her throat would be cut. As it happened, the duchess easily survived Ramsay MacDonald’s Cabinet of former engine drivers and millwrights, because that Labour administration lasted only six months. (The worker Ministers wore top hats when parliament was opened.) South Africans, accustomed to the old order and feel reasonably comfortable under it, may be feeling rather like that duchess at the moment. Within the next year or two we will experience the most dramatic constitutional changes on the country’s history. Even though the present system is deeply flawed, it is familiar. Citizens and investors are understandably nervous about what will replace it — and, more to the point, who will be in charge.

The stages of transition are not yet defined. (See Currents — The Constitution.) But there seems to be agreement that a multi-party transitional executive council (TEC) will prepare the way for a transitional government to be appointed or elected. Whatever the terminology, the time is approaching when the country will have a broadly based, nonracial Cabinet.

Speculation begins on who will be in the first transitional Cabinet — which, for reasons of legitimacy and stability, will have to be drawn from all the major players. The politicians themselves were reluctant to offer names, so the FM canvassed the opinion of four seasoned political observers: Enos Mabuza, former chief minister of KwaZulu; Saths Cooper, former Azapo president; Moleleki Mbeki, head of the ANC/Cosatu media project; and Willie Breitenbach, professor of Africa Studies at Stellenbosch.

There was unanimity on only one portfolio — Derek Keys at Finance — and general agreement that ANC president Nelson Mandela and State President F W de Klerk would play leadership roles. For the rest, there was no common ground at all — which indicates the great fluidity and uncertainty in our politics.

Because political sensitivities and symbolism will be the major priority in selecting an interim head of state, the solution may be a rotating presidency, giving Mandela and De Klerk turns in the hot seat. If administrative continuity and dependability were the determining factors, it might have been preferable to appoint DP leader Zach de Beer.

Breitenbach tails his list to a rather different structure. He foresees, initially, “parallel executive rule between the conventional Cabinet and about 10 TEC sub-councils during the pre-constituent assembly election phase.” Under such an arrangement, he believes De Klerk will remain chairman of the Cabinet in his capacity as State President, with either Mandela or ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa heading the TEC.

There could, Breitenbach says, be prominent non-Nat figures brought in to handle the portfolios of Law & Order, Defence and Foreign Affairs. New portfolios might be created — like Regional Affairs, which would encourage closer co-operation between provincial authorities and homeland leaders, and Public Service Rationalisation.

Keys is the most accomplished man at Finance since Jan Hofmeyr. But Keys’ great abilities would need to be reinforced by more outside talent — as well as the National Economic Forum; he should also take over State Expenditure.

The most important and sensitive portfolios in the transition will undoubtedly be the security posts, Law & Order and Defence.

For practical reasons it would make sense to combine responsibility for the police with responsibility for those elements of the SADF which support the civil power. Thus there would be a Minister of Security (or some such title), while the Minister of Defence would have a less controversial job, looking after the borders and coastlines. Defence would be a portfolio with which to give the ANC’s Jacob Zuma entry to the Cabinet (though the SACP might not like the idea).

The Security Minister would, more than any other Cabinet member, have to be untarnished by past associations — which would rule out Nat, ANC, SACP or Inkatha politicians. Ideally, he should be a civilian rather than someone drawn from the military, police or guerrilla worlds — yet he would have to be tough enough to deal with the professionals, be able to speak their language and earn their respect. He would have to be trusted by the major players to act impartially and sensibly.

Above all, a new Security Minister would have to ensure that the general election campaign and voting are conducted without intimidation or violence, thus ensuring legitimacy for the elected government. He would also have to be a man of strong will, able to withstand criticism and bullying from the radicals at the Left and Right.

One man who may fit the security bill is Mr Justice Johan Kriegler, never a Nation-
With inflation at a 15-year low and money supply growing even more slowly than inflation — meaning it’s declining, in real terms — most countries would be rejoicing. There’d be dancing in the streets, and the proclamation of special public holidays. Here, all we get is gloomy economists predicting that it won’t last (see Economy).

Is this just a reflection of innate Calvinist masochism? Certainly, it’s hard to get euphoric about the economy on a day in which minibus drivers — once regarded as the great success story of black business — have turned much of the Johannesburg CBD — notably the streets around the JSE and 11 Diagonal Street — into an urban guerrilla war zone.

What hope can there be for renewed economic growth when the financial centre can so easily be paralysed? It may make little difference whether any individual stockbroker can get in and out of his office. The point is: how can we expect foreign investors to commit themselves to a society in which violence is so near the surface and can bubble up so suddenly, with no warning?

More to the point, there’s an underlying fear that — without detracting from the discipline Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals has imposed on us — our apparent economic gains have been brought about by weakness rather than strength.

Inflation has come down partly because of anomalies over the base and partly because of a slackening in a previously intolerable rate of food price increases; low growth in money supply reflects crumbling demand for credit, because of recession; and a surprisingly solid trade surplus, despite a slack world economy, hides the fact that a poor export performance has been outweighed by a cap on imports imposed by even poorer domestic demand — again reflecting local economic woes.

That is why these achievements, though necessary, are not adequate conditions for renewed growth, and our real interest rates will stay high, by world standards (see Economy).

Moreover, hovering in the background is the March Budget, for which we are now being softened up to expect increases in VAT and fuel taxes, with the ancillary message that we should be happy if direct taxes are not raised too.

Could anything be more absurd, on general principles, than to slap higher taxes on an economy just struggling to come out of the longest recession in 60 years? Sadly, that’s the pass to which 45 years of Nat misrule, corruption and overborrowing have brought us. But for Finance Minister Derek Keys’ new broom, it could have been even worse.

It has, of course, long been accepted that no amount of financial discipline will bring economic revival without a political settlement and a recovery in world prices of the commodities that — despite success in broadening the range into manufactures — still make up the bulk of our exports.

What this week’s anarchy in Johannesburg may have shown is that, even if a political settlement can be negotiated, it won’t help if relatively small groups of dissidents set their mind on disrupting the flow of society. And if this is what a couple of hundred taxi drivers can do to Johannesburg, imagine what havoc the AWB, MK or Apla could create throughout SA.

BLACK TAXI INDUSTRY

It’s ironic that the black taxi, or minibus, industry, only a few years ago held up as the triumph of black entrepreneurship, is not only looking somewhat different (see previous article and Business), but is also resorting to the traditional snake juice of the old SA: pleas for State aid and exemption from inconvenient laws the cost of us to have abide by.

Of course, this is not to deny that taxi drivers may have legitimate grievances. Anyone who drives around Johannesburg could well share taximen’s view that they seem to be singled out for roadworthy and other checks by traffic cops.

But to stretch that complaint into what amounts to a request for near-total exemption from normal city driving and parking restrictions is a bit rich — unless taxi drivers themselves are to show much more compliance with generally accepted driving standards than they have in the past.

If the renewed chaos on Tuesday reflected the authorities’ refusal to cave in to these demands, that may be the price we have to pay to avoid even greater anarchy on the roads.

Far more worrying in the long term is the industry’s request for State aid to bail out its unsatisfactory finances — especially considering the general view that one of the industry’s greatest early successes was its ability to avoid paying taxes legitimately due to that same State.

It seems the industry has been bruised between, on the one hand, recession, and, on the other, over-expansion of capacity typical when a new industry reaches maturity. That’s a phenomenon experienced in businesses as varied as international airlines and video cassette recorders.

It will be tragic if many black small businessmen burn their fingers in their first encounter with capitalism, and there’s no denying that the lack of adequate mass commuter transport services gives minibuses an important role.

But, sadly, it’s not clear that either pressure is valid grounds for State aid. It’s simply not possible for a government to protect all industries against recession, and one which may be suffering from structural overcapacity is not a particularly high priority.

Indeed, financial aid in such a case may simply delay the necessary downsizing, and be positively counterproductive. The taximen must bite the bullet, like the rest of us.
The new look NP goes for broke
Wooring Country Hearts

2014

6/193
FW defends former Nat premiers

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk caused a stir in Parliament yesterday by endorsing former National Party Prime Ministers D F Malan, J G Strijdom and H F Verwoerd as "men of great personal integrity." 

Replying to the debate on his opening speech, De Klerk attacked ANC Sandton MP Dave Dalling for describing the former NP leaders as "evil." 

De Klerk said Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd were men of great personal integrity. They had believed their actions were in the interests of the country. They reflected the values and priorities of their time.

They were consistent and sincere in their belief that separate development would bring justice to black South Africans.

De Klerk also challenged the Conservative Party to clarify its stand on negotiations.

He said the CP branded the Government traitors for talking to the ANC and SA Communist Party. Yet the CP would be attending a multiparty planning conference on negotiations which it knew would be attended by the ANC and SACP.

— Political Correspondent.
TerreBlanche extends hand to Portuguese

By Brendan Templeton

Afrikaner Woordconsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche last night claimed Portuguese South Africans as his own.

Speaking at the Portuguese Hall in Pretoria West, he said the presence of Portuguese-speaking AWB official Joe Ferreira, the commandant of the Johannesburg, Venkomekomando, proved it was not only the Boers nation which was being threatened by the new South Africa.

Earlier this week, the Portuguese embassy said that the hiring of the hall to the AWB did not indicate support for the AWB in the Portuguese-speaking community.

TerreBlanche said the presence of Ferreira and representatives of the conservative Mineworkers Union showed that resistance to the new South Africa was broadening into other white sectors of society.

TerreBlanche congratulated Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaas von Lieres and Wilckau for insisting that taxi drivers who blocked Johannesburg streets this week be prosecuted.
Bartlett reveals little secret

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — George Bartlett, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister and Natal leader of the National Party, yesterday revealed an innermost secret.

Dumbfounding local and foreign journalists at a media briefing in Cape Town, he disclosed that he had not been circumcised. He flashed this vital statistic in speaking about cultural differences and responding to a question on whether Natal should have its own constitution.

Bartlett said on cultural diversity that he respected the Zulu nation and its culture.

In the Middle East he had sat down with a man who had had a dagger in his lap. The Minister said he had respected that.

He said he also respected the initiation ceremonies of the Xhosa people and the painting of their faces.

And then came the revelation: "... and I respect Jews being circumcised — not that I was, I hastened to add..."
CAPE TOWN — There would have been millions of deaths in South Africa if the Government had not entered into negotiations, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking in the debate on his opening address, De Klerk said that if the country's people gave up hope of a negotiated solution and a race war erupted, the country would be "reduced to a heap of rubble".

If the goal of negotiations was a stable South Africa, all civil servants — and the security forces in particular — had to be free from political manipulation and victimisation.

"I want a government that will prevent a Hitler or an Idi Amin from arising and plunging the country into suffering," he said.

A new dispensation could not bring peace if it did not accommodate the variety of the country's people, and if all groups were not sure their language and traditions would be safe.

There had to be checks and balances to ensure that no one could tear up a future constitution, and that the constitution and bill of rights were the highest authority in the land.

The National Party had spelt this out in last year's referendum. A second referendum would be held if the constitutional principles advocated by the NP before March 17 1992 were not incorporated into a new South African constitution, De Klerk said.

There was indeed growing consensus and this had led him to close his address last Friday on a note of optimism.

At this stage he knew of nothing that contradicted his hope that elections for a transitional government would be held in March next year, but 1993 would be decisive. — Sapa
Press briefings
arranged for all

during the week for local and foreign journalists.

Yesterday's Press conference by Dr. Dawie de Villiers, replaced one cancelled earlier.
'DP will be crushed'—Dalling

The DP's major problem was that it contained three camps: One inclined towards the ANC, one towards the NP, and one that wanted the party to be independent and support liberal values.

Each camp felt so strongly about its position that if the party shifted towards the view of any one it would shed the supporters of the other two.

The party appeared to be taking the independent path. If it maintained this position "I think it will be crushed".

Mr Dalling said he never had been and never would be a communist. Although whites considered the connection between the ANC and the SACP a problem, blacks did not.

The policies of the organisations would probably cause their separation in time.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse said his party was seeking a further alliance with the ANC.
Facing Realities of Regionalism

There are five steps to effective second-tier government, writes Charles Simkins.

1. Recognize the need for change.
2. Understand the existing structure.
3. Develop a comprehensive plan.
4. Involve all stakeholders.
5. Implement the plan in phases.
Smuts seeks peace shield for voters

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

DEVELOPING Party MP Dene Smuts has called for a peace corps of young people to protect voters in South Africa's first nonracial elections.

Her proposals are being supported by academics and others involved in conflict resolution and peacekeeping.

She suggests that school-leavers who cannot find jobs could be drawn into a youth corps that could "fulfil almost as many functions as there are social ills".

A peace corps with a democratic mission could function under the umbrella of the existing Peace Accord, Ms Smuts told parliament this week.

Such a movement could help ensure free and fair elections by providing security at polling stations during the coming elections.

Ms Smuts, MP for Groote Schuur, said it would be preferable to avoid involving the security forces in an election. She had seen this in Chile where armed soldiers were on duty at every polling station during that country's transition from authoritarian rule to democracy in 1989.

"One possible answer is to employ a peace corps as young guardians of democracy. It is, after all, their future that we and they will be voting on."

If a public works programme were started, a section of the corps could build houses. A civic education arm could take human rights and electoral education to every village. Primary health-care was another possibility.

Ms Smuts noted it had been estimated that less than 10 percent of school-leavers had a prospect of finding work in the formal sector.

Half of all voters were under 30, and half of all black voters were between 18 and 25.

Referring to the disruption of DP meetings in black townships of Cape Town recently, Ms Smuts warned against people who were threatening "to make a mockery of democracy".

She said that in Khayelitsha the ANC was reportedly having difficulties with "murderous armed gangs of renegade Youth League members" who allegedly attacked, shot and even killed civic and ANC leaders co-operating with the police.

"Clearly, criminal comrades must be dealt with as criminals. However, that leaves a shiftless army of former storm-troopers of the struggle, and the answer must surely be to put them in uniform and under discipline," Ms Smuts said.

This could be achieved with corps of peace-loving young people with whom all South Africans would feel at home.
The denials came in the House of Assembly yesterday on behalf of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, and the president's wife, Mrs Mar-ike de Klerk.

Mr Botha's denial that he had a home on the island of Madeira came in the form of a sporting offer via the NP member for Prétoria Central, Mr Gert Oosthuizen, who the minister asked to react on his behalf during the no-confidence debate.

Mr Botha offered to give "his" beach home to an opposition backbencher, Mr Piet Groenewald (CP Stilfontein), who had made the allegation. However, Mr Botha said, if Mr Groenewald failed to find it, the Conservative Party MP must, in all fairness, buy him one.

Mr Groenewald made his allegations at the start of a speech dealing mainly with what he claimed to be government corruption, including free holidays, behind the decision to buy the Swiss Porter Pilatus trainer aircraft for the SAAF.

An allegation by Mr Groenewald that "Mrs De Klerk had bought a house in Spain was dismissed by the Leader of the House, Mr Adriaan Vlok.

The NP MP for Bloemfontein-North, Dr Frans van Rensburg, was ordered out of the House by the chairperson, Dr Helgaard van Rensburg, for having said "Mr Groenewald had told an 'infectious lie'".
Awesome task faces new Nat director Olaus

FRANS ESTERHUYSSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

NEW National Party strongman Mr Olaus van Zyl faces the formidable challenge of making the apartheid-scarred image of the NP acceptable in black townships.

It is a task which his predecessor of sorts, Dr Steffel van der Merwe, in the role of NP secretary-general, could hardly digest, let alone carry out.

He quit at an early stage in November last year — only months after his appointment in that newly-created role.

However, Mr Van Zyl, who takes over on March 1 as the NP’s new high-powered executive director — also a newly-created position, seems optimistic about his chances of success.

He said this week he was looking forward to the challenge of getting the NP ready for elections.

“The NP is not a party for whites only and it would have to work among all voters,” he told Nationalist Press newspaper.

Mr Van Zyl, a Transvaal NEC, former member of the President’s Council and former mayor of Randburg, said part of the NP’s strategy before and after elections would include meetings in townships and the formation of coalitions with other parties.

NP sources said there was no doubt Mr Van Zyl, aged 50, would have a tough job. He was likely to encounter at least some of the problems that made Dr Van der Merwe decide to quit.

When Dr Van der Merwe resigned, he emphasised that he was not unhappy with the NP, but was disillusioned with the way the politics of transition was going.

Mr Van Zyl, a qualified civil engineer and holder of a master’s degree in transport engineering from the University of California, made his mark in Transvaal provincial politics, especially in the fields of local government and negotiations.

He married TV personality Carole Kruizinga and is a close friend of former Democratic Party co-leader Mr Wynand Malan.

The two men shared a flat in Cape Town during parliamentary sessions, and there was a time (in 1987) when they were political opponents in a parliamentary election battle in Randburg.

Olaus Albin Werner van Zyl was born in Worcester on June 17 1944. His father, Dr A J van Zyl, was principal of the Gooder High School at Rawsonville.

Olaus went to school in Pretoria. After training in the Naval Gymnasium, he enrolled for a BSc civil engineering degree at Pretoria University, where he became chairman of the Students’ Representative Council and of several other student organisations.
First multi-party negotiations since South Africa (Cosaad), the

The Convention for a Demo-

NP is not

30th

Cross Talk

was our idea.

The appearance of the ANC on South Africa's political landscape has

been marked by a series of significant milestones.

One of the most notable events was the first multi-party negotiations

between various political parties, including the Convention for a Demo-

NP, in the late 1980s.


The Convention for a Demo-

South Africa, also known as Cosaad, was a political alliance formed in the late 1980s in response to the growing disillusionment with the then apartheid regime and the failure of the anti-apartheid movement to achieve its goals through peaceful means.

The Convention for a Demo-

NP was one of the major political parties that emerged from these negotiations.

In 1990, the Convention for a Demo-

NP was part of the negotiating team that met with the government to discuss the transition to democracy.

The negotiations were led by the Convention for a Demo-

NP and other political parties, and resulted in the signing of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Amendment Bill of 1993, which laid the foundation for a democratic South Africa.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Amendment Bill of 1993, was a key document in the transition process, as it established the framework for a new democratic South Africa.

Since then, the Convention for a Demo-

NP has played an important role in the development of democratic institutions in South Africa, and has continued to be a major player in the political landscape.

The Convention for a Demo-

NP is not a single political party, but rather a coalition of political parties that came together to form the base for the Democratic Alliance (DA), which is currently the second largest political party in South Africa.

The Convention for a Demo-

NP was instrumental in the creation of the DA, which has been critical in shaping the political landscape in South Africa.

The Convention for a Demo-

NP's commitment to democracy and its role in the transition process are important reminders of the progress South Africa has made in recent years.

The Convention for a Demo-

NP's contributions to the transition process continue to be felt today, and its legacy serves as a reminder of the importance of democracy in South Africa.
WHO CAN YOU TELL?

Your post hurts, anger and guilt. There are ways you can be helped to cope with childhood abuse, and so are you suffering from the effects of your childhood abuse.

ADULTS

Are you being forced to do things which make you feel bad? Are you feeling confused and upset?

CHILDREN

Are you feeling bad about yourself? Do you feel angry?

Phone: Salvation Line 261 100 24 hrs Telephone No. 261 100 If anyone you host.

Salvation Line offers to both female and male survivors.

Telephone Counselling.
Individually Counselling.
Group Sessions.

The Salts Line offers help to both male and female survivors.

WHERE ARE YOU?

To your friend, your family, or your doctor. They can help you find the appropriate help.

THEN THE REPLY:

There was a long silence, and then mine hand to help. Have you ever felt this way before?
Buthelezi plays hard to get
By Quentin Wilson

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP leader and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, made it clear this week that the IFP has "absolutely no intention" of participating in Codesa-type negotiations.

While the multi-lateral talks so far envisaged by the ANC and the NP to take place in March, do broadly resemble the Codesa model, their work will be cut out to entice Buthelezi to the table.

The IFP's main gripe involves the status of last year's Codesa agreements.

Buthelezi said: "The IFP has made it very clear ... we will not be bound by agreements, in part or in whole, which were constructed in isolation in various Codesa working groups."

"The ANC/SACP alliance smashed Codesa when they walked out and resorted to mass action. Codesa is now dead and its tombstone was erected by the ANC/SACP alliance. It is history."
One way to exert control

South 26/2 - 10/2/93

THE unbanning of political organisations and the scrapping of the laws that prevented free political expression and organisation were important events in South Africa.

However, this was only one step on the way to democratising the political process.

What is still lacking among political organisations and parties is a realisation that they have to consult with their constituencies and be fully accountable to their members.

Because this is not happening, many people voicing their opinions of political events are either blind followers of their organisation, ignorant or confused about what is happening, or completely opposed to a rival organisation.

Very few people voice their opinions from a well-informed and objective stand-point.

This also means that it is difficult for political observers to get a completely accurate idea of the strength and popularity of each political party or organisation and their leaders.

Comments about political groupings nowadays fluctuates between two extremes — they are either favourable when they are made by members or leaders of a party or hostile when made by a member of an opposing group.

We have a situation where political rivalry has reached an all-time high and where few leaders are presenting accurate pictures of the political state of affairs for the benefit of those who are not members of a political organisation or party.

Whenever politicians address their constituencies, they try to present themselves in the best light and try to discredit their opponents.

These self-serving politicians are going to expect ordinary people to vote for them on election day. So how do people exert some control over them?

One of the most powerful and decisive ways is by going to cast their vote on election day. Anyone who feels they have a right to contribute to decisions affecting their future, has not only a right, but a duty to vote on election day.

It is precisely because people have so many fears about the future of this country that they should make a special effort to vote.

Anyone who has not voted, will have no right to complain about the state of the country after the elections. They will have given no-one a mandate to govern the country on their behalf.
Give the future a chance

For those people who have struggled for decades for the right to vote, it will be like a dream come true when they can vote for the party of their choice.

But there are people who will be afraid to vote.

Their reasons for not wanting to make their crosses might differ, but it is important to understand these reasons so that these people can be persuaded to change their minds.

Fear of being intimidated is often expressed by people in communities torn apart by political violence.

The important thing for such people to realise is that no-one will know who they voted for because of the way a secret ballot is held.

When they go and vote, they will be alone in the ballot booth when they put their mark on the ballot paper. No-one will be able to see who they voted for.

So they can promise to vote for the party they are being forced to support and then vote as they please in the polling booth.

These people must realise that despite what people say to frighten them, no-one can find out how they have voted, unless the voters themselves choose to tell the truth.

Other people say things are bad enough in the country at present and that under a future government they will get worse.

Some say that none of the existing political parties are capable of making a difference to the present state of affairs.

These people make the mistake of ignoring the fact that there is a government ruling the country and that they are the only political grouping which presently has the power to use state resources to bring about any change.

So to prejudice a future government on the basis of the record of past and present governments is to be guilty of assuming the worst without giving the future a chance.

These people also ignore the fact that much of the blame for the present state of affairs in the country can be placed on decades of apartheid rule.

People might want the bad practices of the past to disappear overnight, but it will take years of effort before the effects of apartheid can be overcome.

To condemn a future government to failure before it even tries to bring about change is to be guilty of the worst despondency and defeatism.

Things will be hard for many years to come. But people should not get disillusioned by a handful of pessimists forecasting gloom.

In a country where the oppressed suffered so much for so long because of apartheid, there were always people who had their heads buried in the sand like ostriches.

Some groups said people concerning themselves with politics were troublemakers, communists and agitators.

This propaganda discouraged people from trying to understand what was happening to them, and
I am fed up with Unita and Angola govt, says Botha

CAPE TOWN — Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday he was fed up with Unita and Angola's MPLA government.

South Africa was no longer involved in providing military aid to either grouping, he told reporters at a parliamentary media briefing.

"I fail to understand why people can't accept that it would be foolish for South Africa to be militarily involved in Angola."

It was an insult to the intelligence of his department to say it would make such a tactical and strategic mistake, Botha said.

The South African Government supported all United Nations efforts to return the process in Angola to a parliamentary democracy.

Destruction

"The United Nations is fed up with both Unita and the MPLA, and I am reaching that stage too."

"It was in South Africa's interest that the destruction of Angola's infrastructure ceased, he added.

Of a meeting before the Angolan elections last year in Pretoria between Unita leader Jonas Savimbi and South African Government members, including Defence Minister Gene Louw and SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg, Botha said Savimbi had visited to "thank us for the sympathy over the years and that sort of thing."

This event was typical of the courtesy and culture of his African friends, and no more than that, he said. — Sapa.
Foreign help for SA urged

JOHANNESBURG. The international community must urgently support the democratic process in South Africa financially, politically and morally.

This is the view of the 27-member delegation of the International Confederation of Trade Unions (ICFTU) at the end of a five-day visit to the country.

"The path South Africa takes will determine whether South Africa travels down the road to democracy or whether it becomes engulfed in violence, chaos, and civil war," the delegation yesterday said.
Wessels backs up apology

MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

CABINET Minister Mr Leon Wessels has been “haunted” by his apology for apartheid, but his confession arose from a conviction that “we have to live the future”… and that conviction remains as strong today.

Without acknowledging the past, it would not be possible to build a better future.

He told journalists yesterday that he had not intended his apology to be the “headline grabber” it turned out to be, but simply a “statement from the heart”.

“But, I cannot shy away from the fact that I made it and it has often come back to haunt me… even two-and-a-half years afterwards. I have tried to play it down, but it keeps coming back.”

Asked why his Cabinet colleagues had not formulated a similar joint response to South Africa’s apartheid past, Mr Wessels replied: “I do not know. I can speak only for myself. “I made the statement out of conviction because of my personal journey.

“I am indebted to President De Klerk for allowing me the individuality to put it the way I did.”

Mr Wessels added: “I firmly believe we have to live the future, but that we are unable to do so unless we fully comprehend what has happened in this country.

“I do not believe you can be successful in building a new society based on the principles of democracy embraced in fundamental rights unless you have a clear understanding of the fact that the previous dispensation was undemocratic and violated human rights.

“The statement I made in various forms both inside and outside the country boiled down to one thing: That South Africans were not listening when their fellow countrymen were crying, and laughing; and I am sorry I was so hard of hearing.

“And, I still firmly believe that.”
'MK' arrests may stall talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON (SAPA)

THE arrest of alleged uMkhonto weSizwe members smuggling arms into South Africa could delay the negotiations timetable, with the multi-party planning conference scheduled for later this month likely to be the first casualty.

A top government source said the planning conference, aimed to oil the wheels of negotiations, could be set back by weeks as a result of the latest MK row.

Yesterday's constitutional talks between the government and the ANC were restricted to an exchange of positions on the smuggling issue after Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told diplomats that multi-party negotiations could be derailed if the ANC failed to produce a satisfactory explanation for the smuggling incident.

The ANC yesterday claimed the government was "trying to use this incident to achieve its long cherished goal of delaying the negotiations process so that it can cling to power for the near future".

Foreign diplomats were generally unimpressed by what some termed the "melodramatic antics" of Mr Botha and said they could see no compelling reason why talks should be held up any further.
White referendum ‘will lead to war’

UMTATA. — If the government insisted on another white referendum South Africa would be “plunged headlong into one of the bloodiest conflicts” in Africa’s history, Transkei ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

He was reacting to President F W de Klerk’s statement in Parliament that a second white referendum would be held if the constitutional principles advocated by the NP before the March 1992 referendum were not incorporated into a new constitution. (SOLAR)

General Holomisa said another white referendum would turn negotiations into “nothing but a fake” and there would be no need to resume multi-party talks.

He said the patience of blacks had been stretched to the limit.

He said many blacks now “passionately desire bloodshed”, if needs be, to retrieve what was “illegally dispossessed” from them.

“There are many in the ranks of the black oppressed majority who would happily assist the president turn South Africa into another wasteland if he is despicably of the gentle approach towards resolving the country’s problems,” he said. — Sapa
Time has come to put country ahead of self

WE cannot ignore for much longer the call being made on all of us to take some responsibility for the welfare of others, writes DAVID ALLEN.

CIVILISATION is never the inevitable outcome of the mere passing of time. Nor does it happen by accident. And it will not last if society's unavoidable harshnesses are not tempered by compromise, co-operation and compassion.

Rather, civilisation is born and endures when people accept that they have to suspend the gratification of some of their desires for personal wealth and power for the sake of something beyond themselves.

Kennedy understood this very well in the early 1960s when he said: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but ask what you can do for your country." In our world, however, burdened as it is by an excessive individualism, that sentiment has lost much of its meaning.

A number of recent incidents illustrate how far some political leaders have moved from the spirit of Kennedy's pronouncement. Our failed Mama of the Nation turned mother of all social workers, Winnie Mandela, recently tried to whip up emotions by suggesting that elites in the NP and ANC, cosetted between "silver sheets", were making political deals at the expense of the poor and unemployed whose support she has been trying to win from the back seat of her white Mercedes.

Her desire to see negotiations derailed was obviously not motivated by concern for the masses. Rather, it was to try to create a gap for herself near the top of the heap (let's not be coy: at the top of the heap).

Then the concept of press freedom was thoroughly mangled by the Pan Africanist Congress when it threatened to use its influence to close down the Daily Dispatch in "East, London" unless it published its propaganda — all done in the name of press freedom, of course.

More sinister was the threat by a movement of indeterminate and probably insignificant membership on the lunatic fringe of the political spectrum, the Boere Weerstands beweging, which threatened to take up arms against all who do not sympathise with its cause.

The Conservative Party too threatened armed resistance against "any future dispensation in which the ANC played a dominant role without the white voters being consulted" — meaning without its being consulted.

Not much sign of putting country before self there. Because these factions do exert an influence, their simplistic distortions have taken root in the hearts and minds of ordinary South Africans.

They were reflected in the attitude of many Johannesburg citizens to the spectacle of the taxi protest this week. The fact that on the first day of the protest more policemen were injured than demonstrators should be a sign that we have progressed.

This is not to say it is a good thing policemen got injured, it is meant rather as a tribute to their controlled handling of a very volatile situation and to point out how very different things would have been had the taxi men tried this sort of thing five years ago.

But because the citizens felt inconvenienced by the disruption of the city and the mess made when trash cans were overturned, they began saying the police had been too soft and should have brought the matter to an end much sooner had they shot a few more.

Thus the view gathers momentum: what I want is paramount; I have an inalienable right to it; give it to me or I will crush you, hurt you or maybe even kill you.

Something has clearly gone wrong with our moral universe.

Our greatest national failure has been to neglect — indeed avoid — the cultivation of an enduring moral sense by which all may know what is morally acceptable and what is not. How else were we able to devise a system like apartheid and live with it for so long?

Now it is neither fashionable nor popular to face with any real intent our moral and ethical dilemmas. But such blindness can no longer last. We cannot ignore for much longer the call being made on all of us to take some responsibility for the welfare of others.

This is anathema to many. But the world can never be made to reflect only our particular values or to become so value-free, that laws and customs embody no ethical system and no belief about what is good for humanity.

Pure self-interest is not only not an option any more, but has never been an option. Read Adam Smith. He knew it, which should give at least one influential sector in South Africa food for thought.
National municipal vote plan

Political Staff
NATION-WIDE municipal elections could be held before or concurrently with national interim government elections, Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport said yesterday.

Addressing a press briefing Dr Delport said the exact timing of third-tier elections would depend on progress made in negotiations. Noting that local government was to become a general affair Dr Delport said at present the different racially-based third-tier authorities were dealt with under separate acts. There was therefore now a need for a new act.

Dr Delport said a forum for local government had been created in which both government and extra-parliamentary organisations such as SANCO were involved.

The forum, he stressed was an informal, not a statutory body. Answering a question on whether a non-racial by-election could be held in a ward in Port Elizabeth, Dr Delport said that if an agreement was adopted, and was accepted by the administrator it could take place.
Eglin shoots from hip over Koornhof gift

CAPE TOWN — The $100,000 (about R310,000) donation by South Africa's former ambassador in Washington to an American hunting club was a sorry, futile waste of taxpayers' money, Democratic Party spokesman on foreign affairs Colin Eglin said yesterday.

It was reported earlier that Dr Piet Koornhof gave the money to the Safari Club International in 1989.

Eglin said in a statement that as the truth was revealed bit by bit, it was clear that the Government had spent millions of rands trying to do the impossible — trying to make apartheid acceptable to the rest of the world.

"Perhaps a few big-game hunters in the American south fell for Koornhof's financial blandishments — but the rest of the world did not.

"The simple fact is that the taxpayers were taken for a ride: the solution to SA's problem was not to hand out dollops of money to dubious organisations, but to get rid of apartheid at home." — Sapa.
For an election must start now

Urgent WARNING: Preparations

JOHNSON

SHAWN

UNDERCURRENT

AFFAIRS

304X

Sent 6/12/93
Countdown to new era

...but can it"
The Centre is forming

MINDS MEETING: The Government and ANC have negotiated many

minesfields in a fragile but impressive stride towards conciliation

Sears 612194
Mr Election tells of 
NP push for funds

THE National Party's newly appointed "Mr Election" — Dr Dawie de Villiers — yesterday disclosed that the ruling party would make a major push for foreign funding to build up the NP's election war chest to at least R50 million.

He said "enormous sums" would be needed to fight an election involving about 20m potential voters. But he said he doubted whether the NP could match the ANC's R200m election budget.
TAXPAYERS will have to fork out an estimated R250-million in golden handshakes and pensions when the tricameral system is abandoned to make way for a non-racial government.

This figure has been calculated by Democratic Party pensions expert Brian Goodall using the same formula employed by actuaries in the private sector.

Only days after the start of the present session of Parliament, the former Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, announced his retirement.

By his own admission, he is one of the first casualties of the government's plans to dump the Own Affairs Ministers' Councils.

In his new civilian life, Mr Malan will have no need of a job. He will retire a wealthy man with a handsome gratuity and two bulging pension packages.

He will receive a tax-free gratuity of R400 000 plus a parliamentary pension of R200 000 a year paid out of the State Revenue Fund. In addition, he will get an army pension (details of which could not be obtained) but which is entirely separate and will be paid out of the Defence Pension Fund.

His take-home pay as a retired SADF general and ex-cabinet minister will be no less than R16 000 a month.

At the same time, in the House of Delegates, the chairman of the Ministers' Council, Dr JN Reddy, has lost his position after a successful motion by the NP faction in the House calling on President de Klerk to reconstitute the Ministers' Council "on the basis of power-sharing".

"This means," said Dr Reddy, "four of his ministers and a deputy minister lose their positions of power — but they, too, need have no financial concern as they will be taken care of by the Parliamentary Pension Fund."

Mr Reddy, for example, should he decide to follow the example of Mr Malan and retire from Parliament, will also receive a pension of R200 000 and a gratuity of R400 000. Although he has been in Parliament only since 1984, his service in the South African Indian Council is also recognised.

In his opening address to Parliament, President de Klerk announced that the all-appointed 60-member President's Council had served its purpose and would be phased out.

These men and women, many of whom have never fought an election, are expected to be granted bonus pensionable service years so as not to prejudice them financially because of the PC's early demise this year, Mr Goodall said.

The tricameral Parliament is now in its ninth year, which means that those politicians who joined the Parliamentary Pension Fund at its inception all qualify for pensions.

Mr Goodall pointed out that:

- An MP with seven-and-a-half years' service will get a pension of R29 000 a year and a gratuity of R18 000. This is the minimum period of service, an MP must have to qualify for pension. The average salary of an MP is about R18 000.

If an MP has 15 years' service his pension would be equal to his salary and he would, in addition, receive a gratuity which would be twice his salary — i.e., R239 000.

- If an MP is a "holder of office" — viz., a minister, a deputy minister, a whip, leader of the opposition, he or she does not need any qualifying period, even if the MP has had only six months' service — the reason why there is such feverish jockeying for these lucrative positions when the administration in a House is about to be reshuffled.

- A "holder of office" — like a minister with, say, five years' service — would receive approximately R6 500 a month for life plus a tax-free gratuity of R157 000.

Mr Goodall has worked out that if a person in the private sector were to receive the same amount in the form of a gratuity, that private citizen would have had to fork out R75 000 to the taxman.
The debate on the essential character of South African democracy, long delayed and often overshadowed by the dramatic events of the past week, began almost surreptitiously this week when the government published its curious proposals for a bill of rights.

The document was dutifully welcomed as evidence of the transformation of the National Party, but it has been glossed over. The reason may be that the Draft Charter of Fundamental Rights, as it is rather pompously named, is couched in an unusual and bewildering idiom.

The American bill of rights begins by forbidding the state to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"; the German equivalent, the Basic Law, begins by saying simply, "The dignity of man shall be inviolable".

The government's charter starts off, in the legalistic style of apartheid-speak, by assigning rights to "every person, including, where appropriate, every legal person and every entity or body or institution of persons which can be the bearer of rights".

Huh? What's appropriate, and what's inappropriate? What Nationalist trickery lies concealed in this tortured phraseology? Which bodies or groups can be the bearers of rights? Coming from people who have called oppression "separate freedom" or described the banning of students from universities as "the extension of university education", this pseudo-legalistic gibberdegook must spark a search for hidden meanings, hidden agendas, hidden purposes.

It is not language which will inspire trust.

The German Basic Law says, "Freedom of faith, of conscience, and freedom to profess a religion or a particular philosophy shall be inviolable"; the government's version says, "Every person shall have the right to profess and practise the religion of his choosing", but goes on to say this shall not preclude ministration to the forces, the public service and other state institutions, religious instruction or exercise in schools, and religious broadcasts by "an entity instituted by or under any law".

I would like to hear from lawyers how these two clauses are to be reconciled, but it seems to me that the first is qualified by the second, and that the primary right - the right of the state to propagate a particular religion in schools or by television - takes precedence over the individual's freedom of religion.

Anyway, freedom of conscience is nowhere mentioned, and the right to profess a particular philosophy - say, atheism - is not recognised. Freedom of faith, in this context, seems to me no more than a pious protestation, carefully loaded in favour of the prejudices of the framers of the charter.

The freedom of speech clause, to take an example where I am more sure of my ground, is simply defective. I can understand that, given the national prejudices, the framers of the charter have not been guided by the American example which forbids Congress to make any law "abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for redress of grievances".

However, the German Basic Law says, "Freedom of the press and freedom of reporting by means of broadcasts and films shall be guaranteed. There shall be no censorship."

The government's version, drawn up in arrogant disregard of the recommendations of the Conference of Editors and of the wording accepted by the Media Council as part of the Press Code of Conduct, says simply: "Every person shall have the right of freedom of speech and other forms of expression, and the right to obtain and disseminate information."

To this, however, is appended the right of the state to register and license newspapers, a clause which is bound to be violated, sooner or later, by pamphleteers, alternative newspapers and rogue publishers. It guarantees that, from the very first day, the press as a whole will be as seriously at war with this bill of rights as it was with Stoffel Botha in his oppressive heyday.

Not a word, incidentally, is said about freedom of opinion, which takes us back to the days of Galileo's gagging by the Roman Church.

There is worse to come: the American bill of rights forbids unreasonable searches and seizures; our version, trying to be clever, guarantees the inviolability of a person's home and forbids spying or wire-tapping under the right of privacy, except in cases of foreign intelligence gathering, or trade in narcotics and weapons, or 'serious' economic offences, or prostitution.

As the inclusion of serious economic offences suggests, the police have excessive powers in terms of this clause, but there is no mechanism to control their use of those powers, and the omission of any reference to treason seems to me to guarantee that, sooner or later, internal resistance to the government will be treated as though it were equivalent to foreign intelligence-gathering. If the drafting is sloppy, the thinking behind it is sloppier.

The list of objections to this charter is endless, and for an obvious reason: intellectual isolation from the democracies, and unfamiliarity with the concepts of a "culture of rights", renders the civil servants of the present regime unfit to carry out the task of drawing up a bill of rights.

The ANC's bill of rights, though I think it carefully omits some essential elements of a free society and is loaded with some silly ideals masquerading as rights, is at least cast in recognisable idiom; it draws on the experience and knowledge of an international community that has been struggling with the difficult questions of rights for two centuries. It is not something dreamed up amid the heady fumes of brandy and chops at a bosberaad.

President de Klerk is said to want a liberal democracy; if so, he needs the help of liberal lawyers, and of modern thinkers, to fashion a bill of rights that will not run the risk of strangling in its own eccentricities.

Ken Owen
U-turn as NP backs single leader for SA

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE National Party has dramatically revised its proposals for power-sharing in a new government, dropping the idea of FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi serving as joint presidents. It has now proposed that the party which wins a majority in the country's first non-racial elections, elect a single president who, with the assistance of a multiparty Cabinet, will run the country for five years.

This means—in effect—that should the ANC win the majority of votes, President de Klerk could serve in a Cabinet under Mr Mandela.

This new proposal, explored during bilateral talks with the ANC, signals a significant shift from previous NP policy and has advanced the prospects of a constitutional settlement.

A key feature of previous NP proposals to ensure power-sharing under a new constitution was the idea of a directly elected executive council.

Poll

In a speech to Parliament last year, President de Klerk proposed that the council replace the State President as the head of government and the head of state.

Members of the council, he said, would be directly elected in a non-racial poll. The three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on the council.

The intention behind this proposal was that the three leaders of the major political parties—de Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi—would be accommodated.

This idea was rejected.
Poll

In a speech to Parliament last year, President de Klerk proposed that this council replace the State President as the head of government and the head of state.

Members of the council, he said, would be directly elected in a non-racial poll. The three to five candidates who received the most votes would serve on the council.

The intention behind this proposal was that the three leaders of the major political parties — de Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi would be accommodated.

This idea was rejected out of hand by the ANC and other parties so government negotiators have come up with alternatives, more acceptable to their negotiating partners, but which do not undermine the NP's insistence that power-sharing be a central feature of a new constitution.

One alternative now being canvassed in behind-the-scenes talks is that the majority party will elect a president, but that he will preside over a multi-party Cabinet.

Percentage

All parties which receive more than 10 percent or 15 percent of the votes in an election will be entitled to Cabinet representation. The actual number of Cabinet members a party will have, will be determined by the number of votes it polls in the election — should the NP, for example, poll 30 percent of the votes in an election it will have 30 percent of the Cabinet posts.

This multi-party Cabinet would rule the country for five years after which a final constitution, which would be negotiated in the meantime, would come into effect.

But, whereas President de Klerk at present has unfettered powers to hire and fire whom he pleases and even to declare war, the powers of the new president, the NP proposes, should be strictly defined.

It has demarcated areas on which the president can act on the advice of the Cabinet, after consultation with the Cabinet and, crucially, in consultation with the Cabinet.

In the last instance, it would mean that the president would not be able to act without achieving consensus in the multi-party Cabinet. A decision to declare war is an example.

The ANC is waiting for the government's detailed proposals, outlining which decisions would have to be made on a consensus basis. The proposals are expected to be discussed on Wednesday.

The government and the ANC are also exploring a compromise to satisfy concerns of domination by a powerful central government after the first five years.

Previously the government believed the only way to prevent this occurring was to insist that power-sharing be included alongside universal suffrage and the need to hold regular elections in a list of constitutional principles.

The list of principles will be agreed on by all parties prior to the holding of elections and will have to be included in a final constitution.

Again there were strong objections from both the ANC and Inkatha to this proposal.

Government negotiators have now refined their thinking on this matter and believe it is possible to achieve permanent power-sharing by deciding on the allocation of power between central, regional and local government in advance.

Put bluntly, the government now wants the issue of federalism decided in advance of the holding of any elections. On this it has the support of Inkatha.

The ANC also accepts that regions should have "original" powers which cannot be overridden by the central government and that the boundaries of regions can be decided before the holding of the first election.

But it does not believe the powers and functions of regions can be dictated to the constituent assembly that will draw up the new constitution.

So far it has not been possible for the government and the ANC to bridge their differences on this issue in their secret talks.
The political climate is heavily charged with tension, as the struggle for power between the North and South escalates. The white electorate of the North, seeing their interests threatened, are mobilizing against the perceived encroachment of the black electorate in the South. This is a critical moment in the history of the United States, as the conflict between the two sides threatens to tear the nation apart.

The Democratic Party, led by the ANC and its allies, is determined to protect their gains in the recent elections. They argue that the ANC's victory in the elections is a testament to the will of the people and must be respected. The National Party, on the other hand, is pushing for a return to the status quo ante, fearing that the ANC's ascendancy will lead to a loss of power and influence.

The atmosphere is tense, with both sides preparing for what could be a decisive battle. The ANC is proving to be a formidable opponent, with its broad base of support and strong leadership. The National Party, however, is not to be underestimated, with its wealth of resources and political experience.

This conflict is not just about political power, but about identity and territory. The ANC, in particular, is seeking to assert its dominance over the country, while the National Party is determined to hold onto what it considers its rightful place in the sun.

The stakes are high, with the fate of the country hanging in the balance. The world watches as this historic showdown unfolds, with its implications for the future of Africa and the world at large.

The struggle between the North and the South is not just about politics; it is about the very soul of the nation. The ANC and its allies are determined to ensure that their vision for a new South Africa is realized. The National Party, on the other hand, is fighting to preserve the status quo, fearing that change will come at too great a cost.

This is a moment of decision, as the nation stands divided. The ANC and its allies are pushing for a new era of hope and progress, while the National Party is content with the old ways. The outcome of this conflict will determine the future of the country for generations to come.
NP move to expel MPs for backing casinos

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THREE MPs may face expulsion from the National Party for defying the Cabinet’s decision to close mini-casinos and backing a court application contesting the move.

Of them are James Kuller, MP for Mafeking, and Stanley Fisher, MP for Mitchells Plain – have signed affidavits opposing an application to two casino operators.

The application, to be heard by the Supreme Court, Durban, tomorrow, challenges the Minister of Justice, Robie Coetzee’s action in closing casinos at midnight on January 31, the deadline of the moratorium granted when Parliament passed legislation in November banning their activities.

Mr Fisher is deputy chairman of the Standing Committee on Justice, which processed the legislation.

James Kuller
Signed affidavit

STANLEY FISHER
Premature

JAMES KULLER

TREVOR GEORGE
Disagreed

ANC in policy talks

ABOUT 200 delegates are attending a two-day regional policy conference of the ANC at the University of the Western Cape this weekend.

The conference was opened by regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak yesterday.

The government’s action had been “premature” as the Howard Commission had not completed its investigation into casinos.

Their decision was “the loss of thousands of jobs the casinos had created,” they said.

There are estimated 1,200 illegal casinos providing about 10,000 jobs.

Mr George said he supported Mr Fisher and Mr Kuller’s stand but he had been given “timely advice” against signing a supporting affidavit in the Durban application.

Mr Fisher could not be reached for comment.

The NP caucus chairman, Mr Piet Swart profiled confirmed yesterday that Mr Fisher and Mr Kuller’s signing of the affidavits had been brought to his notice.

However, the NP was “tolerant of other people’s views expressed in the caucus.”

He refused to be drawn on what disciplinary action against the MPs, if any, was being contemplated. He said the matter was “sub judice.”

A spokesman for the Ministry of Justice said Mr Coetzee was aware of Mr Fisher and Mr Kuller’s supporting the casino operators’ application, but said he would not comment until after the hearing.

The applicants, Florida Word Entertainment and River Palace Leisure Industries, argued that Mr Coetzee failed to exercise his discretion properly as he did not extend the moratorium until the Howard Commission had reported its findings and recommendations.

President P.W. de Klerk said this week the government would fight the Durban application. It also supported Mr Coetzee as the Cabinet believed he had exercised his discretion correctly in closing the illegal casinos and not extending the moratorium.

Mr Fisher was one of the first MPs in the House of Representatives to join the NP and was one of the key figures in the NP’s campaign to topple the Labour Party leader, the late Alvan Hendriks, last February.
Price of The Argus

THE ARGUS will cost 90c from tomorrow. The price of Weekend Argus remains unchanged.

The price of The Argus daily edition in country areas will be 75c.

Readers of The Argus can save by becoming subscribers—or by renewing their subscriptions now. As a special offer, subscriptions are being held at current rates for the next four weeks.

Rio seafarer hit by pirate on dry land

RIO DE JANEIRO.—Several South Africans at the finish of the Rothmans Cape-to-Rio race in Rio de Janeiro have been mugged and pickpocketed.

The skipper of Aegis, Rob Meek, was out walking when his shoulder bag was slit open and the contents removed.

Thieves burnt a crew member of Parker Pen on the arm with a cigarette to force him to remove his hands from his pockets. They then lifted his travellers’ cheques and cash from his pockets.

Two SABC-TV staff members were mugged, one on a bus and the other in a tunnel.

Lucille Levin, wife of the race committee’s chairman, was on Copacabana beach when her bag was stolen.

When she looked around she saw the thief brazenly applying her suntan lotion a few metres down the beach.

She got her suntan lotion back and also traced her bag to a beach vendor who willingly returned her possessions when she confronted him. — Sapa.

GOVERNMENT and African National Congress negotiators are working on a constitutional deal that would delay introduction of full democracy until the turn of the century, according to political and diplomatic sources.

The embryonic accord, facing potentially powerful opposition, would effectively put black majority rule on hold for the sake of stability, they say.

The power-sharing plan entails major concessions by President de Klerk’s National Party and Mr. Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress.

Implicit is recognition by the government that 300 years of white control is truly over, and by at least some black leaders that they are not yet ready to rule alone.

The sources say the kernel of the pact, taking shape in secret talks is a multiparty interim government of national unity, that would hold office for five years after a one-man-one-vote election.

That poll, for a constituent assembly, is due to take place by 1994 providing all goes well with multiparty talks planned for resumption next month or in April.

Under the plan, the assembly would draft the first democratic constitution and double as a parliament. The country would be run by the coalition, comprising party representatives in proportion to votes cast.

The coalition would remain in power until, it is hoped, consensus politics smoothed over South Africa’s myriad racial and tribal conflicts and produced sufficient harmony for full-scale majority rule elections in 1999 or 2000.

“Not one is terribly anxious for a full-fledged election a few months after the election for a constituent assembly,” said a Western diplomat.

“There will be power-sharing for an extended period.”

The deal would mean the National Party giving up its goal of indefinite power-sharing, minority vetoes and an interim rotating presidency.

“Mr. De Klerk could serve under Mr. Mandela in the coalition because the majority party would appoint the leader.

The ANC last year conceded that whites should have a say in future government. But it resisted making it a constitutional right, saying that would be a denial of true democracy.

This deal would mean the ANC backing away from its demand for a majority rule election immediately after agreement is reached on a new constitution.

Analysts and political sources say moderate elements in the ANC and government cooled their ambitions after South Africa’s disastrous 1992 when multi-party talks collapsed, political warfare scaled new heights and the economy tested new depths.

It became increasingly clear that neither the NP nor the ANC could go forward alone, analysts said.
ANC, government pact on the cards

Power sharing deal is closer
Top govt post could go to businessman

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Derek Keys is likely to be asked to drop his Trade and Industry portfolio soon, sparking speculation about whether President F W de Klerk will look to the private sector again to fill the post.

De Klerk is unlikely to ask Keys to relinquish the Trade and Industry portfolio before the Budget is presented on March 17.

When Keys was asked to add the finance portfolio to his responsibilities last year, De Klerk made it clear this was a stop-gap measure which could not be maintained.

Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant, a former Deputy Trade and Industry Minister, is considered the front-runner in government to be asked to take on the post. However, there is speculation that De Klerk might draw on the expertise of another private sector member.

The prime candidate would be SAB executive chairman Meyer Kahn, who has advised government on trade issues before. Kahn's appointment would be welcomed widely by the private sector.

