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S. A. GOVT & POLITICS

1993

JUNE

# Abolish Republic, says PAC

Staff Reporter

PAC supporters marched on Parliament yesterday in an anti-Republic Day protest, demanding the resignation of the "illegal South African regime".

As a 21-gun naval salute rang out from Signal Hill at noon, PAC supporters gathered on the

Parade for a march on Parliament to demand the abolition of Republic Day.

"Without apologies, one settler, one bullet," Azanian National Youth Unity regional chairman Mr Patrick Baba told about 400 cheering supporters.

At Tuynhuys Mr Baba handed over a memorandum demanding

an elected constituent assembly and the disbanding of "the regime's private armies".

The PAC also demanded police return "stolen property" — including weapons.

● A PAC march at Ceres yesterday proceeded without incident, as did an ANC rally in Eerste River.

# No easy life, De Beer warns SA

Star 116193

304A

By Shirley Woodgate

Nobody in South Africa is going to have an easy life during the next few years — certainly not the businessmen, Democratic Party chief Dr Zach de Beer has warned.

"At its simplest, the task is one of survival. For the sake of this country's workers, managers and shareholders, it is vital that our businesses survive, make profits and pay tax.

"There will be many people and organisations aiming to make business leaders spend their time on all sorts of extraneous matters.

"But nothing must be allowed to interfere with the efficient, cost-effective, profitable management of business".

De Beer, former executive director of Anglo American Cor-

poration and one of the country's most respected business leaders, said imminent change was creating what he termed "fearful, despondent whites and excited, expectant blacks looking for a millenium which will take years to come".

He is one of 16 speakers lined up for The Star/Consultative Business Movement Conference for Active Change on June 25.

Others who will spell out the challenge posed by political transition to the business community include P G Bison CEO Leon Cohen; Future Bank chairman Jabu Mabuza; Anglo American group public affairs consultant Michael Spicer; and National Union of Mineworkers' deputy general secretary Marcel Golding.

To ensure you will be at a seminar you dare not miss, fill in and send off the coupon, together with a cheque for R350.

● Coupon on Page 11

# SA poll <sup>(3047)</sup> date may be known this week

## Political Staff

NEGOTIATORS are divided over whether South Africa will know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are confident that the date can be set at Thursday's negotiating meeting.

But both men cautioned that much work lay ahead in the next 48 hours. Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was concerned at the "galloping" pace of negotiations.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the negotiating council that not enough time was being spent to debate vital issues.

The Consultative Business Movement last week met the ANC government and Concerned South Africa Group (Cosag) separately. The political groups were asked not to pursue their respective timetables too rigidly.

Several key decisions on the transition need to be taken this week before an election date can be announced. Progress was severely set back last week, a full day being lost when the negotiating council was forced to debate the police raids on the PAC.

Today the government meets the PAC for more talks.



# Nats draft constitution 'leaked'

AKCT 1/6/93

304A

The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — The draft constitution for a transitional government in South Africa has been leaked to a British newspaper — and it appears to be a hardline document ruling out absolute majority rule by any party.

In a front-page report today, The Guardian claims to have been given a secret copy of the De Klerk government's proposals.

The document seeks permanent power-sharing at all levels of government and entrenched powers for regions.

The draft constitution, says The Guardian, goes well beyond the concessions the ANC has offered on temporary power-sharing and regionalism, as well as falling drastically short of the demands for a radical devolution of powers made by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and the rightwing Conservative Party.

The proposed constitution provides for a bi-cameral parliament elected for a five-year term, consisting of a 400-seat national assembly and a senate made up of at least five delegates from each region.

It suggests English and Afrikaans

remain the two official languages, with other languages being given equal status on request in the various regions.

There would also be two national anthems — *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

Ordinary legislation would require 50 percent majorities in each house of parliament, or a majority at a joint sitting.

But legislation concerning the "interests of regions" would also have to be passed by two-thirds majorities of the regional legislatures.





Sundowns supporters dash for cover on the eastern stand of the HM Pitje Stadium during a scuffle with AmaZulu fans on Saturday. PIC:MATSHUBE MFOLOE

# Government, PAC hold talks on Apla

*Sowetan 11/6/93*

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

## ■ CRISIS MEETING Political chief

released on bail after being charged:

**T**ALKS BETWEEN THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government continue this morning to solve differences following last week's police swoop on members of the organisation.

Police unconditionally released three PAC leaders after an emergency meeting on Friday.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke was released on bail on Friday after being charged with the illegal possession of firearms.

National organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani is still in detention.

The PAC leadership, led by general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and the organisation's chief negotiator, Mr Gora Ebrahim, will meet again today with Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

Yesterday, President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, Roelf Meyer and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa held talks in Pretoria.

The office of the State President said in a statement that De Klerk and Mandela had met "as a continuation of their previous meetings. Outstanding matters from these meetings were attended to".

An election date is believed to have been one of the items at the top of the agenda at the Pretoria meeting.

Certain constitutional issues essential to the announcement of an election date had not been resolved, negotiators have said.

It is expected that an election date and its announcement will be decided

on at today's negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

However, negotiators are divided over whether South Africa will know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

But Meyer and Ramaphosa are confident that the election date can be set at Thursday's negotiating forum meeting. Both men cautioned that much work lay ahead in the next 48 hours. Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was concerned at the "galloping" pace of negotiations.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the negotiating council that not enough time was being spent to debate vital issues.



# FW in

# SABC

Sowetan 11/6/93

# wrangle

**D**R FREDERIK VAN ZYL SLABBERT last night rejected his appointment as chairman on the SABC Board as earlier announced by State President FW de Klerk.

Van Zyl Slabbert said he found himself "deeply embarrassed" at being elected chairman of the SABC board.

A figure at the centre of the row over the new SABC board is Professor Njabulo Simakahle Ndebele. Ndebele was originally selected to chair the board, but was relegated to ordinary member after De Klerk vetoed the selection panel's original selection.

De Klerk eventually accepted Van Zyl Slabbert as chairman.

Slabbert said: "I find myself in a deeply embarrassing situation as I have not had time to discuss this with anybody and what the implications are of such a position."

He said he had no problem serving on the board, but had "great difficulty" accepting the chairmanship as he was already "deeply committed" as chairman of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

He said he would not like to do anything that would jeopardise the chairmanship either of the chamber or of the SABC board "particularly as in this case I cannot see myself being available as chairman of the SABC board unless the full implications are clearly spelt out and I can see whether it is humanly possible to do both".

He said it was doubtful whether it would be possible to chair both bodies.

According to De Klerk's announcement, Dr I Matsepe-Casaburri had been appointed vice chairman.

Former SABC chairman Professor Christo Viljoen was appointed as an ordinary member.