Popcorn chairman Christo Wiese could be another contender, but this is unlikely following his recent appointment as IDC chairman.

De Klerk indicated last week that a restructuring of senior levels of government would be necessary because of the abolition of the Ministers' Council.
Majority rule put on hold, say diplomats

Introduction of full democracy to be delayed until year 2000 - claim:

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators were working on a constitutional deal that would delay the introduction of full democracy until the turn of the century, political and diplomatic sources said yesterday.

The embryonic accord, facing potentially powerful opposition, would effectively put black majority rule on hold for the sake of stability, they said.

The power-sharing plan entails major concessions by both parties.

The sources say the basis of the agreement taking shape in secret talks is a multi-party interim government of national unity that would remain in office for five years after the first universal franchise election.

That poll, for a constituent assembly, is due to take place in 1994.

Under the plan, the assembly would draft the first democratic constitution and double as a parliament.

The country would be run by the coalition, comprising party representatives in proportion to votes cast for the assembly.

The coalition would remain in power until, it is hoped, consensus politics smoothed over South Africa's myriad racial and tribal conflicts and produced sufficient harmony for full-scale majority rule elections in 1999 or 2000.

"No one is terribly anxious for a full-fledged election a few months after the election for a constituent assembly," said one Western diplomat. "There will be power-sharing for an extended period."

The deal would mean the National Party giving up its goal of indefinite and compulsory power-sharing even under the full constitution, minority vetoes, and an interim rotating presidency. - Sapa-Reuters.
Busy week of talks for government

TOS WENTZEL (SOUTH)
Political Staff

GOVERNMENT and Inkatha representatives are meeting in Cape Town today to discuss plans for the resumption of multiparty talks on a new constitutional system.

The bilateral exploratory talks form part of the work of a multiparty planning conference formed recently.

The government and the ANC will meet on Wednesday to resume their bilateral talks. The ANC has undertaken to give a satisfactory explanation before then after the seizure of a large arms cache which was allegedly being smuggled into South Africa by Umkhonto we Sizwe members.

The arms were found by police near the Eastern Transvaal-Swaziland border but the resumption of talks is apparently not being threatened by the incident.
Anger over plan to pay off MPs

Staff Reporter

There are clear signs from extra-parliamentary organisations that any attempt by members of the tricameral Parliament to vote themselves cushy pensions and big cash sums will be loudly opposed.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC would be urgently looking into ways of countering the measures.

"They would be pillaging what little remains, after bringing this country to the brink of bankruptcy," said Marcus.

She added that President de Klerk himself had to be taken to task. "The way he deals with this will be a measure of his sincerity about the new South Africa," she said.

Details of the proposed payout to present and past MPs were published in newspapers yesterday.

Reports stated that the total cost of the scheme of gratuities and pensions would be about R850 million.

According to the reports, many MPs stood to become instant millionaires.

The payments would free the post-apartheid government of any financial obligations to politicians serving under the old order, reports said.

Marcus said it was repugnant that those who had enforced apartheid could use their powers to ensure they were rewarded for destroying the country while the victims of apartheid, including many exiles, were battling to make a living.

The question of retiring politicians could not be seen in isolation from the general issue of pensions, she said.

Marcus said she believed that the ANC was not alone in its anger over the move. All "right-thinking people across the board" would be in opposition to the proposed pensions for MPs, she said.

Fremantle Foundation executive director Leon Leuw said he would be at the forefront of any campaign which prevented politicians getting pay increases exceeding the growth rate — or excessive pension settlements.

"This (pension scheme) corresponds to the whole process that has been going on in the civil service, a process of frantically cashing in the chips before transition."

Lew said: "It's a disgrace that the people who spent us into this deficit should now be adding insult to injury by lining their pockets with what little is left in ours."

Until the people of South Africa began to treat politicians as their servants, and not as their masters, actions such as these were inevitable, he said.
Govt ‘no’ to PAC inclusion

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government would not support an invitation to the Pan Africanist Congress to attend the multiparty planning conference, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

He has reiterated the Government’s position that it would not meet the PAC until the organisation had clarified its relationship with its military wing, the Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apia).

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said his organisation would not attend the planning conference because a number of issues, including a new negotiating forum, first had to be resolved unilaterally with the Government.

It would also not attend a multiparty forum which it had had no part in organising.

At its national executive committee meeting a week ago, the PAC stressed the need for multiparty negotiations and the need for a new negotiating forum.

In a policy shift, the PAC dropped its demand for multiparty negotiations to take place outside South Africa.

Seroke said the demand was dropped for practical reasons, including the cost involved in such an exercise.

The PAC, however, still insists that the talks should take place under a neutral chairman.
Dispute on king holding up talks

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — A dispute between major political players over the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is delaying the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

To keep the process on track, Inkatha, the government, the ANC and most other parties are anxious to get a multi-party planning conference going before the month end.

The tentative reconciliation between the government and Inkatha is also likely to be overshadowed by a sharp attack by Umlindi on Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer.

Clearly angered by remarks made by Mr. Meyer in Parliament, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi’s office issued a statement saying the minister’s comments had bedevilled talks even before they started.

This follows another talks setback — the arrest by police of three ulithkhonto we Sizwe members after the discovery of an arms cache in a car at a Swaziland border post.

Government sources fear police may have uncovered an arms smuggling network between Mozambique and Natal, and if the ANC has condoned this it could seriously delay the negotiation process.

Senior ANC officials are expected in Natal today to begin their investigation. The government has insisted that the ANC gives its answers on its involvement in the smuggling by the time they meet for scheduled constitutional talks on Wednesday.

A National Party-supporting Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that the government was also insisting that the ANC clarify the role of its Natal Midlands leader, Mr. Harry Gwala, in violence.

However, the ANC and government made “great deal of progress” in their committee meetings on Friday and Saturday in preparation for a two-day bilateral meeting from Wednesday which will try to get multi-party negotiations going in March.

The government source and an ANC negotiator emphasised that the two sides had moved much closer on core issues, but no decisions had been taken by their principals to accept their common proposals.
Township members of DP 'live in fear'

Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party's township members were "living in fear" and the party has been forced to limit its township activities to avoid putting its members at increased risk, says the DP's in-house journal, Bulletin.

An article in the journal based on reports by DP youth structures states that "intimidation has led to many township residents who have expressed an interest in joining the party being too afraid to do so." The report said: "Among those responsible for intimidation are people who claim membership of the ANC, PAC, IFP and Azapo."
'Govt wants to keep privilege'

The government's proposed regional arrangements would severely reduce the power of a democratically elected government, ANC Western Cape leader Dr Alan Boesak said on Saturday.

Speaking at the ANC's regional policy conference, Dr Boesak said the NPA's regional arrangements would preserve privilege and limit the ability of a democratic government to address the inequalities created by apartheid.

He said the conference was part of the process of consulting ANC membership nationally about regional policy.

Representatives would be sent to a national conference next month at which a final policy would be adopted.

Staff Reporter, Sapa
Talks date set at meeting with IFP

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PROSPECTS for an early resumption of all-party talks were have been boosted by a meeting between the government and Inkatha.

The two sides said in a joint statement after the meeting yesterday that their "common objective" was to hold a multiparty planning conference before the end of February.

They had spent time "on the exploration of common ground on constitutional matters".

Bilateral discussions between the two parties will continue with a three-day meeting to be held from February 17 to 19, in Natal.

The government, like the ANC, is eager to begin multiparty talks in March.

Inkatha has been insisting on a planning conference to establish details of the agenda and the structure of constitutional talks.

Political violence and its effect on negotiations was high on the agenda at yesterday's key meeting between delegations led by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and Minister of Constitutional Development and Communication Mr Roelf Meyer.

They said: "Priority was given to political violence, by armed bands sowing death and destruction among their public and private opponents, and to the acquisition and distribution of arms."

"The destabilising effect these have on the constitutional negotiating process, as well as the question of private armies in an election process, also received attention."
Talks resume despite row on gun running

TOS WENTZEL Political Staff

TALKS between the government and the African National Congress are resuming today with both sides determined not to have them ruined by a row about alleged gun smuggling by ANC members.

The ANC is supposed to give the government a satisfactory explanation today after the arrest of three ANC members with an arms cache near the Natal-Swaziland border last week. Since then it has been announced that seven more people have been arrested.

At a meeting with the ANC last week, the government demanded that an explanation be given by today.

Top Nationalist sources said the government was assuming the ANC would come up with an explanation. The incident has come as an embarrassment to the ANC — and the government side is "milking" it for propaganda purposes. But Nationalist MPs emphasise that the situation, especially the state of the economy, is now so serious that there is no time for spoiling tactics.

President De Klerk and his negotiating team had a long session last night to plan strategy.

An ANC spokesman said the organisation's team would meet today to decide how it would present the ANC's reply at the talks. The organisation has confirmed that the first three men who were arrested are members.

ANC executive member Mr Mathew Phosa, who visited the men with MK chief of staff Mr Siphiwe Nyanda, said the investigation had established that the national executive committee and the southern Natal regional executive committee were not involved in the alleged smuggling.

It was also satisfied that ANC "military headquarters in Johannesburg" and "military command in southern Natal" had not been part of the operation.

The government side is bound to demand to know from the ANC whether there are elements in MK which are no longer under the control of its leadership.

After this has been cleared up, the talks, due to continue until Friday, will concentrate on arrangements on the way to transitional government and regional government.

Both sides are emphasising that they are not trying to reach final agreements, but they are considering each other's options and minimum requirements.
Government, IFP finding each other

EDGING CLOSER Parties agree on the resumption of constitutional negotiations:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA EDGED CLOSER TO THE RESUMPTION of multi-party negotiations when Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party met in Cape Town yesterday.

Although full details of the content of yesterday’s meeting were unavailable last night, the two parties agreed that a preparatory meeting for the resumption of multi-party negotiations should be held before the end of this month.

The meeting concentrated on the violence in the country and apparently on the incident last week in which two members of the ANC’s military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, were arrested in possession of an arms.

Destabilising effect

A joint statement released in Cape Town last night said: “The destabilising effect these have on the constitutional negotiating process as well as the question of private armies in an election process also received attention.”

The Government delegation was led by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, while the IFP was led by its national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The two parties would meet again in Natal between February 17 and 19, the statement said.
Talkback

Somethin' Rude

Disunify is a Cause for Concern

The question of fund allocation raised by the ANC's "Red Carpet" PAC and the Democratic Alliance's Freedom Front, along with the ANC's decision to cut off the DA's funding, has raised concerns among some political analysts. The move, they argue, could be seen as an attempt to weaken opposition parties and consolidate power within the ANC.

The government's decision to freeze the DA's funding has been widely criticized, with some analysts calling it a violation of the principle of separation of powers. The DA has also filed a court challenge against the decision, arguing that it is unconstitutional and a violation of their right to free speech.

The ANC's decision to fund its own political arm, the Freedom Front, has also been seen as a move to strengthen its grip on power and control over the political landscape.

Some political analysts argue that the ANC's decision to fund the Freedom Front is a move to weaken opposition parties and consolidate power within the ANC. They argue that the move is a violation of the principle of separation of powers and a threat to the country's democratic institutions.

The DA's call for a judicial inquiry into the government's decision to freeze its funding has been met with mixed reactions. While some analysts support the call for transparency and accountability, others argue that the DA's call is a ploy to divert attention from its own failures and shortcomings.

The question of fund allocation is not just about money, it is about power and influence. The ANC's decision to fund its own political arm has raised questions about the country's democratic institutions and the role of political parties in a democratic society.

The DA's call for a judicial inquiry is a step in the right direction, but it is only a first step. If the ANC is serious about strengthening its democratic institutions, it needs to take action to ensure that the country's democratic institutions are protected and respected.

The question of fund allocation is not just about money, it is about power and influence. The ANC's decision to fund its own political arm has raised questions about the country's democratic institutions and the role of political parties in a democratic society.

The DA's call for a judicial inquiry is a step in the right direction, but it is only a first step. If the ANC is serious about strengthening its democratic institutions, it needs to take action to ensure that the country's democratic institutions are protected and respected.

The question of fund allocation is not just about money, it is about power and influence. The ANC's decision to fund its own political arm has raised questions about the country's democratic institutions and the role of political parties in a democratic society.

The DA's call for a judicial inquiry is a step in the right direction, but it is only a first step. If the ANC is serious about strengthening its democratic institutions, it needs to take action to ensure that the country's democratic institutions are protected and respected.

The question of fund allocation is not just about money, it is about power and influence. The ANC's decision to fund its own political arm has raised questions about the country's democratic institutions and the role of political parties in a democratic society.

The DA's call for a judicial inquiry is a step in the right direction, but it is only a first step. If the ANC is serious about strengthening its democratic institutions, it needs to take action to ensure that the country's democratic institutions are protected and respected.
Heated debate likely

The heated debate likely to occur over the proposed cuts to defense and military spending could lead to a stalemate and a potential government shutdown. The proposed cuts would aim to reduce the budget deficit and address the national debt, but critics argue that these measures could compromise national security. The debate is expected to be intense, with officials on both sides of the political spectrum expressing their views. The outcome of this debate is uncertain, as it will depend on the ability of the parties to come to an agreement.
David Frost to question political leaders on TV
IFP will talk if MK disbanded

By Peter Fabriesc
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — New obstacles to the resumption of formal negotiations have begun to emerge following yesterday's meeting between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Government.

Most of the eight-hour meeting was devoted to the arrest last week of three members of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) for allegedly smuggling arms into Natal from Mozambique.

This has hardened the IFP's insistence that MK should be disbanded. It is understood that the IFP now demands that this should happen before it will attend a proposed planning conference to prepare for formal multiparty negotiations.

After yesterday's meeting Constitutional Development Minister Reelf Meyer and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said they wanted this conference to take place before the end of the month.

This looks unlikely if the IFP sticks to its precondition that MK must be shut down first — a condition the ANC is certain to reject.

Another serious obstacle, which bedevilled CODESA discussions last year, has resurfaced.

The IFP is again insisting that the KwaZulu government — in a delegation which could include the Zulu king — should be represented separately from the IFP in formal negotiations.

Frank Mdlalose ? IFP wants ANC's MK to shut down.

It is believed the Government is backing the IFP on this issue.

The Government and the IFP announced they would be holding their first "borehole" from February 17 to 19.
Talks on unity government
ANC and Government negotiators are talking about lengthening the lifetime of a government of national unity after the adoption of a new constitution.
THE government and the Inkatha Freedom Party will hold a three-day "bosberaad" in Natal next week, amid signs that an all-out effort is under way to hold the multi-party planning conference before the end of this month.

This follows nearly eight hours of talks between the parties in Cape Town yesterday.

But the issue of violence and "acquisision and distribution of arms and armaments" remains a major stumbling block.

More than half of yesterday's meeting was spent on this issue, and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose made it clear afterwards that the IFP regarded it as of crucial importance.

The fact that the two parties are now to hold extended talks, however, would seem to indicate that progress is being made.

In a brief statement afterwards, the two parties stated that "priority attention had been given to political violence by armed bands sowing death and destruction among the public".

The "destabilising effect" this had on the constitutional negotiations and the question of private armies in an election process, were also discussed.

The statement said the rest of the time had been devoted to the multi-party planning conference and exploring common ground.

"It is our common objective the conference should take place before the end of February."

The focus now swings back to the ANC, which is scheduled to hold three days of talks with the government, starting tomorrow.

The ANC's reaction to the seizure of an arms cache last Monday and the arrest of three ulMakwane weSizwe members should be one of the key issues.
ANC: Retirements may bankrupt SA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC yesterday warned that the country could be "bankrupted" if a stampede of retiring civil servants opted to "take the money and run."

Responding to reports that civil servants retiring before the introduction of a new political dispensation could take billions of rand in golden handshakes and pensions payouts with them, ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday: "We are not asking civil servants to go. We will need their skills and experience."

The ANC believed the departing civil servants should be paid reasonable pensions but was opposed to the payment of golden handshakes or tax-free gratuities.

Although the ANC believed a new civil service would have to be rationalised and be subject to Affirmative action, it did not mean the ANC wanted to threaten the jobs of current employees in the service or encourage them "to take their package and go."

Ms Marcus acknowledged that many newcomers to a reconstituted civil service would need more training.

She pointed out that civil servants in the homelands could play an important role in a reconstituted public service.

The Minister of Administration, Dr Org Marais, told a media briefing on Friday that it would be possible to train good civil servants "in six months" under a policy of affirmation action.

He said he believed that the ANC would support the notion that the new dispensation would require "a motivated and efficient civil service."

Dr Marais said that the scope for cutting jobs under a new political order to make way for newcomers might be more limited that was generally anticipated.

He said that, while a number of government ministers and their senior officials might go, a move in the direction of a federal system of government could see the number of civil servants growing rather than shrinking.
There's a pervasive unassuming in Parliament, writes Political Reporter Kaiser Ntambu

Did you know that a group of power brokers operate in Parliament? These power brokers are the ones who make the decisions and control the flow of information. They sit in the shadows, influencing behind the scenes and ensuring that the true voice of the people is not heard.

In order to understand how this happens, let's take a closer look at the structure of Parliament. The Speaker, who is the ceremonial head of Parliament, is appointed by the President. The Speaker is responsible for maintaining order during Parliament and ensuring that the proceedings are conducted fairly.

The parliamentary process involves a series of steps. Bills are introduced by members of Parliament, and are then debated and voted on. The decision-making power is concentrated in the hands of a few key figures, who are often referred to as the 'power brokers'.

These power brokers are often members of the ruling political party, and they have a significant influence over the legislative process. They are able to control the flow of information and ensure that only certain views are heard. This can lead to decisions that are not representative of the wider public interest.

As a result, the role of the opposition and independent members of Parliament is often marginalized. They are often excluded from important decision-making processes and their voices are not heard.

The power brokers are able to control the flow of information in a number of ways. They may use their influence to control media coverage, or they may simply refuse to allow certain voices to be heard. This can create a climate of fear and self-censorship among those who are not in power.

In conclusion, the power brokers in Parliament have a significant influence over the legislative process. They control the flow of information and ensure that only certain views are heard. This can lead to decisions that are not representative of the wider public interest, and it can create a climate of fear and self-censorship among those who are not in power.

It is important for citizens to be aware of the power brokers in Parliament and the role they play in shaping the legislative process. Only then can we work towards a more transparent and representative democracy.
AWB promises election help

HAMMARSDALE. — The AWB will back right-wing parties in elections if they support the AWB now to prevent whites from being ruled by an ANC and a SA Communist Party majority government.

This was said in a statement released yesterday by the AWB following a weekend meeting in Natal.
India to establish SA centre

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. – For the first time in 40 years, the Indian government will establish a cultural centre in South Africa.

The Johannesburg centre will be run by the Indian Council for Cultural Relations, a body funded by the Indian government to promote relations with other countries.

ICCR director-general Mr Niranjan Desai said in Durban: “There have been many changes in South Africa and the Indian government feels it is about time the relations between the two countries are improved.”

The centre was expected to function by as early as April.

Given the situation in the country and the soon-to-be-established interim government, the cultural centre might culminate in a fully-fledged embassy to be based in Pretoria, Mr Desai said.

The cultural centre would then be moved to Durban and a general consulate would be established in Johannesburg.

Among other things, the centre will facilitate trade and cultural exchanges between the two countries while also arranging scholarships for South African students who want to study at institutions in India.
Haul threatens talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

ANC officials yesterday questioned six of the nine arrested men in Durban. Two of the six were released yesterday, said ANC lawyer and negotiator Mathew Phosa. The officials questioned three ANC members in Middelburg on Monday.

The ANC undertook at last week's meeting to report back today to the Government on its investigation into the arrests. Phosa said yesterday that the investigation had established "beyond reasonable doubt" that the national executive committee (NEC) and the Southern Natal regional executive committee were not involved in smuggling arms.

It was also satisfied ANC military headquarters in Johannesburg and the military command in Southern Natal had no part in the operation. Immediately after last week's meeting the ANC reiterated its commitment to suspending the armed struggle.

The ANC is understood to have told the Government at the meeting it could have tried to derail talks by making an issue of the alleged involvement of senior SADF officers in campaigns against the ANC.
IFP will stop ANC takeover – Mentz

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Any attempt to govern South Africa without Inkatha would force the party to go underground and the resulting conflict would make the Mozambique war look like "child's play", National Party defector Jurie Mentz warned last night.

At Inkatha's second major public meeting in the Western Cape, a forceful Mentz told an audience of about 250 at the Claremont Civic Centre that the combination of "Boer and Zulu" was formidable.

"They are two difficult peoples. History has proved that. I am not hammering on ethnicity but history... and anybody who tackles the Boers and the Zulus will have something on their hands." Mentz, who defected to the Inkatha Freedom Party recently, said it was clear the ANC did not want to share power, but take it.

"But we are not going to allow that. My leader will not allow that. I know these people. "If the ANC and the National Party go on one side and negotiate, an agreement between themselves, these people in the IFP will make sure nobody will be able to govern the country.

"If these people go underground, what happened in Mozambique will be child's play in comparison."

He noted that neither the Boers nor the British had been able "to break the spirit of freedom and self-determination" of the Zulus.

To rousing applause — and some heckling — Mentz declared: "I can assure you, in spite of intimidation and murder, the ANC will not succeed in ruling this country alone."

Mentz admitted that he was not in the habit of speaking anything but Afrikaans and Zulu, in which he is fluent. Then he added: "But I can tell you, my English has improved a lot in the past week."

After delivering his opening remarks in Zulu, he stuck to English for the remainder of his speech.

The head of the IFP's international department, Musa Myani, who urged the audience to join the "reasonable majority" of the IFP and enable it to dominate the Western Cape in a new dispensation, strengthened speculation that the issue of the disbanding of private armies such as the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was developing into a major stumbling block in negotiations.

"There seems to be a deadlock on that issue," he said. "It may become a major stumbling block in future multiparty talks."

Earlier, Democratic Party defector Mike Tare said the movement of whites to predominantly black parties would break the ethnic mould of the past.

He did not believe the DP would attract a sufficient level of black support "to make them a significant force at the polls."

"If these people go underground, what happened in Mozambique will be child's play in comparison."
TDC may split up for ‘meaningful’ SA role

UMTATA. — In an effort to ensure it plays a meaningful role in the new South Africa, the Transkei Development Corporation may be divided into four regional sections.

Details of the proposed change were contained in a management brief to staff leaked to Sapa yesterday.

The brief said that when Transkei was reincorporated into South Africa the homeland was expected to become part of the Border/Kel region.

By opening offices in Kokstad and Queenstown, the TDC would be represented in at least four of an expected six sub-regional centres in the area under the new dispensation. The other points were likely to be King William's Town/Bisho and Aliwal North. The TDC already has offices in Butterworth and Umtata.

The proposed changes would lay the foundation for the TDC to play a meaningful role in promoting development in the new South Africa, said the brief. — Sapa
The Deputy Minister of Finance

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?

Mr. Miron: Mr. Speaker, the honourable member has been persistently misusing the privileges of the House by asking questions of management of the government. He has raised questions that are not germane to the issue under debate, and he has been interrupting other members. I would ask the honourable member to confine himself to the debate of the day and to the issues at hand in a manner that is befitting of a member of this House.

Mr. Dewar: Minister, will you answer the question of the member for Victoria-Comox?
Clever Footwork as PW Redefines Power-Sharing

AS THE Govemment and the
Bill allows Minister to close schools

CAPE TOWN — A Bill which will enable the white owners of Model C schools to close them was published yesterday. The Education Affairs spokesman said the drafters had considered the circumstances in which the Minister could close a school. "But if you mention one thing and not another, there may be problems." — Sapa.
Arms row heats talks

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE arrest of a further six alleged ANC members linked with last week's seizure of an arms cache on the Swaziland border has raised the temperature on the eve of the government/ANC "bosberaad" starting in Cape Town today.

The arrests, coming soon after the capture of three other uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members, will keep the hotly disputed topic of private armies on the front burner when delegations from the ANC and the government begin three days of intensive discussions.

However, the issue was complicated yesterday by the seizure of a second large arms cache — including AK-47 rifles, handguns and ammunition — at Johannesburg's Dube Hostel and the arrest of four people.

The hostel is known to house many IFP supporters, but Law and Order Ministry sources yesterday insisted the hostel arms haul was a "totally separate issue."

Inkatha emphasised in talks with the government on Monday that it wanted the future of MK to be resolved satisfactorily before it took part in a multi-party planning conference, scheduled for late this month.

Government sources said yesterday the finds appeared to reaffirm the official belief that both the ANC and Inkatha were involved in fuelling violence.

The police and Defence Force said the seizure at the hostel may have averted a "bloodbath".

It was believed the suspects were arms dealers. A "substantial" amount of money and dagga was also found.

Police spokesman Colonel Tienie Balgryu said: "It is clear that some elements are planning something to end the relative peace and spirit of co-operation of the past few months in Soweto."

Yesterday Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the six arrests in connection with the Swaziland border seizure came during follow-up operations.

Last week three MK members were arrested in connection with the seizure of the arms cache in a car crossing into South Africa.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday that ANC lawyer and negotiator Mr Matthew Phosa, MK chief-of-staff Mr Siphiwe Nyanda and the organisation's southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe were conducting "a thorough investigation into the incidents and will compile a comprehensive report later."

The government/ANC talks today were scheduled to concentrate on regionalism and power-sharing, but now seem likely to be dominated by security questions.
Tension is high, but talks resume

Gun-running issue set aside as ANC and government meet again

TOS WENTZEL and MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators resumed talks on constitutional matters this morning in spite of tension in yesterday's meeting over gun-running allegations.

Both sides agreed to put aside the arms-smuggling issue for the time being in the interests of getting multiparty talks back on track.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus confirmed today the delegations had turned their attention to constitutional matters "in spite of yesterday's hitch".

The government yesterday demanded an explanation of the incident in which ANC members were arrested with an arms cache near the Natal-Swaziland border, and demanded assurances it would not happen again.

The ANC denied official involvement, and backed up a disclosure that gun-running Inkhatha members had been arrested in the Northern Transvaal at the weekend.

The mood on both sides today was that the issue must not be allowed to wreck efforts to get multiparty talks on a new democratic constitutional foundation back on track.
CAPE TOWN — The decision by government and homeland leaders to proceed with enabling legislation to establish new regional structures was premature and a unilateral act, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

Senior government members, including President FW de Klerk, and homeland leaders gave the go-ahead on Tuesday for the promulgation of legislation to enable self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach agreements on new forms of administration.

Marcus said government was attempting to press ahead with legislation which would establish new regional administrations in an effort to make it difficult for these to be revised in negotiations.

She said that the proper place for this was at the multiparty conference to allow all role players to contribute to the process.

Government sources said the meetings were simply the first step in establishing new structures, suggesting that after new administrations had been set up, further regionalisation on new boundaries could take place.

Marcus said this was a "tortuous" process and pressing ahead without full participation would mean the new structures would not be considered legitimate.

Government sources said the nature of the joint administrations and the time frames for their implementation had not been decided in discussions to date.

However, the process of integration was being aligned with the development requirements of the areas concerned.

Homeland

The conference which gave the go-ahead dealt to a large extent with corporate development institutions.

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that DP finance spokesman Douglas Gibson said yesterday government delays in negotiating the reincorporation of the six homelands were costing taxpayers millions of rands a month.

Gibson said that with the reincorporation of the six territories, a large number of the 230 000 bureaucrats employed in the territories could be rationalised, with a saving of tens of millions of rands a year for SA taxpayers.

Latest figures indicated the total salary bill for the homeland public services exceeded R5bn a year.
Banks struggle to recover

Study loans as jobs dwindled

National Symbols

BUSINESS DAY. Thursday, February 11, 1993

COMMERCIAL BANKING

CONSERVATIVE!

ECONOMIC REPORTS

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1993

STUDY JOBS AS JOBS DWINDELED

Banks struggle to recover

National Symbols
but talks on

More arrests!
Civil war or miracle

CAPE TOWN — South Africa had an equal chance of descending into full-scale civil war or becoming a racial miracle, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said in a television interview last night with veteran broadcaster Sir David Frost.

In a 30-minute interview filmed at Ulundi, Buthelezi said he had never considered secession as an option for KwaZulu.

He told Frost that Mr Justice Goldstone had been glib in describing the KwaZulu Police as a private army, and in his comment that the IFP had been partly responsible for violence.

Buthelezi said it still had to be determined whether the Government and the ANC were plotting an agenda. He agreed with the PAC that any ANC-Government deal would amount to playing with fire.

The last word had not yet been spoken on the September 1992 Record of Understanding between the Government and ANC, the chief told Frost.

He was, however, heartened that a planning conference for multiparty talks would be taking place, adding that he would attend a multiparty conference.

The IFP had withdrawn from talks because the Zulus had been excluded while other tribal governments, such as Transkei and Ciskei, had been represented. He was however committed to negotiations.

The IFP was a multifractal party, he added. — Sapa.
MK weapons row bypassed in key talks

By Esther Waugh
and Peter Fabricius

Government and ANC negotiators last night decided to bypass their row over alleged Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) arms smuggling — but not before the ANC negotiators hit back with a disclosure that four men — allegedly including an Inkatha Freedom Party official — had been arrested for smuggling arms at the weekend.

On the tough first day of a three-day meeting in Cape Town, the ANC team claimed that Izak Godi Ntsele — whom the ANC alleged is a member of the IFP central committee — his son and two Mozambicans had been arrested in the northern Transvaal on Saturday for allegedly possessing possession of at least 13 AK-47s.

After checking, the Government negotiators confirmed the arrests.

Relations between the ANC and the Government were soured after three ANC members were arrested for allegedly smuggling arms at the Goleta border post with Swaziland, and the arrest of eight more people in follow-up operations. Three of them have been released, including one yesterday.

The ANC has confirmed that some of the arrested men are ANC members, but has denied knowledge of the alleged smuggling.

IPF spokesman Suzanne Vos said today the party had no knowledge of a Ntsele on the central committee of the IFP, calling news of the arrest "a pathetic attempt to divert attention" from the MK arrests.

The IFP did not involve itself in the smuggling of arms and MK members found to be engaged in such activities must face the full weight of the law, she said.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze today confirmed the arrest of six men in connection with the smuggling of arms — Ntsele, his son Justice, two other men and two Mozambicans. Kotze said Ntsele was the chairman of the IFP branch at Emagogo in Northern Natal.

After yesterday's meeting, Government sources said the ANC had not yet satisfied its insistence that the ANC distance itself from arms smuggling, give a reassurance that it would not recur, and take disciplinary steps against those involved.

The ANC is expected to issue a statement later today giving its official response to the Goleta haul.
‘Punish parties that contravene Accord’

Political Staff

The Government has recommended that political parties or movements which contravene the National Peace Accord should be punished.

This emerged during an interpellation debate in Parliament yesterday and follows President de Klerk’s suggestion in his opening speech two weeks ago that the accord be strengthened and made enforceable.

Deputy Minister of Justice Danie Schutte told MPs yesterday that the Government was committed to strengthening the peace accord, but that it could not act unilaterally because the accord was the product of multilateral negotiations.

However, the Government has called for a review of the accord.

Among improvements that ought to be considered were

- Effective sanctions which could be imposed on transgressors.
- A more expeditious adjudicating procedure.
- The involvement of non-signatory parties at local and regional levels.

Democratic Party MP Wessel Nel said that while he recognised the Government could not tamper with the accord unilaterally, it had a special responsibility and it could set its own position on certain issues. These included granting local peace structures their own budgets.

- Shortcomings in the peace accord will be discussed at a meeting of accords signatories and chairmen of the regional dispute resolution committees. It was decided at a two-day meeting between the regional chairmen and the National Peace Council.

---

The text is too small to read clearly. It appears to discuss the government's recommendations for punishing parties that contravene the National Peace Accord. The text mentions the involvement of non-signatory parties and the setting of the Government's own position on certain issues. It also refers to a two-day meeting between regional chairmen and the National Peace Council to discuss shortcomings in the accord.
SA leaders
real heroes
- Cohen

By Hugh Robertson
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON - South Africans should not allow progress towards democracy to be held hostage by political violence, and should press ahead with elections and an interim government even if violence continues, according to the Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who is due to retire next month after a distinguished career spanning nine presidencies, said in an interview that there was "a great deal of curiosity" about investing in South Africa and that the country was better placed to attract US business and capital than any of the former Soviet republics.

He warned that differences between the US and South Africa over the manufacture of sophisticated weapons by Arma-cors, including missiles capable of launching space vehicles, was a problem that remained unresolved.

Criticisms

It would have to be "sorted out" with the new Clinton administration.

Asked about his past criticism of SA leaders, Cohen said this had been made in the context of past developments, but he said he regarded both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela as "real heroes".

"I think that Mr Mandela's style of being a team player has frustrated us from time to time because at times he's allowed radical minorities in the ANC to overwhelm the negotiating process. But maybe in his own culture this is what was needed to reach a final stage where everyone was on board. So maybe we Americans are too impatient.

But in general his overall leadership has, in effect, got the mainstream of black opinion in South Africa to accept that the white community has a significant role to play in a multiracial South Africa and that the blacks would be a lot worse off if the whites were to all move out. That is a fantastically important contribution he has made."

President de Klerk is also a hero in my view in that he has persuaded the 'mainstream' of the white community that unless the black community is made a full partner politically and economically the white community itself would be doomed."

"Having persuaded the whites to come hundreds of years in their thinking in the space of three years is nothing less than remarkable," Cohen said.

He warned that the declining South African economy was having a direct effect on the political situation because it was enlarging the mass of unemployed young people, who were left with no option but to embrace radical politics."

Asked about a warning by Mandela that the ANC might not live up to the expectations of its supporters in the coming elections, Cohen said: "The longer the time the ANC goes between the point where it was a liberation movement to the point where it is a full political party, the more they have to answer a political constituency that is demanding jobs and housing and therefore they risk losing support."
Govt, homelands to rationalise services

By Peter Fabriicus
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government and the six self-governing territories have agreed on legislation which will enable them to rationalise services.

But this should not be interpreted as a move to bypass multiparty negotiations and dismantle the homeland governments, the Government said yesterday.

Deputy Regional Development Minister Andre Fourie was commenting last night on the meeting between the four South African provincial administrations and the governments of the six territories in Cape Town on Tuesday.

The meeting resolved that the Government could proceed with legislation that would enable self-governing territories and provincial administrations to reach bilateral or multilateral agreements.

This has been interpreted as a step towards incorporation of the self-governing territories into South Africa.

Fourie agreed that the agreement was a move towards an interim regional dispensation but denied any intention to preempt multiparty negotiations.

He said President de Klerk had stated categorically — in Parliament last week — that the Government would not use its powers to dismantle the homelands summarily or unilaterally.

Fourie said it had been agreed at the Tuesday meeting that constitutional change was irreversible but that any future regional dispensation would have to be agreed to at a multiparty forum.

In the interim there was much room for joint administration. All the meeting had agreed to was that enabling legislation could be passed allowing for joint agreements to avoid duplication of services.

This was already happening in the Joint Executive Authority set up between the KwaZulu government and the Natal Provincial Administration.

Fourie said the agreement did not affect the status of the self-governing territories. No new boundaries would be drawn but an attempt could be made to move towards an interim regional dispensation by sharing administration.

He mentioned pension payments, education and health clinics as areas of possible cooperation.

De Klerk said, when he opened Parliament on January 29, that the Government intended negotiating with the self-governing territories about drawing them into the desegregation of South African State education.

Fourie said the scrapping of own affairs education had opened the way for such discussions, but that they had not been embarked on at Tuesday's meeting.

It is understood that the meeting also explored ways of tightening up control of spending by the self-governing territories.
A research programme on national symbols has been launched by the Human Sciences Research Council.

During the first phase of the programme, the national flag, anthem and public holidays would be analysed, the HSRC said yesterday.

A report on this would be ready by the end of next month.

Proposals for new symbols and nationally important symbols such as place names, monuments and sports insignia would receive attention during the second phase.

Members of the public as well as institutions have been invited to submit comments and proposals on symbols to Dr Malan, National Symbols Investigation, HSRC, Private Bag X41, Pretoria. — Sapa.
NP takes control from CP

The National Party regained control of the Poc-hesfroom Town Council management committee last night after losing it to the Conservative Party in 1988. Three NP members were elected to the committee in place of the three CP members, one of them mayor Chris Landberg.
Preparations for elections

The Department of Home Affairs has begun practical preparations for South Africa’s first democratic elections. Documents show 10,000 ballot boxes and 15,000 folding voting cubicles have already been manufactured.
ANC offsets warning

On the brink

BY ANTHONY JOHNSTON

with

ANC secretary-general: Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (left), national spokesperson. Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

ANC...TALKS...ANC secretary-general: Mr Cyril Ramaphosa (left), national spokesperson. Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

ANC offsets warning

On the brink

BY ANTHONY JOHNSTON
NP gains some power in Potchefstroom

POTCHEFSTROOM. — The NP gained control of the Potchefstroom town council management committee last night. Three NP members — one of them the mayor, Mr Chris Landberg — were elected to the management committee in place of the three sitting CP members at a council meeting.

The CP had controlled the committee since taking it from the NP in 1983. — Sapa 11/12/93
DOWN TO THE NITTY-GRITTY AT LAST FOR TALKS?

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

Efforts to resume multiparty talks are expected to get a major boost today with agreement between the government and the African National Congress on a conference to plan them.

Final agreement on a planning conference will be reached next week when the government talks to the Inkatha Freedom Party. The issue was raised at their previous round of talks.

Efforts will be made to get a planning conference together by the end of next week and hopes in government circles are that multiparty talks could resume next month.

The conference will have to decide what form a “new Codesa” multiparty negotiation forum will take. Inkatha objects to Codesa in its present form.

Another hopeful sign is the announcement that the long-awaited meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is likely to take place by mid-March.

This comes at a time when negotiations are being complicated by allegations of cross-border gun-running by both parties.

Talks between the government and the ANC continued until late last night and were resumed this morning.

The gun-running issue has been set aside while police and ANC investigations continue.

Apart from discussions on the planning conference, yesterday’s talks concentrated on constitutional issues, especially transitional structures.

Today both sides remained optimistic. Yesterday’s talks were said to have been “productive and optimistic” with the two sides trying to reconcile each other’s aims.
Referendum won't break the deadlock

Gary Van Staden

deedock Politics mailing

intervention in Transvaal Parliament

The people's consensus

I'm not a politician, but the people's interest is what matters. The latest developments in the Transvaal Parliament have left many questioning whether a Referendum will break the deadlock. Gary Van Staden, a political analyst, argues that the key to resolving the issue lies in the people's consensus. He believes that the only way to move forward is through a democratic process that respects the wishes of the majority.
Freedom starts with private property

This week's row between government and the ANC over a Bill of Rights indicates that public bickering will continue to characterise the negotiation process, in spite of claims by both sides that it is progressing well behind the scenes.

It seems unlikely that the latest disagreement will bring talks to a halt. Nevertheless, it is an unhealthy basis on which to build mutual understanding.

The fact that much of the argument seems accessible only to lawyers — and specialised laymen at that — does not help.

The average citizen easily grows bored with what seems like interminable nit-picking and boredom could lead to easy and dangerous deals being made between the main parties in smoke-filled rooms.

There is concern that liberty will not be served, if only because neither of the main parties is particularly liberal by temperament and because they might both be prepared to compromise too readily on matters of principle.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced government's proposals for a Bill of Rights, based on those of the Law Commission, last week amid much fanfare. It will be widely distributed — at taxpayers' expense — as a discussion document.

In essence, the Bill would outlaw nearly all the human rights abuses of which Nationalist governments have been guilty for 40 years.

But the ANC says that while some aspects are praiseworthy, others are unacceptable and could in fact entrench race-based privileges and unequal wealth distribution. The organisation says a Bill of Rights can be agreed on and entrenched only by an elected constituent assembly. Government wants an interim rights Bill in place until the formal transition to democracy.

However, the ANC argues — with some force — that an interim Bill guaranteeing equal rights would be nonsensical because most people would not yet have the vote — one of the most fundamental rights. What the ANC wants instead is some form of transitional rights to level the playing fields to enable the election to be held.

ANC constitutional expert Kader Asmal describes the government's Bill as "deeply flawed and fraudulent" and not even a sound basis for further debate. He sees it as a serious obstacle to the negotiation process and an attempt by Coetsee to ensure that negotiations do not succeed.

Asmal's fellow constitutional committee member, Albie Sachs, says the Bill is an "expression manifest in legal form." Adds Sachs: "We've looked forward to a Bill of Rights as a document that will unite SA, but the timing, tone and content (of government's Bill) are all wrong."

In response to ANC criticism, Coetsee accused the organisation of superficial analysis of the Bill in an attempt to smear the debate on human rights. The ANC's contribution is neither academic nor scientific, Coetsee charged.

However, it's clear that fundamental differences between government and the ANC on what should be protected in a Bill of Rights may be difficult to reconcile. For example, the ANC wants "private apartheid" outlawed, while government's Bill would in essence uphold the right to discriminate on the grounds of freedom of association.

In addition, the ANC wants the effects of apartheid — such as land ownership — re-dressed through a Bill of Rights, while government wants existing ownership protected. The ANC also wants minimum wages, job security and rights to education and housing entrenched in a Bill of Rights — but it is impossible to see how such rights can be enforced when they depend on objective material conditions. To include them in a Bill of Rights would simply discredit all the other clauses.

In the end, a solution might be to agree on an entrenched Bill of fundamental rights and freedoms — such as freedom of thought and expression, and freedom from arbitrary arrest — and then to deal with more detailed
Foreign observers ‘will give poll legitimacy’

CAPE TOWN — The role of the international community in SA’s next elections will be decided by an independent electoral commission appointed by a transitional executive council involving all political parties.

Sapa reports Home Affairs Minister Louis Plaatjies said yesterday that observer status for the international community could give the envisaged elections legitimacy.

He said the independent electoral commission would be responsible for overseeing, monitoring and supervising the whole electoral process.

The commission would decide also the role that should be played by the Home Affairs Department, which was now issuing 50 000-60 000 identity documents a week.

He estimated that 95% to 98% of the population would have IDs by March next year.

Between 6 000 and 7 000 polling stations had been demarcated for elections, said Plaatjie.

The aim was to give every SA citizen over the age of 18 years the opportunity to participate at the ballot box in determining the future of the country.

GERALD SEELY reports that Home Affairs Western Cape regional director Koos van Wyngaardt said there could not be a protracted voter registration campaign in SA if an election was to be held within a reasonable time of the conclusion of negotiations.

Using ID documents as a basis for the poll would be a far simpler process, he said.
the constitution
Way of another
Let’s find another way of government
From dumps to trump cards

The homelands used to be regarded as apartheid’s dumping grounds; now they’re the jackpot in a raging hearts-and-minds battle.

By PATRICK GOODENOUGH and ANDREW TRENCH

A BATTLE is raging between Pretoria and leading Volkstaat protagonist General Tienie Groenewald for the hearts and minds of homeland leaders within the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Groenewald, a former military intelligence chief of staff, has emerged as the top strategist within Cosag. Through his Pretoria-based consultancy company, Multi Media Services (MMS), he is heavily involved in Ciskeian affairs and is busy closing in on Bophuthatswana.

MMS chairman and Groenewald’s partner Rian van Rensburg this week accused the South African government of orchestrating an information leak within MMS in an attempt to drive a wedge between Groenewald and the Cosag parties. The government viewed MMS as a threat because “we are strengthening (Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa) Gqozo in Cosag, contrary to the beliefs of those who want a Codesa type of thing”, he said.

In parliament last week, President FW de Klerk appealed to Cosag to drop racist elements. And last month, Pretoria accused Groenewald of souring relations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the government.

Groenewald is said by well-placed Ciskeian sources to have been influential in Gqozo’s recent avowal to hang on to the “independence” of the homeland, as well as Gqozo’s growing antipathy towards both the South African government and the African National Congress.

The sources also linked Groenewald’s involvement in Ciskei’s affairs to the recent sackings of ministers and hardline statements emanating from Bisho, the homeland’s capital. And, for the first time since Gqozo seized power, Ciskei will this year commemorate “independence day” — as a “celebration of Ciskei’s nationhood”.

This type of rhetoric, common during the reign of Gqozo’s predecessor, Lennox Sebe, indicates a marked reversal of Gqozo’s stated policy on Ciskei’s reincorporation with South Africa.

MMS helped to produce the document unveiling Gqozo’s “Kei region plan” last December, and has an employee in the Bisho government offices. It was involved in Gqozo’s claims about a plot between the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, Umkhonto weSizwe and the Transkei Defence Force targeting Ciskei and kwaZulu. These claims were widely dismissed as a staged media event aimed at slowing down negotiations.

MMS has also tendered for a contract for “certain services” for the Bophuthatswana government.

Groenewald said this week MMS was “completely separate” from his other projects: the Eenhedskommittee and the Institute for Strategic Analysis, “new right” think-tanks which research issues relating to “the survival of the different nations in Africa”.

He said it provided a “public relations and image-building” service to Gqozo, and “plays no role in trying to influence the council (of state) or the leader in any direction. He uses our knowledge, and my extensive background”.

MMS had discussed providing training for political organisations, including Gqozo’s African Democratic Movement, but funding remained a problem, he added.

Groenewald said Gqozo had consulted him “over a period, on a number of matters”. Their relationship had crystallised through Cosag, and MMS had held three days of extensive talks with the Ciskei government, leading to the presentation of the “Kei plan”.

Van Rensburg explained that the Kei concept “fits in with the Volkstaat idea... What we propagate as far as a Volkstaat is concerned is exactly what we propagate for the Kei region, and for that matter for the Zulus and Tsawanas and so on.”

Groenewald has also opened the door for the return to Ciskei of a former training officer for the Bureau of State Security, General “Taf” Minnaar. Minnaar recently ran a VIP-protection training course for the Ciskei, set up by Groenewald.

Minnaar worked for Ciskei intelligence in the Bebe era, and in 1983 was detained on suspicion of plotting against the government. He feigned mental illness, was transferred to a South African hospital and managed to avoid returning to face charges.

Groenewald said there was no link between MMS and Minnaar’s company, Military Technical Services (MTS). He had chosen MTS to organise the course, run at the Wesley military base, because it was “very good in the field”, Groenewald said, adding that further courses are envisaged.

Minnaar this week described MTS as a “completely apolitical concern providing training, security surveys and so on, with a small but confidential client base. We’re not mercenaries, we’re not fighting a war.”

John Lambson, of the “anti-communist” University Freedom of Speech Association, has also joined the growing collaboration between the rightwing and conservative homeland leaders. He has recently begun issuing statements on behalf of Gqozo’s ADM.

Lambson says Gqozo “respects” his thinking, but denies any part in shaping Ciskeian policy. However, the homeland’s government recently duplicated almost to the word a Lambson-drafted ADM statement.
NP's women's Bills: An election ploy? Genuine?

By IAN CLAYTON

The government's belated commitment to women's rights is indeed progress, but it has all the makings of being a progressive plank in its election platform - rather than becoming law in the near future.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetzee was asked three times at a media conference last week whether he would bring the three draft women's rights Bills to parliament during the current session, and three times he deliberately avoided making any such commitment.

For good reason: apart from technical drafting issues and the assessment of the public's response, Coetzee will have a major political battle to get consensus from the National Party majorities in all three houses of Parliament, which are dominated by men.

He does have President FW de Klerk on his side, which is an obvious advantage, but the MPs in all three Houses have to pass the Bills - and they could bury them in committees and with procedural obstruction.

Officially, public comment on the three Bills must be submitted by March 19. Coetzee said whether the Bills are submitted to parliament this year would depend on public reaction.

The chances are that the Abolition of Discrimination against Women Draft Bill, the Preventing of Domestic Violence Draft Bill and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities Draft Bill will remain little more than that until after the first elections.

This would help the NP to woo the 53 percent of voters who are women and make the party sound progressive on women's rights, without having to deal with the realities of caucus pressure.

Though the proposals have a number of weaknesses, they also represent considerable progress in legislating against sexual discrimination.

The Bills outlaw sexual discrimination, making it an offence for anyone to be discriminated against because of gender, marital status or pregnancy.

Men and women will have to be paid the same for the same job, and it will be an offence for women to be fired because they get married or fall pregnant.

Women will no longer have to have their husband's signature to open accounts, and it will be illegal for banks and other institutions to ask for details about their marital status.

Marital power, which gives husbands legal power over their wives and places them in the position of minors, will be abolished. Fathers will no longer automatically be given preference for guardianship of children.

It also proposed that an equal opportunities commission be established to promote the elimination of discrimination on the grounds of sex, marital status and pregnancy and the creation of equal opportunities between males and females.

Justice Department officials are keen to see the measures translated into law. The department has appointed an advocate, Jackie Schulz, to promote the measures.

That and the drafting of the Bills - no mean feat in itself - does not, however, mean law and real change. It certainly remains to be seen whether the NP has the political will to put its money where its mouth is on women's rights.
Govt promises harder line against Inkatha

GOVERNMENT, stung by ANC criticism of its "double standards" regarding arms smuggling by Inkatha, has promised to take a hard line with Inkatha next week. The latest indications were that while the row over smuggling involving MK cadres had not been "completely and satisfactorily resolved" as far as government was concerned, constitutional negotiations were more urgent.

The two-day bilateral meeting was provisionally extended by a further day to deal with constitutional issues of power-sharing, regionalism, an interim constitution and a transitional executive council. In a statement yesterday, Law and Order Minister Herus Kriel said the same issues discussed with the ANC during bilateral talks this week would be put to Inkatha. "Government views the Inkatha incident in a very serious light," Kriel said.

But he nonetheless argued that the two smuggling cases were different. Kriel's statement, and an ANC response, are expected to redress the balance in negotiations. Recent sensitive talks between government, the ANC and Inkatha are aimed at keeping progress towards multiparty negotiations on track.

On the smuggling case allegedly involving Inkatha's Emagungu branch chairman Isaac Ntsho and five others, Kriel said the arrests happened at the weekend. Two of the six suspects were Mozambicans, while another two suspects were also Inkatha members.

The SAP had not made facts about the arrests public at the time because another consignment of weapons was expected to cross the border. The untimely publicity meant this would not happen now.

Kriel said that when evaluating government and police response to the Inkatha and ANC incidents, the following should be borne in mind:

I Inkatha

MK had a recognised and extensive underground structure which, according to information, was involved in the recent weapons smuggling incident;

MK members placed MK in direct contravention of the law and of agreements between government and the ANC;

MK members contravening the law, members controlling the ANC and ANC members.

In the case of the Inkatha members, no information yet been received indicating the weapons were destined for any structure with which Inkatha, as a political organisation, was involved; and

The weapons seized from MK included powerful RPG rockets and launchers which could destroy armoured vehicles.

"It was Inkatha's policy that members contravening the law be left to fend for themselves."

Meanwhile, another arms cache was discovered in Natal yesterday and three people were arrested, one a suspected ANC member. The ANC planned to investigate the case.

The men were arrested after a police raid on a home in KwaMashu, north of Durban, netted army uniforms and weapons. Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotte could not say whether the link was linked to the cache discovered at the Swaziland border last week.

To Page 2
ANC sources said they believed the gun-running row had blown over and had been somewhat neutralised by the ANC’s counter-claim of IFP arms smuggling from Mozambique into Natal.

However, Government sources gave a different interpretation, saying that although the arms issues had been removed from the agenda of the present Government-ANC talks, they had by no means been settled.

It is understood the Government is demanding that the ANC should effectively appoint the equivalent of the Steyn Commission — a probe into allegations of misconduct by members of the security forces — to investigate the allegations of arms smuggling by members of its military wing. Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday hotly denied ANC accusations that the Government and the SAP had been partial to the IFP in its treatment of the two cases of arms smuggling.

He said the Government had not revealed the arrest of IFP members at the weekend because it had expected another consignment of arms to cross the border. He also said the two cases differed.

- Buthelezi seeks ‘safe’ for meeting — Page 3.

Mandela, Buthelezi may meet in March

By Peter Fabriens
Political Correspondent.

CAPE TOWN — The long-awaited meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party head Mangosuthu Buthelezi is likely to take place by mid-March.

The joint announcement after a successful ANC-IFP meeting yesterday has injected fresh hope into negotiations which were threatening to bog down over accusations of cross-border gun-running by both parties.

The row completely dominated Tuesday’s high-level bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC in Cape Town. But after failing to resolve it, the two negotiating teams decided to press on with discussions aimed at getting multiparty negotiations started and reaching consensus on the structuring of the transition.

These discussions continued late last night.

However, Government sources said they were aiming at holding a multiparty planning conference towards the end of February to prepare for the resumption of formal negotiations.

Sources said today the Government-ANC talks would end at midday, indicating that progress had been made.

They stressed that extremely difficult constitutional issues were now being tackled, including the questions of power-sharing and regional autonomy during the transition and in the final constitution.
Govt readies itself for free elections

Staff Reporter

THE government is gearing up for the first free democratic elections and is issuing up to 60,000 identity documents (IDs) a week, making ballot boxes and voting cubicles.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday an estimated 96% of the population should have IDs by March next year.

To ensure the government is prepared for an election it has already manufactured 10,200 ballot boxes and 15,200 folding voting cubicles, and ultraviolet lights used for detecting indelible ink marks on voters' hands have been ordered.

"Seven thousand locations have been identified as possible polling stations," the spokesman said.

Based on the 1991 census there are 21,994,000 eligible voters in South Africa, including 12,334,000 potential black voters, 3,400,000 whites, 2,059,000 coloureds, 645,000 Asians and 3,156,000 people in the "independent homelands".

Foreigners in poll role

THE role of the international community in South Africa's next elections will be decided by an independent electoral commission appointed by a transitional executive council.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Louis Pienaar said yesterday observer status for the international community could give the envisaged elections the required legitimacy.

He said the independent electoral commission would be responsible for overseeing, monitoring and supervising the whole electoral process.

"Six to seven thousand polling stations had already been demarcated for the envisaged elections, said Mr Pienaar. — Sapa.

The precise format of a future democratic election on the basis of universal franchise for all South African citizens must still be concluded at the negotiation table, said Mr K van Wyngaard, Western Cape Regional Director of Home Affairs.

Meeting the objective of having an election in 1994 at the latest implies that a registration would have to be conducted and concluded within a maximum period of three to four weeks and this would require 100,000 officials with an estimated cost of R400 to R450 million, he said.
Vive la difference, viva Natal! That seems to be how white Natalians have responded to the defection of Nat and DP members of parliament to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. Businessmen and others have welcomed the moves as a sign that the MPs are putting the province before themselves.

"There's a realisation that nobody is interested in the plight of Natal and Natalians must take a grip of the situation and look after themselves," says one Durban businessman.

Maritzburg is most affected by the changes. It is where two DP MPs have gone off in different directions: Rob Haswell joined the ANC last year and Mike Tarr recently became a member of Inkatha.

Durban businessmen were reluctant to support the moves openly for fear of being seen to take political sides. Yet the change seems to have been welcomed in general.

One top Natal businessman rejected the "expert" opinion which talks of political musical chairs and irrelevant convulsions in the last days of SA's white parliament. He believes the defections indicate a significant realignment of white political sentiment in Natal/KwaZulu.

He says: "The jungle drums suggest there are a lot of white politicians, Nat and DP, not only at the top of the national heap, but influential people in the regional and local political arena, who will switch to Inkatha. They will do this because they believe some form of regional dispensation must come through. If it doesn't, the country is lost because there is enough opposition in Natal/KwaZulu to destabilise the SA economy for years."

Based on this, he believes that the IFP, with strong white support (which cannot be discounted), will become the most important regional force, followed by the ANC and the NP. "I doubt the DP will make the cut."

He adds that if white politicians are seen to be moving to Inkatha, the white electorate might see this as a standard behind which they can regroup to repel the ANC threat.

Though this might be as romantic as the perception of Natal being the last outpost of the British Empire, it has a jingoistic ring to it which could catch on — especially when Natal's historical antipathy towards the National Party is taken into account. Many English-speaking Natalians learnt Zulu before they learnt Afrikaans.
NP-ANC deal puts both at risk

Patrick Lawrence reports that the two teams carry unhappy and suspicious followers.
ANC, Inkatha leaders meet in March

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent.

THE long-awaited summit between ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is set to take place by the middle of next month.

Top-flight ANC and Inkatha delegations jointly announced last night after a meeting in Durban that the urgent need to end the violence between the feuding parties had led to a decision that their leaders should finally meet for the first time in two years.

Concern

The delegations — headed by Inkatha chairman Dr. Frank Ndileka and ANC deputy secretary-general Mr. Jacob Zuma — also noted their "serious concern" at new revelations of arms smuggling into the country and the stockpiling of weapons.

The revelations emphasised the urgent necessity of finding a solution to the conflict.

Govt. to probe alleged Inkatha gun-running
CP leader says Cosag is answer

President F.W. de Klerk would have to join the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) if he wanted to discuss the future of all the people of South Africa, Conservative Party leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht said last night.

He interviewed by Sir David Frost on the SATV programme, he also said the country was headed for "practical genocide" if the African National Congress took over the government.

Dr. Treurnicht said "Mr. de Klerk's forum for discussions, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa, had failed, and "our" forum, Cosag, had succeeded so far.

"So he will have to join us in Cosag if he wants to discuss the future of all the peoples in this country."

Dr. Treurnicht also said he did not expect anything like apartheid in heaven "because you don't know what it will look like." — Sapa
IN WHAT has been seen as a fitting prelude to Valentine's Day, the ANC and the NP got together once more this week to continue their private discussions around South Africa's transition.

Their two-day meeting, which started in Cape Town on Wednesday afternoon, is aimed at addressing unresolved issues between the two parties.

"While little of these discussions has been disclosed, speculation is rife that the two negotiating teams are edging closer and that a political honeymoon — however brief — is on the cards.

However, caution about the expected NP-ANC romance has been expressed by Ms Bettina von Lieres, a politics lecturer at UWC.

"Said Von Lieres: "There has been a lot of talk about how fast things are moving, but this is premature as it seems ‘very little has actually been agreed upon.’

"There are still a number of factors which could put a spanner in the works. Spoiler parties, like the IFP, have not been taken into account and it seems the NP are still maintaining tough bottom lines, like regionalism."

Von Lieres also argued that the ANC was following a dangerous path by continuing to keep silent about the specifics of their talks with the NP so far.

"The danger is the lack of democracy in the process. Full accountability is being deliberately limited in exchange for an efficient management of the process.

"Another danger is the way elections are being undervalued by the ANC at the moment.

"Elections are being flouted as just part of the transitional arrangement instead of producing democratic government.

"Elections seem to be viewed by both parties in a technical way, where post-election processes do not necessarily depend on the outcome. Elections are set to lose their democratic value," she said.

If Von Lieres is right, the anticipated Valentine may simply end up echoing the refrain of ‘where do broken hearts go...’"
Get ready for Codesa Three

By Denzil Taylor and Quentin Wilson

IN A rare announcement on ANC/NP talks, ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela told journalists on Tuesday that Codesa has been decided upon as the legitimate forum for multilateral negotiations.

The joint decision to opt for Codesa has angered the IFP and its allies who demand a completely new negotiating forum that disregards all agreements made during last year’s negotiations.

But Mandela insisted that Codesa will pick up from where it left off — and that the government has consented to this.

Said Mandela: “By taking that decision, we have avoided further delays. It would have taken a year, two years, or even three years to set up a new forum.”

Mandela, who said the agreement was “an important breakthrough”, also argued for power-sharing between South Africa’s main political parties.

“The problems of this country can only be properly addressed if there is this attempt to pool the resources and talents of various political formations in this country so that we can address our problems together,” Mandela said.
I HEARD the grinding voice of my
good friend Henkie Sefontein on
Radio Metro’s talk show the other
day. Henkie is the journalist who
some thirty years ago exposed the
secrets of the Afrikaner Broederbond.
Recently, he exposed the exclusively white-
Afrikaner-male society’s frantic plans to sur-
vive South Africa’s transformation to non-
racialism.

Of course everyone knows how much the
Broederbond contributed to getting this coun-
try into the mess it finds itself in. Not only
did the broeders provide the blueprint for
apartheid, but through secret patronage they
ensured that the Bond’s fat cat members got
the plum jobs in the civil service, the church,
the army and the government.

That was what Henkie was telling the peo-
ple listening out there. Introduced as Metro’s
special guest for the evening, he explained the
weird and wonderful ways of the these self-
appointed Super Afrikanders, the oh so
civilized professionals with their suits and ties
and who for so long controlled the destiny of
millions of South Africans.

Then the calls came. How, one of the first
callers angrily wanted to know, could Henkie
dare defend these evil Broederbonders?
Poor Henkie. In vain he tried to explain that
even though he was an Afrikaner he did
not support the Broederbond, but had actu-
ally exposed their evil plans.

The presenter, confused by the intricacies of
the Afrikaner power network, tried to inter-
vene by bringing the conversation down to a
level of common understanding.

“People out there,” he reminded Henkie,
“do not really know what the Broederbond is
doing in practice. Let’s start at the begin-
ning. What is the difference between the Broed-
erbond and the Wit Wolwe for instance?
Poor Henkie. And poor Pieter de Lange,
the Broederbord chief who is trying so hard
to solicit sympathy for the Broederbond by
telling everyone that its days of secrecy are
over. His message still has to reach its target.

It is not only radio listeners and presenters
who do not always understand the workings of
the traditional Afrikaner mind. I was
brought up in an Afrikaner home in Wind-
hook when it was still the capital of South
West Africa, and even I sometimes find it dif-
ficult to understand my own tribe.

In August last year, I visited my old coun-
try, now proudly known as Namibia and hap-
pily functioning under a Swapo government.
I remember the days when no good National-
ists would even contemplate shaking a black
man’s hand, let alone cultivating friendships
across the sexual barrier.

One of the “stoere” (staunch) National-
ists of my day was Koos Pretorius, for years a
senior member of the National Party admin-
istration of the only boere colony in the world.
Pretorius is an enormous man and in his day
was an impressive “wit baaie”.

As the executive member in charge of
schools he enjoyed the trust of almost all
white teachers: no “idolatie” would ever dis-
grace the seats of Emma Hoogenhout Prim-
ary or Windhoek Hoenskool. They had Koos
Pretorius’ word for it.

I saw him on TV on the day of indepen-
dence, when the South African flag was
replaced by the bright Namibian flag. Sitting
among the sea of black faces was Koos Preto-
rius, all smiles. While FW de Klerk, fist on
the chest, was swallowing hard on the lump in
his throat, Koos was cracking jokes with his
black companions.

One couldn’t help wondering why so many
people had to die in the war leading to inde-
pendence if this was the outcome.

I met Pretorius in the Tintenpalast, the
Namibian parliament, for an interview over a
cup of coffee. After all the years he still rep-
resents conservative whites. But something has
changed. He has no power anymore. Some-
how it makes him more acceptable.

While we were talking, the Namibian Prime
Minister, Hage Geingob, came up to us. Pre-
torius jumped to his feet with that subservient
attitude that Afrikaner civil servants retain for
their bosses. “Yes, Mr Prime Minister. No,
Mr Prime Minister,” he kept saying in the
most humble way imaginable.

When Geingob left, Pretorius bent over to
me conspiratorially: “We had better cut the
interview short. I have to go. Die Prime wel
my in sy kantoor sien.”

Pragmatism, is what they call conservative
Afrikaner’s ability to adjust to new circum-
stances. There was another telling incident
during my visit.

I went to see Hendrik van Aswegen, for-
merly leader of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbew-
weeging van Suidwes”. I was surprised to
find him a hospitable man in his seventies liv-
ing on his own in an enormous house.

An angry dog was patrolling the property
behind high walls and heavy security gates
protected the house from intruders. Van
Aswegen had bought some Windhoek Lagers
and we started talking. He was dead against
the new black government, he assured me.

To prove the point, he started telling crude
racist jokes. As the evening drew on, he
became melancholic. He even began to sho
some understanding of my “more liberal”
views. I could see the Windhoek Lagers tak-
ing effect slightly. The AWB leader was get-
ing mellow.

That was when he let me into his secret.
He sometimes has lunch at the same table as
his black “garden boy”.

The old Afrikaners wife had died recently.
The AWB leader was just very, very lonely in
that big old house, you see.
Talks progress needed to boost economy, says DP
LISTEN UP: Former NP MP Jurie Mentz (right) listens to a member of the audience at Tuesday's meeting

'We are brothers in arms'

By Quentin Wilson

Speaking on an IFP platform for the first time since leaving the NP last week, Mr Jurie Mentz predicted on Tuesday that anyone who challenged “the Zulus and the Boers” would cause a civil war that would make Mozambique seem like child’s play.

Addressing the IFP’s first public meeting in the Western Cape since their launch six months ago, Mentz urged up to 300 whites in Claremont to “stand up and help the IFP to stop the ANC from ruling the country”.

Said Mentz: “I don’t want to hammer on ethnicity … but any party who takes on the Zulus and the Boers doesn’t stand a chance.”

Amid heckling from a section of the audience, Mentz issued his veiled threat:

“Nobody will be able to govern this country if the IFP has to go underground. You see what is happening in Mozambique — it will seem like child’s play compared to what could happen in South Africa.”

While Mentz spoke of an alliance between Zulus and Boers, Mr Musa Myeni, an IFP central committee member, emphasised the party’s need to shift support away from the NP to the IFP.

“We need a massive change of political homes from the NP to the IFP.”

According to Myeni, the government was making too many concessions to the ANC and he rejected their “secret negotiations held in unpublicised venues”.

During question time, an audience member who preferred to remain anonymous asked: “Tell me about Inkatha’s pangas and assegais in Natal? De Klerk and the ANC might be in the bush, but don’t tell me your pangas aren’t there too.”

Myeni, after failing in his request to get the speaker’s name, answered that all over Africa, people carry pangas “because they do not have access to Eastern bloc weapons”.
A new deal for interim rule

A deal involving major concessions has resulted from talks between government and ANC representatives. It has to be vetted by both sides and ratified by a multiparty conference.

MICHAEL MORRIS and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

Key concessions in talks between the government and the African National Congress have given negotiations a major boost and raised prospects of a power-sharing government of national unity lasting five years or more.

The deal still must be vetted by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) and the Cabinet, and if ratified by a multiparty conference. But, it represents a major breakthrough on the way to a constitutional settlement.

It could mean that:

- Elections will be held, say early next year, for an interim government, which will write the new constitution;
- Once the constitution is written, the interim government will convert itself into a government of national unity responsible for phasing in the new constitution;
- It will then remain in power for a full parliamentary term of five years and, only then, will the next elections be held; and
- This government of national unity could vote to shorten or lengthen its own term of office.

There is agreement on the broad framework, although differences remain and many details still have to be thrashed out.

The two sides have agreed in principle to hold a multiparty planning conference before the end of February — to devise a new-look Codesa — and are both confident the talks process is proceeding within broadly agreed timeframes.

The outline of the deal — and the concessions which appeared to have made it possible — emerged at the end of three-day talks in Cape Town between government and ANC delegations led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

In a series of key concessions, government negotiators softened demands for a full interim constitution and for entrenched agreements on regional boundaries, powers and functions before the election of a constitution-making body.

In exchange, the ANC team offered a power-sharing deal that could give South Africa a government of national unity for at least five years or longer.

From page 1

At a briefing yesterday, the ANC team under Mr Ramaphosa confirmed it would return to the NEC with a range of options on power-sharing, but declined to define possible timeframes.

However, at a later briefing, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Pams Schoeman said of the five-year power-sharing deal: "This is the position we will be taking to the multiparty conference and the ANC has the same view. Our views do not differ."

However, he noted: "It is not as if the ANC and government have a package deal sealed with a ribbon and that we expect everybody simply to accept or reject it.

"We still differ on a number of specific issues, but we agree as far as the broad framework is concerned. We have tackled the fundamental issues of power-sharing and regional government and explored them and found ways to move closer to each other."

Mr Schoeman also confirmed the government team had agreed, subject to Cabinet approval — and contrary to its earlier insistence — that regional boundaries, powers and functions should be left to the constitution-making body.

However, principles of regionalism would feature in a list of general principles to be agreed by the multiparty conference and could be binding on the constitution-making body.

Mr Schoeman also indicated that while the government and the ANC did not see entirely eye-to-eye on the need for a full interim constitution "we have explored ways to accommodate different views on that."

The first step would be a multiparty planning conference before the end of this month.

Mr Ramaphosa said this would serve as a "kick-start to fully-fledged, multilateral negotiations" which the ANC "would like to see taking place not later than the middle or the end of March."

In a formal statement, the ANC negotiators said the meeting reaffirmed agreement on an elected constitution-making body to draft the new constitution, with decisions being taken on "the basis of specified majorities". Elections should take place "as early as possible".

There were also discussions on measures to ensure free and fair elections.
Talks deal struck
ANC, govt agree to five-year shared rule

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

In a dramatic boost for negotiations, the government and the ANC yesterday agreed that a multi-party interim government of national unity should remain in power for five years after an election.

In a day of far-reaching developments in bilateral talks in Cape Town, the two sides also agreed that an elected constitution-making body rather than Co-desa should make a final decision on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The new-found common ground between South Africa's two largest political groupings, means they should be adopting broadly the same position on the two burning issues — power-sharing and regionalism — when constitutional negotiations are expected to resume next month.

Full term

The breakthroughs achieved by negotiating teams led by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will be put to the ANC's national executive and the cabinet for ratification next week.

The agreements were forged after major concessions were made by the ANC on the period for which parties will be obliged to share power and by the government on the method for settling on a federal-type political system.

The central agreement entails the elected interim government of national unity serving a full term of office — probably five years — as it ushers in a new constitution.

That means power-sharing could be entrenched in South Africa until close to the turn of the century.

Consensus has not yet been reached between the government and the ANC on how much of the popular vote a party will have to garner to secure a place on the interim executive but the threshold is expected to range between 5% and 10%.

A bullish Mr Ramaphosa said both the ANC and the government agreed that the proposed multi-party planning conference...
Talks deal to be held this month and "timetable" for transition to democracy was still on track

This would entail the country's first all-in elections being held towards the end of this year or early in 1994.

But both parties emphasized that they were talking about common positions and not written contracts or agreements. These positions still had to be presented to multi-party negotiations and could be amended.

In spite of this, Inkatha is likely to find many of the proposals emerging from three days of intensive government-ANC talks difficult to swallow, and some tough talking with Ulundi is likely when the government and Inkatha meet next week.

However, a development that is bound to be warmly welcomed by the IFP is the apparent emerging consensus between the government and the ANC on the necessity of including traditional leaders -- including the Zulu king -- in the negotiations.

In a significant statement on the regionalism issue, Mr Thabo Mbeki told a press conference: "Concerning the boundaries, powers and functions of regions, it was agreed that decisions would be taken by the elected constitution-making body. Proposals in this regard are also being taken to principals."

This flies in the face of government insistence that these issues should be resolved by CODESA before elections.

Regional boundaries

However, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, confirmed at a briefing last night that the "final decision" would be taken by the constitution-making body. Binding "principles" would have to be agreed beforehand, however.

Mr Schoeman said a commission on regionalism would draw up boundaries for regional lists which would be needed for an interim government.

He disclosed that the long-standing argument between the government and ANC on how long the constitution-making body should take to draw up the new constitution -- the ANC says nine months and the government three years -- had largely been rendered meaningless by consensus on an extended period of power-sharing.

Once the constitution had been drawn up it would be phased in while the interim government was still in power and before a fresh election.

Asked if the interim-government would sit for a full session of, say five years, Mr Schoeman said: "That is the position. The constitution-making party that is elected is the government for five years. It could be longer or shorter."

He added: "That is the position that will be adopted by the government at the multi-party conference. The ANC has the same standpoint."

Mr Thabo Mbeki cautioned that there were still a number of areas where "deep differences" existed between the ANC and the government but immediately added: "If there is goodwill we should be able to bridge the differences."
ANC-Govt deal

that the proposed multi-party
negotiations would take place before
the end of the month — possibly
on February 25 and 26. This meant that
Codesa could take place in March.
Confirming strong rumours, Schoe-
man stated categorically that the Gov-
ernment and ANC had agreed on the
following important features of the transition period:

**ANC-Govt deal**

- **FROM PAGE 1:**

  that the proposed multi-party
talks would take place before
the end of the month — possibly
on February 25 and 26. This meant that
Codesa could take place in March.
Confirming strong rumours, Schoe-
man stated categorically that the Gov-
ernment and ANC had agreed on the
following important features of the transition period:

  - There would be elections for a CMB
    which would also be an interim legis-
    lature.
  - All parties which obtained more
    than a minimum percentage of the vote
    — the range being discussed by the Gov-
    ernment and the ANC was between 5
    and 10 percent — would be represented
    in the Cabinet of the government of na-
    tional unity.
  - The CMB would draft a new constit-
    ution in a set period which had not
    yet been agreed. The ANC wanted it to
    be no more than nine months, the Gov-
    ernment no less than three years.
  - There would not be a second election
    after a final constitution had been
    drawn up by an elected CMB. Instead
    the government of national unity would
    remain in office for five years from the
    first election while the final constitu-
    tion was "phased in".

  It was not clear how this would be
done. Schoeman suggested that the in-
term government could decide to ex-
tend its life — although the ANC's
Thabo Mbeki was adamant this would
not be possible.

It seems that no final agreement has
been reached about what should hap-
pen after the five years have elapsed.
ANC sources said they believed the
Government was steadily abandoning
its previous insistence that power-shar-
ning in the government should continue
indefinitely.

Schoeman was vague on this point,
saying the Government was still trying
to secure some form of power-sharing
into the future.

He and Ramaphosa stressed that all
agreements reached so far would have
to be approved by principals — the
ANC's national executive committee
and the Cabinet.

The arms issue which dominated the
start of the talks this week has not
been resolved, although both sides
agreed to put it aside.

The ANC said that neither ANC nor
Umkhonto we Sizwe leadership had or-
dered the gun-running from Mozambi-
que for which MK members in Natal
were arrested. But it seems this did not
get far enough to satisfy the Govern-
ment demand that it should distance
itself from the action or take concrete
steps to prevent its occurrence.

Other developments at this week's
meeting were:

- Agreement on an independent elec-
toral commission to run elections.
- An independent media commission
  should be appointed. This would play
  an important role in levelling the play-
  ing field for elections.
- ANC proposals for legislation for a
  transitional executive council — to
  supervise the run-up to the first elections
  — were given to the Government to
  consider.

These focused on proposals for sub-
councils of the transitional executive
on law and order and defence.

It is understood that agreement on
these proposals holds the key to the
resolution of the issue of control of MK
which at first bedevilled the talks.

The ANC is not prepared to submit
MK to outside supervision until some
form of joint supervision of all security
forces is attained — probably through
the transitional executive sub-councils
on security forces.

**Important concessions**

The Government of national unity — repre-
senting all parties with more than 5 to 10 per-
cent of the vote — would remain in office for
five years from any date.

He was briefing journalists after a three-day meet-
ing with the ANC, where it was clear that important
concessions had been made by both sides — especially
in the all-important issue of regional power.

When it comes to the new dispensation of power,
which new dispensation will be in place by the elec-
ted constituent-making body (CMB), it was clear that
the ANC had made significant concessions on its own
side of the government.

ANC sources said that agreement had been reached
with the ANC that a regional commission was to be set
up to try to reach con-
sensus among all parties
on regional powers and
boundaries. These pro-
posals would be taken to
the CMB for finalisation.

Schoeman also ex-
plained that the CMB
would be bound by con-
stitutional principles
which could include re-

gional principles.

He also said regional representatives in the CMB
would have a specia-
l role — in effect, a veto
right — over matters
affecting their inti-
mate interests.

ANC sources said
there had been conver-
sion between the Gov-
ernment and the ANC on
regional government,
and that this lay behind
the Government's con-
sideration.

Top ANC negotiator
Vallie Maene also pointed
out that Codesa would
in fact have to draw up re-
gional boundaries to en-
sure regional represen-
tatives could be elected to the CMB.

It appears that the Government has made con-
cessions because it is now clear that the regional
commission will come up with an acceptable regional
government system.

Schoeman and ANC secretary-general Cyril
Ramaphosa confirmed that the timetable for the transition
was firmly

**Also in 30s**

**TASTE**

**ALSO IN 30s**

**TASTE**

**ALSO IN 30s**

**TASTE**
and the ages begin

Time to bing the King
A ramshackle edifice built on quicksand

Behind the campaign for a bill of rights lies one of the saddest features of the apartheid era: the craven betrayal of South African common law by South African lawyers, not excluding eminent judges and judges of approach.

As Mr Justice Goldstone remarked this week in the course of his Hoemele memorial lecture in Johannesburg, virtually all the principles enshrined in most bills of rights are to be found in our common law; unhappily, these principles proved useless when they were needed.

My first encounter with atrocity in the courtroom, and my first, small written protest about it, came in 1958 when I watched a magistrate sentence black men at the rate of one every 20 seconds on charges of "urinating in Carol Street", which ran alongside the beerhall.

There was nowhere else to urinate, but any man so brazen as to plead not guilty was immediately remanded in custody for a fortnight to ponder on Western civilization's complex obsession on bladder relief. Few denied their guilt.

Worse was to come, and travesties of justice were soon to reach into the Appellate Division, where, in a case cited by Judge Goldstone, Mr Justice Holmes declared that the legislature must surely have intended the atrocity that flowed from its colossal social experiment, and that was okay with him.

The trouble is that the task of drafting a bill of rights has fallen, on the one hand, to ANC lawyers deeply imbued with socialist ideas, and on the other hand to government apparatchiks, who, if they were not personally responsible for apartheid's legal monsters, are the inheritors of a tradition that violated the principles of the common law. It is no coincidence, it seems to me, that the department of Mr Kobie Coetsee, Minister of Justice, which proved intellectually inadequate to the task of drawing up the principles of a general amnesty, has produced a "charter of fundamental rights" which is marked, above all, by intellectual shallowness. It is a shabby document.

The American bill of rights is designed to give effect to the idea that "all men are created equal (and) endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights", and to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty".

The German basic law, "animated by the resolve to serve world peace", establishes a "democratic and social federal state" in which all authority emanates from the people, and in which both the judiciary and the legislature are "bound by law and justice".

The first clause recognises that the dignity of man is inviolable, and puts on the state the duty to protect it, and the second clause acknowledges that "irrevocable and inalienable human rights" are the "basis of every community, of peace and of justice".

The Indian constitution, drawn against a backdrop of inequality not altogether dissimilar to South African experience, begins by securing the ideal of equality, and by outlawing "untouchability"; the Malaysian constitution starts by securing life and liberty; the Canadian charter is founded "upon principles that recognize the supremacy of God and the rule of law"; the Irish bill of rights secures, first and foremost, equality before the law.

The South African government version is different. It rests, according to its introductory remarks, on the four principles of verticality, negative enforcement, curtailment of rights and justiciability. To these obscure ends, it begins by saying that both people and legal entities have rights, apparently in equal measure, and says that these rights may be abridged only "under the common law or by way of a law of a competent legislature".

On this firm base of bureaucratic obfuscation, the charter erects a ramshackle edifice. It promises some classical rights but not others — to life but not explicitly to liberty; freedom of expression but not of newspaper publication; freedom of religion but not freedom of conscience.

In passing, the charter confines the police the right to hold a prisoner without trial for 10 days, which was long enough for policemen to kill Steve Biko, and adds some elements of law and of education policy. It takes care to secure for the state the rights that will limit the fundamental rights of its citizens where reasonably necessary to preserve state security.

The details, for the moment, don't matter nearly as much as the intellectual shabbiness: this is a document written by people who have only a passing acquaintance with the rights that lie beneath the "Western civilization" which they profess to share — the rights that were enshrined in our common law, and legislated by our legislators and our lawyers.

The German constitution uncompromisingly serves the ideals of peace, justice and the common good; the Anglo-Saxon documents defend fiercely the ideals of liberty, the international charters — from the UN, and the Organisation of American States, and ASEAN — enshrine the ideals of humanity and human dignity; all systems are rooted in democratic consent and operate under the rule of law. The South African version has "verticality".

The German constitution grants to all citizens "the right to resist any person seeking to abolish this constitutional order, should no other remedy be possible". The South African charter does the opposite: it grants to the state the right to abridge individual freedoms in order to protect itself. That is the crucial difference, and it speaks volumes for the intentions of the people who drew up the "Charter of Fundamental Rights".

Ken Owen
Y ET the government's bill of rights is identi
cally worded, not content, to the ANC draft. It has taken their political
mantra and dropped them up as bills of rights. The government sees the role of the
future judiciary as being important in the state's case. The bill empowers it to pro
tect the old empire in its fastness from ownership to pensions.

In the ANC's version of future court judges will be a baby boomer social
given intrinsic to every society. The right to self-determination is a collective
right, and so is the right to freedom of association. The bill makes it clear that
the right to assemble is not curtailed.

The ANC has not been allowed to bring in the ANC bill. Mr. Chris Hall
will be entirely blackmailing in implementing even his watered-down version of
the Nationalist constitution. The ANC bill of rights is to be implemented.

That's the canny move by the ANC, that Davis makes sense. He tells us
a bill of rights should consist of "an entrenched code of values, common to the
whole state. To function as a political platform, mass protests will take
in the ANC's version of the ANC bill. But Chris Hall

In the ANC's Supremo Court Justice
William Davis makes sense. He tells us
a bill of rights should consist of "an entrenched code of values, common to the
whole state. To function as a political platform, mass protests will take
in the ANC's version of the ANC bill. But Chris Hall

In the ANC's Supremo Court Justice
William Davis makes sense. He tells us
a bill of rights should consist of "an entrenched code of values, common to the
whole state. To function as a political platform, mass protests will take
in the ANC's version of the ANC bill. But Chris Hall
The National Party last week published its proposed Charter of Fundamental Rights. KADER ASMAL says it is a bid to privatise apartheid. TONY LEON says the NP is attempting to dress up its political manifesto as a Bill of Rights.

In his column last Sunday, Ken Owen accuses the government of running the risk of "struggling in its own ecocentricity" because of the "endless list of objections to its so-called Charter of Fundamental Rights." Among the reasons he gives for the government's inability to grasp the essence of human rights is its unfamiliarity with the culture of rights developed in the past 200 years.

But the reason for the flaws in the proposed measure is more fundamental. The whole philosophy behind it is tainted. It is an NP solution to a problem of its own making: how to depart from an overly race-based and illiberal society without making concessions to the fundamental assumptions of an open, pluralist and non-racial tolerant society.

It is awesome in its statist approach, permitting detention for up to 16 days as a permanent feature of our law; the unique provision relating to the detention of children; the retention of the death penalty; the extension of the notorious 48-hour detainer;

In its treatment of guaranteed rights, especially those from the ANC -- that it takes "scientific" or "academic"
In its application of the charter from private power and private relations, racial and gender discrimination could become unassailable in private schools, hospitals, clubs and the workplace.

A bill of rights is a social weapon which people must take "to their hearts" as a case submission to the Law Commission put it -- if it is to serve or even survive. If we are to use this aim, there must be an understanding of the loss of our society. In the South African context, racism and gender oppression are integral, permanent and virtually intractable components of our society. The charter is not even benign in its tolerance of this feature. It will actively assist in the maintenance of the very features which it should attempt to extinguish. There is no active commitment to combat discrimination.

How else is one to interpret the following suppositions: the government wants employees to accept the charter as a "community value," in the same way we accept private property in our daily lives. The government wants to privatise the workplace rights which are not already covered in the charter.

By KADER ASMAL

This pup will turn into a rottweiler.

The government, it appears, is determined to have such a charter in place during the transitional period. We should beware of falling into this trap. Apart from the difficulty of amendment, it is a transitional instrument (80 per cent of the majority would be required), it will not have the kind of legitimacy which a transparent process, such as a constitutional assembly, would ensure. It took the US nearly 100 years after the adoption of its constitution to abolish slavery and another century to remove formal race discrimination.

We do not have the luxury of time. We need neither this charter nor an interim bill of rights. Instead, our people deserve a comprehensive guarantee of their rights which will be unassailable from any quarter, private or public.

Kader Asmal is a professor of human rights law at UWC and a member of the ANC of the ANC.
Absentee vote could thwart elections

By GLENDA NEVILL

The absentee vote could be the largest stumbling block to electing a government of the people when South Africa goes to the polls later this year or early in 1994.

This was said yesterday by Mr. Randi Erentsen, director of the Centre for Development Studies (CDS), based at the University of the Western Cape.

Mr. Erentsen was speaking at a Project Vote training workshop in Bellville.

"Research has shown that there is a high possibility of a large absentee vote because of fear, violence, lack of confidence and political intolerance," he said.

"We have to take positive steps to stop this from happening. We must motivate our people and change their mind-set. Dependency has set in due to crushed expectations."

Project Vote plans to educate the disenfranchised and instill in them the confidence to exercise their democratic right to vote.

Portable

The weekend workshop was aimed at training "trainers" who will return to their communities or organisations to educate voters and ensure an informed electorate.

It was attended by representatives of the Western Province Council of Churches, Idasa, Lawyers for Human Rights, the Black Sash, organised labour unions, literacy groups, Niero and the Call of Islam, among others, some of whom had travelled from the far reaches of the Karoo to attend.

Father Michael Weeder, of CDS, demonstrated a Project Vote portable election training kit to be used by trainers.

It consists of a ballot box, polling booth, simple ballots, posters and a manual and is to be produced in 10 South African languages.

"South Africa has a history of non-participation in elections. We have to alter this and excite enthusiasm and confidence in voters," he said.
THE historic power-sharing deal struck between the Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC this week has unleashed a bitter political row.

The president of the Pan Africanist Congress, the Reverend Dr M. S. Sibanda, congratulated the Pan Africanist Congress on the historic power-sharing arrangement which obtained the backing of the Pan Africanist Congress, the ANC, the National Party, the South African Communist Party, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the Allied Metalworkers Union.

But the president of the National Party, Mr John Vorster, said that the power-sharing deal which was struck by the Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC this week was a betrayal of the interests of the South African people.

The power-sharing deal which was struck between the Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC this week is a clear indication that the South African government is committed to a policy of apartheid.

The power-sharing deal which was struck between the Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC this week is a clear indication that the South African government is committed to a policy of apartheid.

The power-sharing deal which was struck between the Pan Africanist Congress and the ANC this week is a clear indication that the South African government is committed to a policy of apartheid.
The nine steps to power-sharing

The deal has sparked anger within the senior ranks of the ANC. Including information director Palle Jordan and prominent SA Communist Party member Jeremy Gomperts, they have already spoken out against such a power-sharing arrangement, and Tuesday's national executive meeting, where the proposal is to be discussed, will be stormy.

The agreement, bartered between the NH and the ANC in a series of private meetings in the last two months, provides for five years of joint rule by the most powerful parties. The proposal by the two parties will be put to a reconvened Congress next month.

In a nutshell, the government has traded its insistence that the powers and functions of regional governments be decided in advance of the holding of an election in return for five years of joint rule with the ANC and any other party that wins five or 10 percent of the vote.

Prior to this week, the government has insisted that "federalism" form part of the principles that an elected constituent assembly would be forced to implement. The Inkatha Freedom Party also held this view.

Now, however, it will be left up to a constituent assembly to make final decisions on this important constitutional point.

Secret

In an interview with the Sunday Times, Chief Buthelezi asked: "How do the two parties plan to impose such an undemocratic, top-down connivance on the populations, political formations, traditional structures and government of the region?"

"They cannot get lasting agreements in this way."

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg of the Conservative Party said the move confirmed the CP's view that there were secret deals between the government and the ANC. "The ANC now has everything it wanted. The government has totally surrendered."

Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party said the DP had serious reservations about a bill of rights and powers and functions of regions not being decided upon before an election.

"It needs to be agreed how many states there will be, and that they will be granted access to fiscal means of implementing power. Those elements must be constitutionally entrenched."

Azapo spokesman Ngomolele Mokae said: "The hambastians, the tricennial Parliament and community councillors know from experience that whoever chooses to collaborate with the regime kisses goodbye to legitimacy in the eyes of the oppressed."

PAC information and publicity secretary Barney Desai said he had "serious doubts whether the deal between the ANC and the regime would be acceptable to the masses."

Last night, Mr Mandela denied the ANC had agreed to a secret power-sharing deal until 1993. What it had accepted was that there should be a government of national unity. "An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing."

PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN

4 lucky punters received a payout of R187,573 each. Numbers: 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 15.

GREYVILLE

Only 1 punter collected a dividend of R738,127.50 each. Selections: 1, 5, 7, 8, 10, 12.

MILNERTON

There were 4 winners with each receiving R503,150. Combinations: 6, 8, 9, 10, 11.

THE power-sharing deal agreed on by the National Party and ANC has set in motion a process which could see President De Klerk replaced by Nelson Mandela within a year.

These are the nine steps to change...

1. FEBRUARY: A multiparty conference to prepare for...

2. MARCH: Codesa-style talks to lay down the ground-rules for the transition to a multi-racial government.

3. MARCH-APRIL: Experts begin preparations to hold the country's first non-racial election for a Parliament which will double as a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

4. JUNE: A transitional executive committee consisting of ANC, Nationalist, Inkatha, and other leaders takes office to help President De Klerk govern the country. A multi-party electoral commission is appointed to oversee elections.

5. SEPTEMBER-APRIL: A one-person, two-vote election is held to choose 280 national and 200 regional representatives. Each party gets a number of seats in Parliament according to the size of its vote, and small parties are eliminated.

6. AFTER THE ELECTIONS: The ANC, almost certainly the winning party, elects Mr Nelson Mandela as state president, and forms a new government. The multi-party cabinet will include representatives of each party that wins more than five or 10 percent of the vote.

7. 1994: The constituent assembly (Parliament) draws up a new constitution, operating by a two-thirds majority. The ANC wants the work done in nine months, and the new government in three years.

8. 1994-1999: Elections for regional governments are held in terms of the new constitution.

9. 1999: End of enforced power-sharing. After new elections by universal franchise, the winning party governs.

Dingaan rematch in SA?

By GAVIN EVANS, Sacramento

DINGAAN THOBELA has earned a rematch against Tony Lopez after losing against the WBA champion yesterday morning after a close decision.

There is a possibility that the return will be fought in SA, according to his manager, Rodney Brown. He said Lopez's face was unmarked, but in his mouth was a bitter taste of perceived injustice.

The "Rose of Soweto" believed that after 12 vicious rounds he'd done enough to relieve Lopez of his lightweight crown. Most ringiders agreed.

But this was California — home of two of the four fight officials — and the decision went to Lopez by a split two points.
Nats going all out to win coloured vote in the Cape

THE National Party is planning an all-out effort to win the forthcoming election — and part of its strategy would be a huge saamtrek at the Cape Showgrounds at Goodwood next month aimed at attracting coloured voters.

It would be the biggest such public gathering since the party went multiracial, and it is expected to be in the form of a day-long carnival with a Cape flavour and less emphasis on traditional boersport.

The main event that day, President de Klerk's address, will take place in the Industrial Hall.

The venue was chosen for security reasons and to prevent a repeat of the 1982 S.A.S.C.O. last year, when a small, rowdy element shouted the President down and threatened to raze the marquee when he tried to address the public in Mitchell's Plain, a town originally built for coloureds 30km outside Cape Town.

On December 1 1982 there were 201,506 white voters, compared with 149,788 coloured voters registered in the Cape Province.

There are 56 House of Assembly (white) MPs compared with 60 House of Representatives (coloured) MPs in the Cape Province.

The NP Cape caucus has decided to appoint a special election strategy committee, with chief whip Alex van Breda (nominated) as its chairman.

His committee is expected to have its recommendations on the procedure for the nomination of candidates ready by June.

Among matters that need serious consideration is how to decide who should be accepted as candidates, a sensitive issue because coloured MPs who number about 50 percent of the 80-odd NP MPs in the Cape, fear they could be left out in the cold if predominantly white "district committees" of the NP made final choices of candidates.

Another problem is that if the country opts for proportional representation and the NP gains, for example, 50 seats, the coloured MPs are against the final choice being made by "district councils".
THE rocky road to democracy takes new twists and turns this week with a flurry of meetings aimed at the resumption of multiparty talks.

This follows accusations that the government and the African National Congress had concluded a deal which excluded other parties.

The government and the Inkatha Freedom Party meet on Wednesday and are expected to agree on the composition of a planning conference for a new multiparty negotiation forum.

Agreement is likely in spite of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi having expressed grave misgivings about the understanding between the government and the ANC on the need for a transitional government of national unity.

At the weekend both President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela tried to get away from the idea that a deal had been struck between the two parties.

In a television interview with Sir David Frost, Mr. De Klerk said: "We are not making deals in our bilateral discussions," referring to three further days of government-ANC talks last week.

"The interpretation that we have entered into fixed agreements is wrong. We believe the final agreement must be reached at a multi-party conference representative of all the parties in the country. We share that view with the ANC."

The bilateral talks, he explained, were to narrow differences. This would enable groups to start a multiparty conference with broad consensus already achieved. He spoke of "growing convergence". But no deals.

"There can be no private deal between the National Party and African National Congress, between the ANC and Inkatha, or between the NP and Inkatha," Mr. De Klerk said.

The government and the IFP would be working hard in their bilateral meeting this week. "I think Inkatha must be part of the new dispensation and must be brought into the negotiating process. I think it is fundamental. Otherwise we might be looking for trouble in South Africa."

The ANC president, who faces problems from hardliners in his own movement, was particularly upset about suggestions of a power-sharing deal.

"Power-sharing" is Mr. De Klerk's catchphrase, and for the ANC to employ it, as Mr. Mandela is painfully aware, could create the perception that it had capitulated to government demands.

Accordingly, in a speech on Saturday night he said: "I wish categorically to deny the statement made in the press that the ANC has agreed to power-sharing until 1999. An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing."

Mr. Fanie Schoeman, deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, pointed out that Mr. Mandela was playing with words and that a government of national unity was in fact power-sharing.

The national executive committee of the ANC is due to meet tomorrow.

The Cabinet will discuss the new deal on Wednesday.

Top Nationalist politicians were today hopeful that the talks with Inkatha would go well.

They said that the two sides agreed on the principle of regional government. There would also be agreement on a planning conference to decide on new Codesa-type talks.

There is the feeling in government circles that there must now be a swift move away from bilateral talks because they cause suspicion among other negotiation partners.
PAC slams power sharing and warns ANC on making deals

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

The PAC has rejected the concept of power sharing as a luxury we can't afford and has accused the ANC of trying to kick out of the Patriotic Front if it strikes such a deal with the government.

PAC president Mr. Clarence Makwetu said after a meeting in Langa yesterday that the ANC would lose its status as a liberation movement if it entered into a power-sharing arrangement with the government.

He said blacks could not wait for another five years for liberation.

"We want liberation now. Power sharing is a luxury we can't afford... power sharing will prolong the life of the regime."

He said the PAC had said from the beginning that it did want to reform apartheid, but rather "to dismantle it."

Mr. Makwetu said he did not believe the government and the ANC, who had apparently agreed in bilateral talks that a government of national unity could rule for five years, would have the audacity to go ahead.

"They will have to test the will of the people first. The people will oppose power sharing. All sorts of struggle will be embarked upon."

In a clear reference to the ANC, he said the PAC and other Patriotic Front members would consider "ejecting those who no longer represent the masses."

He said the government and the PAC had reached an agreement at a meeting in Gabarone last year on the need to continue negotiations at another forum.

But the government had since suspended talks with the PAC because of the actions of its military arm, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

"I think the regime will be compelled to meet us. I can't imagine any resolution being arrived at without the participation of the PAC."

Earlier more than 900 people loudly applauded Mr. Makwetu when he said "away with an interim government."

He said the PAC would fight to the bitter end as long as there were vestiges of imperialism and colonialism. It would fight for self-determination and not settle for "crumbs from the master's table."
PAC ‘ready for talks with Govt’

NEW POINTERS    Indications are that the organisation will accept Govt invitation:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

The PAC would accept an invitation to attend a preparatory meeting for the resumption of multiparty negotiations, the movement’s secretary for publicity, Mr Barney Desai, said yesterday.

It was established yesterday that Government would extend an invitation to the PAC to attend such a meeting and that the ANC would prefer to have the PAC and Azapo at a new multi-party negotiations forum.

A Government spokesman said it was still expected of the PAC to distance itself from the activities of Apla, but suggested that if Apla ceased its activities then the Africanists could “include themselves in talks"...

Desai said the PAC would go to a multi-party planning conference “and put across its views”.

“We are emphatic in that we want a constituent assembly elected on a democratic vote and not one that is tied by collateral agreement,” he said, with reference to the agreements reached between Government and the ANC last week.

Desai did not preclude the PAC from participating in the elections to a constituent assembly either and said that his organisation would “go to the electorate and ask people to vote for our policies”.

Asked whether he thought the PAC’s policies were more sovereign than the need to create a government of national unity, Desai said that the PAC’s objective was ultimately majority rule (by Africans).

“However, majority rule does not obviate agreements. Majority rule does not mean that the majority must rule ... and if parties are elected together, they must rule together.”
of a constitution

The politicians have forgotten the role
Motivating new voters must be central goal, says report

WASHINGTON — To ensure a high turnout, newly enfranchised South Africans must be convinced that simply by going to the polls on election day and completing a ballot, they will guarantee themselves better schools, houses and job prospects.

This is the conclusion of Washington polling firm Peter Hart Research Associates, hired by the National Democratic Institute to develop a strategy for its US taxpayer-financed South African voter education programme.

"Motivating" new voters, many of whom are not only ignorant of voting procedures but also fear intimidation and do not believe elections will make much difference in their lives, must be a central goal, according to the firm's Dr Fred Hartwig.

Another key issue that must be addressed in negotiations is voter IDs, Hartwig says in his report to the National Democratic Institute.

"Requiring non-whites to obtain any form of documentation from the present government" would be "the government's most effective way to suppress voting by non-whites".

He argues against the use of traditional leaders as voter trainers on the grounds that they have "a vested interest ... in the status quo".

Hartwig conducted focus groups with paid black volunteers around the country last September. Sites included Pietersburg, Richards Bay, Umtata and Grahamstown, and Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Bloemfontein townships.

His findings were used to develop multilingual election "kits" to be distributed as part of Project Vote, a joint venture of the National Democratic Institute and the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Development Studies. Project finance includes a $1m grant for the US Agency for International Development.

The institute is a subgroup of the National Endowment for Democracy, a government chartered entity established during the Reagan administration to promote democracy.

The "kit" contains an instruction manual for community voter trainers urging them to adopt slogans identifying voting with education, jobs, housing and peace.

Forty-four of the 205 focus group participants found this message "convincing".

Thirty-three preferred "Vote for Democracy", 29 "Vote for a Better Future for Our Children". Only 13 liked "Vote to End Apartheid Forever". Eight backed "Vote to Support your candidate and your party".

These findings are reflected in Voting Times, a pamphlet Project Vote has prepared for mass dissemination.
Talks stall again

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

After what was billed as decisive talks last week, the ANC and Government yesterday clashed over the definition of agreements reached between them. The deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, yesterday said that Government would have to return to the ANC to try and explain exactly what the Government had in mind when it agreed to power-sharing.

Schoeman announced at the end of last week's meeting that the two parties had agreed to a term of power-sharing after a constituent assembly had adopted a constitution.

The next day, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, dismissed this as a misrepresentation.

"The ANC proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that have won a certain proportion of seats in a constituent assembly. "An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing," Mandela said. Schoeman said yesterday that Government was not prepared to accept voluntary inclusion and would have to go back to negotiation with the ANC.

"A government of national unity is power-sharing," Schoeman said.

"There is nothing voluntary about it except in the sense that a party may refuse to participate if it so chooses. "A purely voluntary coalition is not acceptable to us, and if that is the interpretation now given, we are back to square one. We will just have to take it back to the negotiating table," he said.
LAST WEEK'S AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE ANC and the Government was merely the convergence of the two parties on the idea of a government of national unity.

Ironically, when CODESA II collapsed last May, it was because no agreement could be reached between these two senior parties at that point on the very issues which they are now attempting to meet each other on.

After the debilitating effects of violence and economic decline - which both parties have acknowledged as a result of the breakdown in negotiations last year - the objective behind the sought-after agreement is ostensibly to steer the country through what is expected will be most treacherous shoals.

Power-sharing

However, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, cautioned at the weekend that the agreement was neither a deal on power-sharing nor one that has any official standing in his organisation and Government.

The perception spawned by Government pronouncements on Friday that there was a deal of sorts was completely and utterly false.

Addressing businessmen on Saturday, Mandela said: "Let me dispel all rumours that there have been any secret deals or pacts with the Government.

"These rumours are devoid of any truth and are mischievous in the extreme."

I furthermore wish to categorically deny the statement made in the Press that the ANC has agreed to power-sharing until the year 1999.

"An interim government of national unity is not power-sharing.

National unity

"What the Government has proposed is a form of power-sharing. The African National Congress on the other hand proposes an interim government of national unity which would include those parties that have won a certain proportion of the seats in a constituent assembly."

This proposal, the ANC leader added, was designed to create national unity and was not a simple power-sharing formula.

"The matter is to be placed before the ANC National Executive Committee for discussion."

The bolts and nuts of the agreement should go before a multi-party forum next month and must be ratified there - presupposing the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee does the same this week.

The salient points of last week's meeting was the convergence between the two and not that there was any kind of a deal that was to be forced on to other parties, the ANC's Carl Niehaus explained.

After last week's meeting between the ANC and the Government, media reports said a "secret" deal had been struck between the two regarding the governing of the country, a claim rejected by Nelson Mandela. Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien puts the jigsaw puzzle together:

Soweto 15/2/93

Nelson Mandela ... denies secret deals with the Government.

The convergence is on the concept that elections should be postponed for any period of a week to a full term (five years) after the constituent assembly has adopted a new constitution.

During this period, it is envisaged that a government of national unity, made up of all parties that received more than between five and 10 percent of the vote in elections to a constituent assembly this year or early next year, will govern the country.

Constituent assembly

It is envisaged that only after this period of national unity, will the country hold its first democratic elections for a new government in South Africa which should, in principle, be led by the majority of South Africans.

Another significant convergence between the two parties was on the representation of regions in a constituent assembly.

A boundaries commission is to be set up to reach consensus among all parties in South Africa on new regional boundaries and the envisaged powers of these regions, the deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said last week.

The commission would take such decisions to a constituent assembly which would then take the final decision.

The regions will have a say in a constituent assembly on matters that affect them in particular.

The scenario that has emerged after last week's meeting in Cape Town is that:

O Multi-party negotiations will resume in March.

O A transitional executive council to oversee the run-up to elections to a constituent assembly will be installed by June.

O The election to a constituent assembly, which will also serve as a legislature, will be held no later than April next year.