Members include Mr H Bailey, Miss B Bam, Advocate F Bam, Mr LP Bartell, Mrs A Boshoff, Dr G Cilliers, Professor R de Beer, Dr Antonie

Gildenhuys, Mr C Hickling, Ms T Khumbane, Mr E Mahuza, Professor Fatima Meer, Mr B Modise, Bishop N Ndungane, Professor A Nkabinde, Dominee P Potgieter, Dr G Sibiyi, Ms S Sisulu, Dr F Sonn, Dr R Tomaselli, and Professor A Thembela.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions criticised De Klerk for interfering in the appointment of board members.

It was reacting to reports that De Klerk had told the panel to rethink its selection.

The Conservative Party has reacted with "shock and dismay" at the board's composition.

CP chief spokesman for broadcasting Dr Pieter Mulder said the Afrikaans language and Afrikaner interests would suffer "great damage".

The African National Congress also rejected the announced board, accusing De Klerk of meddling with the original list of appointees.

ANC information chief Dr Pallo Jordan said seven people included on the original list of nominees submitted to the President were replaced after De Klerk twice rejected the panel's choice.

"The ANC calls on those board members appointed through De Klerk's intervention to decline on principle."

It also called on Van Zyl Slabbert to reject his appointment as he had not been proposed for this position on the original list.

Last night observers said De Klerk might have been unhappy with the fact that Ndebele was principal and vice chancellor of the University of the North — where ANC president Nelson Mandela is chancellor.

Ndebele previously headed the Department of African Literature at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Asked whether he could explain why Ndebele had not been acceptable as chairman, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "No I can't and I am not going to speculate on it."

# Armed struggle goes ahead - PAC

Sowetan 2/6/93

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

## ■ ABANDON ARMS Security forces

must be put under multi-party control:

**T**HE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS came out of yesterday's bilateral talks with the Government adamant that the armed struggle by its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, would continue.

The organisation said this would be its stance until the Government had agreed to a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Both parties put their cases to the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The Government insisted that no party which was committed and engaged in armed activities should take part in an election.

(304A) ~~14P~~  
On the other hand, the PAC said the Government had no right to order it to abandon arms. It suggested that all armed forces be brought under joint multiparty control.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said international intervention was more necessary now in helping to create mechanism for an elected constituent assembly.

He accused the Government of attempting to get the PAC expelled from the multiparty negotiations.

"The regime does not own this process," Alexander said.

The Government said its discus-

sions with the PAC were intended to achieve the suspension of the armed struggle or a moratorium on armed activities.

It also said it awaited a response on this issue from the PAC at a meeting tomorrow.

The PAC was yesterday still standing firm on its demand that all its members detained in last Tuesday's swoop be released unconditionally and all material confiscated during the raids returned.

Meanwhile, the technical committee of experts on constitutional matters presented its report yesterday.

Star 11b193

## Lack of right-wing representation a problem — Schutte

A flaw of the new SABC board is that it has no apparent right-wing representation, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said in Pretoria yesterday.

He said a number of conservative individuals had not been

prepared to be interviewed because of the way in which the interviews at Kempton Park had been conducted.

The selection panel — which consisted of four judges, two magistrates and an advocate —

subjected rightwing and pro-National Party candidates to tough questioning relating to their past political beliefs and their membership of the Broederbond.

Schutte said the board would be in office from today "until

further notice".

Two journalists were eliminated from the board after President de Klerk refused to ratify the board's initial selection.

Initially selected to serve on the board were Allister Sparks and K Mkhize. — Sapa.



# Hopes high after talks at weekend

Star 11/6/93

Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

304A

A far-reaching compromise — one that would sharply facilitate movement towards a new democratic order — could be brokered in negotiations within days.

This follows a weekend of intense bilateral meetings. But top negotiators warned against undue optimism.

Yesterday President de Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela met Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, to discuss the constitutional talks.

A Government source said the meetings "went well".

Today the Government meets the Pan Africanist Congress for a second round of talks on the crisis sparked by last week's PAC raid.

## Regionalism

The breakthrough compromise would require the ANC and its allies to soften their position on regionalism.

Central to a deal would be agreement on which constitutional principles should be entrenched and binding on the constituent assembly.

The committee on constitutional matters put forward proposals on "allocations of powers to different levels of government" which would require the ANC to move from its present position on regionalism.

Specifically, it would make provision for each level of government to have "exclusive and concurrent powers".

The ANC has to date insisted

that central government should have concurrent and overriding powers.

The document also calls for a specified majority of the legislatures of regional governments for amendments to be made to the constitution.

In terms of the committee's proposals these principles would be binding on the constituent assembly.

The Inkatha Freedom Party would, for its part, have to accept a two-phase transitional process.

An IFP input to the technical committee on the transitional executive council (TEC) says it would support a two-phased transitional process if the following were agreed upon: an interim constitution; a set of constitutional principles that would be binding on the constitution-making body; final and entrenched boundaries; powers and structures of regions; and full agreement "on the nature of the political dispensation".

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate described the IFP input to the technical committee as part of "a search for a solution ... We want to find ways to accommodate each other".

Yesterday Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman told The Star a breakthrough was possible if regional boundaries, powers and structures were made part of the binding constitutional principles and if safeguards were strong enough to ensure these could not be overturned by a constitution-making body.

Schoeman said the bilateral meetings over the weekend focused on the negotiations process. The major part of Government's talks with the IFP and the ANC dealt with ways of reaching a compromise.



# Azapo warns NP, DP

The Jabulani branch of Azapo yesterday warned against political campaigning in predominantly black townships by the Democratic and National Parties.

The statement came at the end of a meeting held at Soweto's Kholwane Primary School, to discuss plans for June 16, "Soweto Day".

Addressing about 150 members, Azapo branch spokesman Makoma Lekalakala said it was "undemocratic for the oppressors to organise the oppressed".

Only black people should organise among their communities, while mainly white parties should campaign in their own communities, according to Lekalakala.

## Violence

She said Azapo members still had a "bone to chew" with the DP for having been party to the expulsion of Azapo from the Patriotic Front in 1991.

The Azapo meeting was a response to the latest attempts by both the NP and

DP to woo black support in the townships.

On the issue of violence, the meeting called on black people to use any means to defend themselves.

Azapo executive branch member Zibuse Kubheka, said: "As violence escalates in our communities, we reserve the right to self-defence and maximum amount of retaliation."

Khubeka said: "June 16 was about black power and the seizure of power and not about multiparty talks". — Sapa.

# Progress of talks hinges on Star 11/6/93 meeting

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

Today's Negotiating Council meeting is shaping up to be critical for progress in the negotiating process — including the setting of an election date later this week.

Yesterday negotiators were divided on whether South Africa would know on Thursday when its first democratic elections are to be held.

Sources last night indicated that a weekend of bilateral meetings in which the Government met both the ANC and the IFP were designed to narrow gaps between various players in the process.

The success of these would depend on developments in today's meeting and hopes of an election date announcement hinge on substantial progress being made.