National unity

O All parties that receive more than five to 10 percent of the vote in the election would be eligible for representation in the assembly.

O There would be no election immediately after a new constitution has been adopted and the assembly and Cabinet would continue to govern in national unity for the envisaged five years and in terms of the new constitution.

However, the ANC's Niehaus cautions: "These agreements signal only a convergence by the ANC and Government on the idea of a government of national unity."

These proposals, he said yesterday, have to go to the ANC's NEC, the Cabinet and other political parties as well. The proposals lean towards agreements that have already been reached at CODESA and makes room for participation by significant parties that have traditionally shunned negotiations. Schoeman also said on Friday: "It is not a package which other parties are expected to accept."
ANC takes serious look at regionalism

LT 15/2/93 Political Staff

THE ANC is "refining" its policy on regionalism through regional and branch meetings which could culminate in a national conference on the subject, senior members said at the weekend.

Regional meetings, normally a precursor to policy re-adjustments, have already taken place in Natal and some areas of the Transvaal.

Senior ANC negotiator Mr Thabo Mbeki said at the weekend that one of the questions members were discussing was whether regions should be able to impose taxes separately from the central government.
After the operation, the president announced that the operation was a success. The recovery period was expected to be brief, and the patient was expected to make a full recovery. The team of surgeons was commended for their expertise and skill.

Leaders Deny Claims

No deal - Mandela, FW

Leaders repudiate claims of agreement
IT IS becoming clear that both the NP Government and the ANC leadership have been changed by the process of negotiating a political settlement. Ideological opposites, driven by an accelerating crisis, have merged substantially to share a mentality of problem-solving.

On the part of the ANC/SACP, socialism has been reduced to anti-trust legislation and affirmative action. Lenin may still be quoted, but the World Bank exerts an even stronger pull.

For Afrikaner Nationalists, racial obsessions have long given way to a striving for cooperation. Even the Broderbund is now ready to admit black Afrikanders, though, significantly, not women.

THE more far-sighted sections of the business elite, like Lomho's Tiny Rowland, ingratiates themselves with any political leadership, regardless of their democratic record. Favour are showered on them, including free trips in Lear jets.

To have Nelson Mandela attend the wedding of a daughter or to celebrate a birthday in the company of ANC executives has become a status symbol of the true corporate insider.

Who will exercise power in the "new" South Africa, therefore, has also become irrelevant, especially in light of the looming anarchy: any power that can guarantee a semblance of order and safety is better than the descent into barbarism typified in Yugoslavia, Angola or Somalia.

If there is to be a clampdown on white or black violent extremism, a joint multiracial emergency coalition would be expected to crush threatening opposition even more effectively than did the old regime.

The ultimate determinants of successful transitions are economic and social factors. The legacy of decades of conflict could reach some point where even the most determined government of national unity will have lost the capacity to reconstruct ravaged communities.

So far, all the peace accords signed have been followed by rising violence, and all the well-intentioned development efforts have hardly bridged the gap between a growing mass of outsiders and an increasing multiracial but still comparatively small section of middle-class insiders.

High expectations, together with already relatively high labour costs, make South Africa uncompetitive in the world market, especially if further accelerated by a populist party in power.

Therefore South Africa is being viewed as unable to afford a genuine democracy, in which the pent-up demands would destroy the delicate balance of antagonistic forces.

Yet, despite a few ANC activists breaking up meetings of political opponents, the new regime is at least holding out the promise of democratic accountability. They are not yet as tainted with massive corruption, patronage and mafia administration as the old regime.

ABOVE all, they can claim a much broader mandate: they do represent the aspirations of the deprived majority. Deviating from the promise could jeopardise a precious legitimacy on which the ANC depends more than its discredited partners in domination.

The prospects of South African democracy will depend heavily on the economic performance of the new regime. Democracy without material gains would surely delegitimise a liberation movement that not only fought for symbolic equality but also raised expectations for greater wealth and material equality.

Yet, the democratic dilemma lies in the fact that a "democratic oligarchy" — an authoritarian order with a semblance of popular participation — is likely to perform better economically and attract more foreign capital at lower labour costs than a genuine institutionalisation of the popular will.

The elites of the newly enfranchised will face the real test when they are unable to deliver on the heightened expectations.

Within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu coalition, the new faultlines revolve around those who, not being part of the new deal, view transitions as "mass-driven", with permanent people's mobilisation, and those who practise usual elite politics with minimal dependence on grassroots.

Already oppositionalUVs, an alienated youth, frustrated union leaders, township warlords, tribal and religious authorities, oppressed women and several other dissatisfied constituencies vie for more influence.

With roughly 25 percent of...
national support for the NP, 45 percent for the ANC and 10 percent for Inkatha in 1993, the NP made the pragmatic choice to abandon a losing anti-ANC coalition with Inkatha and instead aim at establishing a strong centre with the ANC, against traditional ideological leavings.

Only in the western Cape does the NP command a clear majority while in Natal a combined Inkatha-NP coalition would hold majority support, with the ANC securing less than 25 percent of the vote in both regions.

Should these regional interests not be accommodated in a federal constitution, breakaway movements could well gain ground.

Natal, with its highly successful but vulnerable 20 percent Indian minority, and the “European” western Cape with a 68 percent coloured population, could emerge as the Croatia and Slovenia of South Africa.

Rapidly increasing regional discrepancies, however, could be accommodated in a federal system through equalisation payments and revenue sharing. Otherwise, booming high-security enclaves of residual capital and tax benefits, such as Cape Town’s world-class waterfront, or obscene fantasies like the Lost City, will thrive increasingly uncomfortably in a sea of surrounding poverty.

REGARDLESS of the future political fault-lines, there remain some fundamentals that allow a far more optimistic outlook for South Africa than can be ventured for other divided societies. While South Africa will remain a largely multi-racial rather than monoracial society, it has gold prospects of relatively harmonious race relations and even minimal nationhood.

The fundamental cleavages in our society do not concern issue of culture and identity, but social equity.

In legally equal societies, the victims easily blame themselves as individuals for failure; in an institutionalised apartheid order, the “system” was clearly at fault. Because the apartheid State lacked worldwide legitimacy, its victims responded with resistance rather than identification.

The dominant mindset of active protest rather than passive acceptance of slave-like conditions was further reinforced in South Africa by numerical majority status. It makes a crucial difference in self-perception whether the discriminated constitute an indigenous majority or an imported minority.

Moreover, the real clout of numbers and self-reliant institutions enforces relationships of objective interdependence, which minorities depend on goodwill or their special skills lack.

SOUTH African subordinate, therefore, show little of the ambivalent identity that characterise minorities elsewhere, who are made to feel that they do not belong. Most South Africans of all races do not share such self-doubts but confront each other as equals.

This perception of equality remains an important precondition of successful negotiations and pactings.

So, the chances of a future South African democracy and stability do not falter on incompatible identities but depend mainly on the promise of greater material equality in a common economy.

The author teaches at the UCT Graduate School of Business and at Simon Fraser University, British Columbia.
Rescued bid

Limit damage to intervene in S.A.

FW, Mandela

Mass support in Western Cape for FW

No power-sharing

Damage control
PAC slams ANC, govt agreement

Staff Reporter
PAC president Mr. Clarence Makwetu slammed the recently-announced ANC/National Party agreement at a meeting in Langa yesterday, saying it amounted to co-option.

He was speaking to about 700 people at the Langa Community Hall at an African Women's Organisation rally.

He said that according to the "present racist constitution", the government could not rule beyond 1994.

Therefore in order to extend its life, the regime had decided to sell the idea of an interim government as an arrangement that will delay African rule until the end of this century.

A new forum should assemble with the following characteristics:

- Participants must be national political structures;
- Participants should prepare for elections for a constituent assembly on the basis of one person, one vote in a unitary state;
- The media must be present at all time, and
- Neutrality must be ensured through "international involvement".
Focus on coloured support

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President F.W. de Klerk can count on the support of the coloured community in multi-party elections next year if opinion polls suggesting up to 74% favour him as a leader prove correct, according to a report yesterday.

The Observer newspaper cited recent polls which indicate that more than half of the three million coloured voters support the National Party while the ANC can claim up to 4.8% of coloured support.

Although it was not stated on which poll the report was based, a Human Sciences Research Council poll a year ago found a mere four percent support for ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela among coloureds, while 61% supported Mr de Klerk.

Since then polls have indicated Mr de Klerk is losing support. Observer correspondent Allister Sparks found a failure of leadership by the ANC and the fear of communism and the African majority had driven many coloureds into the white camp.
JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC yesterday objected to the National Union of Mineworkers' (Num) decision to put forward candidates on an ANC ticket in the coming elections.

NUM president Mr James Motlati said on Monday the union's central committee had decided at the weekend to support a Reconstruction Accord between its parent body, Cosatu, and the ANC.

The PAC's secretary for labour, Mr Lessoana Makhanda, said the decision was 'unwise and divisive'.

He said to propose support for a sectarian position was 'insensitive and undemocratic', and a violation of members' rights of freedom of association.

The United Independent Trade Unions ad hoc committee of South Africa (UTUACUSA) yesterday also condemned the Num election plan as "undemocratic".

UTUACUSA chairman Mr Manyporo Gamede said Num's decision was "very undemocratic and very biased as Num has a mixed membership as regards the political affiliation of individual Num members". — Sapa
Pik opposes domination

KEMPTON PARK. — The NP would not allow any single political party to dominate South Africa, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said at the weekend.

He was addressing a Transvaal NP women's conference here.

Mr Botha said he felt confident that, with elections looming within a year, the NP would become the only party with substantial support among all population groups. — Sapa
CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk yesterday brushed aside criticism that his appointment of Gerrit Viljoen as Minister of State Affairs just three months before the Minister's retirement last year amounted to a waste of taxpayers' money.

He was responding to a question by Colin Eglin (DP: Sea Point).

Eglin said the post of Minister of State Affairs had been created especially to spare the NP embarrassment in the event of a by-election, and to retain a senior government official in high office.

De Klerk defended his former Minister, who retired in the wake of claims that he was politically accountable for corruption uncovered in the Department of Education and Training and the former Department of Development Aid.

The President said Viljoen had served SA with great distinction and had played a pivotal role in constitutional negotiations.

De Klerk said Eglin's questions constituted a "petty attack".
NUM to field candidates in first general election

JOHANNESBURG — In a move to help the African National Congress win the country's first democratic general election, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) announced it would avail its members as candidates on the ANC ticket.

NUM president Mr James Molatlhi told a news conference here yesterday that this did not signal any shift by the union from labour matters to politics.

The decision taken at the NUM's central committee meeting over the weekend had still to be referred to the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), its parent body, said Mr Molatlhi. The union's position, he said, reaffirmed support for a reconstruction accord between Cosatu and the ANC.

The ANC-initiated accord, aimed at empowering blacks, binds an ANC government to guarantee:

- Protection of workers' rights, as embodied in the workers' charter.
- A programme of action on issues of poverty, job creation, education and training for blacks.
- Consultation with "democratic forces" and accountability of the ANC leadership to its grassroots support.

Mr Molatlhi said NUM officials who were also ANC regional executive members could expect to be automatically nominated by the ANC to stand as candidates in a general election.

"We're talking about 400 candidates, 200 of whom should be drawn from the ANC regional leadership."
30,000 applications a week for ID papers

Political Correspondent

HOME Affairs officials are processing 30,000 applications a week for identity documents in preparation for the first non-racial elections, parliament has been told.

But 20 percent of black South Africans have yet to get ID books.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr

Louis Pienaar said the number of applications for registration doubled from 15,000 to 30,000 a week after a R20-million initiative was launched in February last year to highlight the process and encourage people to apply.

"Whether our negotiations succeed or not, some time or other we will have an election and the ID book will be a useful instrument in that process," he said.

"It is in everybody's interest that they have ID books."

Mr Pienaar said identity documents had already been issued to about 95 percent of whites, 93 percent of Indians, 92 percent of coloureds and about 60 percent of blacks.
Govt, ANC denial on deal

Sowetan Correspondent

THE final decision for a Government of National Unity to rule the country for five years will only be taken at a new multiparty negotiating forum.

President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela moved quickly this weekend to dispel fears that they had struck a secret deal.

Top Government and ANC negotiators agreed in Cape Town on Friday that a Government of National Unity should have a five-year lifespan and the preliminary agreement is still to be endorsed by the Cabinet and the ANC's national executive committee this week.

The NEC of the ANC meets from today until Thursday and the Cabinet tomorrow when the issue will be discussed.

ANC and Government negotiators on Sunday indicated that discussions could take place on the details but they believed the agreement was likely to be ratified by their respective princi-

Multiparty negotiating forum will decide on a Government of National Unity for SA:

pals.

Government and ANC negotiators were adamant that no deal had been struck between them in terms of an agreement reached between the two parties in December at an extended meeting.

bilateral agreements would only be binding on the Government and the ANC.

This means that if the Cabinet and the NEC ratify the preliminary agreement, the ANC and the Government will push in a multiparty negotiating forum for acceptance of a Government of National Unity to rule for five years after the first democratic elections.

The IFP, the Conservative Party and the PAC are opposed to the preliminary agreement.
GOVERNMENT is likely to face strong criticism when it meets Inkatha and the Concerned SA Group this week to try and get a multiparty planning conference off the ground before the end of the month.

A flurry of important meetings involving all the major political players this week will try to settle objections, decide on shifts of emphasis in the approach to talks and set the stage for a possible two-day planning conference to get multiparty negotiations going next month.

The controversial preliminary agreement between the ANC and government, that a government of national unity will rule the country for five years following elections for a constitution-making body will dominate the talks, a government negotiator said yesterday.

Security issues, particularly the discussions between the ANC and government over the joint control of all armed formations, will also be high on the agenda.

Government meets the Concerned SA Group today to discuss security and violence-related issues. It will be dominated by the Umkhonto we Sizwe issue, the alleged smuggling of arms into Natal and Inkatha's demand that MK be disbanded.

The group is demanding a full disclosure of government's discussions with the ANC on this matter and any agreements reached by the two on armed formations falling under joint control.

It is understood that the government team headed by Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel and including Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Defence Minister Gene Louw and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will be pushing the homeland representatives and Inkatha to accept joint control of their police and armies.

Government meets Inkatha in KwaZulu for three days starting tomorrow, primarily to discuss constitutional issues. However, sources said Kriel would raise the issue of an Inkatha branch chairman and five others involved in arms smuggling.

Inkatha spokesman Walter Flogate said his negotiation would be taking a hard line towards government for "reneging" on its position and modifying its policies to move closer to the ANC.

Inkatha will also insist on support for allowing Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to lead KwaZulu's team at the planning meeting.

Also to be discussed is the regionalism issue.

Government will also have to try to convince Inkatha that it did not enter into binding agreements with the ANC pre-empting negotiations.

Government and the ANC have stated that their agreement was preliminary and still had to be discussed by their principals.

The ANC's national executive committee meets today for three days to discuss the agreement and the Cabinet meets tomorrow with a similar agenda.

It is expected that the plan of having a government of national unity for four to five years will be accepted by the NEC as this falls comfortably within the terms sought by the NEC.
SION BARRETT in Washington

From Party Politics

Voter Education

NOTE: The articles and columns are not my own work.
NEWS PAC secretary-general says the ANC and government have agreement
No Big Deal on National Unity

Attack Laurence looks at Nelson Mandela's aversion to the phrase power-sharing.

OVER-SAVING
Govt, ANC 'back-pedalling on deal'  

By Katzer Nyatsumba  
Political Reporter

Denials by the Government and the ANC that their nego-
tiators have clinched a secret power-sharing deal were noth-
ing but a cover-up to appease critics in its own ranks and
strong opposition from other political groups, the PAC and
the Conservative Party charged yesterday.

As the rumpus continued, the organisations remained
adamant that the Government and the ANC had concluded a
pact to share power for five years after the first democratic
elections.

President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Man-
dela said at the weekend that no secret deals had been made.
They said certain agreements on transition which had been
concluded during a bilateral meeting in Cape Town last
week still had to be ratified by the Cabinet and the ANC's na-
tional executive this week.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander yesterday
accused the ANC of "selling out the struggle".

At a press conference in Joh-
annesburg, he said the PAC
believed reports of a secret
deal. He warned that South
Africa would not know peace
unless all organisations were
involved in negotiations.

He said denials by Mandela
and de Klerk were "weak at-
tempts at a cover-up". He said
the "deal" had been delibera-
tely leaked to the media to
test public opinion and, now
that it had met with a hostile
reception, the parties were
trying to back-pedal.

In Cape Town yesterday, CP
leader Dr Andries Treurnicht
said in a statement that the
Government-ANC agreement
had been an attempt at a coup
d'etat to benefit the ANC,
Sapa reports.

He said the Government
was seriously divided over the
agreement, which represented
a complete reversal of its po-

tition in favour of the ANC.

Power-sharing in the presi-
dency had been abandoned for
a single president, and the
Government was settling for
power-sharing only during the
transition. A constituent as-
sembly, which would simulta-
naneously operate as a parlia-
ment, would draft a final con-
stitution, to be followed by
majority rule.

"The fact that Mr De Klerk
is now back-tracking is an at-
tempts to combat the dispute in
his own party,"

Treurnicht added that the
Government had no mandate
for the agreement.

The Democratic Party,
while welcoming aspects of
the agreement, expressed con-
cern that the final decision on
the powers, functions and
boundaries of regions should
be left to an elected constitu-
tion-making body to decide.

DP national chairman Ken
Andrew said the party be-
lieved that a Bill of Rights and
the key elements of federal-
ism or regionalism should be
in place before a constitution-
making body was elected.

"It is essential that impor-
tant checks and balances are
in place before a transfer of
power takes place," he said.

However, he warned against
overreaction to the agree-
ments. Bilateral discussions
were necessary and there was
often a fine line between find-
ing common ground in bilat-
eral negotiations and pre-empt-
ing decisions that should pro-
cerly be taken at a multiparty
conference, Andrew said.

* No big deal — Page 10
Codesa summit cost over R10-m

CAPE TOWN — The total cost of last year's three-month Codesa summit was R10.3 million, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday. Replying to a question by Dr Farid Hartzenberg (CP Lichtenburg) during the second reading debate on the Additional Appropriation, he said an item of R1.5 million in his department's additional estimates related to the appointment of Dr Niel Barnard as head of Constitutional Development.
Critical week ahead for talks

Hani: Benefits win support

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA today enters a critical four days in the negotiations process aimed at ushering in a new democratic order.

The burning question of whether South Africa will meet the timetable for the resumption of multi-party talks and elections for an interim government is likely to be determined this week.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) this morning begins two days of potentially bruising talks to thrash out an official response to a controversial power-sharing proposal brokered by ANC and government negotiators last week.

Also on the talks agenda for today is a meeting between the government and the Concerned South African Group — including Inkatha, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the CP — which has expressed alarm at the growing consensus between the ANC and the government.

The National Party's negotiators will hold yet another bilateral meeting today with the DP in which the thorny issue of federalism is expected to feature prominently.

On a weekend visit to London after six days in Cuba, Mr Hani said that once people enjoyed improved basic services such as toilets, electricity, hospitals and schools, their suspicions of a coalition government would be allayed.

Mr Hani said he was confident that once doubters of power-sharing saw a budget favouring social upliftment and realized that the government was "interested in our problem", they would give full support.

LONDON. — The quickest way to get rid of the government was to "sleep in the same bed with them", and work towards providing simple benefits for the vast majority of people, Mr Chris Hani, MK's deputy commander and SACP's secretary-general said, here yesterday.

The government's main task will be once again to reassure the IFP that the talk of secret "deals" with the ANC is untrue, and that no agreements will be made except at multi-party talks.

This week's talks take place against a mounting chorus of criticism from political groupings outside the negotiation process — including the CP, Azapo and PAC.

If there are no hiccups, an announcement can be expected at the end of this week that the multi-party planning conference will go ahead as planned on February 20 and 21.
A DEGREE of consensus on the format for South Africa’s first-ever all-party elections already exists, according to local National Party and African National Congress officials.

The elections will probably be run on similar lines to the last white referendum, Mr Piet Coetzee, NP Western Cape director of information, said yesterday. He said all adults will be eligible, but instead of the “yes” and “no” blocks on last year’s referendum ballots, there would be a list of political parties.

Mr Coetzee and ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni both said that voters’ rolls were unlikely to be used as elections would not run on a constituency basis.

Voters could vote wherever they were with their votes being recorded for their home regions, and the use of identify documents and invisible ink would stop people voting twice.

The ANC and NP seem to agree South Africa should have a system of proportional representation.

Parties will be allotted seats in a roughly 400-strong constituent assembly in proportion to the number of votes they receive. Seats will be filled from lists of candidates drawn up by competing parties, as happened in Namibia.
Nats and ANC battling to sell power-share deal

Political Staff

The government and the ANC are battling to sell their five-year power-sharing deal to constituents and allies, raising fears that the timetable for transition is slipping.

The ANC's national executive committee decided yesterday to refer the deal to its grassroots structures for a mandate, a move that will certainly cause delay.

The next target date is a multiparty planning conference next week -- on February 25 and 26 -- to arrange the resumption of Codesa-style formal multiparty negotiations.

President De Klerk said yesterday a conference before the end of February was still attainable but it is beginning to look unlikely.

A mountain of potential obstacles has to be shifted.

Yesterday the ANC's negotiation team explained the deal to its national executive committee, amid signs of a revolt from some regions.

It is understood many anxieties and reservations were expressed.

NEC member Chris Hanl said the NEC had decided that the proposals were so important that they needed to be taken to grassroots for a mandate.

He said this would take time and indicated that a multiparty planning conference before the end of February now looked unlikely -- although he was confident it would still take place.

The NEC meeting continues today.

The government also faces a major hurdle in explaining the deal to the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has already threatened warfare if the government and the ANC try to force a bilateral power-sharing deal on Natal and KwaZulu.

The government meets the IFP for an intense three-day "bosberaad" in Natal starting today, which will also be decisive in determining whether the transition timetable can be kept.

Senior government sources said they had no way of predicting how the IFP would react and said many potential obstacles could be raised.
FW confident talks will start within two weeks

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said yesterday he was still confident that a multiparty planning conference could take place before the end of February as scheduled.

In a joint statement after a meeting with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, the two delegations said government informed the Bophuthatswana delegation "of recent developments in bilateral negotiations... and the two sides agreed that multiparty talks should be convened as soon as possible".

They also agreed to form a joint committee to continue discussions with a view to examining the "various aspects of their bilateral relations and general constitutional situation".

Before the meeting, Mangope said the discussion was a continuation of a series of meetings between the two governments that began last year.

"I expect President de Klerk will inform us of exactly what transpired at the bilateral meetings (between government and the ANC last week), because the media has been confusing and we would like to hear it from the horse's mouth, so to speak."

Meanwhile, in a separate meeting, a Concerned South Africans Group delegation met government representatives in Cape Town to try to clear up security-related matters ahead of the expected planning conference.

Iketha President Mangosuthu Buthelei had stressed that he wanted the Umkhonto we Sizwe matter cleared up before he was prepared to join a multiparty forum.

Government also wants the issue resolved. A senior negotiator said that if parties could agree on what was to happen to all armed formations — whether they would fall under joint control or be closely monitored by a subcouncil of a transitional executive authority — the process could move ahead.

Law and Order Minister Hermias Kriel said in a statement after the meeting yesterday that the parties discussed violence and paramilitary structures such as Umkhonto, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, self-defence units, Wenkommandos and the Ysterveld.

"It was agreed that it was of vital and urgent importance that a solution to this problem be found as rapidly as possible," Kriel said.

It is understood that no solutions were expected from the meeting as it was a subcommittee meeting to "brainstorm" ideas for controlling armed formations.

The parties also expressed their deep concern about the availability of illegal firearms, arms caches, and alleged programmes of violence by certain organisations.

Kriel said government had expressed its grave concern about the recent seizure of a large consignment of arms from ANC and Umkhonto members, as well as alleged arms smuggling by Iketha members.

A group proposal for a joint government-Concerned South Africans Group permanent committee on security matters was still being examined by the parties.
Inkatha wins over third MP

Cape Town — Inkatha gained its third supporting MP yesterday in as many weeks when nominated Solidarity member Faruq Cassim crossed the floor to become the first Inkatha-supporting, independent Indian MP.

Inkatha has now gained members from three different parties in recent weeks. MPs who declared their support for Inkatha before Cassim were Mike Tarr of the DP and Jurie Majot of the NP.

Cassim, a member of the DP and a member of the NP, was "delighted" when they discussed his joining the party, although his membership of Inkatha's central committee was not discussed.

Cassim listed his reasons for joining Inkatha as long concern about the "Indian community's slide towards the NP, the party's position on federalism, and Inkatha's commitment to free market principles."
A great deal of semantic confusion has blown up over the agreement reached between Government and ANC negotiating teams last week.

The trouble is that "power sharing" is an explosive phrase which means different things to different players in this delicate game. So is the concept of a "deal," with its connotations of some kind of sinister backroom transaction.

Add to that journalism's tendency to oversimplify and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's tendency to over-dramatise, and you have the ingredients for the sort of confusion that can derail a negotiation process.

The facts are as follows:

There is no agreement by the NP and the ANC to share power for five years.

What there is, is an agreement, still to be negotiated, that the NP and the ANC favour a "government of national unity," consisting of all parties that win more than 5 or 10 percent of the vote in South Africa's first one-person-one-vote election. Which is a very different thing.

The idea is that this all-party government of national unity should run the country for a five-year transition period before there is normal majority rule.

Fact number two is that this is not an agreement binding on anyone else. Indeed at this stage it is no more than a proposal by the two negotiating teams to their own leaders -- President de Klerk and his Cabinet, and Nelson Mandela and his national executive committee. They have still to debate it, maybe modify it, and then ratify it.

Even then it will not be binding on anyone else. It will simply be an agreement between those two political organisations that overcomes their previous differences, and which they will try to persuade others to accept at the multiparty conference which the Government is trying to set up for next month. It will be equally open to other parties to bring different proposals to that conference.

Since it was the differences between the NP and the ANC that caused Codena 2 to break down last May, one would have thought everyone would have applauded the fact that they have now overcome them. Everyone still interested in a settlement, that is.

But the real point is that the proposal is eminently sensible and fair to everyone. It is a proposal for everyone with a meaningful constituency to share in the government of national unity for five years to ease the transition, allay (mostly white) fears of sudden change and hopefully build a sense of national unity in this tragically divided land before taking the final step to full, normal democracy.

The idea is that each party's representation in the government of national unity should be proportionate to the number of votes it receives in the election. The majority party will have the most Cabinet members and will name a president who will operate with limited powers. Other parties will be represented according to their strength. All will have a say in Cabinet decisions.

It can become a power-sharing deal between the NP and the ANC only if every other party fails to get at least 5 or 10 percent of the vote -- the actual cut-off minimum having been left open for later decision.

There is no logical reason for Chief Buthelezi's outrage. If his party can make up the cut of 5 or 10 percent of the total vote in the election, he will be part of the government of national unity. If it can't, he will not deserve to be.

The one group whose protests are more logical in a political sense are the AC and other radicals. They are trying to portray themselves as the revolutionary purists who reject compromise. Their political future depends on being able to capitalize on disillusionment in the black community, on the inevitable crisis of expectations that will follow a settlement and the inability of any post-apartheid government to deliver instant prosperity to the underclass.

Their strategy is to portray the negotiations as sellouts and betrayers of the liberation struggle. That is going to be the political battlefront of the future, and the lines are being drawn now.

The NP faces a similar challenge from its hardliners, who accuse it of betraying its commitment to Afrikaner survival. Generations of Afrikaners have been brought up to believe that majority rule would be tantamount to national suicide. Now majority rule is in prospect.

This is what makes the phrase "power sharing" so loaded. For President de Klerk it has been the vindicating cover for his actions. He has been telling his people he will not accept majority rule but only a system of "power sharing," or permanent coalition rule, in which they and other minorities will continue to have control over their own destinies.

For Nelson Mandela the phrase means the opposite -- that he has abandoned the quest for majority rule and the ideals of the struggle, at which the black majority will be able to block walls of apartheid. "Power sharing" has become a code word for destruction of the foundation of the liberation struggle, and the black majority's fight for freedom and the opportunity for majority rule.

Now we have the compromise of a government of national unity, which appears to be the only way to ensure that there will be a majority government of national unity, and that minority groups will have a say in its workings.

The question is whether this is the best vehicle for achieving a majority government of national unity -- a government that may not be clear about what it's doing, and one that may well knock over the talks and the new foundation the NP is building. It's a question for the future.
No Response 

The Deputy Minister of Housing and Long-Term Housing 

(1) To what extent is the Minister of Housing and Long-Term Housing willing to consider the recommendations made by the Auditor General with regard to the need for clearer policies and guidelines for the delivery of social housing?

(2) In what circumstances are social housing properties released to private developers, and what mechanisms are in place to ensure that these properties are used in a manner consistent with their intended purpose?

(3) What measures are in place to ensure that social housing properties are used to the extent possible in accordance with their intended purpose and that any changes to their use are subject to the approval of the Minister of Housing and Long-Term Housing?

The Deputy Minister of Housing and Long-Term Housing

(1) What steps have been taken to address the concerns raised by the Auditor General regarding the delivery of social housing?

(2) What actions are being taken to ensure that social housing properties are used in a manner consistent with their intended purpose and that any changes to their use are subject to the approval of the Minister of Housing and Long-Term Housing?

(3) How is the Ministry ensuring that social housing properties are used to the extent possible in accordance with their intended purpose?
Govt 'reads riot act'
over weapons, violence

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday "read the riot act" to members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) on the proliferation of weapons and the ongoing violence in the country.

Sources close to the meeting, held in the city yesterday, said the government made it clear it was no longer prepared to allow any part of the political spectrum to run private armies.

The government team included the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Bernus Kriel, the Minister of Defence, Mr Gene Louw, and the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

The Cosag delegation included representatives from the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie, the IFP, and the governments of Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei.

Mr Kriel said after the meeting the continued existence of paramilitary structures such as umkhonto weSizwe, Apla, self-defence units, Wenkommandos and the Ystegarde was discussed.

Those at the meeting agreed that it would be "of vital and urgent importance that a solution to this problem be found as soon as possible," he said.

"Deep concern was also expressed about the availability of illegal firearms, the existence of arms caches and alleged programmes of violence by certain organisations," Mr Kriel said.

He said the government expressed its "grave concern" about the recent seizure from ANC members of a large arms consignment, "as well as arms smuggling allegedly involving Inkhata members".

A Cosag proposal that a permanent joint committee be established to deal with security matters is being considered by the government.
What tongue shall we choose?

India's example can steer us to correct official language choice, with minimum surmoney.
Cosag, Govt seek blitz on illegal arms

CAPE TOWN - A Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) delegation met Government representatives in Cape Town yesterday to talk about security and related matters, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in a statement.

The parties discussed violence as well as paramilitary structures such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), the Azanian People's Liberation Army, self-defence units, Wenkommandos and the Ystergarde.

"It was agreed that it was of vital and urgent importance that a solution to this problem be found as rapidly as possible," Kriel said.

The parties also expressed their deep concern about the availability of illegal firearms, arms caches, and alleged programmes of violence by certain organisations.

Kriel said the Government had expressed its grave concern about the recent seizure of a large consignment of arms from ANC and MK members, as well as arms smuggling by alleged IFP members.

A Cosag proposal for a joint Government-Cosag permanent committee on security matters was still being examined.

Sapa.
TALKS ON TRACK

BY ANTHONY JOHNSON

President P.W. de Klerk said: "We are deeply disturbed by the continued murders of our people and the violence that accompanies them. We are committed to peace and reconciliation."

"We will not use our power to suppress the determined and legitimate struggle of our people," he said. "We will not continue to suppress the people's right to self-determination."

"We will continue to negotiate with the ANC and other political parties," he added. "We are committed to peaceful and democratic change."
Fears for transition schedule

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government and the ANC are battling to sell their five-year power-sharing deal to constituents and allies, raising fears that the timetable for transition is slipping.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) decided yesterday to refer the deal to its grassroots structures for a mandate, a move that will certainly introduce delay.

The next target date is a multiparty planning conference on Thursday and Friday next week to arrange the resumption of Codesa-style formal multiparty negotiations.

President de Klerk said yesterday a conference before the end of February was still attainable but was beginning to look unlikely.

Yesterday the ANC's negotiation team explained the deal to its NEC amid signs of a revolt from some regions.

NEC member Chris Hani said the proposals from the negotiators were so important that they had to be taken down to the grassroots for a mandate.

He said a multiparty planning conference before the end of February now looked unlikely.

The NEC meeting continues.

The Government also faces a major hurdle in explaining the deal to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

After a meeting yesterday between a Democratic Party delegation under party leader Dr Zach de Beer and a National Party delegation led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, DP national chairman Ken Andrew expressed doubts the negotiations schedule could be maintained.
Gwala's strategy 'may stall ANC-govt talks'

JOHANNESBURG. — If ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala succeeds in making the ANC call a consultative conference, ANC-government negotiations would have to be suspended, observers said yesterday.

ANC and SA Communist Party officials said the matter would be resolved by this week's ANC national executive committee meeting.

Mr Gwala has objected to the preliminary agreement between the ANC and government that a transitional government of national unity remain in power for five years.

He also said his region would try to secure the backing of the required three of the ANC's 14 regions to force a consultative conference to re-evaluate ANC negotiating strategy.

However, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said policy debates within the ANC and Mr Gwala's commitment to discuss these at the NEC meeting were healthy and democratic. He denied talk of an ANC "split".

"The debate should not be construed as serious tensions leading to a deadlock," Mr Niehaus said.

SACF central committee member Mr Essop Pahad said the ANC's negotiating strategy had been approved by two conferences and the ANC's strategic perspectives document had been approved by the NEC late last year.

PAC Western Cape regional chairman Mr Theo Mabuza said yesterday the PAC supported the ANC Natal Midlands region's stance.
Sweeping changes to Cabinet on cards.
'Very, very promising' — all smiles as IFP talks start

Political Staff

TALKS between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are off to a "very, very promising start", according to sources at the talks.

The two delegations are meeting in Richards Bay, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, the and Dr Frank Mdaliwe, national chairman of the IFP. There are 15 people in each delegation.

They started last night with a two hour session, followed by supper, and began again today at 8 am. Both sides are doing their best to maintain a news blackout. A joint statement is expected tomorrow afternoon.

The most pressing issue is for the IFP to agree to attend next weekend's multiparty planning conference in Johannesburg.

The IFP went into the bilateral talks wanting to find out if the government had backed down on its commitment to federalism, and with a lot of concern about the role of the African National Congress's military wing.

But some IFP members have themselves been arrested for gun smuggling from Mozambique recently, and the government will bring this up in discussions.

In spite of the tough agenda, a source said last night that the talks got off to "a very, very promising start".

"Things started off in a very good spirit. The atmosphere is very friendly."

Sources said the agenda is similar to that for the ANC-government recent bilateral meeting — violence, the planning conference and constitutional matters.

The other ministers present are Mr Leon Wessels, Minister of Manpower, Dr Tertius Delport, Minister of Local Government; Mr George Bartlett, Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs and leader of the National Party in Natal; Mr Fanus Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development; and Mr Renier Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Meanwhile the ANC's national executive committee will today disclose the outcome of its deliberations on the government-ANC understanding on a power sharing five-year government of national unity.
Elections the key to reducing violence

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Democratic elections are South Africa’s best hope of containing violence, and the longer they are postponed the fainter the prospect of peace becomes, the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) has concluded after four months of monitoring violence.

Mission chairman Professor Duncan Chappell said that it was his team’s strong belief that constitutional negotiations should not be “held hostage” by violence. This was the central thread of Comsa’s report on the first phase of its work, released in Johannesburg yesterday.
Power-sharing is the way to go.
Crucial multiparty planning conference ‘in jeopardy’

THERE were strong concerns within government and the ANC yesterday that the crucial multiparty planning conference, tentatively scheduled for next week, would not go ahead.

The major stumbling block is the preliminary agreement between government and the ANC that a transitional government of national unity will run the country for four to five years after elections.

The ANC’s national executive committee discussed the agreement yesterday but did not make a decision despite reports it had decided to refer the matter to grassroots level because of Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala’s objections.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said he was not aware of any decision.

Meanwhile, government negotiators sat down yesterday for a three-day bilateral meeting with Inkatha, which has stated it was not prepared to accept the agreement.

In an interview with the Financial Mail this week, President F W de Klerk said broad consensus on the concept of a government of national unity was not restricted to government and the ANC.

"It is not just a product of bilateral but has achieved broad consensus," De Klerk said, adding that this was to facilitate reconciliation and stability. He said the principles outlined in the referendum were all still firmly in place.

This will be the first time Inkatha and government have sat down in bilateral talks to discuss substantive constitutional matters since Inkatha withdrew from all talks in September because of the record of understanding between the ANC and government.

The meeting is expected to be tough, with Inkatha demanding a full disclosure of the bilateral talks government had with the ANC, the extent of the agreement and the disbanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

BILLY PADDOCK
Elected govt ‘better able to tackle SA’s violence’

SA’s politicians needed to press ahead with multiparty talks leading to elections despite high levels of violence, the Commonwealth Observer Mission to SA said in its report yesterday.

The report said the mission was convinced "a government which enjoys the support of the majority of the population is in a far better position to address the issue of violence than one which is not." But the report also cautioned that it would be naive to assume that elections would lead to "an immediate cessation of this violence".

Mission chairman Duncan Chappell said revelations by the Goldstone commission of Military Intelligence’s continuing covert activities provided more evidence violence was being fuelled by a “so-called third force”.

The report called on government to coerce homelands into permitting free political activity. The mission spent much of its time in the Natal-KwaZulu area.

Government also needed to "undertake a major reassessment of its security apparatus so as to draw a distinction between external and internal threats," the report said.

"The SAP has lost the confidence of the majority and particularly those who live in township areas," he said.

More than 19,000 homicides had been committed in SA in 1992 – 59 murders per 100,000 South Africans – making it "one of the most violent countries in the world", Chappell said.

He said only nine homicides occurred for every 100,000 US citizens, while only two were committed per 100,000 Canadians or Australians. "Structural imbalances in the distribution of wealth" had also fanned the flames of violence in SA, which was "awash with firearms", he said.

Chappell said it had been agreed with the Justice Department that Commonwealth observers would be able to visit prisons following extensive criticism of the justice process.

Visits to police stations and police cells had also been agreed to. Meanwhile, British Overseas Development Minister Lynda Chalker would visit SA next week to gain a first-hand impression of progress being made with negotiations, a Foreign Affairs spokesman said yesterday.

She would meet key players involved in getting multiparty talks going.

The spokesman said Chalker would arrive in SA on Tuesday and depart on Thursday.

Chalker last visited SA in September last year to attend the British South African Conference in Durban.

R136m export scheme fraud

CAPE TOWN — Thirty-six cases of fraud involving a potential R136m, in regard to the General Export Incentive Scheme (GEIS), have been brought to the attention of the Trade and Industry Department.

In reply to a question in Parliament yesterday from Lester Fuchs (Hillbrow, DP), Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys said all cases brought to the department’s attention were investigated.

This was done in collaboration with the Reserve Bank and Commissioner of Customs. In addition, as well as the Office for Serious Economic Offences, the Attorney General and the SAP’s commercial branch.

External verification of GEIS claims was undertaken on a continuing basis.

Keys said in cases of fraud under the GEIS, refunds were demanded from claimants who had acted illegally and the cases were referred to the SAP for further action. Where fraud was proved, exporters were deregistered.

Commenting on the Minister’s reply Fuchs said SA was once again horrified by the plague of corruption sweeping the country.

The DP was particularly disappointed that a scheme introduced to encourage exports should have been so badly abused. Replying to another question from Fuchs, Posts and Telecommunications Minister Piet Welgemoed said the department had accumulated bad debts of R55m last year.

About 98% of the amount represented telephone debtors, the Minister said.

Dr Welgemoed said part of the R65m could be attributed to the 607 service, but it was not possible to furnish a reliable estimate of the amount involved as the billing service does not provide detailed information in respect of calls made.

Ciskei coup plan alleged

PRETORIA — Details of a plan to overthrow the Ciskei government, allegedly drawn up jointly by Apla and Umkhonto we Sizwe, have been passed on to the Goldstone commission, a commission spokesman confirmed yesterday.

The Ciskei Council of State said a “comprehensive and detailed report” of the plan had been compiled and forwarded to the commission this week.

The report contains details of an alleged plan concocted by the armed wings of the ANC and the PAC to bring down the government of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. The Ciskei council statement issued yesterday said the report had been passed on to the commission only once it had agreed to take appropriate precautions to protect the sources named in the report.

After a series of commission hearings in Pretoria and Port Elizabeth, an interim report on Apla activities was being drawn up, the spokesman said.

By Charles Schulz

PEANUTS

NO SIR, I DIDN’T HELP HUM. I DON’T KNOW SOME OF THE ANSWERS MYSELF.

YES SIR, HE GOT A PERFECT SCORE. NO, HE DIDN’T CHEAT.

NO SIR, WE’RE NOT MAKING FUN OF YOUR SCHOOL.
Van backs new liberal forum

By NORMAN WEST

FORMER Progressive Federal Party leader Dr. Frederik van Zyl Slabbert this week helped lay the foundations for a powerful new democracy watchdog group supported by many prominent liberal democrats.

After two days of discussions in Sintra, Portugal, delegates from a range of organisations stopped short of starting a new political party for liberals, but they did agree to launch a "democracy forum" within a month.

Dr. Alex Boraine, executive director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, said the initiative followed numerous approaches to Dr. van Zyl Slabbert and himself to launch a new party.

The appeals had come from members of the public disillusioned by corruption in the government and by what seemed to be a scramble for power by all politicians, irrespective of democratic values.

Aims

Some participants at the seminar in Portugal said they believed the forum could herald the formation — after the country's first non-racial elections — of a rejuvenated liberal or democratic party to oppose the National Party and the ANC.

Dr. van Zyl Slabbert last night denied his participation implied an imminent return to party politics.

He said a number of politicians held similar core values, but, for various reasons — largely historical — they found themselves in different parties.

Dr. Boraine and Dr. Oscar Dhlomo, head of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, will head the new forum.

The forum's aims will be:

• To bring together key players who are dissent
The appeals had come from members of the public disillusioned by corruption in the government and by what seemed to be a scramble for power by all politicians, irrespective of democratic values.

**Aims**

Some participants at the seminar in Portugal said they believed the forum could herald the formation — after the country's first non-racial elections — of a rejuvenated liberal or democratic party to oppose the National Party and the ANC.

Dr van Zyl Slabbert last night denied his participation implied an imminent return to party politics.

He said a number of politicians held similar core values, but, for various reasons — largely historical — they found themselves in different parties.

Dr Bheki Cele and Dr Oscar Dlamini, head of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, will head the new forum.

The forum's aims will be:
- To bring together key players who are disillusioned with the current political climate;
- To seek consensus on an understanding of what democracy means;
- To establish a broad alliance between participants so that regular contact can be maintained;
- To identify individuals and constituencies who should be included in the debate on democratic strategy, thereby ensuring that the democratic centre holds through the transition period.

**Watchdog**

On his return from Portugal, Dr Bheki Cele said a change of government did not necessarily mean the principle of accountability would be respected.

There was a need for a watchdog body that would ensure the government did not abuse power.

"But I want to stress there is no room for a new political party at this stage," he added.

CAROL RICKARD reports that Dr Dlamini, who was unable to attend the meeting in Portugal, said he had not yet been informed of his nomination to co-head the new movement.

"The idea of a new national non-party political forum promoting democratic values is exciting and constructive," he added.

"But I would need to be fully briefed about the Sintra meeting before commenting further."
Planning talks may be stalled

JOHANNESBURG. — There were strong concerns within the government and the ANC yesterday that the crucial multiparty planning conference, tentatively scheduled for next week, will not go ahead.

The major stumbling block is the preliminary agreement between the government and the ANC that a transitional government of national unity runs the country for four to five years after elections.

The ANC's national executive committee discussed the agreement yesterday but it did not make a decision despite reports it had decided to refer the matter to grassroots level.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he was not aware of any decision.

Meanwhile, government negotiators sat down yesterday for a three-day bilateral meeting with Inkatha, which has stated it was not prepared to accept the agreement.

This will be the first time Inkatha and the government have held bilateral talks on substantive constitutional matters since Inkatha withdrew from all talks in September last year following the record of understanding between the ANC and the government.

In an interview in today's Financial Mail, President F W de Klerk said the concept of a government of national unity had broad consensus not restricted to government and the ANC.

"It is not just a product of bilateral but has achieved broad consensus," Mr De Klerk said, adding that this was to facilitate reconciliation and stability.

The government's main intention in the meeting will be to get the in-principle decision of holding a planning conference next week finalised with Inkatha.

Diplomatic and political sources said yesterday all the parties were now under extreme pressure to remove remaining obstacles and hurry along to multiparty negotiations.

A senior IFP official said the chances were good that the preparatory conference would go ahead as scheduled, if the government was able to give assurances on umkhonto wezizwe smuggling of arms into Natal, powersharing and the protection of regional governments in a future constitution. — Own Correspondent, Sapa
Big Cabinet shake-up in the pipeline

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Parliament is buzzing with speculation that President de Klerk is about to announce a major Cabinet shuffle.

De Klerk has to make several changes by April 1 when the town affairs Ministries are rationalised and a transitional education Ministry comes into being to merge the various education departments into one.

Senior Government sources believe de Klerk will take the opportunity to make other changes, streamlining his present team and bringing in some coloured, Indian and black faces to improve the National Party’s image as it goes into South Africa’s first democratic elections.

Three names which have been mentioned in this regard are Ministers’ Council chairman in the House of Delegates Dr Bhadra Rancho, Ministers’ Council chairman in the House of Representatives Joe Kapteyn, and Transvaal MEP John Mavuso, one of the most prominent blacks in the Government fold.

Those most likely to go are Home Affairs and Environment Minister Louis Pienaar, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers, as well as several members of the Ministers’ Council in the House of Representatives.

Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan has already announced he will leave on March 1.

There has been strong speculation that the Minister of Correctional Services, Adrian Vlok, may also go, but he has recently shown signs of sticking around for a while.

In the education field the speculation is that either the present National Education and Culture Minister, Piet Marais, or Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer will be appointed to head the transitional education Ministry.

“Any changes, the indications are that the President will make his move nearer April 1.”
Blacks in cabinet 'imminent'  

Political Staff  

There is growing speculation in parliament that a major cabinet shuffle, designed mainly to gear President F W de Klerk for elections, is imminent.

The rationalisation of ministries, specifically education, is thought to be imminent, and "people of colour" are expected to be brought into the cabinet.

In terms of legislation passed during last year's short parliamentary session, blacks are now allowed in the cabinet.

Dr Bhadra Ranchod, former ambassador to the European Community, who was appointed chairman of the House of Delegates Ministers' Council last week, is being tipped as likely to land a cabinet post.

However, government sources were yesterday anxious to dampen speculation and said the president may wait until next week before making an announcement.
Cautious route to accord in SA

JOHANNESBURG — Having learned from previous setbacks, Minister for Constitutional Reform Reuel Mokwena, who heads the government's negotiating team, and ANC General Secretary Cyril Ramaphosa, are proceeding cautiously. A final accord that would allow the multi-party negotiations suspended in May 1992 to be resumed has not yet been reached.

The agreement will have to be endorsed by the South African cabinet and the ANC leadership. Nevertheless, progress has been made. "There are still wide differences on some issues," said Fanie Stocken, deputy minister for constitutional affairs and a member of the government negotiating team, "but our positions have moved closer together." Progress has been made possible largely as a result of concessions by the government, which is now convinced that the country needs early political stability if a disaster is to be averted and economic activity reinvigorated.

Addressing parliament on February 1, Reuel Mokwena proposed that a multi-party conference draft a provisional constitution before the end of May 1993. The constitution would then be ratified by the present parliament. Elections would be organized in March or April 1994 with a view to forming a provisional government which would be able to amend the fundamental law but only within the limits of the principles embodied in the provisional constitution. What Mokwena said in short was that the government was ready to seek agreements with any party willing to accept the new majority's wishes.

The agreement reached on February 12 ultimately falls somewhat short of such expectations. A union of the ANC and the IFP has been made possible by principles laid down independently of any majority forming an election, the ANC has always insisted that the new constitution should be worked out by an elected constituent assembly. The elections would take place as soon as possible, in all probability in the first quarter of 1994. However, this constitution is to be ratified only by a qualified majority which has still to be determined. This difficulty was responsible for the talks breaking down in May 1992.

Pending the drafting of the new constitution, the country would be run by a government of national unity consisting of the parties willing to take part in the process. Only parties which have obtained 6 per cent or 10 per cent of the vote would be eligible.

Schoeman claimed that the ANC had agreed to a transitional government of at least five years. Thabo Mbeki, a member of the ANC negotiating team, took a more cautious stand and spoke of a nine-month guarantee with the future constituent assembly given the possibility of lengthening the transitional government's life. The official ANC statement spoke of a "limited duration after the adoption of a new constitution." These semantic variations have in fact more to do with tactical considerations than with real differences of opinion. The principle of power-sharing was accepted by the ANC some months ago, but it has still to get it accepted at the organisation's grass roots.

Much the same sort of problem is faceding South Africa's ruling National Party. It has to have the agreement reached with the ANC accepted by the other parties and above all by the Inkatha leader, Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi. While there appears to be no difficulty about executing the decisions concerning the early establishment of a transitional executive council to assist the government until the elections, or setting up independent commissions to oversee the elections and ensure impartial radio and television coverage, the regions pose an altogether different problem. As Inkatha, like the government, favours a federal, even confederal, structure, it wants the tricky questions of defining borders and identifying the areas of authority settled before the elections.

The ANC has, however, succeeded in having the matter referred to the constituent assembly. This will be the most prickly issue in next week's bilateral talks between the government and Inkatha.

Predictably, the recent discovery of an illegal arms trade in which several ANC activists are involved, has also come in for extensive coverage, but contrary to many expectations, the incident failed to wreck the talks. The two sides would in fact appear to have agreed that given the complexity of the situation in Natal Province where ANC followers are clashing with members of the IFP, other incidents of this sort are likely to take place. An ANC arms cache has, for example, been discovered near Durban, while military matériel, this time transported by the ANC's adversary, Inkatha, was seized at the South Africa/Mozambique border. Neither of the two incidents, though very similar to the previous one, has been unduly exploited.
THE Government was prepared to fund the publication and promotion of the proposed Bills of Rights submitted by other parties, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee said yesterday. Speaking in Parliament, Coetsee said the Government was taking the participation of other political parties in human rights seriously.

New forum set up

A BROADER forum set up by the Johannesburg Traffic Department, transport unions, taxi associations, the South African Police and the Johannesburg City Council is to meet next Tuesday to discuss concerns surrounding the issue of taxis in the city.
The Government and the ANC have agreed on a blueprint for a democratic South Africa. Political Correspondent Ismail Lagardien presents details of the plan.

The crucial part of the agreement is ambiguous and says: "It was originally envisaged that the constitution-making body would sit, adopt a constitution (during interim government) and once a constitution is adopted another election is proposed.

"To understand the above paragraph one should understand what it implies. Instead of another election, that is, nine months later, there would not be another election, other than what the constitution-making body decided. During that period there would be established a government of national unity," the document says.