304A ~~11/6~~ ~~11/3~~  
Concern

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have been confident that the election date could be set at a scheduled meeting of Thursday's negotiating forum.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose has expressed concern at the "galloping" pace of negotiations while IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has described the setting of an election date at this stage as impossible.

Several delegates complained at Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Council that not enough time was being spent on debating vital issues.

The Consultative Business Movement last week met the ANC, the Government and Concerned South Africans Group.

The political groups were asked not to pursue their respective timetables too rigidly. The CBM was concerned that some parties were intent on speeding the process up while others appeared intent on delaying it.

## PAC arrest irks Australia

SYDNEY, 16/93 Australia summoned the South African ambassador here yesterday to express concern over the detention of PAC member and Australian citizen Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani (304A).

A foreign department spokesman said South African ambassador Mr Naude Steyn was summoned to a meeting with the department's Africa section head, Mr Michael Landale.

Australia has urged South Africa to either charge or release him. — Sapa-AFP

# Flurry of talks in deadline bid

CT 1/6/93

30419

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met yesterday as part of a last-minute flurry of talks by negotiators to fix an election date.

The 26 parties participating in talks have set Thursday as the deadline for an announcement of a poll date by the negotiating forum at the World Trade Centre.

However, as talks continued until late last night in preparation for meetings today of the 10-man planning committee and the 26-member negotiating council, negotiators and their advisers were guarded on whether the target date would be met.

ANC negotiators expressed greater urgency at the need to fix a date this week but acknowledged that "much hard bargaining still lies ahead".

Both the government and the ANC were cagey about progress made at a summit in Pretoria yesterday between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

## Inkatha move gives hope

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Negotiators are hopeful that the council will make a breakthrough on transitional arrangements when it meets today.

An indication by Inkatha that it was prepared to accept a transitional executive council has given rise to the optimism.

The negotiating council is expected to make sufficient progress today to announce on Thursday a date for the first non-racial elections.

The State President's Office said in a terse statement afterwards the talks had dealt with "outstanding matters" while the ANC said the talks would have an impact on this week's constitutional negotiations.

Two major stumbling blocks standing in the way of an early announcement of South Africa's first non-racial poll are:

- The PAC's continued commitment to the armed struggle and the thorny issue of private armies which a number of parties have

Inkatha's apparent acceptance of the transitional executive council hinges on the condition that regional boundaries be established, powers and functions of these regions and certain constitutional principles be decided upon before the transitional authority is established.

Inkatha's decision to accept the TEC follows the ANC's concession earlier this month that regions be given powers and that these powers be entrenched in the constitution.

insisted should be resolved before a date is settled on.

- The objections by the Concerned South African alliance to perceived lack of progress in resolving the issue of "self-determination" and the "form of state" (federal or unitary).

The government and the PAC will meet this morning before multi-party negotiations get underway to try and break the deadlock created by the arrest of scores of PAC leaders last week and the PAC's continued commitment to the armed struggle.

# 'Hunt on for Broeders'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — A witch-hunt is being waged against members of the Afrikaner Broederbond as part of a campaign to sideline the Afrikaner.

This was said yesterday by Afrikaanse Kultuurraad deputy chairman Dr Otto Terblanche at a Republic Day festival here.

It was attended by about 80 people.

"As part of the campaign to shift the Christian Afrikaner to the sidelines, a witch-hunt against members of the organisation (Afrikaner Broederbond) has now been set in motion," Dr Ter-

blanche, a University of Port Elizabeth history lecturer, said.

In trying to undermine "Christian Western civilised values" in South Africa, he said "black radicals and revolutionary forces" — such as the ANC, uMkhonto weSizwe, the PAC, Apla and the SA Communist Party — were out to obtain sole domination of the country.

Dr Terblanche said it was time for whites, who had brought civilised Christian norms to the country, to "draw a line in the sand" and tell "black radicals" they will not allow themselves to be threatened and blackmailed.

ET 1/6/93

304A



# Negotiators optimistic about progress on transitional

BILLY PADDOCK  
and WILSON ZWANE

NEGOTIATORS are optimistic that the negotiating council will make a breakthrough on transitional arrangements tonight.

Hopes have been buoyed by the indication that Inkatha would be prepared to accept a transitional executive council to pave the way to elections for an interim government.

The negotiating council meets at the world Trade Centre in Kempton Park this afternoon to thrash out compromises and advance on key constitutional principles. Negotiators are expected to make sufficient

progress to be able to announce an election date on Thursday.

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday the negotiators would do everything possible to set the date for elections by Thursday. But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said although there was a "general expression of optimism" on a breakthrough today, it remained to be seen whether the council would cover sufficient ground for the date to be set.

Niehaus said Friday's meeting had not come close to resolving the differences between negotiating parties. There was still

no clarity on how the transitional executive council would function and much remained unresolved.

It is understood that on Friday, at a meeting between government and the ANC after the negotiating council concluded its affairs, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer expressed optimism that a breakthrough would be made today.

Inkatha's apparent acceptance of the transitional executive council hinges on re-

gional boundaries being set and regions' powers and functions and certain constitutional principles being decided before the establishment of a transitional authority.

Inkatha's decision to accept the transitional executive council follows the ANC's concession last month that regions be given powers entrenched in the constitution.

Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have not moved as far as Inkatha on the transitional executive council, and indications are that the main players might be prepared to leave them behind temporarily in the hope that they will shift their positions soon.

Today's negotiating council meeting will be preceded by one between government and the PAC, at which the PAC is expected to give a "clear and unambiguous report" on its commitment to the armed struggle and its position on violence. Government is likely to require the PAC to suspend the struggle and to sign the peace accord.

In another development, President F. W. de Klerk met ANC president Nelson Mandela in Pretoria yesterday to discuss what a government spokesman termed "matters of broad concern, including constitutional negotiations".

arrangements



## Council clears hurdle on new constitution

Buss. day 216193  
BILLY PADDOCK

THE negotiating council made substantial progress yesterday in accepting a government- and ANC-brokered two-phased approach to drafting a constitution.

The implications of this are that Inkatha has conditionally accepted the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for an interim government to draft the final constitution. 216193

Inkatha's acceptance follows the ANC concession that the powers, functions and structures of regions will be entrenched in the constitution. (H) (B) (304A)

The negotiating council resolved that it had not made sufficient progress for an election date to be set at tomorrow's meeting, as originally proposed. It would meet on June 25 for a decision on a date.

It is understood that President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met yesterday and may have been trying to work out an appropriate date for an election. They will meet again today for talks on the negotiations process.

It is also understood that the negotiating council may make recommendations tomorrow regarding a date.

Progress yesterday covered:

- ☐ Instructing the technical committee on constitutional matters to make recommendations on the powers, functions, and structures of regions during transition;
- ☐ Details of the constitution-making process to be followed, including the structures needed for that purpose;
- ☐ Procedures for drafting a constitution for the transitional period and its adoption by the multiparty negotiating forum; and
- ☐ Procedures thereafter for an elected constitution-making body to draft and adopt a constitution. (304A)

Yesterday's unanimously agreed compromise resolution implies that a transitional executive council can be established in the period leading up to elections for an interim government. Inkatha and Bophu-

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## Constitution Buss. day 116193 From Page 1

thatswana, however, reserved their position on certain details. In return, government and the ANC conceded that a fairly comprehensive interim constitution be drafted in accordance with binding principles agreed in the multiparty forum.

These principles will also provide for justiciable fundamental rights, the structures of national and regional government and their respective powers, functions and authority. (H) (B) (304A)

Also yesterday, after the PAC and government failed to reach agreement in face-to-face talks, fears arose that the PAC might be forced out of the negotiating process.

The PAC issued an ambiguous four-page report calling for mutual cessation of hostilities and claiming that it had no war against women or children. It was unclear on the position of white men, especially farmers who it said were mostly members of commando units.

Government has insisted that the PAC cannot negotiate peace while waging an armed struggle. It has called on the PAC to enter into bilateral talks with the aim of suspending the armed struggle or placing a moratorium on it.

The parties agreed to meet tomorrow to try to break the deadlock.

# Summit on Angolan ties

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The upgrading of SA's diplomatic status in Angola and the possibility of full recognition for the MPLA government were likely to be discussed at a foreign ministers' summit to be held in Windhoek on Friday.

In a meeting brokered by Namibian Foreign Minister Ben Gurirab, SA Foreign Minister Pik Botha would be holding talks with Angolan counterpart Venancio de Moura on all aspects of relations between the two countries, a spokesman said.

The return of SA diplomats to Luanda in April, following a six month absence as a result of security reasons, had been seen as a positive action by the Angolan authorities, the spokesman said.

This, together with the brokerage of Namibia's foreign minister, had paved the way for this week's talks between SA, Angola and Namibia.

Among topics likely to be discussed were the extension of SA's diplomatic representation — possibly to full ambassadorial level — and full recognition of Angola's MPLA government, a source said.

A recent Foreign Affairs statement said SA, unlike the US administration, had not "explicitly withheld any form of recognition" for Angola.

Meanwhile, PETER DELMAR reports that delegations from 24 African states are expected in Johannesburg later this year for the largest gathering of the continent's business and government leaders in SA yet.

Organisers of the Africa Initiative said yesterday official ministerial delegations from Mozambique, Gabon, Cameroon and Ivory Coast had confirmed their participation. The number of official government delegations could climb to 10 or 12 and indications were that Angola would soon decide to send a ministerial team.

The initiative, to be held at Nasrec outside Johannesburg from August 30 to September 3, would include nine exhibitions and 10 conferences.

Africa Initiative project director Andrew Clare said yesterday up to 700 business delegates were expected to come from Africa and 15 000 South Africans would attend.

Our political staff reports that Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff is in Maputo to discuss prospects for greater business co-operation between Mozambique and SA. He would meet senior government officials and business leaders, his office said yesterday.

## Louis Shill is sworn in as National Housing Minister

CAPE TOWN — Former Sage Group chairman and CE Louis Shill was sworn in as National Housing and Public Works Minister at Tuynhuys yesterday. **216193**

Shill, who has taken leave of absence from the group, will be available for public office only until the general election. **(304A)**

Aside from his business commitments, Shill has participated in the national housing forum and the national economic forum.

He has pledged to boost the national housing effort, particularly to get houses built in the short term. **(28)**

Sapa reports that President F W de Klerk said at the ceremony that SA needed Shill's expertise, experience and drive. **(28)**

"In welcoming him to the Cabinet I realise his post will entail a great deal of sacrifice on his part. How-

**TIM COHEN**

ever, he faces one of the biggest challenges in the socioeconomic sphere."

Shill will also take charge of the state's property portfolio.

Reuter reports that Shill said: "I see the whole challenge before me as the trick of combining long-term policymaking with the implementation of existing initiatives, which need to be pushed along."

"The housing dilemma is one which ... permeates the economy. We have to try to combine the needs of housing with urbanisation and social development."

He also planned to work as closely as possible with the national housing forum.

"Policymaking must be something that is developed jointly between ourselves (government and the forum) in the future."

# Call for TEC say in budget

JOHANNESBURG. — The 1994/5 national budget should be drafted in consultation with a sub-council of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

This recommendation is contained in the report of a technical committee investigating the powers and functions of the TEC and its sub-councils.

The committee recommends that for the 1994/5 budget, there should be consultation on the:

- Overall level of state expenditure.
- Broad composition of security, social, economic, and general government expenditure.
- Level and composition of taxes collected.

- Financing of budget deficits.
- Contingent liabilities of government.

The committee also recommends that the sub-council should be empowered to ask any auditor-general to investigate allegations of corruption or inefficiency and report to it. It should also be empowered to

review existing public service disciplinary codes.

The committee also recommends that the sub-council be presented on all budgeting committees to ensure that funds are not applied in a manner "favouring one or other political group participating in the election of a democratic government".



## CP call for ban on MK, Apla

APLA and uMkhonto we-Sizwe should be banned immediately and members of these "terrorist" organisations hunted mercilessly, Mr Wynand van Wyk (CP, Witbank) said yesterday. (214)

In a statement condemning the murder of Mr Francois Roos and his wife, Gertrude, near Witbank on Monday, he said white resentment was reaching breaking point. — Sapa (304A)

## Video van to help educate voters

*Bus day 21/6/93*  
**MARIANNE MERTEN**

FORMAL and informal structures must be used to motivate people to take part in an election, as about 80% of potential voters knew nothing of voting procedures, it was argued in Johannesburg yesterday.

Matla Trust executive director Billy Modise said at the launch of the Mobile Video Van Project the video van would have a "central role to play in distributing voter education information" *(204A)*

The Matla Trust and other organisations from the Independent Forum for Election Education would provide information for distribution to about 40% of the 20-million voters living in rural areas, where infrastructure was poor and illiteracy high, he said.

The video van idea was organised by the Film Resource Project in conjunction with the Suitcase Video Project.

Film Resources Project co-ordinator Richard Ishmail said yesterday the video van idea had been used with success in Namibia.

The project would also use video material on education, development, and health issues.

Initially, for financial reasons, it would be limited to the Transvaal, but could become a national operation eventually.

The unit had purchased the necessary audio visual equipment from a R110 000 Swedish International Development Authority donation, but money to buy a van was still needed, Ishmail said.

The Film Resources Project and the Video Suitcase Project were started in the mid-'80s to promote the distribution of independent films and information.



# NP 'to produce surprise at polls'

Citress 2  
(304A)  
THE NP had the third largest support base in the black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

He and Transvaal party leader P. Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference following a mostly black NP rally at the Pietersburg showgrounds.

The approximately 6000-strong crowd had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, said De Klerk.

"This was a very important day. Black support for the NP had been written off by many of the commentators.