"The government of national unity will be made up as follows:

- A State President who will appoint a Cabinet;
- The Cabinet will be made up of nominees of political parties whose representation in the Assembly exceeds 15 percent;
- The Cabinet appointments will be in proportion to the representation of each party in the Assembly;
- A political party entitled to do so may decline to participate in the Cabinet;
- All appointments will be made by the State President in consultation with the leader of the particular political party;
- There will be "appropriate mechanisms for the allocation of Cabinet portfolios - this, the document says, has not been agreed on yet; and
- Executive power will be exercised by the State President after consultation with the Cabinet, subject to certain specified executive powers, including statutory and prerogative powers which will be exercised by the State President only with the consent of the leaders of the political parties represented in the Cabinet."

The document explains here that a list "will be addressed in future".

Among the principles agreed on a future among the principles agreed to are:

- South Africa will be an independent sovereign state in which all will enjoy a common South African citizenship;
- South Africa will be a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state;
- The constitution will be the supreme law;
- There will be a separation of powers between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary "with appropriate checks and balances";
- The judiciary will be independent, non-racial and impartial;
- There will be a legal system that guarantees equality before the law;
- The diversity of languages, cultures and religions will be acknowledged;
- There will be representative and accountable government embracing multi-party democracy, regular elections, universal adult suffrage, common voters roll and a general proportional representation;
- All will enjoy universally accepted human rights, freedoms and civil liberties, including freedom of religion, speech and assembly which will be guaranteed in an enforceable and justifiable charter of fundamental rights.
- Any envisaged changes in the powers of the regions would need the consent of the regions and a mechanism would be devised, possibly a Senate, elected on a regional basis, through which this could be affected.
- The role of the Zulu king remained a problem, but at this stage a way is being sought to address this issue - a likely passage to multi-party talks for the king has been mooted and Contrasela seemed a possibility.

The TBVC states will be administered by the four provinces, while their own administrations would be used to dispense services in their respective areas.

These options are not final and will depend largely on the outcome of the elections as all the people in the TBVC states will participate therein after their South African citizenship has been restored.
Countdown for unity rule begins

MICHAEL MORRIS and TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

MOVES towards multi-party talks on a new democratic constitutional system will get a major boost today with the Inkatha Freedom Party agreeing to a planning conference.

All eyes are on Inkatha as its crucial meeting with the government in Richards Bay draws to a close in the wake of the ANC's endorsement of a five-year government of national unity.

Top Inkatha sources at the talks indicated today that definite progress was being made. They said a lot of time had been spent on discussing regionalism.

The government side has been presenting its views on power-sharing and the Inkatha side its views on federalism.

Government sources said the talks had been constructive and less confrontational than in the past.

The scene is now set for a two-day multi-party planning conference - probably on Thursday and Friday next week - to decide on the date for the resumption of fully fledged multi-party negotiations, and the form and name of the forum.

Some confusion followed the announcement by the ANC's national executive committee yesterday that it rejected "power-sharing", but approved an "interim government of national unity and reconstruction" to last up to five years after the adoption of a new constitution.

The government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer reacted: "The statement itself is quite confusing. I can't see what the difference is between power-sharing and a government of national unity and the ANC will have to explain that." After this initial reaction, government sources today expressed relief at the ANC decision. They said it could have been worse.

The ANC insisted its position differed from the government's scenario.

Nevertheless, it is apparent the national executive committee has endorsed agreements between ANC and government negotiators in last week's three-day bilateral.

This was the source of feverish speculation about NP/ANC deals at the weekend.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andries welcomed the ANC's proposal for an interim government of national unity.

He said most elements of the ANC's resolution on negotiations and national reconstruction were in line with what the DP had been advocating for some time.

Natal Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala, who strongly opposed the movement's deal with the government, now supports the agreement.

"It is the most practical under the circumstances", he said today. He said he was satisfied by the explanation given by the ANC.
‘Rude’ AWB offends UK right

‘Eugene Terre‘Blanche’s erratic behaviour on a fund-raising trip to Britain and Belgium has prompted the National Front to suggest the AWB takes a course in public relations. By JAN TALJAARD

STIFF upper lip elements in the British far-right are having difficulty coming to terms with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging’s “lack of the elementary courtesies”.

This has led to tensions between John Tyndall, leader of Britain’s National Front and an AWB delegation that visited Britain in May last year in an attempt to solicit funds.

The AWB’s Eugene Terre‘Blanche, his second-in-command, Ernie van der Westhuizen, “generals” Willem Elshem, Piet Hamman and a “Commandant” Roodt were all part of what turned out to be a rather disastrous and at times farcical visit to Britain and Belgium.

Following the visit, Tyndall and one of his executives, Barry Clark, fired off short missives alternately describing the AWB visit as a “fiasco” and the AWB officials as in need of “a little tuition in public relations and the elementary courtesies”.

Tyndall also accused Terre‘Blanche of “bewildering changes of plan which made it quite impossible for me to keep up with them (the AWB)” and causing him to wait in vain for telephone calls.

Sources said the visit was farcical in more ways than one. Problems with visas, rumours of an illicit cross-channel trip on a fishing boat, and problems with the management of a hotel on London’s Leicester Square all conspired to make it an exercise in how not to conduct public relations.

In the end, sources say, most of the funds collected from the European donors had to be paid out to pour oil on troubled waters.

The visit formed part of a AWB campaign to solicit funds from rightwing organisations in Europe. Since early last year the AWB has corresponded with more than 220 overseas bodies in an attempt to raise money.

Apart from the trip to London and Belgium, “generals” Alec Cruywagen and Johan “Hagar” Thompson also visited Greece last year to attend a congress of the white supremacist Members of the Golden Dawn movement. An appeal for financial assistance for the AWB “from White Nationalist Comrades in Europe” has also appeared in the far-right British publication, League Sentinel.

It states: “Although the AWB need FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE NOW! to fight their case, they have also written to say, that they may later have to appeal for PHYSICAL and MILITARY ASSISTANCE to help prevent their country from takeover by Black-Marxist forces, and their Zionist financiers that are intent on destroying the White Race in Africa.”

- It seems that despite the visits and letters, funds from Europe are almost non-existent and Terre‘Blanche will have to cast his cupped hands in the direction of his local supporters rather than his comrades in Europe. With the AWB at the moment growing at a faster rate than ever since 1988, the coffers may well be filling again.
Govt human rights campaign

CAPE TOWN - Government would spend millions publicising a variety of proposed Bills of rights to foster a human rights culture. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

In the face of criticism that government intended using public funds to propagate its own proposals exclusively, Coetsee said additional funds would be provided for the propagation of other proposals.

He also called for proposals for allocation of the funds, saying government regarded the development of a human rights culture as extremely important, in line with the recommendations of the SA Law Commission.

Additional funds outside the estimated R1.5m allocated would be provided, Coetsee said. Suggestions should reach the department within two weeks, he said.

It was important that government foster the debate on the topic and if spending R16.5m on Codesa was justified, then spending public money on fostering a human rights culture was also acceptable.

Asked at a media briefing whether government would suspend the propagation of its own proposal pending the inclusion of other suggestions, Coetsee said momentum would be lost if it did.

In any event, he said, other parties had been propagating their points of view on the subject for some time, so government would simply be "leveling the playing field".

In reply to questions about whether government intended to outlaw racism, Coetsee said legislation already did so and government's proposed Bill would prevent a future parliament enacting racist legislation.

Government's proposed Bill did not criminalise racial discrimination, but the equality clause would enable courts to invalidate racist practices.

Coetsee said the argument that, by not criminalising racial discrimination, government was fostering it, was defective.

He said there was a surprising convergence of opinion between the law commission, government, ANC and Inkatha proposals and an analysis of the similarities would be released soon.

Brummel wins bungalow battle

RAY HARTLEY
GOVERNMENT has backed down on threats to strip the Beaufort West nudist resort of the 60 wooden bungalows that belong to nudists at the camp.

Nudist Beaufort West community leader Brummel and government inspectors had been at loggerheads over the bungalows, claiming they did not meet official building standards. But an assurance was later given that this would not be done.

The latest move comes in the wake of attempts by Brummel to open his resort to nudists of all races and sexual persuasions. Brummel said government inspectors had been called in by a faction of heterosexual nudists to condemn the restaurant on the property, but their plan backfired and their own bungalows were condemned.

Brummel "fully clothed" officials had told him they would condemn the bungalows, but had subsequently backed down.

He shrugged off suggestions that his resort would have had to wrap up its affairs, "I've fought the Vroue Federasie, I've fought the dominoes, and I'm going to fight this one."

Inkatha starts wooing voters

INKATHA has launched a massive campaign intended to woo at least 70% of the voters in Natal.

Inkatha leader Senzo Mfayela said in an interview yesterday his organisation had formulated a programme through which it was hoping Natal balloting voters would vote for it in the coming elections.

The programme included teaching people "who never voted before" how to vote, setting up election committees in areas where Inkatha had no branches, helping people obtain identity documents and canvassing support from the Indian community.

As part of the programme, Mfayela said, Inkatha would go all out to secure the co-operation of people who owned vehicles such as trucks and busses. These would be used to transport people to the polling stations.

Mfayela said funds which his organisations were channeling into the campaign came from sympathetic businessmen and members. To date, more than R100 000 had been obtained for the drive.

Mfayela said he was not aware of plans to invite foreign experts to help Inkatha during its election campaign.

MP Mike Tarr said recently Inkatha had the potential to win an election in Natal.

Shot men's dependents sue Minister

THE dependants of two Soweto men allegedly unlawfully shot dead by police at the Avalon Cemetery, Soweto, in October 1990, are suing the Minister of Law and Order for a total of R190 000 in damages in the Rand Supreme Court.

Durah Moti and Marjorie Shoni are suing the Minister on behalf of their two young children. The women claim that Zulu Sizi, 23, and Zwelakhe Mainanye, 20, were unlawfully shot dead, thereby depriving their children of their fathers' support.

Moti is claiming R100 000 in respect of her son while Shoni is suing the Minister for R90 000 on behalf of her daughter, who was not yet born when her father was killed. Zulu's father Augustine Zulu and Mainanye's mother Antonia Mainanye, are claiming R5 000 each from the Minister for the cost of their sons' funerals.

The Minister is defending the claim.

Police claim the two men attempted to escape after being apprehended in connection with the unlawful possession of ammunition.
Depends what you mean

There's no secret deal between government and the ANC — but broad agreement has been reached between negotiators on power sharing in an interim administration.

Details of the proposal have not been finalised, but various options were due to be discussed this week by the Cabinet and the ANC's National Executive Committee.

Government wants the period of joint rule fixed for about five years, while the ANC believes it should not exceed the time it takes for the constituent assembly to draw up a final constitution.

But both sides are flexible. After talks with government last week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa confirmed that the issue of a government of national unity "for a limited period after the adoption of a new constitution" had been discussed.

The organisation believes such a government will unite SA, reconcile rival groups and start the process of nation building.

The ANC rejected government's initial call for constitutionally enshrined power sharing based on proportional representation. ANC leader Nelson Mandela told Sir David Frost in a television interview last week that, in his view, the party that won a majority of votes should form the government and invite opposition representation if it felt the need to do so. A coalition should not be mandated in terms of the constitution.

It seems that this view has now been accepted as the basis for a government of national unity — and it indicates a surprising degree of trust between ANC and government negotiators.

Trust appears also to have been carried through to discussions — and some agreements — on steps to "level the playing fields" in a run-up to an election, including the appointment of an independent electoral commission and a media commission.

Details of the appointment, powers and functions of the proposed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and sub-TECs (for law & order, defence, foreign affairs, finance and regional & local government) were also discussed last week. The ANC made certain proposals which government agreed to consider.

The multi-party TEC and sub-councils will play a key role in the pre-election phase.

Though the existing government will continue to exercise full executive authority, the councils will be consulted on all major issues. In effect they will be the first step towards formal power sharing — and co-responsibility.

The ANC proposed at the meeting that Codesa co-chairmen Justice Schabert and Mohammad be asked to initiate the appointment of a panel, which will in turn appoint a new board for the SABC. Government agreed that a "transparent process" was needed to appoint a new board.

Meanwhile, government negotiators were scheduled to meet their counterparts in the Inkatha Freedom Party and Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) this week, in an attempt to convince them that they were not being cut out.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi reacted angrily to initial reports of the power-sharing agreement, but government negotiators were confident this week that the IFP would be placated when the nature of the agreement with the ANC was fully explained.

Buthelezi's response followed disclosures last week by Constitutional Affairs Deputy Minister Fanus Schooman that agreement had been reached with the ANC on power sharing.

President F W de Klerk and Mandela denied any deal. All that happened was that the two groups of negotiators reached consensus on an agreement both sides could live with.

It still needs to be ratified by their respective leaderships and will then be put forward for further discussion when multi-lateral talks resume. But the significance of the agreement should not be underestimated. It represents major concessions by both sides.

In essence, the ANC has moved much closer to accepting regionalism as a funda-
mental pillar of a new constitution, while government has backed away from insisting that the details of regionalism be finalised before constituent assembly elections.

Ramaphosa says it was agreed at the meeting that the constituent assembly would decide on the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

The consensus reached last week was due partly to what has been described as a new sense of realism on both sides.

The resumption of Codesa is considered to be the priority and should not be delayed by issues of detail that will probably be debated more fully when all multi-lateral talks get under way.

In an interview with the FM this week (see Cover Story), De Klerk said it was "fundamentally important" to hold the multi-party planning conference (scheduled for later this month) so that full-scale negotiations could resume (probably next month). ANC negotiators are equally anxious that the bilateral talks do not become bogged down in arguments over detail.

The infiltration of arms through Swaziland into Natal by alleged ANC members is regarded as a potentially serious obstacle to talks, but government is prepared to give the ANC the benefit of the doubt at this stage and accept assurances that the leadership was unaware of the actions.

Opposition to the agreement was mainly of two kinds: from those, like the IFP's Buthelezi, who fear exclusion during the transition and after it; and from those within the ANC who want the party with majority electoral support to rule alone. Interestingly, the strident opposition of ANC Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala has been dented by support for power-sharing from fellow communist Chris Hani.

De Klerk appears to be confident of his constituency and is apparently once again negotiating from a position of strength; his main task is to persuade Buthelezi that he is not being excluded.

But for Mandela, on the other hand, some hard decisions loom: how much longer can he tolerate open defiance of the official ANC position from regional and junior leaders? If he fails to muzzle or expel them, his own credibility will be affected — and De Klerk's could well be enhanced.
A lack of moral fibre

President F W de Klerk’s recent interview with Sir David Frost was notable for his extraordinary optimism in the face of obvious economic and political adversity. The same tone characterised his discussion with the FM in his Tuynhuys office this week: his answers, which are forthright and perceptive of public interest, appear on the following pages.

In essence, De Klerk’s optimism finds its justification in the trust he places in responsible leadership in all communities and most spheres of life in this country; in the overwhelming desire he identifies in most people for peace and prosperity; in his confidence in a sound economy; in a resilient and talented private sector; and, in what he calls a new spirit of realism.

One of De Klerk’s strengths is that he has not lost perspective. Despite substantial setbacks and many irritating delays, the great achievement of the past three years has been the removal of apartheid laws and the gradual convergence of political and economic views towards consensus.

The Frost interview was broadcast for a second time on Monday night, because the President was dismayed that two points he made were edited out.

One in particular had to do with apologising for apartheid and it is entirely understandable why De Klerk wanted it to be given wide currency. Patently the editing skills at Auck- land Park haven’t changed much. Our guess is that in the SABC tower block there are those saying much the same thing of Tuynhuys.

But, of course, there has been a fundamental change at Tuynhuys and De Klerk’s optimism is part of it. As he acknowledges, it is possible to conceive the most discouraging scenario — as the economy kickstarts at the SA Perm, Old Mutual and Nedbank have contrived to do.

There is no guarantee that SA will not be plunged into a Balkan conflict by inadequate leaders.

But De Klerk has shown a canny sense, in more than one electoral test, of the direction of public opinion. His instincts are probably more than backroom planners care to acknowledge.

However, on one question put to him by the FM, De Klerk did not care to elaborate — and we, with the benefit of hindsight, did not adequately probe. It is a question over which many ordinary folk have the gravest misgivings — the depths of the moral decay and criminal violence to which we have declined in SA.

De Klerk dwelt on the economic and social causes of criminal violence, and on how in a more stable and prosperous country they would decline of their own volition. But the matter should not be allowed to end there, for its implications are too serious.

There has in this country been a lapse in moral standards in all walks of life, but especially in the bureaucracy.

We know from what he has said in the past that De Klerk believes he has acted swiftly to curb corruption where it has been exposed; he has appointed commissions to delve into it further and seen off some Cabinet colleagues, senior civil servants and army officers as a result. There have also been prosecutions, though few convictions so far.

The question, however, is not whether he has done something, but whether he has in the political circumstances of this country done enough.

Corruption has become rife in almost every African state. In those countries that chose a collectivist road to what turned out to be their ruin, the exigencies of a system of preferment encouraged the accumulation of dishonest wealth to the extent that corruption has become endemic. In those countries where some semblance of a market economy has been allowed to allocate resources, the expected utility was corrupted by widespread moral degeneration.

The fear of ordinary people here is that if the overtly Protestant government of the National Party — which enshrined such concepts as Christian National Education — has had to countenance one scandal after another within its own administration, to what extent will a new government of national unity find it convenient to turn a blind eye to corruption?

Corruption — especially a corrupt bureaucracy — is capable of subverting the most democratic of constitutions, the most equitable legal system and efficient market economy.

In SA, where the public service and public utilities could again be used as an instrument of perverse affirmative action, even more democratic and open society, bolstered by a Bill of Rights, might not prevail against incipient corruption.

There is a possibility that, demoralised by failure and encrusted by reducing tenure, the present administration is in a peculiar state of moral disarray. A new bureaucracy serving a more democratic government could be less, rather than more, corrupt — but there is not much precedent in Africa to lend credence to that view.

It is not only the political and legal institutions of Western society that foster the ethical bond essential to the success of capitalism’s endeavours. The clergy, which teaches ethics and monitors their adherence, plays a decisive role.

Unhappily in SA, the clergy of the established religions have for so long, with such single-mindedness, sought the downfall of apartheid, paying scant attention to the nature of the society afterwards, that their influence is limited and example unseen.

While De Klerk needs to act with greater effect against the dishonest and unscrupulous, he cannot succeed on his own.

Quite apart from the restoration of prosperity, the re-establishment of moral rigour requires concerted action from those in all walks of life.
Getting beyond suspicion

With talks on the political transition poised to enter a crucial stage, President F W de Klerk spoke exclusively to the FMI about the obstacles to peace and stability — and his optimism that they will be overcome. De Klerk was interviewed this week in Cape Town by FMI editor Nigel Bruce and senior editor Chris Freimond.

FMI: How critical are talks this week to the resumption of broadly based constitutional negotiations and what is the main obstacle?
De Klerk: They are very important — as were last week’s talks. Critical is maybe too strong a word, but time is of the essence. It is fundamentally important that we get the planning conference going.

“We must not allow ourselves to be rushed for the sake of staying on schedule”

There is already broad agreement that the conference is a starting point for the resumption of multiparty negotiations. Hopefully, this week’s talks will lead to the detailed arrangement of the planning conference soon.

Do you expect substantial opposition from Chief Buthelezi and the IFP?
The purpose of the talks is not to convince anyone of any point of view. It is to remove suspicion and explain our position and inform negotiating partners about issues raised in talks with other parties. The major purpose is to get multiparty negotiations going again. We are not entering the bilateral talks with the IFP in a confrontational manner.

We want to clear up misunderstandings that may have arisen, due to incomplete or incorrect representations of what took place during our discussions with the ANC. We aim to narrow the differences that may still exist between us.

You told Sir David Frost that you saw 12 years down the road a dynamic, prosperous and stable country of great opportunity. What persuades you to this view and, given our problems, is it not stretching credulity?
Obviously, circumstances other than the optimistic and positive one can be drawn. I’m optimistic not just because it’s my nature, but because I believe SA has leaders in all spheres to ensure that we fulfil the promise which this country holds. We have responsible political leadership in the most important parties and in a number of smaller parties. These leaders share a commitment to a negotiated and peaceful solution.

We have responsible leaders in business and other fields. We are a country with a lot of talent and the overwhelming majority of people want a peaceful solution. In addition, we have an inherently sound economy in spite of structural problems and the need for economic reforms. And we have a private sector which, at the end of a difficult period, is still alive and well.

It has proved to be resilient and resourceful during this period of deep recession. The National Economic Forum is progressing well, as is development in other spheres, such as education and local government, where a new spirit of realism is evident among all parties.

SA has entered a period of moral turpitude and criminal violence. Can a government of national unity and a new constitution survive this substantial rejection of moral sanction?
I believe a government of national unity, operating within the framework of a transitional constitution which includes a proper Bill of Rights, will be in a good position to address these issues. Part of the problem is the historical distrust of the police.

The SAP has gone a long way to rectify this. When a government of national unity is in place, such type of problem will be removed and the task of the police will be made easier. Furthermore, the economy will benefit from political stability and, as economic growth resumes, a major cause of criminal action will be eliminated.

I see an active role for the leader of the NP and I'm planning to remain leader of the NP.

Unless you and other credible leaders can restore mutual trust and common purpose, could not the first election deteriorate into a bitter and violent power struggle?
It is important to establish mutual trust and common purpose, but obviously this does not mean entering into alliances. The essence of democracy, particularly during an election campaign, is the emphasis on policy differences and the voters are wooed on that basis. There is a risk of violence continuing to threaten a peaceful democratic process.

That will have to be managed and one of the most important tasks of the proposed Transitional Executive Council will be to analyse this problem and come up with solutions.

The essential task of the TEC will be to level the political playing field. We can’t talk about a level political playing field while there is widespread violence. But I’m confident that violence can be curbed by successful negotiations.

In your view, is there a level of violence which, if it is reached, would make the holding of an election ill-advised?
I don’t believe there is a way to measure violence exactly — and we cannot and will not allow radicals to veto elections by threat-
When a government of national unity is in place, the task of the police will be made easier.

The essence of democracy is the emphasis on policy differences.

We cannot and will not allow radicals to veto elections.

We believe SA has leaders in all spheres to ensure that we fulfill the promise which this country holds.

The negotiation process has been delayed because of our serious economic difficulties.

We go into all negotiations with the view that in order to ensure long-term stability we need some form of economic power-sharing, coupled with various checks and balances built into the constitution and the Bill of Rights. We believe the principles we enunciated during the referendum last year are fundamental to long-term stability and we have not renounced any of them.

Do you see an amalgamation of white parties with yourself as leader?

Definitely not. I'm not the leader of a white party. There may be an amalgamation of parties that prefer to call themselves white parties, but the NP has already changed and we represent South Africans from all population groups. They are represented in our structures and hierarchy and are working actively for the party. The NP has become a party espousing values to which most moderate South Africans subscribe. It is a truly nonracial party.

On the other hand I think we can expect some sort of political realignment that will continue for some time because we have political organisations that do not have clearly defined policy bases. The ANC is the best case in point. It has historically been a political home for people who perceived it as the vehicle through which they would attain political rights rather than because of policy issues.

From Dr Mandela's reply (to Sir David Frost) with regard to the relationship between the ANC and the SAP, it is already clear that the ANC itself sees a realignment. In the long run I don't think SA will be much different from other countries and we will find a two- or three-stream type of system.

What attitude would you like to see the major powers and the UN adopt towards the negotiating process and what follows?

I would like to see them adopt a helpful and constructive approach and to be supportive of the process. I welcome the fact that this is already beginning to happen. I also welcome the broad consensus among all players in SA that we don't need deference or the internationalisation of our internal solutions. We definitely need support and understanding for the complexity of our problems and the return of SA to the international fold in the fullest sense.

I also welcome the widespread international recognition of the pivotal role SA has to play in sub-Saharan Africa.
For Toyota SA, 1992 came perilously close to becoming its own annus horribilis.

The 10-week, midyear strike at Toyota’s Durban assembly plant cost the company thousands of vehicle sales and sent turnover and profits tumbling. It even threatened Toyota’s investment in the new Camry car range and sent management-worker relations plunging to a new low.

CE Bert Wessels is understandably relieved to have put the year behind him. But, while he insists Toyota has recovered fully from the strike, it is clear 1993 won’t be trouble-free either.

One of Toyota’s immediate ambitions is to return sales to target levels. Having aimed for 30% of the total vehicle market last year, the company ended up with 27%. It could have been much worse. In Toyota’s favour was the fact that the strike coincided with a sales trough and competitors had limited excess stocks to mop up whatever demand Toyota couldn’t meet.

Even so, Toyota estimates the strike cost it nearly 9,000 sales. At a conservative average of R40,000 a vehicle, that works out to R360m in lost turnover — far less than some of the figures being bandied about towards the end of the strike. Some came close to R1bn. As the FM pointed out at the time, much of that turnover was not lost, only delayed until orders could be met later.

It is likely, therefore, that year-end figures for 1992 will be much better than the interim which were, frankly, miserable. Pre-tax profit was down 72%, compared with the first half of 1991, from R100m to R28m. Attributable income fell 74% to R12m, bringing EPS from 114c to 29c. The dividend was passed for the first time since 1985.

Though the strike continued into the second half — 33 working days were lost in May and June, another 16 in July — year-end results are expected to reflect the improved picture. One certain improvement will be in Toyota’s interest burden. At the interim stage, interest-bearing debt had nearly doubled from the previous year, to R427m. This was partly due to the Toyota Motor Co (TMC) of Japan being unable immediately to turn off supplies to the Durban plant after the strike started.

“At one stage, we had nearly 30,000 unassembled vehicle kits piled up in the yard, instead of the normal stockpile of between 8,000 and 10,000,” says Wessels. When TMC was finally able to stop supplying, stocks ran down quickly and the situation was back to normal by October.

The high interest levels also reflected investment in the new Camry, which replaced the Cressida late last year, and a new HiAce minibus. The R250m Camry investment was by far the biggest contributor to 1992 capex of R350m. With that money spent, “we are having a bit of a holiday this year,” says Wessels. Capex in 1993 probably won’t exceed R80m “and there is scope to cut back on that.” This year’s spending could even be covered by depreciation.

It’s only a short holiday, however. Capex will start to pick up again next year and will be very high in 1995 and 1996, says Wessels. That’s predictable, since Toyota is preparing to launch the next Corolla range around then.

Toyota faces considerable cost pressures in 1993. Competition is forcing vehicle manufacturers to shave margins. Toyota Marketing MD Brand Pretorius predicts that car price increases this year will average less than the inflation rate, probably 11%-12%.

To achieve that and contribute meaningfully to profits is a tall order. Some companies, desperate to move stocks, are already taking losses on certain car models. Though, as market leader, Toyota’s greater volumes give it a unit-cost advantage over rivals, it would surprise no-one if it were forced to do the same.

That pressure might be intensified this year because of demands by TMC. As Wessels explains, the SA motor industry’s latest decline “coincides with a sharp drop in international vehicle demands and a dramatic drop in profitability of all major motor manufacturers.”

The multibillion-dollar 1992 losses just announced by Ford and General Motors are at the extreme end of the scale. Some Japanese manufacturers also went into the red. TMC remained profitable last year but saw profits at little more than half of 1990’s record levels.

Its response has been to call for greater effort and sacrifice from its subsidiaries and licensors. Wessels explains that the Japanese company “has made onerous demands on us — both for sales volume achievements and the absorption of job components.” In other words, Toyota SA is being asked to sell even more vehicles while facing price increases worsened by the rand’s continued weakening against the yen.

The irony isn’t lost on Wessels. It’s only a couple of years since, under Japanese government pressure, TMC Japan was restricting supplies to SA. “It’s a new thing for us to be pushed by TMC to achieve higher volumes and market share.” That makes it imperative for Toyota SA to reach its targeted 30% market share for 1993. In doing so, the local company, which accounts for about 2.5% of total TMC turnover, will have to absorb the higher supply costs from Japan. Wessels says with under-

---

**Turning upwards**

*Toyota share price and share price vs industrial index*

---

**Toyota’s fall and rise**

*How the strike hit 1992 car market penetration*
Crisis in the electoral system...
Multi-party conference looks set to start on schedule

Green light from ANC

By Peter Faberius
and Jo-Anne Calliaque

CAPE TOWN — The ANC’s national executive committee last night gave its crucial approval to proposals for a five-year government of national unity.

This promising development, coupled with encouraging signals from the Government-in-exile (Freederen Party) based at Richards Bay, indicated that negotiations are still on track for the multi-party planning conference next Thursday and Friday.

This will in turn arrange the resumption of full-scale Coena-style multi-party negotiations.

But the NRC firmly rejected sharing equal power with the National Party in a government of national unity and made it clear that the views of the majority party would prevail.

After an intense three-day meeting, the NEC last night issued a unanimous resolution which endorsed the essential elements of the agreement by Government and ANC negotiators for a government of national unity lasting up to five years.

This included a joint Cabinet, of all parties receiving more than 5 percent of the electoral vote, which would rule the country for no longer than five years after elections for a constituent assembly.

In the first phase — before the adoption of a new constitution — the government would be called the interim government of national unity, the NEC said.

In the second phase — after the adoption of a new constitution — it would become known as the government of national unity and reconstructed, which would phase-in aspects of the new constitution and embark on a far-reaching programme of reconstruction and affirmative action.

Hamstrung

At a press conference in Soweto last night, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was adamant that the NEC proposal was an outright rejection of the Government’s notion of power-sharing.

"One idea of a government of national unity means majority rule should not be sacrificed in any way. We see the president as being able to take decisions without being hamstrung."

The NEC resolution states that the president will be elected by simple majority of the constituent assembly. Representatives of minority parties in the Cabinet will be appointed — in proportion to their voting support — by the president in consultation with the leaders of those parties.

On most issues the president would make the final say. On certain issues not yet agreed to, decisions would require the support of two-thirds of the Cabinet.

Consensus

On another critical issue, the NEC resolution confirmed that the constituent assembly would take all decisions in the powers, functions and boundaries of regional government.

A proposed regional commission could only make recommendations to this assembly.

The ANC, however, would be seeking to build a national consensus on regional government.

"SA Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani said at the University of Cape Town yesterday the ANC had rejected sharing power with the National Party for five years and instead wanted an interim government, led by Nelson Mandela, to be in power for nine months.

He said a constituent assembly should have a nine-month lifespan in which to draw up a new constitution.

"We are saying the government of national unity must go up to the time that the constituent assembly has completed its task. That can’t be two, three or five years."

He said the ANC would like the process completed within nine months.

"Then we must have elections. This is the position of the ANC."
Soweto man for NP committee

CAPE TOWN — A Soweto businessman is among several extra-political figures to join a new National Party's Information and Management Committee to beef up the party's election strategy.

D L Chauvanye's appointment to the National Information and Management Committee was announced yesterday by the head of the NP's election campaign, Minister of Public Enterprises and Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Another businessman, N J Frangos, and "well-known political adviser" Dr Jan du Plessis are also to serve on the committee.

"Professional advice" will be given by consultant Eldad Louw.

De Villiers said the main aim of the committee would be to "broaden the support base of the NP and establish the basis for a well-structured and successful election campaign".

The committee will begin operating next month.

The NP has also formed a new strategy committee in the Cape.
The Inkatha Freedom Party's latest parliamentary recruit, Mike Tarr, doesn't regard himself as a white Zulu.

In fact, if he believed the IFP was a Zulu party he wouldn't have joined. "The IFP is keen to get rid of its image as a Zulu party. Part of my job will be to expand membership among whites to do just that."

Tarr (50) shocked the Democratic Party last month by quitting to join the IFP. He has been MP for Maritzburg North since 1989 and was considered a staunch DP man.

Tarr was first elected to parliament for the Progressive Federal Party as MP for Maritzburg South in 1981, but lost to a Nationalist in the 1987 "total onslaught" election.

Before that he taught agricultural economics at the University of Natal for 10 years. He is a partner in a Maritzburg agricultural economics consultancy and specialises in rural development issues.

In a possible interim Cabinet published by the FAM this month, based on predictions by political observers, Tarr was placed as Minister of Agriculture (Leaders February 5). He believes his expertise can be of value to the IFP.

Tarr says he defected to the IFP because he found very few differences in policy with the DP. "The views of the two parties are similar on various issues — boycotts, sanctions, stayaways. I support a federal option for SA and I believe that no-one but the IFP can make it happen in Natal."

He also argues that it's time whites started joining predominantly black parties that they believe in, rather than vice versa. "I tried for a long time to recruit blacks for the DP, but it just wasn't working."

Tarr says he had no problems with DP ideology but the party was simply going nowhere, particularly in Natal. "I would like to stay in active politics and if I do, I want to be in a party that can make a difference."

However, he acknowledges that as a white member of the IFP he is in a small minority and can't expect special treatment. His future will be largely determined by party decisions.

Tarr speaks some Zulu but not enough — so he's working on it. "I spoke at a rally at Trust Feeds at the weekend and told the audience that next time I addressed them it would be in Zulu."

His break with the DP was amiable and he still speaks to his former colleagues. "People in the DP are pretty civilised in that respect."

He disagrees that he's let down his voters. "Judging by the telephone calls I've received since my move I have no doubt that most whites in Maritzburg would support the IFP rather than the ANC."
NEC outlines its plan

A GOVERNMENT of national unity should be in power for nine months to draft a new constitution and should then be replaced by a democratically-elected parliament, the ANC National Executive Committee has decided.

South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani said yesterday he was confident the ANC would lead the interim government with Mr Nelson Mandela as president.

He was addressing about 1000 University of Cape Town students at a meeting of the South African Students' Congress.

The ANC NEC met this week to decide its response to talks between ANC and National Party negotiators. The NP wants a five-year government of national unity.

Mr Hani said that as head of the interim government, Mr Mandela would decide on cabinet appointments after consulting leaders whose parties got more than 5% of the vote.

Mr Hani said one of the main struggles facing the ANC as the future government was the need to resist corruption and bureaucratization. This would be helped by an active and critical mass democratic movement.
A political analyst often used as a commentator by the SABC, Dr Jan du Plessis, was last night named as a member of the National Party's new election strategy committee.

The names of the members of the committee were announced by committee chairman Dr Dawie de Villiers, the party's Cape leader.

Dr Du Plessis has frequently appeared on television to comment on political developments, but his political affiliation has not been known publicly.

The committee includes the Minister of Health, Dr Nina Venter, the Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives, Mr Gerald Morkel, and Mr Piet Coetzee, director of the party's federal information services.
Call to make ministers accountable

THE government should admit to its mistakes and make its ministers publicly accountable, Mr Robin Carlisle (DP; Wynberg) said yesterday.

Speaking in first reading debate on the Transport Services Unappropriated Expenditure Bill, he said the government had made the poorest attempt yet to justify the mismanagement of the SA Transport Services.

To put things in perspective, Sats' financial statement of the was received six months late, was inaccurate to the tune of R487 million when received and fixed assets could not be verified to the satisfaction of the auditors.

"The fixed assets of Sats at the time were R4 billion but there was no asset register."

This amounted to atrocious management.

The government had also had no idea how the R40 million in the expense account had been used.

"It should have known someone was stealing the cash."

"With six million people unemployed, seven million inadequately housed... how can you justify this sort of thing?"

Mr Carlisle said that instead of the Minister being made accountable, he had been moved from one department to another.

Who knew what inaccuracies, or absent-minded mismanagement was going on in his present department? — Sapa.
Oiling the election campaign for votes

With an election date set, parties are rushing to win votes and ensure they win the most votes possible. A huge organizational structure with elected officials, workers, and volunteers has to be established to ensure the campaigns are effective.

The point of each campaign is to win as many votes for the party as possible. You can use your membership to ensure that every vote cast for the party can mean the difference between victory and defeat.

The campaign attempts to win over as many new members as possible from the huge group of apathetic people who normally would not decide to support any party on election day. Election campaign committees are normally set up at local, regional, and national level to coordinate a party's election campaign countrywide.

Hunting each campaign committee is a campaign manager, who is responsible for supervising the campaign within the area of jurisdiction.

The manager recruits people for the following tasks: branch secretaries, fundraising, voter canvassing, organizing public meetings, publicity, and transport.

Managers have to ensure capable people are employed to oversee the following tasks on election day: public relations, worker co-ordinators, administration, and neighborhood organizers. Campaign committees conduct analyses of voters in their areas to get a clear picture of all communities, their priorities, and problems, to set targets and outline a financial budget.

The analysis is crucial to ensure the party's message reaches the voters, thus beginning the process of winning as many votes in the area as possible. Based on the community profile, the committee formulates an election plan.

This is a strategy, the aim of which is to use all available resources in the area like venues, influential voters who could help and summarize the main issues and problems in the area.

The campaign then makes a list of "votable issues" that the party can address and use to win support. The plan also informs the community about the strategies of opposition parties and what their election strategies will be.

This helps to undermine the credibility of the opposition and to ensure their strategy to win votes.

Although these methods do not sound pleasant or fair, election campaign strategies are based on fairness, but rather on winning as many votes as possible by whatever means are possible—right or wrong.

Some party officials have in the past been unscrupulous enough to resort to illegal means to defeat their opponents. To avoid this happening, there are laws governing the conduct of election campaigns. Campaign committees would have to be familiar with the Election Act to avoid prosecution.

Ballot boxes, voting cubicles ordered for poll

South Africa's first non-racial, democratic elections were already under way with the departments of Home Affairs and Local Government ordering 10 200 ballot boxes and 15 200 folding voting cubicles, which have already been made.

Equipment such as voting booths (used for detecting visible ink marks on voters' hands) and ink pads have been ordered.

Seven thousand locations have been identified as possible polling stations.

The issuing of identity documents has been speeded up, reaching 60 000 a week and the department is confident that more eligible voters should have identity documents by March next year.

Census

Based on the 1991 population census, there are 51.5 million eligible voters, including nearly 15.4 million black voters, in South Africa.

There is agreement among the major political parties involved in negotiations that the first elections will be for a consultative assembly or interim parliament.

Three major areas which still need to be negotiated are which authority will conduct the elections, what electoral system will be used, and what technical matters such as voter registration, identification, party registration and election logistics are needed.

While canvassing is essential, the level of political intolerance is so high that volunteers workers may not be welcome at the front doors of supporters of rival parties. Already, public meetings of political parties have been disrupted by supporters of rival groups.

Political party officials have been attacked in the past and activists have experienced harassment when they put up posters of their organizations.

Political tension in South Africa still has to be defused considerably before preparations for an election can start.

This page was made possible by the Support of the Matla Trust

Winning votes takes time, cash and work

Hours of footwork by creative media campaign is required from members and volunteers of political parties to ensure an election victory.

There are a number of methods political parties can use to try to get their message across to as many potential voters as possible.

These include mass rallies, house meetings, voter canvassing, media advertisements, distributing party literature and printing a range of pamphlets like stickers, badges, bags, T-shirts and more with their party's symbol and color.

Party workers also attempt to get maximum publicity for their most popular party leaders by highlighting their good points and their political track record.

The public is bombarded with a great deal of information about the party presented in a wide variety of forms.

Giving personal attention to voters is another important aspect of an election campaign. Canvassing — door-to-door visiting of all the households in a constituency — takes place early in every campaign.

This helps the election campaign committee to establish the degree of party support in the area, and the number of "doubtful" voters who are convinced which party they will vote for. Canvassers also get a commitment from party supporters to go and vote on election day.

The results are all recorded by the canvassers, and forms a gold mine of information which enables the party to modify its strategy where necessary, upgrade its weaknesses and highlight its strong points.

It also enables party leaders to address directly the concerns of people in the area.

Based on the canvassing results, the party may have to focus its attention on the "doubtful" and attempt to sway them to vote for the party before the opposition reaches them and wins their support.

Although these methods do not sound pleasant or fair, election campaign strategies are based on fairness, but rather on winning as many votes as possible by whatever means are possible—right or wrong.

Some party officials have in the past been unscrupulous enough to resort to illegal means to defeat their opponents. To avoid this happening, there are laws governing the conduct of election campaigns. Campaign committees would have to be familiar with the Election Act to avoid prosecution.

This is the fourth part of our 1993 series to help you make the most of your ballot.
Stay cool for polls, warns peacemaker

A man with his finger on the pulse of peacekeeping initiatives in the Western Cape sees a crucial challenge ahead - the task of ensuring that South Africa's first nonracial elections are free from violence, intimidation or serious disruption.

FRANS ESTERHUYSSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

A WARNING has come from peacemaker Professor Jaap Durand that South Africa's problems could multiply if the first nonracial elections do not succeed.

And one factor that could threaten the much-needed success of elections is violence, he says.

Professor Durand, chairman of the Western Cape regional peace committee, said this week that he agreed with the findings of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa (Comsa) about the importance of democratic elections as a way of containing violence.

"This is important, but then a prerequisite is that elections must be peaceful," Professor Durand said.

If not, there is a danger that violence-ridden elections will succeed and plunge the country into a worse situation.

Professor Durand sees this as an important part of South Africa's growing peacekeeping machine set up under the National Peace Accord.

Although political meetings are important, he says, they are not a priority at present because of more urgent matters the regional committee has to deal with.

Issues the committee has had to handle or help to resolve since its formation about a year ago include the Peninsula taxi war, squatter crises, tensions between black communities, landless people and local authorities, violence and the burning down of shacks, school crises and other serious conflict situations in local communities.

Professor Durand, who is also vice-rector of the University of the Western Cape, finds that his task as peacemaker can be quite hectic at times - "it becomes a problem when things are happening and one has to be in several places at the same time."

On the issue of elections, he says he regards education for elections as important, and the committee is looking closely at this need.

He foresees that peace structures will be in place in South Africa for many years to come.

"Inequalities built into our society are going to take a long time to eradicate."

The regional peace committee liaises closely with national peace structures and has received much co-operation and assistance from international peace monitors, notably those from the United Nations, the British Commonwealth and the European Community.

On a lighter note, Professor Durand notes that, thanks to the presence of international observers, the little-known village of Koekenaap on the West Coast has figured in a report by UN Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to the UN.

This came about after UN observers had accompanied representatives of the regional peace committee to Koekenaap where problems had arisen about the land issue, homeless people and recent evictions.

Professor Durand says the Peace Accord, signed in September 1990, has three pillars - the national peace committee, the national peace secretariat and the Goldstone commission.

For peacekeeping purposes the country is divided into 11 regions, including the Western Cape region which began functioning in February 1992.

The boundaries of the Western Cape region extend from Cape Town to Port Nolloth and from there to Beaufort West and Plettenberg Bay. Within this region, a number of sub-regions have been established - including the Southern Cape, West Coast, Cape Metropolitan Region, and the Boland and Karoo.

Offices with full-time personnel have so far been established in Bellville and George.

Three main tasks of the regional committee are: To assist the political process by meeting regional and local political leaders and drawing as many groups as possible into the peace process, to facilitate and mediate in crises and conflict situations; and to promote long-term community development.

When troubles or tension arise in local communities, peace committee members swiftly move in and try to facilitate or mediate between warring groups. Attempts are made to set up local peace committees.

Professor Durand cites the example of a highly successful local peace committee set up in Grabouw at the height of recent troubles. The committee included people from the whole spectrum of the local scene.
F W poised to reshuffle his cabinet

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

President de Klerk is poised to order a major cabinet reshuffle to prepare his administration for the crucial run-up to the first all-race elections.

Indications are that details will be announced today. Far-reaching changes are expected, and there is intense speculation that he may bring in outsiders, possibly including people of colour.

Several ministers and deputy ministers could get the chop, and some portfolios may be amalgamated to streamline the executive.

One possibility is that the finance-related portfolios could be combined under the political control of Finance Minister Mr. Derek Keys.

Mounting speculation suggests that Minister of Home Affairs and Environment Mr. Louis Plienaar is ready to leave politics altogether.

The Home Affairs portfolio is a critical one as South Africa prepares for the biggest election in its history.

One of this department’s key tasks in the months ahead will be to make sure that all South Africans have identity documents. Millions have yet to apply.

One possible choice to head this department is Minister of Defence Mr. Gene Louw, whose handling of last year’s hectic referendum campaign was widely praised.

But security is equally critical at this time, and the President would want a political heavyweight to head the Defence Force.

Most senior men in the cabinet already have their hands full.

Growing Opposition anger over bungling in the Department of Transport in years past has raised questions about the future of former Transport Minister Mr. George Barlatt.

However, as head of the National Party in Natal, his position is politically delicate and any change in his role is likely to be handled with great care.

Progress toward all-party talks . . .

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff and Sapa

Major progress has been made in preparations for the resumption of all-party talks, delayed for months after the crippling of the Codesa process in June.

Key meetings in the past two weeks have eased the political tension between the multiparty players.

In a significant display of political flexibility, the African National Congress agreed yesterday to a request from the Inkatha Freedom Party to delay the multiparty planning conference from Thursday and Friday next week to March 5 and 6.

It also agreed to involve traditional leaders in negotiations at a national level, including discussions at the next multiparty conference.

The postponement of the planning conference, a vital preparatory stage for a fully-fledged multiparty conference probably before the end of March, was agreed between the government’s chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr. Roelf Meyer and the IFP negotiators at their meeting in Richards Bay.

From page 1

The IFP delegation sought the postponement to consult fully with its central committee;

Mr. Meyer, who described the request as “reasonable” and one that would “enhance the negotiation process,” won the ANC’s approval for it in a telephone call to Secretary-General Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa.

Key differences between the three main players remain and tough talking is expected at the multiparty planning conference.

While the ANC has endorsed the idea of a government of national unity for at least five years to phase in the new constitution, it is at odds with the government’s proposals for power-sharing.

The IFP is opposed to a government of national unity. It wants fresh elections, once the new constitution has been negotiated and approved in a referendum.

But the government/IFP talks appear to have removed the political animosity that grew between them after last September’s record of understanding between the government and the ANC.

Speaking in Johannesburg last night, President de Klerk declared that South Africa was entering the final stage of its programme of transformation.

“We are confident, in spite of the many problems which we can expect to encounter, that we will be able to accomplish it successfully,” he said.

Another significant development yesterday was the ANC’s acceptance of the role of traditional leaders.

This followed a meeting between the ANC and an 11-strong delegation of chiefs from the Congress of Traditional Leaders of Southern Africa (Contrasla) in Johannesburg.

Afterwards, ANC Secretary-General Mr. Ramaphosa said it was agreed that traditional leaders would have the right to speak at Codesa plenary sessions and make representations on matters affecting them at management committee meetings.

“Their participation,” he said, “should take place in accordance with a unifying role and should not be on a party political basis.”
Now joint talks are set for March

DURBAN — The multiparty planning conference has been postponed until March 5, according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Meyer said in a statement yesterday, after bilateral talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Government, that this decision had been taken after the IFP had requested time to consult its central committee.

Agreed

He said the African National Congress had also agreed to the postponement.

The conference had initially been planned for February 25 and 26. In the brief statement, Meyer said progress had been made in the three-day talks with the IFP at Richards Bay, but he did not elaborate. — Sapa.
Let the Western Cape Rule, OK?

FRIENDS

Estherhuysen

The recently-formed Free Cape Alliance is making headway locally. It is a new voice calling for a federal

New South Africa, where people rule, not the government. It is a vision of a South Africa where everyone has a say in the decisions that affect their lives.

Meanwhile, efforts are underway to ensure the Western Cape's prosperity and growth.

The Western Cape is known for its beautiful beaches and vibrant cities, and it is a major economic hub for South Africa. With its diverse population and rich cultural heritage, it is a place where people from all walks of life come together to create a better future.

However, the Cape Town Nhật newspaper recently revealed that the Western Cape's economy is facing challenges. The province is struggling to attract investment and create jobs, and there is a growing sense of frustration among residents.

The Western Cape government is aware of the challenges facing the province and is working to address them. It is focusing on improving infrastructure, creating new job opportunities, and attracting new businesses to the region.

The Western Cape is also home to some of the most beautiful natural landscapes in the country, including Table Mountain and the Cape Winelands. These natural wonders attract millions of visitors each year, and they are a major source of income for the region.

Despite the challenges facing the Western Cape, the province remains a vibrant and dynamic place to live and work. It is a place where people are passionate about their community and are working together to create a better future for all.

Let the Western Cape rule, OK?
In Simkins's reading of the Freedom Charter, he concludes that "the first five groups of demands are entirely compatible with the principles of justice"; and adds that "the sixth demand - interestingly - accommodates the demands of Afrikaner nationalism".

Only the seventh group - property rights - "does not satisfy the principles of justice", but Simkins concludes: "This does not imply property rights do not need changes... but the argument about what these changes should be needs reconsideration."

Thus the difference between Simkins's liberalism and Owen's - Owen disagrees with two clauses in a long document, dismisses others ("trite"), abuses the drafters, and builds a massive prejudice against the ANC on this foundation.

Probably one is asking too much. What I ask from a book is that the effort of reading it should be rewarded with a small increase in one's knowledge of the world. These Times, instead, only broadens one's knowledge of one man's thoughts - small, cramped up, conservative and prejudiced.

The author is director of the Human Rights Trust and a member of the ANC. He also contributes a weekly column to the Eastern Province Herald.
The table of contents is as follows:

1. Introduction
2. The Evolution of Communication
3. The Impact of Technology on Communication
4. Communication in the Workplace
5. Communication in Education
6. Communication in Healthcare
7. Communication in the Arts
8. Communication in the Media
9. Communication in the Legal System
10. Communication in the Military
11. Communication in the Environment

Self-Produced Literature:

Agadby The Country’s Most Promising
benefit of a committer who is
expanded the debate by examining the
political lexicon. Heere for Rorron
misunderstood and vigorously
Liberals is one of the most
LIBERALISM is one of the most misunderstood and vigorously debated topics in South Africa's political lexicon. Here RORY RIORDBAN argues the debate by examining the beliefs of a commentator 'who is arguably the country's most ardently self-proclaimed liberal'.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conserva-

Chief Bushlu: The only maroon black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.

Owen, however, exhibits, certainly in these writings, very little tolerance. His other failures as a liberal fellow from his conservative tradition. His conception of rights is black, and he backs up his conceptualisation of rights with black political figure to regularly appear Owen's scorn. He writes of him as a black liberal.
THE Democratic Party had appointed a committee chaired by Mr. Tony Leon, MP for Houghton and the DP's spokesman on justice, to update and "formulate more precisely" the DP's Bill of Rights.
Multi-party talks coming

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE countdown to elections for an interim government has begun. Multi-party talks will resume in Johannesburg on March 5 and 6 following agreement yesterday between the "Big Three" — the government, the ANC and Inkatha — that a planning conference should go ahead on those dates.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said this would still enable multi-party talks to be resumed before the end of March. IFP central committee member Mr Walter Pelgate described this date as "still reasonable".

"The clear impression is that negotiations are back on track," Mr Meyer said last night.

Meanwhile, at the ANC's International Solidarity Conference in Johannesburg, ANC deputy secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma yesterday defended his organisation's decision to accept the proposal for a future government of national unity.

Last night, President F W de Klerk told Rotary International in Johannesburg South Africa was entering the final stage of its programme to transform its society.

He said talks could resume next month, multi-party transitional executive councils be appointed in June and a transitional constitution adopted in September.

He accepted this was "ambitious" but added: "We are confident we would accomplish it."

The breakthrough in all-party negotiations after their collapse at Co-date 2 last year, came yesterday following three days of discussions between the IFP and the government at Richard's Bay.