"But we are convinced black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow," De Klerk said.

"The NP gives notice today that what was started here will be repeated across the country."

The goal was to ensure that each and every voter knew, whatever any intimidator did, that when he entered the polling booth that his vote was secret.

"If we can ensure this, we give a tremendous surprise to those who think that the NP only has support in communities other than black."

"We are the third biggest party among black South Africans." After the ANC it was only Inkatha and the NP which showed double-figure percentage support in research results.

Botha said the meeting was the largest, by more than three times, he had ever addressed in the northern Transvaal. The second largest was broken up by the AWB in 1986.

The ANC's attempts over the past three days to intimidate supporters into staying away was only 10 to 15 percent effective, he said. — Sapa.

# Govt, PAC in bitter stand-off

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A bitter row between the government and the PAC over the armed struggle burst into the open last night as the two sides slammed each other for the breakdown of bilateral talks.

The government last night demanded at the World Trade Centre negotiations that the PAC drop the armed struggle or be excluded from negotiations and elections.

But the PAC warned it would not be "blackmailed" into halting its armed struggle and demanded the "cessation of hostilities" of all armed formations and the confinement of the SADF to barracks under international supervision.

Outside, PAC protesters held posters reading "One Kriel, one bullet" and "Kill settlers, boers get off the land."

## Ultimatum

Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer told the negotiating council that no party committed to armed activities "can participate in an election".

"The PAC has so far failed to meet this condition," he added. Government sources said this was an ultimatum to the PAC to stop the armed struggle or quit the forum.

But the PAC said the government had no authority to force the PAC out of negotiations.

Mr Meyer said the government would push for "the suspension of the armed struggle" when the two sides held another meeting today.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander alleged the government was trying to gain "total control of all armed formations" — including those of the homelands.

The PAC asked that a technical sub-committee on joint control of the security forces be established by the negotiating council.

The PAC also wanted an "all-round cessation of hostilities agreement".

● Apla 'link' to police attack — Page 2



# 12 JULY 1993

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

HE stuttering negotiations process received a boost late last night when the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre agreed to work on a compromise proposal for an interim government and beyond.

But negotiators said that an announcement on an election by tomorrow's target date was still in the balance.

And with the more prestigious negotiating forum meeting now postponed from tomorrow to June 25, the most that can be hoped for is the announcement of a conditional poll date to be lifted later by the forum. Both ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa, however, remained optimistic that an election date would be announced this week. And SACP chairman Mr. Joe Slovo told reporters yesterday that there could be "an explosion" if an election date was not forthcoming this week. The compromise proposal, brokered

## ANC optimistic of poll date tomorrow

by the government and the ANC after a day of talks on how negotiations should proceed, makes provision for a two-track approach that will see the interim constitution being written by the current negotiating forums and the final constitution being drafted by a newly-elected parliament or constituent assembly.

At one stage yesterday it appeared that the talks were doomed to remain bogged down in issues like which constitutional questions should be addressed first and petty wrangling over technical points of order.

The Conservative Party in particular wanted the issue of self-determin-

nation aired more fully and demanded the right to give oral evidence to the technical committee on constitutional matters.

The CP was supported by its Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) alliance partners, including the Kwa-Zulu and Bophuthatswana governments.

The CP will present a full proposal on a confederal model for a future South Africa by Monday, after which it also hopes to present oral evidence.

The CP's chief negotiator, Mr. Tom Langley, said after yesterday's meeting that "things are going as well as

can be expected at this stage of the negotiations".

The draft resolution tabled at the end of last night's session mandated the technical committee on constitutional issues to make recommendations on what powers, functions and structures the regions should have while the interim constitution is in place.

All parties agree that regions should have some powers but there are still substantial differences over what these should be and the extent to which they should be entrenched in the constitution.

If consensus can be reached on this

issue tomorrow it will be a major step forward in the entire negotiation process and should set the scene for early agreement on other matters, such as what process will be followed in drafting the interim constitution and how a final constitution will be drafted and adopted.

Several parties expressed reservations about the resolution but nevertheless backed the move to have the politically neutral technical committee do the necessary spadework in preparation for the debate.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr. Joe Mathews said "this represents a big leap forward for a number of us". But he added that he would have to consult his principal, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, before giving his approval to the proposal.

The Bophuthatswana government and the PAC also expressed some reservations and said they would need to consult further, but they added that this was no reason to impede the process.

While progress appeared slow yesterday, there was a real sense of urgency among some parties and as the government's chief negotiator, Mr. Roelf Meyer noted: "This is the start of in-depth discussions on the real constitutional matters."

# Government, PAC in bitter deadlock

AUG 28/93 (2041)

## Political Staff

THE government and the Pan Africanist Congress remain bitterly deadlocked after three meetings to resolve differences that flared up last week.

They will meet again tomorrow but by late yesterday the PAC was indicating that its continued presence in talks would be impossible if documents seized in last week's police raids were not returned.

Central to the issue are the raids and the organisation's armed struggle — which it says it will only suspend if there is a "mutual cessation of hostilities".

Yesterday PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander told journalists that it was still to decide whether farmers were civilians or not because "most" were commando members.

But when confronted later in the negotiation council by Afrikaner Volksunie delegate Chris de Jager on whether he had said farmers were legitimate targets because they belonged to commandos, Mr Alexander said: "I think his understanding is totally wrong".

Mr Alexander said at the

media conference that the PAC had told the government during the meeting that its armed struggle was not aimed at women and children. Questioned on whether all civilians were exempt, he said this was the case.

It had also said that "racial wars were never part of our programme or policy".

The PAC is demanding the immediate and unconditional release of all members held in last week's raids, the return of seized documents and the repair of property it says was damaged.

The government has called for an unambiguous position from the PAC on its armed struggle — and was yesterday apparently poised to call for the organisation's expulsion from negotiations if it continued to commit itself to armed activities.

In a statement yesterday Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said no party engaged in activities which included the killing of people "can participate in an election and any preparations leading to such an election".



# Election date: FW, Mandela meet

304A  
AUG 21/1993

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met in Cape Town today as the chances of an election date being announced this week hung in the balance.

Mr De Klerk returned to Tuynhuys soon after 9.30am following the talks at Westbrooke.

No statement was available after the talks, which focused mainly on the negotiation process. Mr De Klerk was expected to make a statement later.

He went straight into the weekly Cabinet meeting.

This was the fourth meeting between the two leaders in the past fortnight. At the first two meetings in Cape Town and Pretoria the education crisis was discussed. At a meeting in Pretoria on Monday the appointment of a new SABC board was the main point of discussion.

Meanwhile, negotiations were given fresh impetus towards a settlement at the talks in Kempton Park last night.

After five hours of meetings a majority of the 26-party negotiating council agreed to a resolution providing for a two-phased transition and an elected constitution-making body bound by agreed principles.

The resolution also provides for interim regional governments and a transitional constitution.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Mr Joe Matthews said the IFP wanted to consult its leadership on the resolution. He agreed the resolution should be put before a constitutional technical committee — "but this must not be construed as some sort of binding commitment".

The Conservative Party and the Bophuthatswana government reserved their positions to allow for consultation with their principals.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela were certain to have discussed the transition process at their meeting today.

The leaders met on Monday in Pretoria. It is understood the appointment of the SABC board and the government's position on entrenched permanent power-sharing were among the topics under discussion at that meeting.

Top government and ANC negotiators met last night after a three-day bilateral meeting at the weekend.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa left the negotiating council describing the resolution as "a major breakthrough in terms of putting the negotiations process on a firm footing and also agreeing that there would be a two-phased process".

In terms of the resolution the transition will be divided into the drafting and adoption of an interim constitution by the negotiating forum and of a final constitution by an elected parliament.

Mr Ramaphosa was particularly optimistic about securing agreement on an elected constitution-making body writing the final constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the government was still determined to secure an election date tomorrow.

But he said it depended on progress during tomorrow's negotiating council meeting — which has replaced a proposed negotiating forum meeting.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo warned that "if an election date is not set we run the risk of a political explosion of unpredictable dimensions".

But IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said negotiators were "not close" to setting the date.

He added: "It is not the most important thing on earth. It is important to find one another."

In effect, the resolution adopted yesterday bridges the demand for a two-phased process and for entrenched constitutional principles being binding on the final constitution-making body.



# focus on Bosnia

**F**ROM the Far Right to the black Left, South Africa's squabbling politicians agree on one thing — war-ravaged Bosnia provides a fine metaphor for their own country.

For some, the ethnic slaughter in the former Yugoslav republic is a premonition of their worst nightmare.

Others, seize on the UN-touted concept of ethnic self-determination as a solution to their own plight.

"The people will not allow themselves to be blackmailed into accepting schemes that seek to turn South Africa into another Bosnia," the African National Congress said in May response to threats of secession from the white Right.

Meanwhile the white Right, in the form of Mineworkers Union chief Peet Ungerer, said:

"We are at ease with the implementation of an ethnically based settlement similar to the UN peace plan in Yugoslavia."

President FW de Klerk, meanwhile, warned that if he gave in to the demands of the radical Left or Right "violence would increase and a bloody Bosnia-like civil war could ensue".

As in the former Yugoslavia, the issue most likely to drive South Africans to civil war is the refusal of some ethnic groups to be dominated by members of other groups.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, has hinted that he would consider secession for Natal where most of his followers live.

## Ethnic cleansing

Buthelezi, who has himself raised the Bosnia spectre with accusations that the constitutional proposals of De Klerk and the ANC amount to "ethnic cleansing", has drawn up an autonomy plan for Natal.

Early in May, leaders of the white right wing said Afrikaners would consider secession if constitutional negotiations failed to deliver on their demand for self-determination.

The threat came from a former general in the South African Defence Force, who said the white-led army would never obey orders from a black government to fight its fellow-Afrikaners.

Self-determination, or regionalism, is one of the key issues under discussion at the talks on a transition to democracy. A total of 26 groups, including the right wing, Government, ANC and Inkatha, are taking part.

Both Inkatha and the rightist Conservative Party have rejected the ANC's vision of a unitary state with a strong central government, saying their demands for self-determination are not negotiable.

In a departure from the Yugoslavia metaphor, Buthelezi said attempts to force a unitary

The former Yugoslav republic provides a chilling example of what could happen in South Africa. Sapa-Reuter spoke to leaders about this gloomy prospect for the country that has not known peace in the past decade.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi ... secession a possibility.

state on his followers would make the civil war in Angola look like a picnic.

Professor Mike Hough, a political scientist at the University of Pretoria, said those who referred to another Bosnia in South Africa were over-dramatising. But the possibility of full-scale civil war could not be ruled out.

## Worst-case scenario

"People used to refer to Lebanon, now they use Bosnia — they're worst-case scenarios of what could happen in a racial, ethnic conflict like that in South Africa.

"But we're still quite a way from civil war in South Africa. You have to have two armies for that and we only have one."

Hough said the defence force could split into

*Sowetan 2/6/93*  
**There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on**

factions that would turn upon each other if there was a government collapse or if the right wing carried out its secessionist threat.

Political analyst Willem Kleynhans said the right wing and black opposition would never reach consensus on regionalism.

## Colour divisions

"There will be divisions in the defence force. Black members will side with the black groups and the whites will have to decide which side they are on.

"Things look very ugly — the damage done to South Africa by 40 years of apartheid is beyond repair."

In public at least, the ANC is optimistic it can reach agreement with the white Right on regionalism.

"Negotiations are about finding one another," ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said recently.

"We've developed a very progressive and reasonable position on regions — those who have listened to our policies, have found sense in them. We look forward to convincing the Conservative Party."

One of the right wing parties at the constitutional talks, the Afrikaner People's Union, said this week it had achieved a breakthrough on regionalism in talks with the Government.

The AVU, more moderate than the Conservative Party, said it was greatly encouraged to hear from the Government that Afrikaner self-determination could be accommodated in its constitutional proposals.



# Govt and PAC locked in talks

Star 21/6/93  
(3044)

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

The Government and the Pan Africanist Congress remain bitterly deadlocked after three meetings to resolve differences that flared last week.

They will meet again tomorrow but by late yesterday the PAC had indicated that its continued presence in talks would be impossible if documents seized in last week's police raids were not returned.

Central to the issue is the organisation's armed struggle. Yesterday PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the PAC

had to decide whether farmers were civilians because most were "commando members".

PAC and Government delegates met at the World Trade Centre yesterday. The PAC is demanding immediate and unconditional release of all members held in last week's raids, the return of seized documents and the repair of property it says was damaged.

The Government has called for an unambiguous position from the PAC on its armed struggle — and was apparently poised to call for the organisation's expulsion from negotiations if it continued to commit armed atrocities.

Although the PAC still

had to meet this condition, the Government was prepared to talk to it "with a view to achieving the suspension of the armed struggle by the PAC and Apla".

● PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani was released yesterday, Sapa reports.

He was held under section 29 of the Internal Security Act and appeared in the Johannesburg Regional Court yesterday afternoon on charges of contravening the Firearms Act.

He was released on warning and is to appear again on June 14.

According to the PAC, 16 of its members were yesterday still being held without charge.

Four different revolutions are in spate across SA at once, observes Don Beck

# Bewildering, but everyone's -

Star 2/6/93.

304A

**S**OUTH African society is being challenged to invent itself, no less. As the participants in negotiations are possibly beginning to discover to their bewilderment, everyone is right.

South Africa does need unitary features to save the state from fragmentation and to ensure coherent development programmes. It does need federal features to satisfy regional needs and particularities. It does need confederal features to protect natural and healthy ethnic cores.