Although important problems remain, particularly over the powers of the cabinet in a government of national unity, all three groups were optimistic last night that negotiations were back on track.

The IFP said: "There was a moving together to the extent that we for the first time shared positions and a mutual understanding of the difficulties which lie ahead."

Mr Meyer said the ANC agreed to postpone the preparatory meeting from 25 and 26 February to March 5 and 6. The IFP requested the postponement so that it could be considered by its central committee, which meets on Sunday, February 20.

He also said the government would now promote the views shared by the three groups among other parties.

The IFP seems to have accepted government assurances that it made no agreements with the ANC.

However, there are differences between the government and the IFP regarding the writing of a new constitution.

Last night, Mr Pelgate described the government's proposal of a five-year interim government as "long involved and one that could heighten tension".

But government sources last night said they were concerned by the ANC's national executive committee's proposals for the cabinet in an interim government.

Mr Pelgate said the ANC's proposals for an 'interim government amounted to seeking full power' for themselves.

Zuma pleads case for unity govt

— Page 2
Major cabinet reshuffle on cards

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk’s long-awaited major cabinet reshuffle is expected this weekend.

He could bring people of colour into key portfolios and may also use the occasion to appoint another ‘outside’ expert in a financial portfolio.

The cabinet reshuffle has been on the cards ever since the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, General Magnus Malan, announced his retirement.

The dual portfolios held by Mr Derek Keys, currently the Minister of Finance as well as Trade and Industry, are also likely to be separated, and Trade and Industry could well go to an ‘outsider’.

Among possible black ministers are the NP leader in the House of Representatives, Mr Jac Bain, and the deputy chairman of the NP in the Cape, Mr Andrew Julies.

The first African cabinet minister in South Africa could be the Transvaal MEC, Mr John Mavuso, or the Cape MEC, Mr Themba Nyati.
Callaghan: Consider Kwazulu Plan
Zuma pleads case for unity govt

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC deputy secretary general Mr. Jacob Zuma yesterday passionately defended his organisation's decision to accept the proposal for a future government of national unity.

His emphasis on unity echoed the keynote address to the International Solidarity Conference here by ANC national chairman Mr. Oliver Tambo, who stressed his organisation believed its central issue was national unity and nation building.

Mr. Zuma said the ANC's approach needed to be all-inclusive to prevent the chance that other people would use their power to sabotage the direction of a new government.

Mr. Tambo told the conference the ANC had to ensure "the oppressors" were freed from their "guilt-ridden fear of retribution." He added no policy should force white South African society to become an armed laager, thereby holding back the democratic process.

On Thursday night, ANC secretary general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said on SATV's Agenda that although the ANC's "government of national unity" and the NP's "power-sharing" proposal were structurally identical, but differed in the process of operation.

The NP's concept of power-sharing was a concept which seeks to dilute democracy," he said.

The ANC Youth League in southern Natal has called for a special ANC conference to address power-sharing with the National Party.
Cabinet

Massive expected

South The expected

CAPE TOWN - President W. de
Peter Fabrycky

PHOTO: CORRESPONDENT

2014

2/17/1983

The government sources said today, government sources said this President's

Cabinet is to announce the biggest

of President's

North African sources said

The government sources said this President's Cabinet is to announce the biggest

of President's

North African sources said today, government sources said this President's Cabinet is to announce the biggest
For millions of South Africans the law has been less of a shield to protect them than a whip to cow them, an instrument of violence whose power has been wielded by the executive branch of government and by the courts. This, in a nutshell, is the case for a bill of rights.

Or, to put it bluntly, the purpose of a bill of rights is to ensure that never again in this country will a policeman be able to say to a citizen, “Waar is jou pass? Kaffer!” and claim for such brutality the blessing of the law and the approval of all three branches of government.

A bill of rights exists to protect the individual citizen. Against the government. Against the judges. Against the common law where it is defective. Against statute law when Parliament betrays the people. Against the powerful elite. It is the shield of the weak against the strong.

All bills of rights rest on an idealistic premise: in the American case, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator—by not by their government—with inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The German wording is better: it says the German people acknowledge inviolable and inalienable rights to be the basis of every community, and of peace and justice. It puts on every state authority the duty to respect and protect the dignity of man.

The Namibian bill of rights similarly endorses the rights to life, liberty and dignity, and puts on all organs of government the duty to uphold and respect these rights. The courts are instructed to enforce these rights. The Natal Indaba’s bill of rights begins by declaring all people to be born free and equal in dignity and rights.

Life, liberty, dignity, human fulfillment, the protection of the law—these are the cornerstone concepts of any bill of rights worth the name. If South Africans are not to be condemned to another life of violence against their government, and if the institutions of government (including the judiciary) are not to fall into even greater disrepute, then our bill of rights will have to begin by enshrining these concepts.

The perverted monstrosity produced by the government, which it calls a “draft charter of fundamental rights”, begins by adulterating these concepts. It assigns “rights” against the state not only to individuals but, “where appropriate”, to every entity or body or group of persons which can be “a bearer of rights”.

The purpose is sinister: it sneaks into the constitution under the pretext of protecting individual rights, a device to entrench the privileges of political parties, corporations, political associations and the Brokenbond or Inkatha, Eskom and Iscor and heaven knows what else.

Then it sets out to authorise the suspension or limitation of the rights of the individual in terms of the common law and by the legislature, the very institutions that have served as apartheid’s instruments of oppression. It is a charter not for the common man but for the strong, the privileged, the clever; it is tailored for elites.

My criticism of this frightful document have erred from a number of readers a challenge to say plainly what I would like to see in a bill of rights, and my answer is this: it must begin with a statement of a national ideal—that all men and women are equally endowed with inalienable rights, and that the foremost of these are the right to life, to liberty and to dignity.

Secondly, the bill of rights must put on the organs of state the overriding duty to protect these rights, and it must create a special constitutional court outside the distrusted structure of the courts which enforced apartheid—to which any citizen may appeal when he feels his rights have been violated. Citizenship must, of course, be secure.

I don’t think it a good idea to elaborate the language of the bill of rights unnecessarily. The more complicated the document, the more easily clever lawyers will find ways, in the years to come, to pervert its meaning for purposes never contemplated by our founding fathers. But the classical rights—freedom of conscience and expression, of association, of movement, of assembly—need to be specifically enshrined.

Also, given our past, a South African bill of rights should spell out the right to equality before the law, and it should forbid discrimination on spurious grounds such as race and gender. And, since liberty is self-evidently not possible without property, there should be a powerful clause to protect property, permitting expropriation only for the common weal.

The government’s charter includes an outrageous proposal to permit the police to detain people without trial for 10 days, which is long enough to invite torture, brutality and murder in the cells; it shows how deeply we have been corrupted since Mr. John Vorster destroyed the right of habeas corpus. What we need is the opposite: a clause compelling the authorities to bring a prisoner before a court within 48 hours of arrest, and a prohibition on any cruel or unusual punishment.

An essential provision is that nobody must be deprived of any right—to life, to liberty, to property, to dignity—to sanctity of his home—except by due process of law. On this point I would like to see a debate among lawyers on the relationship of the bill of rights and the constitutional court to the rule of law. Whether the rule of law can, or should be, separately enshrined is a question on which I still have doubt.

Finally, we might, like the Germans, care to define our national ideal not simply as democracy but as social democracy, or we may wish to define language rights, but these are matters for political negotiation. The danger, of course, is that the bill of rights may be overloaded with political agendas which may cause it to fail, but that is another debate.
Few Gears Up For Election

The battle to counter the crafty counterfeaters...

Coloured and Indian MPs join cabinet for all-race polls test.
Promoted

To make way for the new appointees, five ministers have been retired in Mr de Klerk’s seventh reshuffle since becoming president.

They are:
- Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Male, who had already announced his retirement from politics.
- Defence Minister Gene Louw.
- Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers.
- Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar.
- Administration and Tourism Minister Org Marais.

The new coloured and Indian members of the Cabinet previously held posts in the Own Affairs ministers’ council. They retain these positions.

The Cabinet portfolios allocated to them are minor ones, leaving white NP ministers in charge of the important departments.

Mr Rabie was allocated Population Development, Mr Williams Sport and Dr Ranchod Tourism.

Others promoted to the Cabinet in the reshuffle were Japi van Wyk (Environment and Water Affairs), Andre Rutsaard (Regional and Land Affairs) and Danie Schutte (Home Affairs).

It had previously been rumoured that Mr de Klerk would streamlining portfolios in preparation for the introduction of the proposed transitional executive council (TEC) in June, heralding the first stage of multi-party rule.

Instead, he limited the reshuffle to accommodat- ing members of the different population groups and putting new faces into key areas affected by negotiations.

The vitally important Defence portfolio was allocated to Free State NP leader Kobie Coetzee, who also retains the Justice portfolio.

This means Mr Coetzee, a conservative and tough negotiator, will oversee the planned integration of all armed forces.

He will also be responsible for bringing rogue elements in the military under control.

The other appointment which will have a significant impact on negotiations is that of Mr Schutte at Home Affairs.

He will have to oversee the holding of elections, a task which most observers feel was beyond the present incumbent, Louis Pienaar.

The new appointments become effective on April 1.

Mr de Klerk was also expected to announce his intention to restructure the Ministry of National Housing from June 1.

The person who fills this post will come from the private sector, and has already been accepted the appointment. His name will be announced in due course, and his portfolio will be National Housing and Public Works.

In the meantime, Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett will also head the Ministry of Public Works.

This is seen as a sop to Mr Bartlett, whose unhappiness in the party over the perceived treatment of Inkatha in negotiations is well known.

The task of overseeing the integration of the various Own Affairs education departments into a single, non-racial department was given to National Education Minister Piet Marais.

His new designation is Minister of National Education and Co-ordination.

Two new deputy ministers were appointed. They are Mrs Sheila Cameron (Justice) and Mr Yoka Makda (Local Government).
Conditions on sanctions

De Kerk brings colour to the Cabinet but fails to please critics.
New faces in Cabinet reshuffle

NEWS

PM gives two coloureds, Indian top jobs • Patriotic Front may be reviewed

MONDAY, February 22 1993 SOWETAN

of a split within the African National Congress and denied the organisation was falling out.
DP slams ANC for cash offer.
Reshuffle of Cabinet slated as ‘unexciting’ election ploy

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk’s Cabinet reshuffle has been examined by his political opponents, who describe it as an election ploy and “extremely unexciting”.

Mr Walter Sisulu, deputy president of the African National Congress, said the appointment of the three ministers of colour was sheer electioneering by the National Party.

Dr Zac De Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the reshuffle revealed an appalling dearth of talent in the National Party. It was uninteresting and unexciting.

It was surprising that there was no black in the new Cabinet, he said.

“The electorate is going to be 70 percent black and no party with no credible black leadership is going to have much of a chance in an election.”

Referring to the appointment of coloured ministers, Dr De Beer said Mr Jac Rahle was already chairman of the Ministers’ Council of the House of Representatives while the actions of Mr Abe Williams as Minister of Education must have made him the most unpopular politician in the coloured community.

Dr Bhadra Ranchod, the new Minister of Tourism, had been translated from official to politician in some three weeks.

“His must be one of the most meteoric political careers we have seen.”

Conservative Party head of information Dr Pieter Mulder said the new Cabinet could only be seen as a ploy to influence various groups in South Africa in an upcoming election.

The appointment of people of colour was “a transparent effort to canvas electoral support because if it is clear the appointments were not made on merit”.

“The National Party cannot be all things to all men and is naive to believe it can accommodate all of South Africa’s disparate political aspirations,” said Dr Mulder.
Camerer appointed to Cabinet ‘on merit’

Ms Sheila Camerer

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — New Justice Deputy-Minister Ms Sheila Camerer does not believe her rise in the government ranks was a cosmetic appointment to win votes in the next election.

Ms Camerer, a former university Rag queen and Westdene city councillor, yesterday said she was excited to be appointed to the position at a time when women’s rights were coming to the fore in South Africa.

Asked if she thought her appointment had been for appearances only, she said: “I would hate to think that. President De Klerk has said on television that National Party women want to be appointed on merit. I do feel that my appointment shows he is committed to equal opportunity.”

Mr De Klerk had informed the Rosettenville MP of her new post on Friday and Ms Camerer said it had “come out of the blue. I had not been expecting it.”

“I am looking forward to working with Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetzee, who is a reformist minister — everyone has to admit. He has done interesting things like introducing the Equal Opportunity Bill, the Family Violence Bill and the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women Bill.”

Justice was not a new field to her. She was a practising attorney and had been a member of the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Justice for several years, she said.

Ms Camerer said she had always been a strong proponent of women’s rights.
Govt, ANC to discuss power deal

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Government and ANC negotiators will meet again today to discuss differences in interpretation of their tentative agreement to a five-year government of national unity.

The ANC’s national executive committee (NEC) endorsed the plan last week but, in doing so, placed interpretations on it which the Government wishes to question.

The ANC firmly rejected the Government’s characterisation of the plan as a “power-sharing” arrangement and said the will of the majority party would not be frustrated in the government of national unity.

The NEC agreed that all parties which won more than 5 percent support in the elections would be represented in the national unity Cabinet.

But the NEC added that the president of the government of national unity — who would be leader of the majority party — would effectively decide who should represent the minority parties.
Major Cabinet shake-up
a prelude to elections

By Peter Fabreins
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has substantially refurbished his Cabinet to present a more representative image for the country's first all-in elections.

Announcing his most comprehensive Cabinet shuffle at the weekend, he dropped four Cabinet Ministers to streamline his election team and to make way for people from the coloured and Indian communities which the National Party is targeting for votes.

He has also responded to the needs of the new black electorate by creating a separate portfolio for national housing to be taken up by a private-sector expert.

The four Cabinet Ministers bowing out are Gena Louise (Defence), Dr Orie Marais (Administration and Tourism), Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs and Environment), and Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs).

Coming in are three representatives of the coloured and Indian communities. They are Dr Bhdra Ranchod, chairman of the Min-

ister of Population Development; and Abe Williams, Minister of Education and Culture in the same House, who becomes Minister of Sport.

Reinforcing the NP's recent campaign to win women's votes, De Klerk has also promoted Rosettenville MP Sheila Camerer — a senior member of the parliamentary justice committee — into the executive as Deputy Minister of Justice.

The Defence portfolio goes to Kobie Coetsee who replaces Justice. The fact that this once all-important portfolio is now just half of one person's job confirms the decline in its importance.

One of De Klerk's aims was to streamline his executive, and once the changes have all come into effect on April 1, there will be seven fewer Ministers and deputy Ministers in general and own affairs than at the start of the parliamentary session.

De Klerk did not appoint any blacks from outside the Cabinet, as many of his own party members expected him to do. He explained that, after wide consultation with black opinion-makers and others, he had concluded that this would be "counter-productive at the present delicate stage of negotiations."

However, he did announce that he had already invited an expert from the private sector to take up a new port-

From Page 1

folio of National Housing and of Public works from June 1. His name is still to be announced.

As expected, De Klerk gave national Education Minister Piet Marais the extra portfolio of Education Co-ordination to take charge of the education transition administration which will start desegregating the education system from April 1.

Three deputy Ministers were promoted to the Cabinet: Andre Fourie as Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Danie Schutte as Minister of Home Affairs and Japie van Wyk as Minister of Environment Affairs and Water Affairs.

Sam de Beer will acquire the public service to add to his present portfolios.

De Klerk did not relieve Finance Minister Derek Keys of his secondary portfolio of Trade and Industry as had been expected. Cabinet sources said De Klerk was probably influenced by business opinion which prefers Keys in both portfolios and likes consistency.

Commenting on his new appointment to Home Affairs Minister, Schutte said yesterday he was fully aware of his responsibilities in regard to future elections. "I intend to give it my best and I hope I shall receive the grace to make a success of it," he said.

Schutte said the peace structures, which in future would not be administrated by the Department of Justice, were of vital importance to the future. Schutte said he saw his appointment as a strengthening of Natal's representation in the Cabinet.

Political opponents greeted the new Cabinet mainly with indifference.

The ANC dismissed the reshuffle as an 'empty gesture to reconciliation'.

"The fact that they (the newly appointed Ministers) begin duties on April 1, April Fools' Day, speaks for itself," the organisation said in a statement.

That Abe Williams was now Minister of Sport, when he was the very person leading the boy-

out-breaking rugby teams to New Zealand, did a disservice to the role the sports bodies were playing to bring about real reconciliation, the ANC said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he was disappointed and that none of the new people would add anything to the NP. He deplored the promotion of Williams to the Cabinet. He was one of the most unpopular people in the coloured community because of his handling of his education portfolio.

De Beer said De Klerk had taken the correct decision to put coloured and Indian people in the Cabinet — but had not found any good ones.

Sapa reports the Conserva-

tive Party as saying the shake-up could only be seen as a ploy to influence various groups in the event of an upcoming election.

The appointments were "a transparent effort to canvass electoral support because it is clear the appointments were not made on merit", said CP's head of information, Dr Pieter Mulder.

He said the CP believed there were many more qualified NP MPs "who must be bitterly disappointed that they were overlooked".

Other changes:

• The Rev Andrew Julies, Minister of Health Services and Welfare in the House of Representatives, retires.

• De Klerk takes back responsibility for the National Intelligence Service from Coetsee. Some functions will be transferred to the Ministers of Law and Order and of Home Affairs.

• National Health Minister Venter will play a more active role in welfare.

• Correctional Services Minister Adrian Vlok will also take the position of chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

• Glen Carelse becomes Deputy Minister of Welfare.

• Dr Boy Geldenhuyts gets the job of Deputy Minister of Education and Culture.

• Yakoos Maada, recently appointed deputy Minister-in-the-House of Delegates, gets the additional portfolio of Deputy Minister of Local Government.
More Cabinet changes

Reshuffle dismissed as a ‘damp squib’

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MORE cabinet reshuffles are on the cards following the “damp squib” shakeup by President FW de Klerk over the weekend.

The other cabinet appointments likely soon are the anticipated separation of the Finance and the Trade and Industry portfolios, now expected after the March 17 budget, and the appointment of a single National Education Minister and a new Minister of National Housing on June 1.

Mr De Klerk’s extensive weekend changes — his seventh reshuffle since coming to power — were dismissed yesterday by opponents as a “damp squib”.

The ANC’s Thabo Mbeki said the reshuffle was “meaningless” and “of no relevance to the country”, and slammed as tokenism the appointment of three “brown” ministers.

The ANC said that bringing “discredited and discarded tri-cameral” figures into the cabinet was an empty gesture to reconciliation.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andree said the reshuffle demonstrated the dearth of talent in the National Party.

The Conservative Party’s information head, Dr Pieter Mulder, said the appointment of two coloureds and an Indian to the cabinet “is a transparent effort to canvass electoral support, because it is clear the appointments were not made on merit”.

In the reshuffle five cabinet ministers and one own affairs minister retired and seven new appointments were made.

The Defence portfolio received its fourth minister in 3½ years with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, also becoming Minister of Defence.

Mr Jac Rabie has been made Minister of Population Development, Mr Abe Williams Minister of Sport and Dr Bhadrachandran Minister of Tourism.

Two new deputy ministers were also announced. They are Mrs Sheila Camerer (Justice) and Mr Yakooob Malida (Local Government).

However, no black people were appointed to the cabinet, despite earlier speculation that Mr De Klerk would do so.

Mr De Klerk said: “I gave careful consideration to the possibility of inviting members from outside the electorate of Parliament as it is.”

“However, after wide consulta-
tion, also with black opinion-
makers, I came to the conclusion that any such appointment would be counter-productive at the present delicate stage of negotiations.”

Although Mr De Klerk did not appoint a minister for the proposed single education ministry, the current Minister of National Education, Mr Piet Marais, was also made Minister of Education Coordination and would be responsible for “transitional administration”.

Mr De Klerk said that because the government attached great importance to urbanisation and the provision of housing, the ministerial role in this regard would be redefined and he had approached an expert from the private sector to accept this appointment.

The ministers who retired are Mr Gena Louw (Defence), General Magnus Malan (Water Affairs and Forestry), Mr Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs), Mr Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs) and Dr Org Marais (Administration and Tourism).

There were also promotions for Mr Japie van Wyk (to Environment and Water Affairs) and Mr Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs).

Govt “could give defence to the
ANC” — Page 5
## The Cabinet, deputys and Ministers' Councils as from April 1, in order of seniority:

**Cabinet**
- Foreign Affairs — R F (Pik) Botha
- Public Enterprises — Dr D J (Gawie) de Villiers
- Justice and Defence — H J (Kobie) Coetsee
- State Expenditure — A A (Amie) Venster
- Population Development — J A (Jaco) Robbe
- Correctional Services — A J (Adriaan) Vlok
- Education and Training, National Housing and Administration — S J (Saan) de Beer
- Mineral and Energy Affairs and Public Works — G S (George) Bartlett
- Agriculture — Dr A L (Kraai) van Niekerk
- National Health and Welfare — Dr E H (Rina) Venster
- Law and Order — H J (Hermus) Kriel
- Transport and Posts and Telecommunications — Dr P J (Piet) Welgemoed
- Constitutional Development and Communication — R P (Roelf) Meyer
- Manpower — Leon Wessels
- National Education and Education Co-ordination — P G (Piet) Marais
- Finance and Trade and Industry — D L (Derek) Keys
- Sport — Abe Williams
- Local Government — Dr J T (Tertius) Delport
- Tourism — Dr B G (Bhadra) Rancho
- Environment Affairs and Water Affairs — J A (Japie) van Wyk
- Regional and Land Affairs — Andre Fourie
- Home Affairs — D P A (Danie) Schutte

**Ministers**
- Defence and Environment Affairs — W N (Wyn) and (Dreytensbach)
- Finance — Dr T G (Theo) Alant

**Land Affairs** — J H L (Johan) Schoepers
- Agriculture — A T Meyer (Tobie) Meyer
- Trade and Industry — D de V (David) Graaff
- Constitutional Development and Communication — G J (Fanus) Schoeman
- Foreign Affairs — R S (Renier) Schoeman
- Welfare — G M E (Glen) Carolee
- Law and Order — B G (Gert) Myburgh
- National Health — Dr B L (Boy) Goldenhuys
- Local Government — Y M (Ykoob) Makda
- Justice — S M (Sifio) Casterman

**Ministers' Council, House of Assembly**
- Chairman, Budget and Housing and Works — A J (Adriaan) Vlok
- Welfare — Dr E H (Rina) Venster
- Education and Culture — P G (Piet) Marais
- Deputy Minister of Welfare and of Education and Culture — B L (Boy) Goldenhuys

**Ministers' Council, House of Delegates**
- Chairman and Budget — Dr B G (Bhadra) Rancho
- Housing and Welfare — S V Naicker
- Education and Culture — D Goversen
- Deputy Minister of Housing and Welfare — Y M (Ykoob) Makda

**Ministers' Council, House of Representatives**
- Chairman — J A (Jac) Robbe
- Welfare — A A (André) Williams
- Budget and Housing — G N (Gerald) Monket
- Education and Culture — P W Snairman
- Deputy Minister of Housing — C B (Cecil) Hendtien
More Cabinet changes

Reshuffle dismissed as a ‘damp squib’

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

MORE cabinet reshuffles are on the cards following the “damp squib” shakeup by President F W de Klerk over the weekend.

The other cabinet appointments likely soon are the anticipated separation of the Finance and the Trade and Industry portfolios, now expected after the March 17 budget, and the appointment of a single National Education Minister and a new Minister of National Housing on June 1.

Mr de Klerk’s extensive weekend changes — his seventh reshuffle since coming into power — were dismissed yesterday by opponents as a “damp squib”.

The ANC’s Thabo Mbeki said the reshuffle was “meaningless” and “of no relevance to the country”, and slammed as tokenism the appointment of three “brown” ministers.

The ANC said that bringing “dissacredited and discarded tricameral” figures into the cabinet was an empty gesture to reconciliation.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said the reshuffle demonstrated the dearth of talent in the National Party.

The Conservative Party’s information head, Dr Pieter Mulder, said the appointment of two coloureds and an Indian to the cabinet “is a transparent effort to canvass electoral support, because it is clear the appointments were not made on merit”.

In the reshuffle five cabinet ministers and one own affairs minister retired and seven new appointments were made.

The Defence portfolio received its fourth minister in 3½ years with the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, also becoming Minister of Defence.

Mr Joe Khawe has been made Minister of Population Development, Mr Abe Williams Minister of Sport and Dr Bhadrach Ramachand Minister of Tourism.

Two new deputy ministers were also announced. They are Mrs Sheila Camerer (Justice) and Mr Yakoob Makda (Local Government).

However, no black people were appointed to the cabinet, despite earlier speculation that Mr de Klerk would do so.

Mr de Klerk said: “I gave careful consideration to the possibility of inviting members from outside the electorate of Parliament as it is.

“However, after wide consultation, also with black opinion-makers, I came to the conclusion that any such appointments would be counter-productive at the present delicate stage of negotiations.”

Although Mr de Klerk did not appoint a minister for the proposed single education ministry, the current Minister of National Education, Mr Piet Marx, was also made Minister of Education Co-ordination and would be responsible for “transitional administration”.

Mr de Klerk said that because the government attached great importance to urbanisation and the provision of housing, the ministerial role in this regard would be redefined and he had approached an expert from the private sector to accept this appointment.

The ministers who retired are Mr Gene Louw (Defence), General Magnus Malan (Water Affairs and Forestry), Mr Jacob de Villiers (Regional and Land Affairs), Mr Louis Pienaar (Home Affairs) and Dr Org Marais (Administration and Tourism).

There were also promotions for Mr Japie van Wyk (Environment and Water Affairs) and Mr Andre Fourie (Regional and Land Affairs).

Govt ‘could give defence to the ANC’ — Page 5
Van Eck urges major groups to find accord

The challenge facing South Africa today was whether the Afrikaner and the black African could reach an accord.

Mr Jan van Eck (Ind Claremont) said during a private member's motion yesterday calling for an Afrikaner-nation-state.

He said the Afrikaner and the African both considered South Africa their home.

"The challenge before us today is whether these two population groups can find one another in the negotiation process. What we need is an historic accord between the Afrikaner and the black African."

Such an accord was essential to ensure true stability because the National Party and the African National Congress jointly represented about 80 percent of the population.

This did not mean that smaller parties could be ignored, but no breakthrough to a democratic constitutional dispensation was possible unless these two groups and their parties could reach an accord.

Mr Van Eck said the Afrikaner Volksnie's call for an Afrikaner state was based on fear of the immutable reality that South Africa was overwhelmingly black.

The motion was based on that a new democratic dispensation would lead to the downfall of the Afrikaner. — Sapa.
New cabinet appointee
Ranchod to join NP

Political Correspondent

Dr Bhadra Ranchod is to join the National Party following his appointment to the cabinet by President De Klerk at the weekend.

He confirmed today that he would join the NP, "having accepted the appointment" to the cabinet. This will happen before he takes office as Minister of Tourism on April 1. Dr Ranchod is also Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates.

"I want to make it clear that the president has not put any conditions on my appointment."

This will be the first time he has joined a political party. He will introduce a new dimension into the NP ranks as his background has been in the human rights' movement in South Africa and the Institute of Race Relations.

In an academic paper in 1973 he called for the criminalisation of racial discrimination. Dr Ranchod followed this up with calls for a bill of rights in South Africa and for the government to sign the international conventions on human rights.

There has been speculation that Dr Ranchod would walk away with a massive pension from the civil service, having served for 20 years in academics, foreign affairs and the HoD.

But he said today he had been in contact with the pension authorities and was told that his pension rights terminated when he resigned from the civil service on February 11 to take up political office.

The pension rights were not transferable to the parliamentary pension scheme. Dr Ranchod will receive back only what he has contributed over the past 20 years, plus some interest. "There is no golden handshake," he said.

On tourism, Dr Ranchod said it could provide a major stimulus to the South African economy by being a top foreign currency earner.

"What is important for the tourist is value for money."

At the same time he wants to encourage South Africans "to spend their holidays in their country rather than go abroad."

Meanwhile Democratic Party spokesman on Tourism Mr Louis de Waal said: "The appointment of Dr Ranchod as Minister of Tourism clearly has everything to do with politics and nothing to do with tourism. Dr Ranchod is a respected and highly able legal man who could only have done South Africa's case an excellent service in his position as Ambassador to the European Parliament."

"He cannot possibly be expected to deal with the technical details of an industry he has not worked in."

Mr De Waal pointed out that tourism now had its fourth minister in four years. "It remains bogged down in practical areas which dictate the financial viability of investments by the various stakeholders in transport and the hospitality industry."

"We are waiting for the consolidation of the numerous acts which have an influence on tourism into a single Tourism Act, something for which the DP has now been calling for three years," said Mr De Waal.
Volksunie to discuss volkstaat with Nats

THE Afrikaner Volksunie will meet the government on Tuesday to discuss the borders of an Afrikaner state in a future constitutional dispensation; Mr Moolman Mentz (AVU, Ermelo) said.

He was introducing a private member's motion calling for a regional Afrikaner state to ensure the Afrikaner's self-determination and continued existence.

Mr Mentz said the AVU would try to convince the government of the need for a sovereign Afrikaner state or states to be incorporated into constitutional negotiations.

No nation (volk) could continue existing without a country or territory of its own. The Afrikaner's call for an own territory was in accordance with the principles of constitutional law and the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. — Sapa.
DP accuses the government of 'scorched earth policy'

**Political Staff**

**THE government stood accused today by the Democratic Party of pursuing a scorched earth policy in running up State debts of R113 billion.**

This figure was revealed in the 501-page report of Auditor-General Peter Wronsley, who retired at the end of last year, for the 1991/92 financial year.

According to the report, the R113 billion debt was 41 percent of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product for 1991/92, compared with 35.3 percent in 1990/91. The interest, raising costs and management costs of the State debt in 1991/92 was R18 billion.

Mr Geoff Engel, the Democratic Party MP for Bezuindenbouw, said the Auditor-General's report 'reflects an alarming picture of snowballing national debt and runaway expenditure'.

In 1991/92 State debt had increased by R19 billion, Mr Engel said, and predicted the debt would increase to R141 billion in the 1992/93 financial year. This reflected a R51 billion or 55 percent increase over the past two years.

"The interest burden of the National Party's excesses will become the largest component of this year's Budget. The scorched earth policy of civil service expenditure is continuing as if there is no tomorrow for them. "Once again the National Party has demonstrated neither the willingness nor ability to transform and cleanse itself economically."

"It cannot continue indefinitely looking to the overtaxed public instead of looking inwards to slash expenditure, corruption and graft."

"Until the State President appreciates the concept of political responsibility in the economic affairs of our nation, we will remain doomed to a scenario of falling wealth, rising unemployment and resultant higher crime," Mr Engel said.
Botha bid to heal rift in Pretoria NP caucus

PRETORIA — Foreign Minister and Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha flew back to his constituency from Parliament yesterday in a bid to sort out a bitter feud in the Pretoria City Council’s NP caucus.

Allegations by former Pretoria mayor and current councillor Bob Zylstra that a “Broederbond tyranny” was ruling the council has threatened to split the NP caucus.

In a letter last week announcing his resignation from the caucus, Zylstra called on other dissatisfied NP members to join him in a rival grouping.

The rival NP group would offer its full support for the initiatives and policies of President F W De Klerk but would object to the Broederbond “caucus within a caucus” which held all power in the Pretoria council, the letter said.

NP caucus chairman Ernie Jacobson said he was optimistic the potential schism within the NP could be averted.

Zylstra’s comments were premature and had not been carefully considered, he said.

For what is expected to be a difficult task of party reunification, Botha would have with him the newly-appointed executive director of the NP’s national information and management committee Olaus van Zyl, it was confirmed.

As the Transvaal Provincial Administration’s representative at the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber and at local government negotiations, Van Zyl has had much experience in crisis management.

NP Pretoria regional chairman Org Marais was also expected to attend what may be a heated monthly caucus meeting.

Appeals for party unity from Botha, Van Zyl and Marais may yet paper the cracks of an increasingly beleaguered council still recovering from Krugel’s commission revelations of property development irregularities.

Information concerning the activities of one Pretoria councillor, Justus van Zyl, were passed on to the Transvaal attorney-general’s office earlier this month.
Election body 'by end of year'

WILSON ZWANE

SA should have its first independent election commission by the end of the year to oversee nonracial elections.

The ANC said yesterday it was confident that government would pass legislation during the current session of Parliament to enable President F W de Klerk to appoint people to an independent electoral commission.

ANC official Phe-Nez Maduna said the multiparty negotiating forum, to be convened soon, was expected to agree to the establishment of the commission, and would have to agree on new electoral legislation.

Maduna said office-bearers of political parties would not be permitted to serve on the commission.

The commissioners would also be barred from standing as election candidates, he said.

On the independent media commission, Maduna said discussions with all relevant parties were still going on.

This commission, Maduna said, would ensure that the media were not hijacked by any political party.

The nature and composition of the independent media commission would be decided on by the multiparty forum.

But Maduna said the commission would be set up along the same lines as the independent electoral commission.
Govt, ANC meet over conference

GOVERNMENT and the ANC met in Johannesburg yesterday to begin a two-day meeting to thrash out the finer details of the multi-party planning conference scheduled to take place on Friday next week.

The parties will also discuss constitutional issues, including the reincorporation of the homelands, problems surrounding the implementation of the transitional executive council and the election process.

There is general agreement that the agenda for the planning conference will start with an assessment of the present negotiation situation and the best way to proceed to multi-party constitutional negotiations in a Codesa-like forum.

It has also been agreed that each party will invite one other party to the planning meeting, on the principle of inclusivity, so that all Codesa participants will be invited as well as Azapo, the PAC, CP, Afrikaner Volksfront, AWB and HNP.

Each party will send a three-person delegation and a panel of chairmen will be selected from all parties represented.

A problem still to be resolved is government’s proposal that homeland administrations be invited. The ANC is opposed on the grounds that it was agreed only political parties and organisations be invited.

The biggest hurdle appears to be the inclusion of traditional leaders, especially Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, at the planning conference.

Inkatha has insisted the KwaZulu government and the king head up separate delegations. The ANC has rejected this and instead proposed a delegation of traditional leaders be represented at the conference, and the leaders decide on the composition of the delegation.

The ANC has proposed that the conference be open to the media but government has opposed this and the matter is still to be decided.

The major stumbling block in the broader constitutional debate is how to persuade Bophuthatswana, and to a lesser extent Ciskei, to agree that elections for an interim government be held throughout SA, including the nominally independent homelands.

The broad understanding between government and the ANC is that all citizens, including the homelands, be allowed to vote in the first nonracial elections. The results will indicate whether the majority of the population wants reincorporation.

The proposal is also that the transitional executive council have jurisdiction over the homelands to ensure that free political activity can take place within them.

Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope has rejected this and has insisted a referendum on reincorporation be held in the territory only once the final constitution has been decided on.

The ANC and government go into talks with the full backing of their principals on a coalition government of national unity and the prescriptions which would govern an elected constitution making body in deciding the boundaries, duties and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer briefed the NP caucus yesterday on the latest developments in negotiations and received endorsement for the five-year plan. Cabinet accepted the plan last week.

The ANC yesterday briefed its patriotic front partners on the deal and the decisions taken last week by its national executive committee. The ANC’s other ally, the SAPC, also endorsed the plan, with reservations, at a central committee meeting at the weekend.

The ANC is to meet the PAC tomorrow and Azapo on Thursday to encourage them to join the planning conference while government will be meeting Inkatha again later this week to finalize arrangements for next week’s conference.
I'll join NP, says HoD's Ranchod

He said he would join the NP "having accepted the appointment". This will take place before he takes office as Minister of Tourism on April 1. He is also chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates.

In an academic paper in 1973 he called for the criminalisation of racial discrimination and followed this with calls for a Bill of Rights and for South Africa to sign international conventions on human rights.
AVU, govt 'discuss Afrikaner state'

The Afrikaner Volksunie will meet the government on March 2 to discuss the borders of an Afrikaner state in a future constitutional dispensation, Mr Moodiman Mentz (AVU Ermelo) said yesterday.

He was introducing a private member's motion calling for a regional Afrikaner state to ensure the Afrikaner's self-determination and continued existence. Mr Mentz said the AVU would try to convince the government of the need for a sovereign Afrikaner state or states to be incorporated into constitutional negotiations.

Mr Andries Beyers (AVU Potchefstroom) said only through negotiations with all, even the ANC, could self-determination be attained. In reply, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Fanus Schoeman, said there could be no solution in South Africa without a negotiated settlement. — Sapa.

*Nut lovey-dovey view of the AVU — Page 7*
Navvys Russian Ship arrives today

From today, the Russian Union 500 naval ship will dock at the west coast. The vessel was expected to arrive in several days to provide supplies for the US Navy. The ship will stay at the dock for several weeks.

The 500,000-tonne Russian supply vessel is the largest in the world and is expected to provide a significant boost to the US Navy's capabilities. The ship is designed to carry a range of supplies, including fuel, food, and ammunition, and is equipped with advanced technology to facilitate its operations.

The arrival of the Russian ship has sparked a great deal of interest and excitement among naval officers and officials. The ship is expected to play a key role in the US Navy's strategic plans, and its arrival is seen as a significant milestone in the ongoing efforts to strengthen the relationship between the two nations.
Meaning of unity
go on agenda

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The final countdown to the
resumption of multiparty ne-
egotiations began yesterday
with another round of talks
between the Government
and the ANC.

Government and ANC ne-
egotiators continue their
meeting today to discuss dif-
fences in interpretation of
their tentative agreement to
a five-year government of
national unity (GNU).

Preparations for the mul-
tiparty planning conference —
postponed to allow the In-
katha Freedom Party to con-
sult its central committee —
are also on the agenda.

The ANC's national execu-
tive committee (NEC) en-
dorsed the proposal for a
GNU last week but, in doing
so, placed interpretations on
it which the Government
wishes to question.

The ANC firmly rejected
the Government's character-
isation of the transition
package as a "power-sharing"
arrangement and said
the will of the majority
party would not be frustrat-
ed in the GNU.

The NEC agreed that all
parties winning more than
5 percent support in elec-
tions would be represented
in the Cabinet.

But it added that the pre-
sident of the GNU would ef-
fectively decide who should
represent the minority par-
ties.

Government sources said
yesterday that the Govern-
ment rejected this position,
and that the leaders of mi-
nority parties should be re-
presented in the Cabinet.

Constitutional Develop-
ment Minister Roelf Meyer
yesterday met the National
Party's constitutional affairs
study group to answer tough
questions about the prelimi-
nary agreement with the
ANC.
Govt, ANC thrash out finer details

Political Staff
Johannesburg — The government and the ANC met here yesterday to begin a two-day meeting to thrash out the finer details of the multi-party planning conference scheduled to take place on Friday next week.

The parties will also discuss constitutional issues, including the reincorporation of the homelands, how to implement the transitional executive council and the election process.

There is general agreement that the agenda for the planning conference will start with an assessment of the present negotiation situation and the best way to proceed to multi-party constitutional negotiations in a Cdesa-like forum.

It has also been agreed that each party will invite one other party to the planning meeting, on the principle of inclusivity, so that all Cdesa participants will be invited as well as Azapo, the PAC, CF, Afrikaner Volksunie, AWB and HNP.

Each party will send a three-person delegation and a panel of chairmen will be selected from all parties represented.

The ANC has proposed that the conference be open to the media but the government has opposed this and the matter is still to be decided.

The major stumbling block in the broader constitutional debate is how to persuade Botswana, and to a lesser extent Ciskei, to agree that elections for an interim government be held throughout South Africa, including the nominally independent homelands.

The ANC and government go into talks with the full backing of their principals on a coalition government of national unity and the presidential elections which would govern an elected constitution-making body in deciding the boundaries, duties and functions of regions.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer briefed the NP caucus yesterday on the latest developments in negotiations and received endorsement for the five-year plan.

The cabinet accepted the plan last week.

The ANC yesterday briefed its patriotic front partners on the deal and the decisions taken last week by its national executive committee.

The ANC is to meet the PAC tomorrow and Azapo on Thursday to encourage them to join the planning conference and the government will be meeting Inkatha again later this week.
Hopes raised as main players agree to meet again soon

It's looking good for all-party talks

Tos Wentzel
Political Staff

Multiparty talks on a new constitution could be resumed by the end of March.
Row erupts over cash for ministers to live at home

Political Staff

A FRESH political storm brewing over disclosures that numerous ministers, their deputies and other office bearers are paid hundreds of thousands of rands in compensation for living in their own homes.

African National Congress housing adviser Professor Michael Sutcliffe said today that National Party political bosses were acting like departing colonialists, ripping off the economy.

Under a scheme that has mushroomed under President De Klerk, the State pays rents to political bosses to live in their own homes in Cape Town, Pretoria or Durban, plus general maintenance costs, money to use their own furniture and kitchen equipment, and covers cleaning, gardening services, municipal services and taxes.

In 1989 they were given R247 055.59 between them, in 1991 R2 496 890.38; last year R2 109 673.02 and now 2 255 500 this year.

The government defends this scheme by saying it has a tradition of housing ministers.

Professor Sutcliffe, who is on the ANC's local government and housing committee, said the ANC would certainly not continue the perk.

"This is no different from the way the economies of Mozambique and other countries were raped by the colonialists.

"We demand re-dress of this scandal. My personal view is that they have a moral duty to pay the money back," he said.

All along the ANC had argued that this was not just a racist and undemocratic government but an unbelievably corrupt government, he said.

The ANC was suspicious about State attempts to sell off

Mr David Graaff

Mr Peter Soal

Mr Gene Louw

assets, whether it was dams in Natal or ministerial houses.

Last year's payout:

Mr Graaff R112 064.97.

Mr Jacob de Villiers, outgoing Minister of Regional and Local Affairs, also has homes in Cape Town and Pretoria, R93 869.13.

Mr Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, R83 418.33.

Mr Sam de Beer, Minister of Education and Training and of National Housing, R93 733.13.

Dr Rita Venster, Minister of National Health, R83 245.33.

Mr Louis Pienaar, outgoing Minister of Environmental Affairs and of Home Affairs, R82 651.32.

Dr Org Marais, outgoing Minister for Administration and Tourism, R81 018.58.

Dr J N Reddy, former Chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates, R80 067.10.

Mr Adriaan Vlok, Minister of Correctional Services, R79 263.47.

Dr W A van Niekerk, Chairman of the President's Council, R79 096.57.

Mr Palomo Dockey, former Minister in the House of Delegates, R78 590.88.

Mr Yunus Moolla, former Minister in the House of Delegates, R77 195.27.

Mr Abe Williams, incoming Minister of Sport, R77 284.83.

Mr Derek Rees, Minister of Finance, R77 266.96.

Dr Kisten Hajooy, former Minister in the House of Delegates, R77 195.28.

Mr Kuppes Heyns, Deputy Chairman of the President's Council, R68 427.94.

Dr Theo Albutt, Deputy Minister of Finance, R61 455.99.

Mr Fanie Schoeman, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, R59 071.34.

Mr Johan Schepers, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, R59 746.20.

Mr SV Naicker, Minister of Local Government and Housing in the House of Delegates, R41 358.86.

Mr Eugene Louw, outgoing Minister of Defence and Public Works, R41 173.90.

General Magnus Malan, outgoing Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, R40 907.50.
ANC Govt talks fail to bear fruit

The two sides are to meet again next week.

THE two-day meeting between the Government and the African National Congress, which ended yesterday, did not achieve much progress, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

"We did not make as much progress as we had anticipated," Ramaphosa told reporters outside the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park where a multi-party forum to plan the next stage of democracy talks is to be held on Friday and Saturday next week.

Ramaphosa said the nine joint sub-committees the two sides set up last December at the first of their latest series of bilateral talks, had not had enough time to complete their work.

The two sides will meet again next week, ahead of the preparatory conference.

One of the main outstanding issues seemed to be the exact nature of what the Government calls power-sharing.

The ANC's policy-making national executive committee last week endorsed the principle of an interim government of national unity after the non-racial elections scheduled for next April at the latest.

Ramaphosa last week said the coalition government should operate on the basis of proportional representation and would be led by the head of the largest party.

Chief Government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said on TV on Monday that the Government was still looking at the option of a rotating chairmanship of the Cabinet.

He said the power-sharing arrangement should last for the standard five year parliamentary term, even if a new non-racial constitution was ready after two years.

He said the ANC seemed to have accepted this proposal. - Sapa-AFP
NIS taken for a Rl,9-m ride in scam
court on day of Sowetan story

Noose tightens around homelands

Back to self-governing status first step for TBVC states:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE noose is tightening around the homelands as the Government prepares to bring them into the administration of the four provinces.

The Government this week released the Auditor-General’s report on General Affairs in which the financial affairs of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were shown to be in a parlous state.

While the ultimate objective is to bring the TBVC states back into South Africa, the Government’s short-term strategic objectives are to “roll back their status as independent states to that of self-governing territories”.

Sowetan has learnt that the Government has done extensive investigations into the viability of the homelands and has put the reports on them to the various leaders of the TBVC.

It was decided earlier this month that if the leaders of the TBVC states showed any “recalcitrance” the reports would be made public.

It is believed that the Auditor-General’s report specifically on the parlous state of affairs in the TBVC was released on Monday to increase the pressure on the four.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also “in a non-prescriptive and non-threatening manner” also explained, through an exchange of memoranda, the “pro’s and con’s of returning to South Africa and of staying out”.

In the report, the now retired Mr Peter Womsley criticised the Government severely for not “acting more forcefully with the TBVC” and for not “applying restrictive fiscal action and to enforce order”. This had led to “undisciplined conduct”. According to the report, South Africa paid R4.4 billion to the TBVC states in 1991/1992.
Ministers rake in millions for house use

CAPE TOWN — Finance Minister Derek Keys is among 30 political office-bearers paid a total of almost R3m last year and R400 000 so far this year for living in their own houses.

The taxed allocation is intended to compensate them for the costs of staying in their own houses as official accommodation. Last year the average allocation to each was R100 000 — more than double the average paid in 1990.

In a written reply to a question by DP MP Peter Sool — who called the amounts obscene — retiring Public Works Minister

Gene Louw admitted he had benefited to the tune of about R81 000 from the scheme last year. The money was compensation for basic rental, general maintenance, the use of furniture and kitchen equipment, cleaning and gardening services and municipal services and taxes.

The beneficiaries include Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers and Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff, who were compensated for staying in their own houses in both Cape Town and Pretoria. They received about R120 000 and R188 000 respectively.

Of the Ministers compensated for one house, Foreign Minister Pik Botha received about R117 000, followed by Health Minister Rina Venter and Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar (R115 000 each) and Administration Minister Org Marais (R114 000). Keys got R108 000 last year.

Seven residences in the government housing estate had been vacant from 1990 and 15 residences and three flats in Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban had been vacant for the past three years, the reply said.

Key Market Movements — Feb 22 to Feb 23
Govt and ANC still at odds after secret talks

AFTER a two-day secret meeting the ANC and government still disagree on the interpretation of their preliminary agreement for a government of national unity ruling for five years.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said after the meeting yesterday that government had sought clarification on the ANC's national executive committee resolution on a government of national unity.

"We clarified our position. They did not accept it directly. They heard what we said and further discussion has to take place," he said, adding there would be a further bilateral meeting on Wednesday next week.

He said the ANC was now in a strong position, having secured a renewed mandate from the NEC for a unity government.

He hoped the issue would be resolved at next week's meeting.

He said only limited progress was made at the two-day meeting because, primarily, not enough time was allocated to deal with the issues, and the subcommittees had not finished their discussions yet.

Ramaphosa said the big breakthrough at the past two meetings was that clarity had been achieved on the role and powers of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils.

He said the transitional executive council would have powers and jurisdiction over certain defined areas of government, and legislation to establish the councils was being prepared which would be passed during this session of Parliament.

He said the subcommittees were meeting next week to finalise their reports. These should be tabled at an extended meeting next Wednesday.

Ramaphosa said that there was agreement on a new independent SABC board and the issue would be resolved at next Wednesday's meeting. He declined to go into detail, saying there had been agreement that details of the discussion would not be disclosed.

Sapa reports that Azapo has confirmed it will meet the ANC in Johannesburg tomorrow to discuss a resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League gave its qualified support yesterday to the transition package adopted by the ANC leadership last week. The youth league criticised the secrecy surrounding negotiations and called for opening of all talks to the public.

The youth league noted also the ANC NEC's latest position was a departure from the strategic position on negotiations the ANC adopted in November, and was a further compromise.

The youth league's national executive committee held a special session on Monday to consider its position on a government of national unity and on the general progress in negotiations.

It reiterated its support for the reconvening of multiparty talks in the form of Codessa "and the speedy resolution of the SA conflict through negotiations".
Pik averts NP split in Pretoria council

PRETORIA — An embarrassing split in the Pretoria City Council's ruling NP caucus was averted this week after the intervention of Foreign Minister and Transvaal party leader Pik Botha.

Former Pretoria mayor and current councillor Bob Zylstra resigned from the caucus last week claiming the council was being run by a "Broederbond tyranny". He called on other dissatisfied NP councillors to join him in a rival NP group.

Appealing to councillors to uphold party unity, Botha said local level political objectives were of high importance to the NP. Caucus leader Ernie Jacobson said.

Botha was backed up in his appeal by NP Pretoria regional chairman Oleg Marais and NP national information and management committee head Claus van Zyl.

After the meeting on Monday evening, Zylstra confirmed he had withdrawn his resignation and would be returning to the caucus. "We eventually sat down and had in-depth discussions about how to address the council's problems," he said.
Crucial planning on track

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The multiparty planning conference scheduled for next week to resume constitutional negotiations is on track — despite the "limited progress" made at the two-day Government-ANC bilateral meeting which ended near Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "I see no obstacles. What needs to be settled are the details. We are well positioned to make substantial progress at our next meeting."

And Minister of Local Government and Housing Dr Tertius Delport said: "There are no obstacles that I know of."

Government and ANC negotiators are scheduled to meet again next week before the planning conference.

Ramaphosa said after the meeting, held at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, that only "limited progress" was made because of insufficient time to conclude the work.
Reports 'bad news', admits De Klerk

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has described as "disconcerting" the state of recent reports of questionable spending in Government departments.

He was speaking at an impromptu press conference after meeting Baroness Lynda Chalker, Britain's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, in Muizenberg. 24/2/93

Chalker was asked whether regular reports of things going wrong with Government finances had damaged the confidence of the Western world in the South African Government.

She said every government "must deal with the problems of fraud and corruption where they occur."

De Klerk said there were two things a government could do to act against fraud. The first was to take better preventive steps. Secondly, investigations could be opened to bring guilty people to court.

"This we have done consistently. Yes, it is bad news when simultaneously you now get disclosures about that type of thing in more than one department. It is disconcerting. But the very way the Government has been handling this instills confidence in the Western community that the Government is dealing with this," he said.

On the Auditor-General's report on Government misspending, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the time had come for the electorate to turn against the National Party at the ballot box.

DP finance spokesman Jasper Walsh said the Government should hang its head in shame.
missions or have access to the mechanism. To my mind, it is a public service, in a certain sense of the word.

We are in the final stages of settling this with interested parties. It is very difficult to take this matter farther at this stage, but I invite the hon member, as well as all other parties who are represented in Parliament, to come and see me in my office so that we can discuss this matter.

However, I again want to say that the appointment of the board is not a panacea that will guarantee impartial reporting by the media. For that we shall also need a code of conduct which has to be settled, and also a media commission such as the Media Council in respect of the press. All of that has to be negotiated in order to have a foolproof system in addition to the board which the hon member has referred to.

Debate concluded.

QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Question standing over from Wednesday, 17 February 1993:

**Municipal by-elections for all citizens**

*10. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Local Government:

Whether it is his intention to sanction municipal by-elections in which all eligible South Africans, regardless of race, will be able to participate as voters or candidates; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details?

**The MINISTER OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT:**

I outlined my approach to municipal elections in general during the debate on the hon the State President’s Opening Address. I referred to two existing anomalies, namely the system of management committees and local affairs councils on the one hand and the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982 on the other and I stated that an acceptable formula would have to be found in conjunction with all interested parties to achieve reconstituted local authorities as soon as possible so as to allow for elections which would identify the truly legitimate leaders. I furthermore stated that an inclusive package approach would be followed and it is therefore not my intention to deal with by-elections in isolation, but as part and parcel of an extensive approach.

From the Government’s side we will in the near future table a package containing a series of reform measures as a basis for negotiations. Naturally the elimination of racial references regarding voters and candidates would be the first step and would in fact constitute the cornerstone of those reform measures. However, this step, as well as other reform measures which are foreseen, entails legislative amendments and in the absence of such amendments neither I nor the Government is in a position to grant approval for by-elections on the basis proposed in the question.

New questions:

1. Mr R F HASWELL asked the Minister of Defence:

(1) Whether the South African Defence Force intends prosecuting persons who were granted national service in respect of the January 1993 intake and failed to report for such service; if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether the Defence Force intends stopping prosecutions against any persons who failed to report for national service in previous years; if not, why not;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter?

The MINISTER OF DEFENCE:

(a) R688 319,91—18 February 1993.

(b) The Vrye Weekblad and The Weekly Mail.

(2) Prosecutions were stopped pending the implementation of the 1992 amendments to the Defence Act which provided a wider scope for persons to reconsider their grounds for refusing to render military service. Subsequently new call-up instructions were issued to all such persons and if they once again fail to report for service, my answer above applies.

(3) No. I am of the opinion that I have fully replied to the question and do not regard a further statement as necessary.

(2) Mr D J DALLING asked the Minister of Law and Order:

(1) Whether, with reference to his reply in Question No 112 on 24 March 1992, any further amount has been paid by the State in respect of the civil action instituted by Lt-Gen Lootah Ntshel智 against certain publications, the names of which have been furnished to the South African Police for the purpose of the Minister’s reply, and any subsequent appeal arising out of the said action; if so, (a) what total amount has been paid by the State in this regard as at the latest specified date for which information is available and (b) what are the names of the publications in question;

(2) whether any part of the amount so paid by the State in respect of the said action has been repaid by Lt-Gen Ntshel智 to the State; if not, why not; if so, what total amount had been repaid by him as at the latest date for which information is available?

The MINISTER OF LAW AND ORDER:

(1) Yes.

(a) B171E

(2) No. It can only be determined after the judgment of the Appeal Court whether Lt-Gen Ntshel智 has forfeited State protection in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I ask him whether he has any security for the amount which was spent on behalf of this gentleman?

The MINISTER: My Speaker, as far as I know it is not normal practice to ask for security in cases like this. If it is found that the money is owing to the State, it will be recovered.

Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I would like to ask him whether it is not customary that the State stands surety for the legal costs of officials who are sued in the course of carrying out their duty.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member will recall that certain protection is given. It is done in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W. I do not think that I can go into what the protective mechanisms are available to public servants, but basically the hon member is correct in that where the State is able to do so, it does give protection to officials. However, if it were to be found that officials had committed crimes in carrying out their duty, the State would not regard itself as liable for assistance to such officials.

Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister’s reply, I would like to ask him whether in this case it is being implied that there is evidence that crimes have been committed.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I never intimated that. I replied to the hon member’s question. He asked in which cases it is done and how it works. I gave him certain examples. Whether a crime was committed or not in this particular case, will depend on the judgment of the Appeal Court as the case is before this Court at present.

Certificates: Senior Certificate examination

(2) Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether the issue of certificates in respect of the National Senior Certificate examination for 1992 is dealt with by the South African Certification Council; if not, why not; if so.

(2) whether the issue of these certificates has been completed; if not, what stage has this issue reached;

(3) whether interim arrangements have been made.

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(2) No. It can only be determined after the judgment of the Appeal Court whether Lt-Gen Ntshel智 has forfeited State protection in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I ask him whether he has any security for the amount which was spent on behalf of this gentleman?

The MINISTER: My Speaker, as far as I know it is not normal practice to ask for security in cases like this. If it is found that the money is owing to the State, it will be recovered.

Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I would like to ask him whether it is not customary that the State stands surety for the legal costs of officials who are sued in the course of carrying out their duty.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member will recall that certain protection is given. It is done in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W. I do not think that I can go into what the protective mechanisms are available to public servants, but basically the hon member is correct in that where the State is able to do so, it does give protection to officials. However, if it were to be found that officials had committed crimes in carrying out their duty, the State would not regard itself as liable for assistance to such officials.

Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister’s reply, I would like to ask him whether in this case it is being implied that there is evidence that crimes have been committed.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I never intimated that. I replied to the hon member’s question. He asked in which cases it is done and how it works. I gave him certain examples. Whether a crime was committed or not in this particular case, will depend on the judgment of the Appeal Court as the case is before this Court at present.

Certificates: Senior Certificate examination

(2) Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether the issue of certificates in respect of the National Senior Certificate examination for 1992 is dealt with by the South African Certification Council; if not, why not; if so.

(2) whether the issue of these certificates has been completed; if not, what stage has this issue reached;

(3) whether interim arrangements have been made.

The MINISTER OF NATIONAL EDUCATION:

(2) No. It can only be determined after the judgment of the Appeal Court whether Lt-Gen Ntshel智 has forfeited State protection in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W.

Mr D J DALLING: Mr Speaker, arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I ask him whether he has any security for the amount which was spent on behalf of this gentleman?

The MINISTER: My Speaker, as far as I know it is not normal practice to ask for security in cases like this. If it is found that the money is owing to the State, it will be recovered.

Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the reply of the hon the Minister, I would like to ask him whether it is not customary that the State stands surety for the legal costs of officials who are sued in the course of carrying out their duty.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, the hon member will recall that certain protection is given. It is done in terms of Treasury Instruction Chapter W. I do not think that I can go into what the protective mechanisms are available to public servants, but basically the hon member is correct in that where the State is able to do so, it does give protection to officials. However, if it were to be found that officials had committed crimes in carrying out their duty, the State would not regard itself as liable for assistance to such officials.

Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Speaker, further arising from the hon the Minister’s reply, I would like to ask him whether in this case it is being implied that there is evidence that crimes have been committed.

The MINISTER: Mr Speaker, I never intimated that. I replied to the hon member’s question. He asked in which cases it is done and how it works. I gave him certain examples. Whether a crime was committed or not in this particular case, will depend on the judgment of the Appeal Court as the case is before this Court at present.
Govt, PAC to meet in Namibia

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

Despite its public position that it will not talk to the Pan Africanist Congress after Azanian People’s Liberation Army (Apala) attacks on whites in the eastern Cape last year, the Government will hold a meeting with the PAC in Namibia next week, The Star has learnt.

The meeting, confirmed by Government and PAC sources, will be attended by senior SADF personnel and members of Apala’s high command in addition to the two sides’ political leaders.

It is scheduled to be chaired by Namibian President Sam Nujoma or one of his Ministers.

Sources close to the Government and the PAC said the meeting, which had been requested by the Government, would most likely take place early next week — but definitely before the March 5-6 multi-party negotiations planning conference.

Although a number of issues will be discussed, Apala and the PAC’s armed struggle will top the agenda.

The delegations, a source said, would be led by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

The two parties last met in Gaborone, Botswana, in November.
Govt, ANC fail to agree on transition

Own Correspondent
Johannesburg. — After a two-day secret meeting the ANC and government still disagree on the interpretation of their preliminary agreement for a government of national unity ruling for five years.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said after the meeting yesterday that the government had sought clarification on the ANC's national executive-committee resolution on a government of national unity.

"We clarified our position. They did not accept it directly," he said, adding that another bilateral meeting was set for next Wednesday.

Mr Ramaphosa said only limited progress was made at the meeting because of time pressure.

He said the big breakthrough at the past two bilateral meetings was that clarity had been reached on the role and powers of the transitional executive council (TEC) and its sub-councils.

Legislation to establish the TEC was likely to be passed during this session of parliament, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said sub-committees would meet next week to finalise reports to be tabled next Wednesday.

He said there was agreement on a new independent SABC board and this issue would also be finalised next Wednesday, but he declined to elaborate, citing an agreement not to release details yet.

Azapo yesterday confirmed it will meet the ANC in Johannesburg on Thursday to discuss a resumption of multi-party negotiations, reports said.

The ANC Youth League yesterday gave its qualified support to the transition package adopted by the ANC's NEC. — Own Correspondent, Sapa
Ministers in perks shock

R3m paid out for using own homes

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

TAXPAYERS forked out almost R3 million last year to 29 ministers to compensate them for staying in their own homes.

The ministers were paid an average of about R10,000 a year to stay in accommodation other than that provided by the state.

This is more than double the R450,000 average paid out to individual units in 1990—two years ago.

For the months of January and February this year they are being paid a total of R419,402.22 in compensation.

These figures were disclosed yesterday by the retiring Minister of Public Works, Mr Gene Louw, in response to a question tabled in Parliament by Mr Peter Ross (DP, Johannesburg North).

Mr Ross commented: 'These amounts are obscene, particularly as there were state houses available, such as the Northumberland Estate in Cape Town and numerous houses in Pretoria which have stood empty.'

'Awash with gravy'

'And Mr David Graaff (Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry) is given enough to pay for two houses he owns, 'These ministers are awash with gravy,' Mr Ross said.

'Contrasted last night, Mr Pietermaritzburg said the government had an obligation and a tradition of housing ministers, and was paying ministers to stay in their own houses saved money in the past ministers had been provided with accommodation at expensive suburbs of the city and ministers had taken their houses.

Mr Pietermaritzburg said this way it worked out cheaper and the houses in "superior areas" could be sold and the money from it was "probably used for the social upliftment of others."

He said they were based on the housing handouts.

Minister of Correctional Services Mr Adrian Vlok, who was at his suburban private residence last night, said he had "no concern to make whatsoever" on taxpayers' money being used to pay for him staying at his home.

Mr Pietermaritzburg argued that the ministers were "ashamed" of the compensation they were receiving.
own home.

During the 1932-33 financial year, Cabinet ministers were paid R199,000 a year, including a R42,940 reimbursive allowance, and deputy ministers received R147,000 a year, including a R33,774 reimbursive allowance.

**Big Increases**

They also had income tax deducted from their compensation payments for their use of their private residences.

Mr Louw revealed there had been substantial increases in payments to ministers for use of their homes.

In the 1990 calendar year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, was paid R54,744.22, but this more than doubled to R110,730.66 last year. In January and February this year, his compensation was R17,454.18, with R4,978.44 income tax deducted, making his net monthly compensation R12,475.72.

In 1990, Mr Vlok received R54,006.18 but by last year, this had increased to R111,977.51, and the former chairman of the Ministers Council in the House of Delegates got R20,969.91 in 1990, and R12,032.60 last year.

Mr Graaff was compensated R158,354.32 for two residences last year and will be paid R25,124.64 for the first two months of 1993.

Mr Louw’s figures show that R2.9m was paid out last year.

Mr Louw also said the seven residences in Walmer Estate were vacant from January 1, 1990, and provided details of 15 residences in Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban and three flats in Pretoria which had been vacant for a period in the last three years.

A number of these residences had since been sold by public tender, and others were being renovated, Mr Plei- naar said.

- The ministers and deputy-ministers who are receiving accommodation for their housing at present are: Mr Pik Botha, General Magnet, Mr A. J. Reddy, Mr Andries Joffe, Mr Willie van Niekerk, Mr Baldoe Oost- wicke, Mr Adrian Vlok, Mr Gons Louw, Mr Ernst de Jager, Mr. Geering Bartlett, Dr. Kaal van Niekerk, Mr. P. J. van der Westen, Mr Jacob de Villiers, Mr. Youngs Moolme, Dr. Hubert Rijn, Mr. Louis Pienaar, Mr. Oost Mok, Dr. Piet Wergan, Mr. Leon Wensels, Mr. Derek Kins, Mr Joe Williams, Mr. Gerald Morkel, Mr. Jack van Bruijs, Mr. S. V. Narder, Mr Wybourn Brevesterbach, Dr. Theo Akes, Mr. John Hayne, Mr. Johan Schippers, Mr. De Vill Graaf and Mr. Fanie Schoeman.
Five-Party Cabinet Will Dilute N.P.'s Powers
Ranchod to join National Party

DR Bhadra Ranchod, who will become Minister of Tourism on April 1, has joined the National Party, according to a statement yesterday from Mr George Bartlett, leader of the Natal NP. Dr Ranchod previously had no formal party affiliations. — Saps.
Pik takes his troops to sort out city council crisis

Foreign Minister Pik Botha this week descended to the lower rungs of politics to save Pretoria City Council's National Party from destroying itself over the Broederbond.

STAND 24/12/93

AFTER intervention by the world's longest serving foreign minister on Monday night, a split in the National Party caucus of the Pretoria City Council was averted. Pik Botha stressed "the importance of unity" to the monthly caucus meeting.

Afterwards, former mayor Bob Zylstra withdrew his resignation from the caucus, and it was announced that disunity between present mayor James Leach and management committee vice-chairman C.J. Uys would soon be finally solved.

Zylstra resigned last week from the caucus in protest against what he called "Broederbond tyranny" in the council, while pledging "continued support" to President de Klerk.

He challenged all other non-members of the Broederbond among NP councillors to join him and form their own NP caucus.

The row over the Broederbond has been simmering for a while. It came to one of its climaxes when councillors had to show support for a new mayor and deputy mayor.

Leach stated he would not support Uys's candidacy when the council votes for a mayor and deputy mayor on March 5.

An indication of the importance of the row are the support troops Pik Botha took to the meeting on Monday night: the recently appointed executive director of the NP's National Information and Management Committee, Glaas van Zyl; the NP's Pretoria regional chairman, MP Dr Org Marais; and MP Chris Fisker.

Botha said he had used the opportunity to inform Pretoria NP councillors of the latest developments abroad, and locally regarding the constitutional negotiations.

He had discussed "our position in the world at large, the necessity to move to an agreed settlement as fast as possible, in order to attract new investments for this country, to create jobs, and to bring peace and stability to South Africa".

"I think that all my friends here will be in full agreement with my sentiments as to the need to stand together now," Botha said.

After the meeting, management committee chairman and NP council leader Dr Pieter Smith said Botha had played a conciliatory role, but had not come to the meeting to "give a hiding".

Smith said that after Botha, Van Zyl and the MPs had left, the caucus had an open and thorough discussion of its problems and had solved them.

Zylstra confirmed that he had withdrawn his resignation.

When Zylstra was asked whether his problems with Broederbond rule in the council was solved, he said a thorough discussion took place and he was satisfied with the outcome.

Last week, a major row broke out in NP council caucus circles after Conservative Party opposition leader Paul Fouche accused the NP of being led by the Broederbond in selecting candidates for the election of a new mayor and deputy mayor.

The NP caucus nominated present deputy mayor Nico Stoefberg as its candidate for mayor and management committee vice-chairman C.J. Uys as its candidate for deputy mayor.

When questioned, Stoefberg and Uys declined to say whether they were members of the Broederbond.

It also emerged that although the majority of the NP caucus's 22 members were said not to be members of the Broederbond, this seemed not to be the case with the council's management committee. — Own Correspondent
New UK office to develop SA

BRITAIN plans to open a special development division at its Pretoria embassy in June, a British Foreign Office minister said after talks with President F. W. de Klerk yesterday.

Mrs Lynda Chalker, Minister of State at the Foreign Office and Minister for Overseas Development, said economic development should be one of South Africa's top priorities as it moved away from white rule to democracy.

"We have plenty of ideas and we are showing the way forward by bringing a specific development division for Southern Africa to be based in the embassy and look after not only things here, but in Swaziland, Lesotho and Botswana."

A British official said the office would open in June with a staff of at least 10 and an aid budget of about R250 million a year.

Mrs Chalker welcomed the decision of the ANC at the weekend to relax its conditions for the lifting of remaining sanctions.

"I believe that the sooner the sanctions are dropped, the better. One of the most critical things for South Africa is access to international financial institutions," she said. — Sapa-Reuters
DP condemns misspending

THE auditor-general’s report on government misspending showed the time had come for the voters to turn against the National Party at the ballot box, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

DP spokesman on finance Mr Jasper Walsh said the government should hang its head in shame.

Dr De Beer said the report, and particularly its account of misspending in the homeland administrations, fully justified the DP’s constant criticism of the government.

Three weeks ago, during the debate on the State President’s opening speech, he suggested the time had come to get rid of the whole homeland system.

The State President had reacted with a great show of indignation and accused him of hostility to the people of those territories.

“May I just say very clearly, this was just a misunderstanding,” said Dr De Beer.

“Protest is a weapon in the armament of the people. Today we learn that in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda alone there is R3.3 billion of debt, guaranteed by President De Klerk’s government and probably non-repayable by the borrowers.”

If this does not fully justify my criticism, then words and figures have no meaning.

Mr Walsh said no government that displayed such utter ineptitude in managing state funds deserved to stay in power.

The auditor-general’s report covered the period to March 1993.

“There can be no doubt that since then, the extent of corruption and rip-off has increased dramatically as civil servants line their own pockets before time runs out.

“The government should hang its head in shame.”

A DP spokesman on trade and Industry, Mr Geoff Engel, said the scorched earth spending policy of civil servants was continuing as if there was no tomorrow.

Also reacting to the report, the ANC said it should come as no surprise to South Africans.

It said the misuse was blatantly expressed in the golden handshakes proffered to all who collaborated with or ensured the implementation of apartheid.

“Homelands were never economically viable and were established to further a narrow, ethnic agenda. The enormous expenditure incurred to establish and maintain the Bantustans is a result of grand apartheid designs.

“Reincorporation into South Africa is the only real solution.”

The ANC said some homelands have had unsuccessful structural adjustment programmes in place for a considerable time, in an attempt to cut back on expenditure.

“But what occurs in Bantustans merely mirrors what takes place at a central government level.”

In Johannesburg the Azanian People’s Organisation said the government was to blame for the R3bn debt of the nominally-independent homelands.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr G Mokae said that proponents of a government of national unity argued that as the liberation movement was not ready to govern, the experienced white government had to help rule.

“It is extremely naive to think so, as reports of the so-called TBVC states’ debt of over R3bn probably testifies,” Dr Mokae said.

The paramount guilt lay with the white regime. — Sapa
The mixture as before
THE Democratic Party will hold a domestic workers' rally on Saturday as a follow-up to "the phenomenally successful" rally at the end of January. Houghton MP Mr Tony Leon said in Johannesburg yesterday.

More than 2 000 people attended last month's meeting in Norwood. "DP organisers were overwhelmed by the unprecedented public interest. This time elaborate measures have been taken to ensure that seating, refreshment and public address facilities can cope with the expected numbers," Leon said. — Sowetan Reporter and Sapa.
THE Transvaal Provincial Administration has dismissed reports claiming that it has agreed to write off the R900 million debt owed by the Greater Soweto councils.

TPA's MEC for Local Government Mr Burger Lategaan said no such agreement had been reached between the parties in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

"Negotiations are currently concentrating on proposals for the ending of the boycott and the resumption of payments at satisfactory levels," he said.

**Telkom suspends services**

TELKOM yesterday suspended its services in Soweto and withdrew its workers after two of their vehicles were hijacked by striking pupils.

The decision to suspend telephone repairs and installations was taken after at least 12 Telkom vehicles were attacked since the trouble started two weeks ago.

A Telkom spokesman said the suspension was indefinite and could last for as long as the pupils' strike continued.

"The last thing we can afford is to see our men's lives endangered," a spokesman said.

**Meyer to address IFP**

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer will explain the Government's view of the road ahead when he addresses the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee meeting on Sunday.

Dr Tertius Delport, Minister of Local Government, will also address the committee.

This follows a meeting between the Government and the IFP in Richards Bay last weekend.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said at the time there were "certain things they put to us which we did not understand, so they will put them before the central committee".

**Eskom owed R600 million**

BLACK councils owe Eskom more than R600 million while rent and service charges boycotts have led to debts totalling R2 billion.

Responding to a question in Parliament yesterday, Minister of Local Government Dr Tertius Delport said 57 black local authorities had "fully or partially resumed" services despite outstanding rental and service charges.

Nineteen of them, all in the Transvaal, transferred Eskom huge amounts of money, Delport said.
Govt and PAC to meet in Namibia

GOVERNMENT and the PAC will meet in Namibia on Monday to discuss, among other things, the PAC's continued armed struggle and the organisation's position on the planned multiparty negotiating forum.

The meeting will be the first between the two parties since government suspended talks with the PAC in the wake of killings of whites in the eastern Cape by the PAC's armed wing Apia. PAC political affairs secretary-general Seroke said the meeting, which was at government's request, would be attended by senior SADF and Apia officers. His organisation's delegation would be led by secretary-general Benny Alexander.

Seroko said it was unlikely his organisation could be persuaded — either by government or the ANC — to attend a multiparty forum's planning conference scheduled for March 5. This was because of its experience at Codesa. He said the PAC walked out of Codesa's planning conference because other parties were bent on ramming their proposals down its throat.

TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town

that government's decision to reopen discussions with the PAC was unexpected.

Law and Order Minister Herman Kriel said yesterday: "It must be emphasised the planned talks with the PAC/Apia in no way contradict earlier statements that government will not negotiate with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made."

The discussions would take place in the same policy context as those held earlier by government and the ANC before the suspension of its armed struggle.

The government delegation will be led by Kriel and attended also by Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schiffke and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman.

A meeting between the ANC and the PAC — at the request of the ANC — said Seroko — which was to have been held in Johannesburg yesterday, fell through because, the PAC said, it had been given insufficient time to prepare for it.
White parties told to stay out of townships
days. These would educate people about
elections and accustom conservative em-
ployers to workers being absent on elec-
tion days. If employers opposed such ac-
tivities, "the people will decide what to do
with them," he said.

The employers would not suffer any
financial losses because they would be no-
tified beforehand.

DP spokesman Peter Sosch said from
Cape Town Sanco wanted to decide whose
views should be promoted in the townships.
"That's not democracy. We will go to the
townships and continue to promote our
policies of democracy and nonracialism."
OUTRAGE grows over subsidies

Political Staff

OUTRAGE continues to mount over the disclosure that the government is paying Cabinet ministers millions of rands to live in their own houses.

Last year more than R5 million was paid to 29 ministers and their deputies.

ANC Western Cape vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako said yesterday that it was another example of the corruption and moral depravity which seemed to come from every pore of the state administration.

CP finance spokesman Mr Cas Uys said: "While subsidies for disabled single and other needy people are withdrawn, the government splurges taxpayers' money on compensation to cabinet ministers."

Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff—who received the highest compensation last year of R158 854.33 before tax—defended the scheme.

He said he had high bonds on his houses in Cape Town and Pretoria. Of these, R158 854.33 was paid last year. R46 299 was tax, leaving R112 554.

That represented about R56 000 per house. This did not cover even the bond repayments of R77 000 a year on his Pretoria house.

"Extra costs such as rates brought the cost of this house to R98 000 a year—leaving him R32 000 out of pocket."

Mr Graaff said that if the state had provided him with a house of about R90 000 the interest on capital would cost about R75 000 a year.

"So the state is saving R25 000 plus a year."
Apla 'terror campaign' tops talks agenda

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

TERROR attacks by the PAC's armed wing, Apla, top the agenda for talks between government and PAC/Apla delegations in Windhoek on Monday.

The government is anxious to include the PAC in the multiparty talks process, which is now gaining momentum, and much will depend on the outcome of Monday's engagement.

The talks in the Namibian capital will focus purely on the continuance of the PAC's armed struggle and what a government statement described as Apla's "terror campaign".

The government team will be led by Minister of Law and Order Mr Hermus Kriel and will include the deputy ministers of justice and constitutional development, Mr Danie Schutte and Mr Fanus Schoeman, and officials.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaky Stroke confirmed the arrangements.

He said the PAC delegation would be led by secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and Apla by its high command.

Mr Kriel said last night that the talks "will take place within the same policy context as those held earlier between the government and the ANC, before the ANC's suspension of its armed struggle."

He added: "It must be emphasised that the planned talks with PAC/Apla in no way contradict earlier statements that the government will not negotiate with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made."

"The planned talks will therefore concentrate on the issue of the PAC-Apla armed struggle and terrorism."
KwaZulu set on talks seat

By Esther Waqgr
Political Reporter

The KwaZulu government will attend next week's multiparty planning conference regardless of whether it is formally invited, according to Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Fagate.

And in another development, Minister of Local Government and Housing Dr Tertius Delport and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will address a meeting of the IFP's central committee in Ulundi on Sunday.

The Ministers are expected to give the IFP the Government's views on the transition.

Another IFP-Government meeting is scheduled to take place in Pretoria tomorrow.

The talks are expected to focus on preparations for the planning conference to be held next Friday and Saturday.

The ANC and the Government indicated on Tuesday after their latest bilateral meeting that there were no obstacles in the way of the planning conference.

The IFP has insisted since Codesa 1 that the KwaZulu government and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini take part in negotiations as separate delegations.
CAPE TOWN — Terror attacks by the PAC's armed wing, Apla, top the agenda for talks between SA Government and PAC/Apla delegations in Windhoek on Monday.

The Government is anxious to include the PAC in the multiparty talks process, which is now gaining momentum.

Much will depend on the outcome of Monday's engagement.

The talks in the Namibian capital will focus purely on the continuance of the PAC's armed struggle and what a Government statement described as Apla's terror campaign.

The Government team will be led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and will include the Deputy Ministers of Justice and Constitutional Development, Danie Schutte and Fanus Schoeman, as well as senior officials from various Government departments.
Govt defends housing scheme

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Amid a storm of withering criticism, the Government last night mounted a rear-guard action over the millions of rand it is paying Cabinet Ministers every year to live in their own houses.

Last year more than R3 million was paid to 29 Ministers and deputy Ministers on the scheme, Public Works Minister Gene Louw said in Parliament. He was replying to questions by Democratic Party Johannesburg North MP Peter Seol.

Last night Public Works Director-General TPC Robbroeck said the scheme was actually saving the State money.

It had been recommended by an auditing academic from the University of Pretoria, a Professor Loubser, whom the Government had commissioned in the late '80s to investigate official housing costs.

The compensation was for rent, use of own furniture and kitchen equipment, cleaning and gardening services, and rates.

Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff — who received the highest compensation last year of R158 544.32 before tax — last night defended the scheme.

Graaff said the State had started the scheme to save costs. It was part of the privatisation initiative.

Graaff said he had high bonds on his houses in Cape Town and Pretoria. Of the R138 544 he had been paid last year, R40 099 was paid in tax, leaving R128 056.

That represented about R90 000 per house. This did not cover even the bond repayments of R77 000 a year on his Pretoria house — which he had bought for his job.

Extra costs such as rates brought the cost of his Pretoria house to R98 000 a year — leaving him R2 000 “out of pocket”.

Graaff said that if the State had provided him with a house valued at about R500 000, the interest on capital would have cost about R73 000 a year.

“So the State is saving R20 000-plus a year — and that does not include the cost of maintenance, gardening, etc.”

Graaff said Ministers and deputy Ministers were obliged to occupy houses of a certain standard.

Seol rejected Graaff’s explanations and said every ordinary person with a bond would find it difficult to sympathise with Graaff’s problem in paying two huge bonds.

“By all means give them reasonable compensation for living in their own houses, but not R100 000 or more a year.”

Sapa reports that the Conservative Party’s chief finance spokesman, Casper Uys, said generous housing compensation paid to Cabinet Ministers was another example of the reckless abandon with which the Government spent taxpayers’ money.

Taxpayers having to pay compensation to Ministers to live in their own houses was another example of the corruption oozing from every pore of the current administration, ANC vice-chairman in the western Cape Lerumo Kalako said.
Civic organisations in the southern Transvaal have called on their supporters not to allow meetings by the National Party and the Democratic Party in black communities.

Speaking at a Johannesburg press conference yesterday, South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) southern Transvaal general-secretary Dan Mofokeng said this action did not mean the civics were opposed to freedom of assembly and association.

A DP spokesman said he found the call regrettable, since it was not in the spirit of democracy, which he presumed Sanco was committed to.

An NP spokesman said the call was contrary to the notion of free and fair elections. — Staff Reporter.
Govt, PAC to meet in Windhoek

ANC meeting with the PAC fails to take place

Johannesburg. — The scheduled meeting between the PAC and the ANC did not take place yesterday.

PAC Political Affairs Secretary, Mr Jackie Seleke said the meeting had been "improperly" arranged and had been re-diaryed for next week.

The ANC is expected to meet Azapo leaders today to discuss a resumption of multiparty talks and other issues. — Sapa

The government and the PAC are to meet in Windhoek next week for the first time since the Apla attack on a King William's Town golf club in November.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hans Kriel said in a statement yesterday that he would lead a delegation to meet representatives of the PAC and its armed wing Apla for discussions on "the organisation's armed struggle and its terror campaign".

The PAC confirmed that the meeting would take place.

Government sources were at pains to emphasise that the meeting did not amount to a resumption of negotiations — which it had broken off after the golf club attack.

Mr Kriel said: "It must be emphasised that the planned talks... in no way contradict earlier statements that the government will not negotiate with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress towards a suspension of the organisation's armed struggle has been made.

"The planned talks will concentrate on PAC/Apla terrorism."

Deputy Justice Minister Mr Danie Schutte, Deputy Constitutional and Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman and other officials are to accompany Mr Kriel.
CP calls on govt to resign

THE CP yesterday called on the government and the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam de Beer, to resign over new revelations about financial mismanagement in the Department of Education and Training.

The CP said the maladministration of salaries was another chapter in the endless tale of the government's corruption. — Sapa (South)
THE NEW CABINET

The new Cabinet which is to take office on April 1:

State President — F W de Klerk
Foreign Affairs — Pik Botha
Public Enterprises — Dawie de Villiers
Justice and Defence — Kobie Coetsee
State Expenditure — Ami Venter
Population Development — Jac Rabie
Correctional Services — Adri van Uitenbogt
Education & Training and National Housing — Sam de Beer
Mineral & Energy Affairs and Public Works — Gerhard van Zyl
Agriculture — Kraai van Niekerk
National Health & Welfare — Rina Venter
Law & Order — Herschel Kriel
Transport and Posts & Telecommunications — Piet Welgemoed
Constitutional Development and Communication — Roelf Meyer
Manpower — Leon Wessels
National Education and Co-ordination — Piet Marais

Finance and Trade & Industry — Derek Keys
Sport — Abe Williams
Local Government — Terence Delpot
Tourism — Bhadra Ranchod
Environment & Water Affairs — Japie van Wyk
Regional & Land Affairs — Andre Fourie
Home Affairs — Danie Schutte

Deputy Ministers:
Defence and Environmental Affairs — Wynand Breytenbach
Finance — Theo Alant
Land Affairs — Johan Scheepers
Agriculture — Tobie Meyer
Trade & Industry — David Graaff
Constitutional Development and Communication — Fanus Schoeman
Foreign Affairs — Renier Schoeman
Welfare — Glen Carelse
Law & Order — Gert Myburgh
National Health — Boy Geldenhuys
Local Government — Y M Makda
Justice — Sheila Camerer
Mayekiso backs threat to white parties

SA National Civic's Association (Sanco) president Moses Mayekiso yesterday backed the organisation's stand against white political parties electioneering in the townships.

And the ANC, while not condemning the Sanco (Southern Transvaal) threat to prevent NP, DP and CP activities in the townships, said free political activity should be allowed everywhere in SA.

Sanco general secretary Dan Mofokeng said on Wednesday Sanco would not allow white parties to hold meetings in black areas and discredit members of liberation movements.

Mayekiso said although the national body had not yet taken an official position on the decision, he personally supported it. White parties canvassed in the townships because they had money. "They (the NP) should not use taxpayers' money to woo voters. We have seen it happen overseas."

He added: "But that does not mean we won't allow parties to compete in our areas."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC believed there should be free political activity throughout the country, including the TBVC states.

DP leader Zach de Beer said his party would not be intimidated.

Pointing out that Mofokeng's only objection seemed to be that the DP sought to discredit members of the liberation movements and thereby confuse their followers, he said: "The essence of democratic politics is that one does criticise political opponents and put one's policies to persuade them to change their positions. Mofokeng is not willing to allow us the freedom to practise politics in the normal way."

Sapa reports government spokesman Dave Steward said free and fair elections were impossible unless all parties were allowed to campaign freely among all communities.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzee said his party saw itself as an open - not a solely white - party. "It is the democratic right of all South Africans to express themselves politically. The Sanco statement is based on racism which belongs to the past."

In Durban, Inkatha said: "Political activism and mobilisation cannot be held to ransom by a few militant and undemocratic thugs who take it on themselves to decide who 'the people' should support. The intimidatory nature of Mr Mofokeng's statement cannot go unchallenged as it is this attitude which has led to violence and the establishment of no-go areas in our townships."

© Comment: Page 14
Hani shots because of high spirits

■ Varsity staff confirm view of the SACP:

SHOTS fired at Fort Hare University during a visit by Mr Chris Hani were an expression of excitement among students and not an attempt on the life of the South African Communist Party general secretary.

This was said yesterday by SACP deputy general secretary Mr Charles Nqakula, who added that “someone, in a moment of excitement amongst the students on campus, fired shots into the air”.

University staff said the shot had apparently been fired into the air. — Sowetan.

News in brief

Crawford returns

AMERICAN singer Randy Crawford is due in South Africa for a two-week tour at the end of March with concerts in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth, Durban and Cape Town.

Crawford was in South Africa in May last year to promote her album Through The Eyes Of Love. During her last visit Crawford (40) said she was surprised at the friendliness of the people she met after reading about so much violence in the country.

New regulations

IN an effort to save R10 million needed for ambulances in rural areas, the Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) intends using ambulances only for the emergency transport and treatment of patients.

Acting MEC for health services Dr Willie Hoods said in Pretoria yesterday that in future those needing ambulances for less serious cases would have to use expensive private ambulance services. From April 1 the TPA would not pay the costs of transport by private contractor but independent...
Nats, DP slam threats to campaigning in townships

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

The government and the Democratic Party have condemned the announcement by the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco) that it would prevent "white" parties from electioneering in townships.

Government spokesman Dave Steward said free and fair elections would be impossible "unless all political parties can campaign freely in all parts of the country and among all communities".

"In this process, it is essential that the playing fields should be even for all parties in all communities."

The chairman of the Southern Transvaal region of the Democratic Party, Mr Peter Saul, said that if democracy was to survive in South Africa, "it is fundamental that all political points of views are put to prospective voters before the first democratic election."

They were reacting to the announcement by Mr Dan Mofokeng that Sanco could prevent electioneering by "white" political parties.

Mr Steward said: "The government calls on all political parties to reject undemocratic practices and attitudes and to help create a climate of political tolerance and respect for the rights of all parties and individuals which will be conducive to the holding of genuinely free, fair and peaceful elections."

Mr Saul said: "Democracy means being tolerant towards other points of view and even though one might not agree with that point of view, one must be able to voice it."

He added: "The DP will not be intimidated by demagogues who deny fundamental democratic principles."

The African National Congress has added its voice to the condemnation. Spokesman Carl Niehaus said free political activity was one of the cardinal principles of democracy, reports Sapa.

"The ANC endorses the right of all parties to operate throughout the country, including KwaZulu, the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has also condemned Mr Mofokeng's statements, branding them "undemocratic and intimidatory."

IFP spokesman Kim Hodgson said political activism and mobilisation could not be held ransom by a few militant and undemocratic individuals.

"There is an obligation on the political leadership of the country to foster political tolerance," Mr Hodgson said.
No black vote for whites

Cast says no against votes for NP, DP:

THE Civics Association of Southern Transvaal this week vowed to try to persuade blacks not to attend election campaign meetings by the National Party and the Democratic Party.

Cast general secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng told a news conference in Johannesburg on Wednesday the association opposed the participation in activities that undermined democratic elections.

He accused the NP of importing nationals from the Far East and of recruiting members of the Mozambique Resistance Movement (Romamo) and providing them with South African identity documents to swell its votes. Mofokeng said campaigns by the NP and DP were intended to confuse the people and the civics would never allow that. He called for "our people" to resist any meeting called by the NP and DP and to intensify campaigns to force these parties to speed up the election process. — Sapa.
Heed lessons of the past in constitution-making

JOHN KANE-BERMAN (304) 761-2672
DP accuses government of covering up corruption

Tos Wenzel
Political Staff

The government was thrashed today over mismanagement, graft, fraud and corruption.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer accused the government of failing to take action against the culprits and of being unable to control state spending. What we see, he said, is that one commission after another brings forward damning evidence of large-scale wrongdoing and, with a few exceptions, no one goes to jail.

"Either the police and the prosecuting officials are greatly deal more incompetent than we think they are or offenders are being protected in some way."

"We don't know the answer but the government does or certainly should. Let this be the day on which the people of South Africa get an adequate explanation." He also called for a commission to consider ways of eliminating wastage, fraud and corruption and to recommend more efficient use of the state's resources.

The motion referred to the reports of various commissions of inquiry and of the Auditor General, which highlighted corruption and misadministration in some of the TBVC countries and the six self-governing states and in many government departments and state entities.

Dr De Beer quoted remarks by former Auditor-General Mr Peter Wemsley, to the effect that the central government had been reluctant to act more forcefully and had instead proposed fiscal action to improve order.

"Mr Wemsley had said that these actions may have been politically correct but that they had undoubtedly contributed to the uncontrolled growth of the recipients of aid," Dr De Beer said. "One of the great problems of bribery is always to make sure that the briber acts according to the wishes of the bribee. I think this may well prove to be a case in point."

It was necessary for the political parties to act in concert so that there could be credibility to an inquiry. Experts from the financial professions and the private sector should also be involved.

"Let us try to learn what people in efficient, clean organisations actually do to protect their shareholders' money. Let us see whether there is some way of injecting into the present machine, which either cannot or will not prevent corruption, some people who actually know how to spot crooks."

Dr De Beer said the need seemed to be for a system of financial control which worked and was backed by the will of the part of government to see that these systems were backed by determined authority.

The government has meanwhile hurriedly started a campaign to counter sharp criticism following these disclosures.

The Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Andie Venter, today called a Press conference to deal with the criticism and to set out the government attitude and steps that have been taken to control state expenditure and to ensure financial order. He emphasised the government's commitment to clean administration.
ANC shifts after SA cabinet is reshuffled

By David Beresford in Johannesburg

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk began preparing the ground for South Africa's first multiracial general elections with a cabinet reshuffle in which he appointed two Coloured and one Indian MP.

Simultaneously the African National Congress announced it was prepared to support ending a variety of sanctions as soon as an election date was announced and transitional administrative structures put in place — steps optimists expect to take place in weeks.

Mr De Klerk's long-awaited cabinet reshuffle contained few surprises. The five white retiring ministers were "selflessly motivated by the recognition that we are now entering a new and election-oriented phase of the political process".

They include the minister of defence, Gene Louw, whose portfolio will be handled by the minister of justice, Kobie Coetsee. Mr De Klerk himself will assume responsibility for the National Intelligence Service. The former minister of defence, General Magnus Malan, demoted to water affairs and forestry after allegations of dirty tricks by military intelligence, is also leaving. The home minister, Louis Pienaar, is succeeded by Danie Schutte, formerly deputy minister of justice.

None of the portfolios given to the Coloured and Indian MPs is regarded as particularly important. The two Coloureds, Jac Rabis and Abe Williams, got population development and sport respectively. The Indian, Dr Phadra Ramesh, became minister of tourism.
Pitfalls on
‘last mile
to freedom’

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff

THE struggle for liberation has reached the last mile, but the journey ahead is filled not only with pitfalls, but could also be the longest stretch yet, says ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

“We stand at the gateway of achieving a democratic dispensation. This has come about as a result of long years of struggle,” he said at a briefing on negotiations at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

Veteran ANC leaders would see apartheid destroyed in their lifetime, and Nelson Mandela would become first president of a democratic South Africa.

He said President De Klerk knew deep down, even if he did not want to admit it, that Mr Mandela would take over.

But Mr Ramaphosa called for vigilance and warned that the government was bound to cheat and try to violate agreements reached in the negotiations.

“The ANC, therefore, never deceived itself at the negotiating table.

Assessing the ANC’s gains in negotiations, he said the movement had been firm in its demands that a constituent assembly should write a new constitution.

“The regime finally buckled and gave in to our demand. This represented a huge victory.”

He said the ANC had also been firm in its demand for an interim government of national unity because it did not want Mr De Klerk to be player, referee and linesman.

“Today the regime speaks our language, they now say they want an interim government of national unity.”

When bilateral talks between the ANC and the government continued this week the position of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was also discussed.

The government wanted MK to disband immediately, stop the armed struggle, hand over its weapons and disclose the names of all its members.

But government negotiators “looked at us and kept quiet” when the ANC team asked if the same conditions would apply to the SADF which it viewed as the National Party’s private army.

The ANC’s position at bilateral talks was that a transitional executive authority should put MK and all other armed formations under a joint command structure.

Mr Ramaphosa said government negotiators gave the ANC an insight into their thinking when they turned down a recommendation that elections be conducted by an independent monitoring body.

“We even suggested that it should have 11 people, eminent South Africans who would have the support of the international community. We said anything less than that would lead to claims of a farce election.”

But a minister, who Mr Ramaphosa declined to name, said elections must be run by the Department of Home Affairs.

He said the ANC had emphasised that elections could not be held if millions of South Africans living in the TBVC states were excluded.

“We also argued that there was nothing stopping the government from passing a law giving South African citizenship to TBVC citizens.”
Namibia says 'no' to PAC plan for talks in Windhoek

Political Correspondent (308/1) 1984-10-2

TALKS between the government and delegations from the Pan Africanist Congress and its armed wing, Apla, on Monday will no longer be held in Windhoek, and could be moved to Gaborone.

Problems arose over providing facilities in the Namibian capital at such short notice, forcing the Namibian government to turn down the PAC's request, PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti confirmed yesterday.

A government spokesman said the talks "are still on, in principle".

"Alternative venues are being explored," he said.

Terror attacks by Apla, the PAC's armed wing, top the agenda for the talks, which could be the key to efforts to draw the PAC into the multi-party talks process.

There will be no discussion on constitutional matters.

The government team will be led by Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel and will include the deputy ministers of justice and constitutional development, Danie Schutte and Fanus Schoeman, and senior officials from government departments.

The PAC delegation will be led by secretary-general Benny Alexander and will include senior members of Apla's high command.
Paid for homes row: Plan defended

CABINET ministers who were paid compensation for living in their own homes had not been enriched at the taxpayers expense, the government said.

The allowances provided only enough money to buy houses of R260,000, while ministers were required to occupy residences valued at about R760,000 — "fit for their status," Director-General of Public Works Theo van Robbroeck said yesterday.

The ministers had to make up the difference, he said, responding to a storm of criticism over the compensation scheme through which more than R3 million was paid to ministers and deputies last year.

He said the present scheme, begun in 1991, was designed to reduce costs to the state and had proved cheaper than putting up ministers in official residences.

The scheme was based on recommendations by Professor Giel Louws, then professor of auditing at the University of Pretoria, who the government had consulted.

"In this process no enrichment takes place at the expense of the taxpayer."

The scheme had brought South Africa into line with other modern countries.

In Britain, official residences were provided only for the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Speaker.

Mr Van Robbroeck said about R5,000 of the monthly allowance paid to a minister was to acquire a residence "fit for his status."

After tax this was reduced to R3,813. A 100 percent bond at 18 percent interest over 20 years, he said, buys a house costing only R260,000, "which can hardly be described as of ministerial standard."

The minister had to make up the difference — without guarantee that he could stay in office for any time.

"Comments in the media that the scheme enables office-bearers to repay their bonds within two years as a result of so-called benefits is a total misrepresentation."

"I am aware of political office-bearers who have to pay an additional amount of between R2,000 and R5,000 a month to meet their bond obligations based on a 20-year period of redemption."
FW scores an own goal

In appointing party hacks instead of new blood in his cabinet reshuffle FW de Klerk fluffed a golden opportunity, reports IAN CLAYTON

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK had a golden opportunity last weekend to introduce the kind of leadership in government that would help instil confidence about its role during the difficult period of transition.

And he fluffed it dramatically.

Instead of introducing new blood and expertise, with some legitimacy outside the narrow confines of the now non-racial National Party, he promoted party hacks and gave three people of colour such minor portfolios that it is no surprise that they are being dismissed as tokens.

De Klerk could have given a kick-start to the government’s role in reviving the economy by separating Derek Keys’ finance and trade and industry portfolios by appointing another outside business person or economics expert.

That would have made it really look as though the government was serious about its role in economic revival and that it was coming to grips with corruption and mis-spending in government departments and the homelands.

But he missed it.

De Klerk could have announced the first minister of a single and united education department, a move he had already announced that he intended taking, but instead he gave National Education Minister Piet Mairais the additional portfolio of “education co-ordination” and kept Sam de Beer as minister of education and training, which is only for blacks.

He missed that opportunity.

The president could have appointed someone with leadership, admin-
Namibia out as Goyt-PAC talks venue

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Namibian government has turned down the Pan Africanist Congress’s request to have its meeting with the Government held in Windhoek on Monday, PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti confirmed yesterday.

The meeting, initially scheduled to take place in the Namibian capital under the chairmanship of either President Sam Nujoma or his Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Beza Meribab, would now take place in another neighbouring African state, Seriti said.

Details will be made available today.

Namibian Foreign Affairs Permanent Secretary Andreas Guiob was yesterday quoted as saying his government had first heard of the meeting when it received a letter from the PAC on Wednesday.

"It comes at very short notice," Guiob said. The Star has learnt that the Namibian Foreign Minister’s office phoned PAC headquarters in Johannesburg late yesterday afternoon to talk to PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

In their letter to Seriti, the Namibians said they would be tied up with visits from heads of state next week and could not host the South Africans as well.

Seriti dismissed criticism that the PAC had not informed the Namibian government in time about Monday’s meeting.

He said the agreement about the venue was reached with Pretoria on Tuesday, and he had informed the Namibians as soon as he could.

He said the PAC had “five or six” possible countries where the meeting could take place, but did not know which one would be acceptable to the Government.

Seriti was last night working furiously to get another neighbouring country to host the talks, and was confident the meeting would still go ahead on Monday.

The talks, the first to be attended by SAP and SADF generals and the high command of the Azanian People’s Liberation Army, were three months since the Government and the PAC met in Gaborone, Botswana.

The delegations will be led by Law and Order Minister Herrus Kriel and PAC Secretary-General Benny Alexander.
THE CABINET

No deadwood shake-out

The weekend Cabinet reshuffle was prompted more by the need to replace Ministers who wanted to quit than by President FW de Klerk’s desire to streamline the Executive in preparation for a year of transition to democracy.

Three of the five retirees — Gene Louw (Defence), Org Marais (Administration & Tourism) and Louis Pienaar (Environmental Affairs) — will stay on as MPs. The other two, Magnus Malan (Water Affairs & Forestry) and Jacob de Villiers (Regional & Land Affairs) are quitting parliament.

De Klerk rewarded the Nats in the House of Representatives with Cabinet posts for Jac Rabie and Abe Williams and brought in the newly appointed head of the House of Delegates Ministers’ Council, Bhadra Ranchod.

Regardless of the abilities of the three men, their appointments were aimed partly at consolidating growing Nat support in the coloured and Indian communities.

By giving Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee the Defence portfolio as well, De Klerk signalled a further downgrading of defence priorities. However, the integration of the SADF with Umkhonto we Sizwe will not be eased with Coetsee at the helm. He is generally disliked by the ANC.

The elevation of former Deputy Minister Danie Schutte to Home Affairs means he will shoulder much of the administrative responsibility for the logistics of the coming election, but details will be dictated by the proposed Electoral Commission.

Ministers considered fortunate to have survived the reshuffle include Adriaan Vlok (Correctional Services), but the fact that he did indicates that De Klerk was not out to axe what could have been seen as dead-wood.
Govt defends housing perks for Ministers

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Cabinet Ministers who were paid compensation for living in their own homes had not been enriched at the taxpayers' expense, the Government said yesterday.

The allowances provided only enough to buy houses worth R200 000, while Ministers were required to occupy residences valued at about R750 000 — "fit for their status", Public Works Director-General Theo van Robbroeck said.

The Ministers had to make up the difference, he said, responding to a storm of criticism over the compensation scheme through which more than R3 million was paid to Ministers and deputies last year.

He said the present scheme, introduced in 1991, had proved cheaper than putting up Ministers in official residences.

"In this process no enrichment takes place at the expense of the taxpayer," the scheme had brought SA into line with other modern countries.

In Britain, residences were provided for the Prime Minister, Chancellor of the Exchequer and the speaker.

Van Robbroeck said about R5 000 of the monthly allowance paid to a Minister was to acquire a residence.

After tax, this was reduced to R3 613. A 100 percent bond with 16 percent interest over 20 years bought a house worth only R250 000.

The Minister had to make up the difference without guarantee that he would stay in office.

"Comments in the media that the scheme enables office-bearers to repay their bonds within two years ... is a total misrepresentation," Van Robbroeck said.

The compensation also covered services which were provided by the State at official residences such as cleaning, gardening, general maintenance, rates and services, and furniture.

Cost

Nonetheless, the allowances for services were substantially less than the cost to the State for providing them at official residences, he said.

Apart from the higher cost of services and of maintaining old buildings and large grounds, the State was also forgoing interest by not selling these buildings.

One residence, Redzicht, was worth R2 million. If sold, this would yield R300 000 a year at 15 percent interest.

Van Robbroeck said the Government intended selling off all official residences except those at Groote Schuur in Cape Town and Bryntor in Pretoria.
NEGOTIATIONS

Cracking the regional nut

In an effort to remove what could be a big obstacle in the way of multiparty negotiations, government has proposed the formation of a nonpartisan commission of experts to investigate regional structures for SA and make recommendations to the elected constituent assembly (CA).

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says the idea has been discussed with the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and “significant progress” has been made.

Regionalism and power sharing are now the two main areas of dispute among the three key political players (see Face to Face on Page 44).

Compromise

Meyer says power sharing for an extended period after the CA election has been accepted in principle by the main parties and compromise on the details should not be too difficult to achieve.

But regionalism is a more complex problem. The ANC wants the CA to determine the boundaries, powers and functions of regions.

Government initially insisted that this happen during multiparty talks.

The proposed commission is an important compromise that Meyer says could bridge the two opposing views. Government’s proposal is that the commission finalise the boundaries of the regions before the election so that regional representatives can be elected.

All parties would also submit proposals to the commission on the powers and functions of regional governments. The commission would consider them and make recommendations to the CA, which would have the final say.

However, Meyer says, if parties were able to make their submissions as “compatible” as possible, the commission’s recommendations to the CA would at least have the backing of the main parties and would probably be accepted with little or no change.