It does need government intervention to rescue the historically dispossessed. It does need economic and political freedoms without which the free enterprise ethic would be smothered and prosperity would be out of the question.

And so one could go on. The

country is a bagful of paradoxes. The negotiators have somehow to meet these needs and demands in whatever they design. Leave out one or more and the constitution will be inadequate, so badly flawed it is unlikely to survive.

A liberal, purely First World system could not possibly meet the legitimate needs of the Second, Third and even Fourth World sectors, which happen also to be the numerical majority. Conversely, an authoritarian World War 2 system would drive away the wealth-generating First World sector.

It helps to consider the social forces at play. South Africa is in the throes of four separate social and political revolutions, which are also flowing across the rest of Africa and parts of Europe. What makes South Africa unique is that here they are present all at once,

which accounts for the turbulence.

**Revolution 1:** Young minds struggle to escape restrictive tribal mores and rituals as they swarm into the urban bright lights. They demand "action" and action now. Having rejected the tribal rites of passage and control by their elders in the previous order, they seek unbridled freedom, power and pleasure.

**Revolution 2:** Millions are in a frantic search for redemption and meaning in life. It is offered by the ideology and discipline of "national liberation". Haunting songs fill the air and there is the hunger of the zealot for a total and cleansing transformation of society into a new and just order.

**Revolution 3:** Many are abandoning rigid ideology, authoritarian control and the conformity of the "volk". A spirit of independence and enterprise has been

awakened in them and they strive to succeed in a market-driven world. They reject greater government intervention or restrictions on individual rights.

**Revolution 4:** Having tested the good life and pervasive materialism, a class of guilt-based revolutionaries has emerged. These embrace often naive egalitarian schemes and maintain that they cannot be "free" until all around them are also "free".

It is these revolutionary currents which create the turbulence of South Africa. They transcend racial, ethnic and even class categories. Each revolutionary surge has a "system" against which it struggles. Each has its own definition of "democracy", economic theory or "justice". And each from its particular perspective is right.

The challenge to the negotiators is to perceive the whole, not just

their particular interest, and to put in place something that serves the whole. South Africa's political leadership needs to design, construct and engineer a political dispensation which allows millions of people to move through the "revolutionary" phases mentioned without simultaneously pulling down the entire structure.

Such a dispensation would have to contain all kinds of seemingly contradictory elements such as unitarism, federalism and confederalism. Government intervention would have to co-exist with a free market.

National developmental priorities have to be established — job creation, education, law and order, housing and community development — so that internal and external resources can be quickly meshed, synergised and committed at grass roots level.

South Africa would do well to use its year of joint executive government, and the five years of elected government of national unity which will follow, in addressing national developmental priorities, tailoring the eventual constitution to these needs.

While the classic liberal safeguards are welcome in any constitution, in South Africa's case they are unlikely to suffice. There is no liberal consensus; the four revolutions are in spate and they have to be constructively channelled, all at the same time.

Six years is not a long time in terms of history. But it is long enough for human ingenuity to make a start.

● Dr Beck is an American conflict resolution specialist who has worked extensively in South Africa over more than a decade.

# right



# 'Operation Stilstand' and the man of straw

Star 2/6/93.

304A

**T**HE most astonishing — and alarming — thing about the police raid on the PAC last week is that neither the Commissioner of Police nor the Minister of Law and Order consulted, or briefed, or talked in any way to the State President or the Cabinet beforehand.

The official explanation is that they considered the raid to be "a routine police operation" which did not require such authorisation.

Which is nonsense. Anyone serving at that level of government who says he did not realise a raid like that would have a significant impact on the negotiations, and should therefore as a matter of routine have Cabinet approval, is either so dumb he has no business being there, or he is lying.

I don't believe either is the case in this instance. One might, at a stretch, accept that the Commissioner of Police is a political dufer who did not understand the implications of what he was doing, but not a Cabinet Minister who is a professional politician.

Hernus Kriel knew very well what the impact of the raid would be, yet he deliberately withheld information of the raid from Pre-



**Allister Sparks**

sident de Klerk until it was under way and too late to stop.

For him at least, and probably for the top police officers involved, not telling the President or the Cabinet was a calculated political decision.

That, as anyone remotely connected with national or international affairs will tell you, is a most remarkable decision. One that comes close to being analogous to a coup.

Yet President de Klerk has done nothing about it. He has disciplined neither Kriel nor the police generals responsible. Instead he and his Cabinet have fallen meekly in line with what they did.

That is the most alarming part of the whole story. For it tells us that President de Klerk is no longer properly in control. His position, which has been declining for months, has now eroded to the

point where he has lost effective control over the security forces and can only ride with their decisions.

The question is, why did Kriel and his generals do it?

Let me say at once that I hold no brief for the PAC. Its ambivalence on the issue of violence is deplorable, its failure to dissociate itself from Apla's claimed acts of murder is shameful, and its propagation of racist slogans such as "one settler one bullet" and "kill the Boer, kill the farmer", are criminally inciteful and disgusting.

If the police had conclusive evidence against anyone responsible for the attacks on police and white farmers, I would be the first to applaud the arrest of such people. But we have been shown no such evidence. Of the 77 PAC leaders arrested, Kriel has been able to tell us about five charged with possessing unlicensed weapons — and even those were weapons licensed in the Transkei, which, though not formally recognised in "white" South Africa, is a matter currently under negotiation.

As Lyndon Johnson might have put it, what kind of chickenshit

charge is that?

Which brings one to the inevitable conclusion that the raid was politically motivated. As speaker after speaker at last Thursday night's debate of the Negotiating Council remarked, it was a fishing expedition undertaken in the hope of catching something that would justify the raid on criminal grounds. But the real motive was political.

What, then, was the political purpose? I believe the raid was carried out in collusion with the Afrikaner Volksfront, that new right-wing alliance headed by General Constand Viljoen and three other retired military generals, with the deliberate intention of provoking a walkout by the PAC and a delay in the negotiations.

In an interview three weeks ago, Viljoen spoke of his concern that the negotiations were so far advanced. He told me the Volksfront wanted the process to be slowed down, with the negotiations suspended to give time for the violence to be brought under control and for right-wing Afrikaners to organise themselves so that they could present their case

properly.

This, I believe, is what the raid was intended to achieve. An "Operation Stilstand" planned by the police generals in cahoots with their old securocrat friends in the Volksfront.

As for Kriel, he has his own agenda that would have encouraged him to play along with such a strategem. He has emerged as the leader of the hawks in the Cabinet who accuse Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and other members of the Government's negotiating team of being soft and giving away too much to the ANC.

Kriel is making a power play to establish himself as the National Party's strong man and to replace the dovish Dawie de Villiers as leader of the party's Cape branch. Since the Cape is the biggest branch, that would make Kriel the heir apparent to De Klerk should the President falter and fall.