It is understood that though IFP negotiators, who met a government delegation in Richards Bay last week, had some reservations about the plan, they agreed to refer it for further discussion to a central committee meeting on Sunday. The focus of the IFP’s negotiating effort will be on the entrenchment of regionalism in the new constitution — a potentially divisive issue.

By taking regionalism out of direct negotiations, government hopes to speed up the process and concentrate on other complex issues, such as the re-incorporation of the TBVC states and the integration of armed forces. However, government has hardened its view on the extent to which regionalism has to be accepted as a constitutional principle during multiparty talks.

Meyer says the principle — which will have to be included in a final constitution — must refer specifically to autonomous powers for the regions. “In other words, it won’t simply be an open reference to regionalism or regional government. In that regard, it is taken further than what we have been discussing up to now.”

The proposed commission was due to be discussed further in separate talks government was scheduled to have this week with the ANC and IFP. Acceptance of the idea will smooth the way for the multiparty planning conference now set down for Thursday and Friday next week at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park — the Cofesa venue.

Meyer says his delegation would also raise the details of power sharing at its meeting with ANC negotiators this week. This followed proposals put forward by the ANC after the organisation’s national executive committee last week endorsed the concept of a limited power-sharing arrangement during and after the transition to democracy.

The exact powers and functions of the president and his relationship with leaders of parties which might win enough votes to qualify for seats in a Cabinet of national unity need to be clarified, says Meyer. He says regionalism and power sharing have been the two biggest problems facing negotiators from the start. “But, in view of current progress on these two issues, I’m optimistic that we can reach a compromise.”

SQUATTERS

Nats to the rescue

Verligh Cape Nationalists, including provincial leader Dawie de Villiers, have vetoed objections by party supporters in Milnerton to a new squatter settlement in the town. The disgruntled Nats are headed by conservative former Cabinet Minister Gert Kotze. He is still MP for Malmsbury, which includes Du Noon, the area earmarked for the settlement. The move is a victory for Milnerton municipality, which has faced an uphill battle against white residents opposed to the development.

The 88 ha site at Du Noon, alongside the N7 highway to Malmsbury, will provide about 2 000 plots for squatters now living in scattered settlements throughout Milnerton. Many have lived in the area for years.

Milnerton town councillor Willem van Staden, at the forefront of efforts to provide a serviced residential area for squatters, says he isn’t surprised by De Villiers’s decision to override local Nat objections.

“Our proposals are in line with government policy; they are also the moral thing to do. People have a right to permanency.” He says someone has to take responsibility for housing homeless people. It should be the local MP — but he declined.

Expropriation

The Du Noon site will be expropriated from eight private owners. Milnerton municipality will raise about R31m to buy and service the land. The 160 m² sites will be sold to residents.

Among the senior Nats who backed De Villiers’s decision were Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring and provincial executive council member Dawie de Roux. Van Staden says Kotze’s efforts to stop the development have held it up “for a considerable time" and it is not expected to be ready until the end of the year at the earliest.

He understands that both Nat branches in the immediate area affected by Du Noon backed Kotze’s view, except for the chairman of one branch, Jimmy Fouche, grandson of the former State President of the same name. Van Staden concedes that whites don’t like the idea of squatters in their midst but the municipality realised two years ago, when it started working on the project, that it was in a precarious situation.
Finding common ground

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will lead government's delegation into next week's planning conference aimed at getting multiparty talks back on track.

**FAT:** What are the major differences between government, the ANC and IFP and how are you resolving them?

**Meyer:** Power sharing and regionalism. We wanted long-term participation of more than one party in the executive structure. The ANC wanted to prevent the entrenchment of this arrangement. There is movement towards acceptance of a relatively longer period of transitional government based on participation by all relevant parties who receive a certain percentage of votes.

In our view this will allow for the phasing in of the new dispensation and joint government for five years. Details of how the Executive will function still have to be worked out.

On regionalism we wanted the duties, functions, powers and boundaries of regions determined before the transitional phase. The ANC wanted these issues left to the elected constitution-making body (CMB). We are trying to bridge the two views by considering the possibility of a nonpartisan commission of experts to investigate and hear evidence on all aspects of regionalism.

We’ve discussed this with the ANC and the IFP and significant progress has been made.

A recent ANC statement gave the impression that government had agreed to let the constitution-making body deal with details of regionalism. Is that not correct?

The statement didn’t reflect the complete picture. The proposed commission would bridge our differences. It would recommend regional boundaries before the election and make further recommendations on the functions of regions to the CMB, which would have the final say.

We believe the various parties should structure their submissions to the commission so that they are mutually compatible, thereby ensuring recommendations to the CMB that will at least have the support of the major parties.

The ANC published detailed proposals for power sharing last week. Are they in line with what you have been negotiating?

They raised some new ideas and aspects are not quite clear. We will seek clarity in talks this week. It is important to achieve absolute clarity on the composition and functions of the executive. For instance, the powers of the President and his relationship with the leaders of the other parties represented in the executive. Those leaders will obviously have to have positions otherwise the whole idea of a government of national unity will be meaningless. Our discussions so far indicate that we can come to terms on these issues. Finding common ground on the principle of power sharing was a major achievement. I’m sure we can agree on the detail, though I don’t think we will resolve the issue this week.

Was the IFP satisfied after your talks last week that you don’t have a secret deal with the ANC?

They’ve said so openly, it was not a point of dispute.

What are the major points of difference between the IFP’s views and those of government and the ANC?

I would say the IFP is more concerned about regionalism than power sharing. In fact the IFP’s constitutional plan for KwaZulu/Natal doesn’t provide for power sharing, just straightforward majority rule. The concept is probably not that important to the IFP though I’m sure they would want to be part of a government of national unity. The focus of our talks was on regionalism, how it could be implemented and included in the final constitution.

This is also an issue of major concern to government. The set of constitutional principles to be agreed on by the multiparty forum will include a principle on regionalism, which will refer specifically to autonomous powers for the regions. In other words it won’t simply be an open reference to regionalism or regional government. In that regard it is taken further than what we’ve been discussing up to now.

What is the purpose of the multiparty planning conference and do you expect it to be a difficult session?

Firstly, to assess progress of the negotiation process and secondly to plan for the resumption of the multiparty forum. I don’t think we will clear up all outstanding points before the conference, but we have made progress on the major issues. It depends on what people expect from the conference. Government views it as a session to prepare for the resumption of multiparty talks and not the forum for negotiating constitutional matters.

In spite of the success of talks over the past two weeks government’s proposed timetable remains tight. Can it be achieved?

We’re working flat out and I think we are on track. I see no reason why the multiparty forum won’t get off the ground by the end of March, which would mean getting on with issues like the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), constitutional principles, contents of the transitional constitution and the charter of fundamental rights.

All this must be discussed and agreed on by the end of May and that’s a tight schedule. We’ve proposed that we first agree on a TEC so that it can get on with its work. We can’t afford to fall behind. I’ve no doubt that political progress through negotiations will help reduce political violence and improve the economy. Delays increase the chance of further mass action and instability.

The ANC has called for elections as soon as possible. If agreement is reached by the end of May can elections be held this year?

I doubt it. There is considerable preparatory work to be done. We haven’t even touched the issue of the reincorporation of the TBVC states, which will take some time. Preparations for the election itself are complicated. We have to establish an independent Electoral Commission which we can only do once multiparty talks resume. From a practical point of view I don’t see how it will be possible to have an election sooner than a year from the resumption of multiparty talks. This doesn’t mean I won’t work full out to have earlier elections if possible, but in reality I don’t think it will happen.

Public posturing by various political leaders indicates considerable distrust and bitterness toward opponents. What is the relationship between government and ANC negotiators in particular?

I think the level of distrust is decreasing, but one can’t expect negotiations to override all differences. After all, we have two roles. On the one hand we are negotiating partners with a common responsibility — together with other parties — to make progress and define the rules of the game. On the other hand, we will be fierce opponents in an election held in terms of those rules.

The conflict will exist until an election. How we manage the situation is important. We must guard against making it impossible to work together in a government of national unity after an election. Some form of understanding will have to be worked out for the election campaign.

Does government regard any issue as non-negotiable?

I prefer not to talk about non-negotiables or bottom lines. My approach is to aim for the maximum instead of defending the minimum. But issues important to us are the constitutional principles I spelled out in parliament last month (Current Affairs, February 5). They are all positive and achievable and in line with the NP’s constitutional guidelines accepted in 1991.

What are the consequences of agreement not being reached between the main parties in the next few months?

If there’s no progress government will go back to the drawing board and look at alternatives. President De Klerk indicated this in November. Whatever steps are taken will have to create the greatest possible degree of legitimacy and be in line with democratic principles. But we are working on the assumption that we will make progress, not that an alternative will be necessary.
Storm over canvassing ban threat

THE SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has run into a storm of condemnation for its threat to prevent "so-called white political parties" from campaigning in townships.

Sanco Southern Transvaal regional secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng vowed in Johannesburg on Wednesday that his region would prevent the National, Conservative and Democratic parties from canvassing in black townships.

Reacting, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC endorsed the right of all parties to operate throughout the country.

The government, the Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party all blasted the statement yesterday, with NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer calling it "shocking racism".

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said "the process of democracy requires the holding of free and fair elections". It was essential that the playing fields be even for all parties in all circumstances.

The DP's Mr Peter Soal said that for democracy to survive in SA it was "fundamental that all political parties of view are put to prospective voters... democracy means being tolerant to other points of view".
US political interest in SA waning

WASHINGTON — A growing belief that SA’s transition to nonracial democracy is on track, combined with domestic budget woes, has driven the country off the agenda of US legislators, ambassador Harry Schwarz believes.

“We’re going to need to do a bigger selling job to revive interest,” Schwarz said yesterday.

The multimillion-dollar aid and trade plan advocated by Congressmen Stephen Solarz and Senator Richard Lugar last year has been all but forgotten.

Also languishing is a Bill to establish an enterprise fund, modelled on eastern European initiatives, to promote black SA businesses.

TransAfrica director Randall Robinson told the House Foreign Affairs Committee this week: “With SA’s election and its democratic gains are negotiated and executed, we must help with considerable assistance.”

But C Payne Lucas, president of Africare, a major development lobby, told the panel the US and its Western partners should be trying to help African governments create an “enabling environment” for economic growth and investment by focusing on “peace and stability” and efficient governance.

Committee chairman Lee Hamilton indicated that the key question now was whether Africa’s $300bn aid allotment should be targeted on a few specific countries where it might do the most good.

In lobbying Congress, Schwarz said he was pleading that SA get “a fair share”, arguing its success was key to the rest of the continent’s fortunes.

This view is catching on. Council on Foreign Relations fellow Marguerite Michaels, writing in the current issue of Foreign Affairs, said “a politically stable and economically prosperous post-apartheid SA is unquestionably Africa’s most promising hope for renewal.”
Storm over canvassing ban threat

THE SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has run into a storm of condemnation for its threat to prevent "so-called white political parties" from campaigning in townships. Sanco Southern Transvaal regional secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng vowed in Johannesburg on Wednesday that his region would prevent the National, Conservative and Democratic parties from canvassing in black townships. Reacting, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC endorsed the right of all parties to operate throughout the country.

The government, the Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party all blasted the statement yesterday, with NP spokesman Mr Piet Coetzer calling it "shocking racism." Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said "the process of democracy requires the holding of free and fair elections." It was essential that the playing fields be even for all parties in all circumstances.

The DP's Mr Peter Soal said that "democracy to survive in SA it was "fundamental that all political points of view are put to prospective voters... democracy means being tolerant to other points of view."
Groote Schuur open to public

Groote Schuur, the official residence of South African heads of state and prime ministers since 1910, will be opened to the public for the first time on March 13. This has been organised with the aim of raising funds for four hospitals.

STAND 26.12.93. (8041)
Ramaphosa: Govt bound to cheat

THE government was bound to cheat (and try to violate agreements reached in the negotiation process), ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Mr Ramaphosa was addressing students at a University of Western Cape public meeting called to explain the ANC's position in constitutional negotiations.

He defended the movement's decision to enter into a government of national unity with other parties after the adoption of a new constitution and said it was for a limited period only. It was essential for reconstruction and reconciliation.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC was setting the agenda for talks and the National Party government was falling back and accepting the ANC positions one by one.

"But we are dealing with people experienced in treachery and cheating," he said. "We must negotiate with them. But they have never stuck to the agreements they have reached." This was illustrated in Angola, Namibia and at Nkomati, he said.

"Today we are at the gateway of achieving a democratic dispensation after long years of struggle and sacrifice.

"But there are a number of pitfalls and dangers that lie in store and the last mile could be the longest that we must walk in destroying apartheid fully and completely.

"We will see it in our lifetime. Nelson Mandela will see it dead in his lifetime— not only to cast the ballot vote but becoming the first president of a truly democratic South Africa." — Sapa
Russia and SA turning backs on past dogmas

This assessment of developments in South Africa:

"This is a crucial period in your history, a transition from a totalitarian, racist minority regime to a democratic dispensation."

The changes were possible because of strong pressure by international forces, including sanctions. The balance of forces in the country determined that the only solution is a political settlement through negotiation on that basis. Compromises are to be made."

"A major factor that triggered the neglect of transition was the flagrant political system of development of the productive forces. This political system has to be removed and substituted by new political structures that would bring full political rights to all and through that open up the development of the productive forces."""

"Also, certain leaders of the ruling party came to understand that there was no way forward by protecting the existing system.""

On President F W de Klerk:

"He is an outstanding leader. His name will go down in history as that of a big reformer."

"He is one of the few within the NP who understood the need for rapid and early implementation of apartheid.""

"His major credits are the legalisation of the black opposition, the ending of apartheid, and the signing of the Record of Understanding with the ANC in 1992.""

"The balance of forces indicates that the momentum of the unbannings in 1990, the ANC and Government, despite their confrontations, occupy the centrist position on the political spectrum.""

"The Record of Understanding was a major breakthrough. It gave the leadership of the ANC and the President's team together to create a bloc powerful enough not only to chart a programme for the transition but also to create a platform that would provide for the implementation of that programme with due interest to all major political parties.""

"This will form the real basis for a stable non-violent evolution to democracy.""

The National Party:

"It is undergoing a very difficult process of changing into a truly democratic party."""

"One of the difficult tasks: the party to transform itself from an ethnic, mostly Afrikaner party, to a truly national one. It has the capacity under the leadership of the organisation to achieve this but it will not happen overnight. Its task is complicated because most political and governmental structures have been discredited.""

On the ANC:

"It has proved to be a consistent democratic organisation."

"According to all indications, it will most probably become the leading party after the general elections. The leadership has acquired experience (since the unbanning of the organisation) and displays flexibility and the ability of change."

"Sometimes because of the speed of developments, the leadership experiences very strong pressure from the grassroots which is not quick enough to adapt to and understand the changes. A lot will depend on the ability of the leadership to educate the masses to support the national executive committee's programme.""

"The ANC has its own internal contradictions and problems. The contradiction is determined by the fact that by bringing the masses to the polls, the ANC would have almost accomplished its historical mission as a liberation movement: the struggle for human rights for black people."

"I think it will be difficult for the ANC to continue as a liberation movement after that. It will gradually have to transform itself into a political party or even several parties attending to the interests of specific social groups.""

The country's future:

"I am positive about the future of the transition to democracy. I am not certain that the long term South Africa will find a solution to the political crisis."

"In the short term, it will be difficult and sometimes impossible, because the problems created by apartheid are enormous."

"There should be a national vision. The lack of such a vision is one of the biggest problems. South Africa is one country but it is still not one nation.""

The relationship between the ANC and Government:

"They need a mutual understanding of their past and they need trust. The trust is being formed but needs to be developed."""

"Both political parties must build up their policies in the interest of the country and not for party political interests.""

The Russian diplomat, Alexei Makarov, has been directly involved with South African politics for the last 23 years. Two years ago, as head of the South African desk at the Foreign Ministry, he was posted to Pretoria as head of the Soviet Union's interest office.

Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH spoke to him on the eve of his return to Moscow.

Future of the SAPC:

"That depends on its constituency and its programme. The Communist Party has a right to exist in a democratic country.""

Inkatha Freedom Party:

"It is an important regional force which cannot be disregarded. It is very important that the major players find common interests with the IFP and find a way of stopping the confrontation between the IFP and the ANC.

The role of the SAPC:

"There is a big difference between the SAPC and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union or other ruling communist parties elsewhere.""

"The SAPC was set up as a comradeship in 1921 to lead the white working class to the world socialist revolution, but when it opened its doors to black people it transformed its ideals and the priority of its tasks.

From the 1940s the SAPC became one of the major parties in this country to steadily struggle for human rights for black people. The primary task of the communists became the struggle for human rights for all.""

Russian-South African relations:

"Years of isolation and of living in closed totalitarian societies and political systems have led to a distorted perception of each other."

"Now that the barriers have been removed there is a strong willingness, at least on the part of Russia, to reject all dogmas of the past."

"But to reject everything that was bad in our past, is to throw away the baby with the bath water. The past will always influence our present-day life and our future. This attitude, I think, is harmful and dangerous to relations between the two countries."

"It is necessary now to realistically analyse our past relations and to pragmatically find out what was positive and what was negative.""

"The ANC and the IFP have a right to exist in a democratic country.""
Govt pressured to act on graft

By Michael Chester

The Government came under pressure from the SA Chamber of Business last night to expose the culprits behind the wave of fraud and corruption in State departments by public prosecution in court.

Sacob president Spencer Sterling said urgent action was needed to improve financial discipline and control and "to prevent a further erosion of public faith in the institution of government".

The urgency had been underlined by the extent of gross maladministration and corruption that had been revealed by reports from both the Auditor-General and the Parliamentary Joint Committee on Public Accounts.

Taxpayers had the right to expect "value for money" from their tax contributions, Sterling said in a formal statement.

The widespread evidence of corruption within Government was bound to contribute towards a hardening of attitudes towards any increases in taxation that might be announced on Budget day next month.

Lack of visible fiscal control would do little to promote tax morality within the private business sector or among individual taxpayers.

Concern over the apparent lack of control over mushrooming State expenditure had been voiced in a special joint investigation made by Sacob and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut as far back as 1988, Sterling said.

Yet the Government had still not acted on many of the recommendations that emerged from the probe. Among them:

- Government spending priorities should be made public on a regular basis, with the Auditor-General assigned to check that actual expenditure followed the priorities.

- The status of senior accountants inside Government departments should be raised to allow them to take part in departmental decisions to assist them in their internal audits.

"The exposure given to maladministration and corruption is an important first step towards rectifying the problem," Sterling said.

"However, it is now essential that concrete steps aimed at ensuring fiscal control are seen to be implemented, as well as prosecution in court of perpetrators of fraud and corruption.

"Sacob therefore urges the Government to act on recommendations that emerged from the joint study and to take special steps to strengthen the office of the Auditor-General and to ensure its independence so that corruption and maladministration can effectively be addressed."
Governd defends subsidies

"No enrichment takes place at the expense of the taxpayer."

He said about R5 000 of a minister’s allowance was intended “to acquire a residence fit for his status.”

"After tax, this is reduced to R3 613.

A 100% bond at 16% interest over 20 years buys a house of only R260 000, which can hardly be described as of ministerial standard.”

The rest of the allowance was for services that would also be provided at state residences, such as cleaning.
Namibia won't host govt, PAC meeting

THE South African government meeting with the PAC and its armed wing, Apia, on Monday will no longer take place in Windhoek.

A search is now on for another venue outside the country.

The decision came after the Namibian government said yesterday it was not at this stage prepared to host the talks. Foreign Minister Mr Theo-Ben Gurirab said the request to hold bilateral talks in Namibia was carried by the media even before the government had been informed.

It is understood the delegations are now most likely to meet in Gaborone, Botswana. — Political Staff, Sapa
Corruption claims:
Govt to answer today

Political Staff

The government will today defend itself against mounting allegations that it is hopelessly corrupt.

This morning State Expenditure Minister Mr Amie Venter will address a press conference on corruption and later in the day the House of Assembly will debate a private members' motion on the issue tabled by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

The decision to call the press conference comes after a spate of revelations, including corruption uncovered in the government's third party fund and in former auditor-general Mr Peter Wronsky's annual report on general affairs for 1991-1992.
'Progress' on regions plan

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE government has proposed a non-partisan commission of experts to investigate regional structures for South Africa and make recommendations to the constituent-making body. This is stated by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, in an interview in this week's Financial Mail.

Mr Meyer said the idea had been discussed with the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and "significant progress" had been made. C1 26/2/93

"The proposed commission would bridge our differences," he said. "It would recommend regional boundaries before the election and make further recommendations on the functions of regions to the constitution-making body, which would have the final say."

Mr Meyer said he doubted that elections could be held this year because there was considerable preparatory work to be done.
Multi-party talks: CP may attend

THE Conservative Party will almost certainly attend next week's multi-party planning conference alongside the ANC in spite of its previous refusal to engage in talks with the organisation.

However, the party yesterday staunchly defended any decision to participate, saying it was "not a question of principle but a question of strategy and method".

The CP's announcement came as Azapo said yesterday it would not take part in the talks.

The statement by Azapo's Transvaal vice-president, Mr Nkosilathi Molala, follows an earlier statement that Azapo would wait and see what transpired before committing themselves.

Mr Molala said Azapo's objection was that the planning conference was undemocratically structured.

The CP's MP for Soutpanberg, Mr Tom Langley, said the CP's participation was the "logical extension of the CP's programme of negotiation".

He said the CP's head committee had decided in 1990 that it would not allow the presence of ANC members to inhibit its right to participate in forums where it could state its case.

However, he added that the CP was "keeping its options open" to see if the conference got off the ground, and suggested that a number of developments could prevent the meeting from starting.

Stressing Azapo's refusal to participate, Mr Molala said even if the Pan-Africanist Congress - a former partner in the Patriotic Front (PF) - decided to join the conference Azapo would still refuse to join the talks.

Azapo would only talk to the government if there was neutral mediation on neutral territory.

Mr Molala said Azapo would make an effort to reconvene the PF before it would consider entering into negotiations, and would try to mobilise all those forces which remained outside the negotiation process. — Political Staff, Sapa
Centrist party may soon form

**Political Staff**

**THERE** was strong speculation last night that a new centrist group might emerge in the near future.

The speculation that the group which might reunite Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert with the Democratic Party and others in the political centre has been fuelled by the holding of a conference in Lisbon.

Dr Slabbert, DP national chairman, Mr Ken Andrew, executive chairman Mr Colin Eglin and MP Mr Peter Garske are attending the talks, which according to one DP MP are "largely secret".

The meeting has been organized by Idasa.

An Idasa spokesman yesterday denied the talks were secret.
Government mismanagement and corruption has cost taxpayers more than R5 billion, opposition MPs have claimed.

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Staff

OPPOSITION MPs rounded on the government yesterday in a fierce snap debate on corruption and mismanagement in the civil service, which one MP claimed had cost taxpayers more than R5 billion in the past 18 months.

Democratic Party MP for Benoni, Mr Geoff Engel — praised in the debate by party leader Dr de Beer as a top-flight business- man who knew his figures — said he believed his estimate of R5 billion could be only the tip of the iceberg.

Democratic and Conservative MPs expressed anger at the apparent absence of political accountability.

Dr de Beer — whose private member's motion was the focus of the debate — challenged the government to say "just how bad must it be before a cabinet minister gets the chop".

He called for an independent commission into corruption.

But, the government hit back, insisting that the only reason there had been so many reports of corruption and maladministration recently was because the government itself had ordered them. This, they said, was proof of their commitment to a clean administration.

Minister of State Expenditure Mr Amie Venter, who denied that corruption and mismanagement were being swept under the carpet, said Dr de Beer had not proposed the motion through concern about the plight of the country or the poor, but rather as an electioneering strategy.

"The government agrees that corruption and mismanagement is totally unacceptable and it is doing everything in its power to stamp it out. The government remains committed to clean administration."

The most vigorous defence came from Deputy Minister of Regional Development Mr André Fourie.

While he acknowledged that recent reports by judicial commissions and other bodies on corruption had been "bad news" about which everybody was deeply shocked, he said the government "has declared war against this type of maladministration".

He even suggested that the civil service had been affected by corruption in the private sector. "Only this morning, we heard on television the shocking figures of fraud in the business and private sector."

"How can the civil service also be affected by this sort of thing?"

In a broadside on the Opposition, he said the CP and DP both had failed to win the electorate's trust and now were reverting to "this type of tactics" - of criticising the government.

Democratic Party MP for Johannesburg North, Mr Peter Seol turned on Cabinet ministers who received compensation for staying in their own rather than state-owned homes — a subsidy scheme which "stinks to high heaven".

He said it symbolised the scandal which was engulfing the NP and confirmed taxpayers' fears that NP politicians were "ashash with gravy."

Supporting the DP motion, CP for Rustenberg Dr Willem Botha said the fact that political office-bearers were not willing to accept accountability for misdeeds in their departments filtered through to all levels of society.

CP finance spokesman Mr Cas Uys said voters believed politicians were "a lot of crooks".

He noted that while corruption and maladministration in the TBVC states was criticised, the South African government failed to set an example. Year after year, the government spent millions of rands more than was budgeted by parliament.

He said the culture of patronage — which the NP confused with patriotism — had cost South Africa billions of rands.

DP finance spokesman Mr Jasper Walsh said the government should find the guts to shoulder the burden of admitting responsibility for corruption and maladministration.

"South Africans are punch-drunk as they see their hard-earned taxes being frittered away on an orgy of self-enrichment..."

This had led to disbelief and insecurity and contributed to the decline of South Africa's moral fibre.

"The government's reaction to this has been pathetic. There is an enormous gap between the fine words spoken and the paltry action taken. We believe the government has lost the confidence of the people."
A

Election cheats
Catching out the

NOGA 2/13/17

[Image: Image of a document page with text related to election cheating, but the text is not legible due to the quality of the image.]
Weekend News Report

LIEBY PEACOCK

RESIDENTS OF THE PIMPEAUSCATE VACUUM

"Mamie no to political vacuum"

Mamie residents who claim that politics are not weighted for anything. They don't have a voice in the government. They're not heard. They don't know what's going on in the community. They're not part of the decision-making process. They're just spectators.

"I don't have a voice. I just go along with what the politicians say."

"In other words, we're not involved in the community."

"We're just here to be tolerated."

"We want to be respected as human beings."

"The politicians have no respect for us."

"We want to change this situation."
Let's all cross the real Rubicon

NOW is the time to push hard for democratic and non-racial elections. This is an urgent mission for all peace-loving South Africans and not only politicians. A government democratically elected by all is the only hope for peace and stability. Now is the time for our people to take their destiny in their own hands and to refuse to be dictated to by those politicians who want to hold the country to ransom because of their petty and narrow political agendas.

The optimism that momentous changes are going to take place in 1993 is not misplaced. We all share this optimism. But experience has taught us that optimism turned into euphoria is not just unwise but reckless.

The ANC has declared 1993 the year of democratic elections for a Constituent Assembly. This is a bold declaration and a sign of confidence about the future, but it is also a declaration of the impatience of our people and movement over the delay in resolving the political conflict speedily. An agreement on a date for elections for a constitution-making body will reinforce this spirit of optimism and lower the levels of violence and tension in the country. Further delay will definitely lead to a social explosion that will reduce all other uprisings to nothing. This is not a threat. It is an appreciation of the stark reality that faces every right-thinking South African. In the interest of all the peoples of this country, all political leaders are being called upon by history to realise that now is the time to cross the real Rubicon.

A fundamental mistake that South Africans have committed is to give to politicians and political organisations the responsibility of determining the future of this country. Politicians alone do not have the capacity to bring solutions to all the social ills of our land. In fact, left on their own they will make, and are already making, a mess of things.

It is therefore incumbent on all responsible leaders across the social spectrum to grab political leaders by the scruffs of their necks and to drag them screaming into a speedy and peaceful resolution of our country’s conflict. The power of non-governmental organs of civil society must be deployed properly and be felt by our people. It is the creative combination of political and civil society initiatives that will deliver genuine and lasting peace and democracy.

our election machinery and preparing our people for a democratic election.

This is even more relevant for the ANC in the Western Cape because the NP propaganda machinery has created the perception that the coloured community will vote NP. This false perception is meant to confuse and demoralise our activists and supporters and get them to give up the coloured community vote. We do not discriminate between votes. As far as we are concerned, all votes are equal. Whether they are from the white, coloured or African community they are of equal value and we want them all.

Another angle of this propaganda is the old racist notion of divide and rule. The coloured community is pitted against the African people on the basis of the lie that the “African majority” are going to dominate the other minorities through an ANC government. This cheap strategy of exacerbating the fears of minorities and putting them in opposition to the “African majority” is extremely dangerous and short-sighted.

In order to achieve the noble goal of a united and prosperous South Africa, we will desperately need harmony and unity between all peoples of this country. Most South Africans can and must become part of the democratic majority.

Over and above the involvement of both political and civil society organisations in finding solutions to our problems is the urgent need for a deeper involvement of the international community to persuade all leaders of the need for a more speedy movement to a non-racial democracy.

We take this stand because this country belongs to all of us, black and white, and all its peoples have to determine its destiny. No one else is going to do it for us. Others can only help us.

The best way of ensuring progress is to hold democratic elections soon so that democratically elected leaders from all parties can draft a new constitution to legitimise the transitional process. For the first time in our history, the people would have decided who would represent them in parliament.

Non-racial and democratic elections will not solve all our problems. However, they are an important step towards addressing our political and socio-economic problems. Yet the decision to have elections by that date is not about to fall from the skies, it has to be fought for by every South African.

We in the ANC feel the pressure of delaying the negotiation process more than any other political grouping because our constituency is large, angry, and impatient. Our people, especially in the African and coloured townships and squatter areas, are demanding, and rightly so, relief from the poverty, squalor and violence they have been subjected to for so long. What else must happen that has not happened before we can have real progress, peace and prosperity in South Africa?

We are impatient about the delay in the negotiation process also because we are confident that we will win the next election with a convincing majority. This humble confidence is not misplaced. In fact the majority of independent opinion polls support this view. This does not give anyone within our ranks the right to neglect the mammoth task of building

Yes we agree, no we don't

February 27, 1992
Apla set to dominate discussion

The presence is on to persuade the Pan-Africanist Congress and its armed wing, the PAC, to abandon the armed struggle. The talks on Monday between government and PAC delegates will be open to the public. The talks will be discussed at the top level of the PAC, with the PAC's high command from government departments. The PAC delegation will be led by Mr. Harry Alexander and include the PAC's ministers of state. The constitutional commission will be headed by Mr. Mansa Dohத, and senior officials. There are some uncertainties over Monday's talks, which resulted in a suspension of talks to be held in Windhoek but now are held in Gaborone. The talks are expected to be moved to Gaborone.
Azapo backs Sanco

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) says it will "back to the hilt" any attempt to make electioneering by white parties in black townships impossible.

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said in a statement yesterday that his organisation supported the South African National Civic Organisation's (Sanco) opposition to white parties running election campaigns in black areas.

At a press briefing here yesterday Sanco national president Mr Moses Mayekiso stressed, however, that the organisation was not opposed to freedom of political activity.

It was opposed to parties which were against democratic transition in South Africa, and which would voters with taxpayers' money.

- All parties should be allowed to canvas support in all parts of the country if free and fair elections and a democratic society are to be achieved, the South African Council of Churches said in a statement yesterday.
Focus on APLA

Eastern Cape attacks top Gaborone agenda

THE Pan Africanist Congress's armed struggle and the attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) on whites in the eastern Cape last year will be the main items on the agenda when the PAC and the Government meet in Gaborone, Botswana on Monday, both parties have confirmed.

The meeting, which comes after three months of "cold war" between the PAC and the Government following APLA's attacks on whites in King William's Town and Queenstown in December, will be chaired by Botswana Foreign Affairs Minister Dr G K Chiepe.

The last high-level public meeting between Pretoria and the Africanist organisation, also held in Botswana and chaired by Chiepe, took place at the end of November.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, who led the Government delegation, later told journalists that the PAC undertook at that meeting to suspend its armed struggle after the decision had been ratified by its annual congress in April.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Serekana, who was part of the PAC delegation, dismissed Botha's claim as a misunderstanding of his organisation's position that the issue would be discussed at congress.

Generals

Monday's meeting differs from any others held so far between the Government and the PAC because, for the first time, it will bring the APLA leadership and South African Police and SA Defence Force generals face to face.

Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel, who will lead the Government delegation, has made it clear that his delegation has no mandate to discuss constitutional matters. Instead, it will want to focus on the PAC's armed struggle and security matters, especially APLA.

The PAC delegation is ready for the Government's arguments, and is understood to have prepared a position document which it will make available to Kriel's delegation.

PAC sources said the organisation would again say it was prepared to enter into "a mutual cessation of hostilities", and would even have its guerrillas placed under joint multiparty control in the form of the transitional executive council.

However, the sources said, the PAC would not unilaterally suspend its armed struggle or even disband APLA.

Negotiations

Although PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander will lead the political arm of his organisation to the talks, the military wing will send its own delegation from its headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, which will be led by PAC defence secretary and APLA commander Sihelo Phakana.

The Government angrily suspended talks with the PAC after attacks on whites in the eastern Cape in December, demanding that the PAC leadership condemn APLA's attacks and distance itself from the guerrilla army.

However, Alexander went on television and said APLA was "operationally independent from the PAC", adding that "the hullabaloo was because five whites had died" during the attacks.

The PAC is committed to returning to negotiations, and sources this week said the organisation would attend next week's multiparty negotiations planning conference at the World Trade Centre outside Kempton Park even if the Government insisted it should not do so.

Here the organisation will have the support of its rival the ANC, which would like both the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation to be involved in negotiations.

An ANC source told Saturday Star yesterday that his organisation had made it clear to the Government that it wanted the PAC to attend the planning conference.
ON FRIDAY the country will formally emerge from an eight-month hiatus in multiparty constitutional negotiations with the first step to reconstituting the negotiations forum.
That the two-day multiparty planning conference is the first move away from apartheid to a democratic government is the main point of agreement between the IFP, the ANC and the Government.
But they differ widely on the aim of the planning conference convened on the IFP's insistence as a condition for re-entering negotiations after Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government in September.
His party wants the conference to determine the form of state and the negotiations process. The IFP also wants to review all CODESA agreements none of which was ratified at CODESA 2.
The ANC and the Government, on the other hand, see the event as assessing the current political situation and discussing logistics for the reconvening of a negotiating forum.
The differences over the direction of the long-awaited conference are attributable largely to different transition scenarios. The IFP says it is confident that the planning conference will decide on a federal state. Thereafter technocrats would draft the constitution, a referendum is held to test its support after its adoption by the negotiating forum, and then general elections are held to find a new government. The party sees the transition as a continuous process to majority rule in September next year.
But the Government and the ANC want the planning conference to discuss resumption of CODESA, which would appoint a multiparty transitional executive authority. This would have the task of levelling the political playing field in the run-up to elections for an interim government of national unity. The Government and the ANC envisage these elections taking place at the end of the year or early next year.

According to their scenarios the interim government would act as a constitution-making body. Another round of elections would be held for a majority government.
Although the Government and the ANC have agreed on a broad framework for the transition, fundamental differences still exist on regional government and power-sharing.
However, these differences are not necessarily obstacles in the negotiations process or merely issues of procedure. While negotiators concede that tough negotiations lie ahead, they stress that convergence can be found on the differences.
The NP's breakt![...]

JAC Rabie (55), a colourful character in anyone's books, has been given responsibility for Population Development following President FW de Klerk's latest Cabinet shuffle.

Born in Middelburg, one of six children of an Indian father and coloured mother, Rabie trained as a teacher. While studying he met and married his wife, Angelique, and they had four sons. Their youngest son Alan (22) died unexpectedly last year on the eve of his wedding.

Rabie began his political career in 1969 as a member of the Federal Coloured People's Party (FCPP) when he signed up as full-time organiser. He was elected to the Coloured Representative Council for Reiger Park — where he now lives — two years later.

He resigned from the FCPP in 1975 and joined the Labour Party in 1976, a party he had often vilified.

He soon became one of the party's leading lights but by 1987 he had had enough of Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse and "his authoritarian style" and formed the United Democratic Party with four other MPs. By last year he had again walked the floor, joining the National Party and becoming the NP's most senior "person of colour".

As Minister of Population Development he will be in charge of the Government's birth-control programme.

"JAC Rabie has never been afraid to call a spade a shovel. But he would probably win more prizes for bluntness than consistency," a report on him notes.

Better known for his diplomatic approach is the newly appointed Minister of Sport, Abe Williams.

Malmesbury-born Williams (53) also trained as a teacher and rose to headmaster of the Belhar Primary School.

He won a seat in Parliament in 1984 as a member of the Labour Party. By 1989 he had been appointed Deputy Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.

In 1989 he resigned from the Labour Party and joined the NP.

Two coloureds and an Indian j

THE appointment last week of Jac Rabie, Abe Williams and Bhadra Ranchod to the Cabinet is yet another milestone on the way to a new South Africa, reports MANDY-JEAN WOODS.

"It is important for all moderate South Africans to lend a hand to build a new democratic South Africa. There is only one road to national reconciliation — the National road."

Williams, who is well known in sporting circles, was appointed assistant manager of the 1981 Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand. He has travelled widely in the name of sport and established excellent contacts with sports ministries, organisations and personalities overseas. He is on record as saying: "Sport is in many ways leading the process of change in South Africa and helping the country into a new world."
Henrie the wheeler-dealer is boxing on
Through trio

Bhadra Ranchod: Has campaigned for a Bill of Rights for many years.

In 1991 he became the NP's first coloured Minister when President de Klerk appointed him Deputy Minister of National Education and Planning and of Local Government and National Housing in the House of Representatives.

He is married to Esme, a music teacher, and the couple have a son and a daughter.

Bhadra Ranchod (49) has a legal background and was not a member of the ruling NP when selected for the Cabinet as Minister of Tourism. He this week joined the NP -- the first time he has joined any party.

Ranchod served for many years as professor of law at the University of Durban-Westville, becoming head of the department of private law in 1976. In 1986 he became the first "non-white" ambassador when he was appointed by former president F W Botha. His appointment as permanent representative to the European Community came at a time when his request to move into a white residential area had been turned down by the Government.

Ranchod has in the past lashed out at critics who accused him of being used as a token. "I don't have to be anyone's token or lackey. Why should I allow myself to be used?" he said.

He admitted there had been times and situations in South Africa which had angered him.

"But I don't believe in whimpering. There's a job to do and one's got to get on with it."

The turning point for him, he said in a report at the time of his appointment to the EC, was the acceptance of the concept of a Bill of Rights for South Africa. Ranchod has been associated with a Bill of Rights campaign for many years.

He was born in Port Elizabeth and studied at the University of Cape Town where he obtained his law degree. He also studied at Leiden University in the Netherlands, Queens College in Cambridge, and Oslo University. He speaks Afrikaans and Dutch fluently and passable French.

He returned from his European assignment last year and became director-general, administration, of the House of Delegates. Earlier this year he was appointed chairman of the NP-controlled Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates.

He is married to Vibha, and the couple have two daughters.
Corruption has cost SA taxpayer R5-bn – DP

OWN CORRESPONDENT and SAPA

Corruption, fraud, graft and gross mismanagement by the Government had cost the South African taxpayer a massive R5 billion over the past 18 months, it was claimed in Parliament yesterday.

One of the opposition MPs who levelled accusations against the Government, Democratic Party MP for Benoni-Goedfontein Geoff Engel, said the Government had been rocked by repeated scandals in the past 18 months, revealing malpractices and corruption in many Government departments and state bodies. No one was prepared to accept responsibility or be politically accountable, he said.

"As the Auditor-General's scope is limited and the various commissions of inquiry are very focused, this (R5 billion) may be only the tip of the iceberg."

Yet no political blood has flowed. No ministers have resigned and no ministers have been sacked. Many who presided over these financial atrocities were even promoted," Engel said.

"As a general rule, incompetence of ministers and senior civil servants is rewarded instead of being punished by the Government."

The Government's record was defended by Minister of State Expenditure Annie Venter. He denied the Government was trying to sweep scandals under the carpet.

"The Government agrees that corruption and mismanagement is totally unacceptable and it is doing everything in its power to stamp it out," Venter said.

Peter Soal (DP Johannesburg North) told the House that a coloured minister had left the Labour Party and joined the National Party simply because he had bought himself a luxury house and would not be able to continue the payments unless he received the ministerial subsidy.

Soal said the entire housing subsidy scheme for political office-bearers "stank to high heaven".

He said he was "advised" of another minister who had left his official residence in order to occupy a house he had purchased so that the bond could be repaid by the taxpayer.
Malan quits active politics

THE mastermind behind the government's controversial total strategy policies, General Magnus Malan, quit active politics yesterday. Officially, he retires as Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs at midnight on Sunday. Yesterdayer, General Malan, once of the most powerful men in South Africa, was seen in his last day of official duty in the streets of Cape Town without any security guards. He did not participate in the debate on corruption yesterday.
Top Apla men for talks

COMMANDERS of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the PAC, will probably be included in the organisation's delegation when they meet the government in Gaborone on Monday.

The talks could pave the way for the PAC's participation in the multi-party talks. Law and Order ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze yesterday confirmed Monday's meeting.

Talks between the government and the PAC were suspended after the Apla attack on December on the King William's Town golf club and a Queenstown steakhouse.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports there is still no clarity on whether Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini will attend next week's multi-party conference.

The matter was discussed between the government and the IFP in Pretoria yesterday, but neither party was prepared to comment after the talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the planning conference was also discussed.
Corruption could be R5bn’

Audit commission formed

Political Staff
GOVERNMENT corruption over the past 18 months could have cost the taxpayer R5 billion, it was estimated yesterday.

Democratic Party MP for Bezuidenhout Mr Geoff Engel suggested that because the auditor-general’s scope was limited corruption revealed in his report could be only the tip of the iceberg.

His allegation came in a day of bitter debate in Parliament as the government attempted to defend itself against allegations that it was rotten with corruption.

President F W de Klerk, apparently anxious that perceptions of rampant maladministration do not gain ground, sat in on the debate, sometimes interjecting angrily as opposition members spoke.

Mr Engel was speaking during the fiery debate on a private members motion introduced in the House of Assembly by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Dr De Beer’s call for an independent commission of inquiry into revelations of corruption in the homelands and in government departments was rejected by the government.

Retiring Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Jacob de Villiers said it was unnecessary because the present dispensation would be changing soon.

Mr Jasper Walsh, the DP MP for Pinelands, said that South Africans were punch drunk as they watched their assets being filtered away on an orgy of self-enrichment.

He said the government’s reaction to allegations of corruption was “pathetic”.

The Conservative Party, which supported the DP call for an independent commission, said the public now considered politicians to be a “bunch of crooks”.

It said the government was busy with a cover-up about the commission’s inquiry report into corruption and maladministration in KwaNdebele.

The third Parsons Commission report was handed to the State President on September 18 but still had not been released, the CP said in a statement, issued by its spokesman on land and regional affairs, Mr Jan Hoon.

The CP MP for Barberton, Mr Casper Uys, said everybody in government was bent on “grabbing a last slice of the cake”.

THREE top private sector auditing firms are represented on the Audit Commission which was appointed yesterday by the State President, a statement issued by the Minister of State Expenditure, Mr Amie Venter, said.

The commission will be responsible for financial supervision over the office of the auditor-general and ensure that standards of audit are acceptable.

Speaking in Parliament yesterday, Mr Venter vigorously defended the government, saying corruption and mismanagement were not being swept under the carpet.

The government agreed corruption was “totally unacceptable”, he said.

Mr Amie’s statement came as deputy Regional Affairs Minister Mr Andre Fourie said former auditor-general Mr Peter Wronsky’s word was not “gospel” just because he was a “so-called independent”.

Mr Fourie will be promoted to Minister of Regional and Land Affairs on April 1.
Plan of action
for transition

By KHULU SIBIYA
in Portugal

A PROMINENT group of South Africans from a diverse political spectrum met at Sintra in Portugal for four days last week to ensure the emerging political order in SA was founded on democratic values.

There was speculation that the group - which included Dr Nihato Motlana, Dr Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, Rev Stanley Mogoba, Dr Alex Boraine, Colin Eglin, John Dugard, Franklin Sonn, Ken Andrew and Peter Gaskow - were about to start a new political party.

However, according to Boraine, the conference was motivated by the recognition that agreements, concluded under the pressure of tight deadlines in the months ahead, would set precedents and conventions that determine South African politics for decades to come.

"Conference participants expressed unanimous commitment to ensure that the promotion and entrenchment of core democratic values take precedence over all other considerations in the transition process, despite the urgency of concluding agreements during negotiations in the months to come," said Boraine.

Asked whether the group would consider starting a new political party after the conference, Boraine said: "If major political parties truly promote democracy there would be no need for another party. If they don't, then I believe many South Africans will look for an alternative."

He warned that in the months to come, there would be a groundswell from people who would look for a vehicle among the political movements for true democracy.

Boraine said: "Many political movements today claim to be democratic, but they must be judged by what they do and not what they say."

The conference resolved to ask Ideas and the Institute for Multi-party Democracy to formulate an action plan for consideration by an expanded meeting in SA which would include prominent individuals.
Portugal tells SA: 'Learn fast'

By KHULU SIBIYA

PORTUGAL's Foreign Affairs minister, Durao Barroso, recently told a group of SA leaders in Lisbon that the SA government had a hand in assisting Unita forces and Renamo against their respective governments.

He said these reports, although not yet confirmed, were received from Portuguese intelligence sources.

He said the United Nations, which monitored the elections in Angola, said they were free and fair but Unita leader Jonas Savimbi refused to accept this.

"I want to believe that the problems in Angola are also caused by ethnicity because Savimbi claims to be a leader of 80 percent of Angolans. Before the elections, Savimbi refused to accept a government of national unity but now that he has been defeated he wants it," said Barroso.

He said SA should learn from these mistakes, avoid a "winner takes all" situation and look more towards power sharing.

"The majority should win but must also respect the minorities," said Barroso.

"On the question of grants to assist the transition period, Barroso said it was about time South Africans stopped asking for money.

"You must also learn to give to play a meaningful role. "European countries want success stories. They want partners in Africa and not just humanitarian aid," he said."
No new party - Slabbert

Dr. Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert yesterday vehemently denied speculation that he was about to start a new political party.

Speculation was heightened this week when a group of prominent South Africans — led by Slabbert — met in Portugal to discuss democracy in a period of transition.

In an exclusive interview with City Press, Slabbert said: “I am more concerned that democracy should survive.”

He said he would work as hard as he could to support any organisation that “can strategise democratic values in which civil liberties are protected and legitimate and free elections are held.”
Codesa judges given the push

The two judges who chaired Codesa meetings have been dumped after objections from the government.

This week's conference to plan the resumption of Codesa-style talks will be chaired by a rotating panel of seven political representatives.

Negotiators said the government was concerned about Mr Justice Ismail Mohamed's "left leanings" and Mr Justice Petrus Schaborg's inability to sufficiently balance this influence.

The compromise reached after this objection was that the meeting should be chaired by a seven-person panel.

There is widespread acceptance among parties that the two judges will also not be in the chair when full-scale Codesa talks resume.

Petty haggling of this nature dominated the run-up to the two-day meeting, which starts next Friday.

Questions about who should invite the parties, who should come, who should be in the chair, who should speak first, where they should sit and what should be discussed have been thrashed out in excruciating detail.

But an obstacle still to be overcome is Inkatha's negative view of the government's five-year power-sharing proposals. The issue will be discussed today at an Inkatha central committee meeting.

Government negotiators Roelf Meyer and Terence Delfort will present the proposals to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in the hope of getting his backing for the power-sharing plan.

The two ministers want to outline the proposals directly to Chief Buthelezi because the government is concerned that Inkatha negotiator Walter Fohrata, who has been accused of misleading the Inkatha leader, will distort its position.

To prevent this from happening, the government managed to secure an invitation to the central committee meeting.

But there are indications that these efforts will be in vain as the Inkatha central committee already appears to have decided to reject the power-sharing deal.

Meanwhile, a KwaZulu government delegation, representing King Goodwill Zwelithini, will attend the planning conference — whether they are invited or not.

The Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are also expected to attend.

The parties will discuss past agreements reached at Codesa and how they see future negotiations.
Zulu king issue delays talks

A dispute over the participation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is delaying the resumption of multiparty negotiations. To keep the process on track Inkatha, government, the ANC and most other parties are anxious to get a multiparty planning conference under way before the month end. 10/11/93

A government source said his team and the ANC were “fairly much in agreement on the short duration of the planning conference and who would participate, but Inkatha was still some way off.”

He said the ‘main problem’ was Zwelithini’s participation — the same issue that bedevilled Codesa from its launch in 1991.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi boycotted Codesa because the king was not allowed to take part. He is making Inkatha’s participation in the new forum conditional on the king’s attendance.

The ANC and, to some extent government, feel Zwelithini’s presence as a participant is not necessary. The ANC believes he should have observer status.

Another issue is Inkatha’s refusal to be bound by Codesa agreements.

Meanwhile, the ANC and government made “a great deal of progress” in their committee meetings on Friday and Saturday in preparation for a two-day bilateral.

To Page 2

Zulu king

BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

meeting from Wednesday, which will try to pave the way for multiparty negotiations in March.

A government source said yesterday the issue of Umkhonto weSizwe had moved to the top of the agenda at government/ANC meetings after last week’s disclosure of an arms smuggling operation in Natal.

Inkatha had insisted that MK be disbanded before it entered multiparty negotiations, but the source said the ANC also had major problems with the continued existence of the KwaZulu Police as a separate force.

However, the government source and an ANC negotiator emphasised that the two sides had moved closer on core issues, but no decisions had been taken.

While the planning conference is priority for all parties, the ANC/government bilateral meeting will continue dealing with constitutional issues such as power sharing and regionalism.

All parties had wanted the multiparty planning conference to take place in mid-February, but this was no longer possible, and hopes that it could happen before month-end were fading fast.

Inkatha also wants the conference to finalise matters such as federalism and regionalism at the conference, but government and the ANC say the meeting is to set up a multiparty negotiating forum.

A government negotiator said today’s meeting with Inkatha would probably be confined to the planning conference.
Way may open for Zulu king in talks

Political Status

THE way could soon be open to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's participation in multi-party negotiations, clearing one of the final hurdles to a resumption of full-blown talks.

Negotiators are considering a compromise in terms of which traditional leaders could attend talks and bring a delegation with them. In the Zulu king's case his delegation could be a KwaZulu government team.

Talks between the government and the ANC which began yesterday and end today will be critical in deciding whether this thorny problem is resolved.

The government is also due to meet with IFP negotiators again on Friday, where the matter will be taken further.
Traditional leaders sought as negotiators

The ANC and its Codesa allies yesterday decided to campaign for the inclusion of traditional leaders in multiparty negotiations - and next week's negotiations planning conference.

The decision, taken at a meeting at the ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, could pave the way for the inclusion of Zulu King Goodwill Zwe- lithini in negotiations - a demand KwaZulu Chief Minister Mantoanthe Bulbeleni and his Inkatha Freedom Party have made repeatedly.

The meeting, attended by the ANC's "patriotic front" allies within Codesa, said the participation of traditional leaders in negotiations should be "in accord with their unifying role".

The organisations said the delegation of traditional leaders would have to be composed "by the traditional leaders themselves, and this should not be on a party-political basis".

Asked whether the agreement meant that King Goodwill could now attend multiparty talks, ANC assistant secretary-general Jacob Zuma did not want to commit himself either way.