But whatever the motives, the strategy has backfired. Instead of derailing and delaying the negotiations, the raid on the PAC has strengthened the process and increased the determination to speed it up. Black participants, in-

cluding some of the Government's "homeland" surrogates, rallied around last Thursday night to appeal to the PAC to stay in the talks and "not fall into Kriel's trap" by walking out.

So far this seems to have succeeded, and if the negotiations can survive this crisis as well as the Chris Hani assassination they can probably survive anything.

Kriel himself has probably gained support in the NP caucus, which may alarm the insecure De Klerk into making some gestures of *kragdadigheid*. But overall the exercise has weakened the Government on every front.

It has tarnished its international image and revealed De Klerk, who only a year ago was enjoying some global prestige, to be a man of straw. It has embarrassed the Government's negotiating team by exposing them as being out of the loop when it comes to the real power decisions. And it calls into question the whole integrity of the Government's negotiating position.

The only group to have benefited is the PAC, which has been given a huge image boost among the young radicals of the black townships. □



## AWB urged to join commandos

CAPE TOWN — The Vrystaat Commandos were not quite as ready and willing to respond as the commandos belonging to the other provinces, Minister of Defence Kobie Coetsee said in Parliament yesterday.

Replying to debate on

the Defence vote, the Minister questioned who was the person responsible for the intractability of the Vrystaat Commandos.

"Whoever created the impression that it is somehow better to walk around with an AWB in-

signia on their shoulders?" he said.

The Minister said the AWB had no legal authority at all, as far as he was concerned.

"People should withdraw from the AWB and join the commandos, he said. — Sapa.

Star 216193  
**Azapo racists, says NP**

The National Party rejected the threats by Azapo that the NP should stay out of the townships "or face the consequences" as shocking racism of the worst kind, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, director of media liaison for the NP, said yesterday. "We will not be intimidated by a minority and irrelevant party like Azapo." — Sapa.

(304A)

(415)

Election date still in doubt

# Hope as talks reach vital stage

Star 2/6/93

304A

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

Negotiations were given fresh impetus towards a settlement last night — but the chances of an election date being announced this week still hang in the balance.

A majority of the 26-party Negotiating Council agreed after five hours of meetings to a resolution providing for a two-phased transition and an elected constitution-making body bound by agreed principles.

The resolution adopted by the Negotiating Council at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre also provides for interim regional governments and a transitional constitution.

The IFP's Joe Matthews said it wanted to consult its leadership on the resolution.

The Conservative Party and the Bophuthatswana government reserved their positions to allow for consultation with their leaders.

In another significant development President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are due to meet today in Cape Town. They are certain to discuss the transition process.

The leaders met on Monday in Pretoria. It is under-

stood the appointment of the SABC board and the Government's position on entrenched permanent power-sharing were among the topics under discussion.

Top Government and ANC negotiators met last night after a three-day bilateral meeting at the weekend.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night left the Negotiating Council describing the resolution as "a major breakthrough in terms of putting the negotiations process on a firm footing and also agreeing that there would be a two-phased process".

## Determined

In terms of the resolution, the transition will be divided into the drafting and adoption of an interim constitution by the negotiating forum and of a final constitution by an elected parliament.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the Government was still determined to secure an election date tomorrow.

But he said it depended on progress during tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting, which has replaced a proposed negotiating forum meeting.

In effect the resolution adopted yesterday bridges

the demand for a two-phased process and for entrenched constitutional principles being binding on the final constitution-making body.

The resolution instructed the constitution technical committee to make recommendations on:

- The powers, structures and functions of regions during the transition.
- The constitution-making process to be followed.
- The procedures to be followed in the drafting and adoption of a transitional constitution by the multiparty forum.
- The procedure to be followed in the elected constitution-making body.

Initially there were tense moments at yesterday's meeting.

Before any debate on the crunch issue of the transition could begin, the CP complained it has not been given an opportunity to argue its case for a confederation to the technical committee on constitutional matters.

All parties were to send written submissions to the committee. It then compiled a report based on the submissions.

It was finally agreed that the CP should make written submissions to the committee, which would advise the Negotiating Council whether oral evidence was required.

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1847 *Answered*

wanted the parents to become more involved years ago. This campaign has caused that to happen.

If Sadu takes a decision in Pretoria and gives an undertaking, and its members in the Western Cape pay no attention, surely it is not the fault of the Minister and the department if a rebellion

takes place in Sadu and there is no control. Is it my fault or that of the department if there is a power struggle, which has nothing to do with education or with what the department is doing, among teachers' associations outside? [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

# HOUSE OF DELEGATES

## QUESTIONS

Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

Cost of government

\*1. Mr M F CASSIM asked the Minister of State Expenditure:

- (1) Whether, with reference to the alleged stated goal of the Government to achieve greater economics of scale and rationalization within government, the cost of government to the nation has increased in real terms; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, to what extent;
- (2) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B273E

The MINISTER OF STATE EXPENDITURE:

- (1) No. The cost of government refers to more than that of central government. It encompasses that of the general government, i.e. central, provincial and local government (including TBVC states and self-governing territories). According to the latest information of the Central Statistical Service (PO441) the change in real terms in expenditure for the general government over the past five quarters was as follows:

1992	1	0,2 %
	2	0,1 %
	3	0,0 %
	4	-0,3 %
1993	1	-0,4 %

- (2) No.

Mr M F CASSIM: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, are we then to assume that there is positive saving on the part of the Government?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, on the face of it, that would seem to be the case. I shall pursue the point the hon member has raised, and

try to give him a more substantial reply. In the meantime, may I refer him to the bulletin of the Central Statistical Service, PO441, of which I shall enclose a copy when I reply to him.

Mr A RAJBANSI: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister referred to the governments of the TBVC and other states. Further arising out of his reply, is it not correct that anyone who wants to argue in favour of dismantling own affairs as part of the rationalisation programme should also ask, amongst other things, for the dismantling of the KwaZulu government?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I take it that the hon member does not want to initiate a debate on this right now. However, I will consider what he has said, because a debate on this issue is necessary. The trend of saving and reducing expenditure shows that we are moving in a positive direction.

## Death at Pollsmoor: inquest

\*2. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Justice:

- (1) Whether an inquest has been conducted into the death of a certain person, whose name has been furnished to the Minister's Department for the purpose of his reply, in Pollsmoor Prison on or about 29 June 1989; if not, why not; if so, by whom;
- (2) whether any findings have been made in respect of the conduct of prison staff allegedly involved in the incident resulting in the death of the above-mentioned person; if so, what were the findings;
- (3) whether a report on the inquest has been handed to the Attorney-General of the Cape; if not, why not; if so, when;
- (4) whether the Attorney-General has taken any decision as a result of the findings contained in this report; if not, why not; if so, what was the decision;
- (5) whether he will make a statement on the matter? D278E

The MINISTER OF JUSTICE:

- (1) Yes, it was conducted by a magistrate of the Magistrate's Court, Wynberg.
- (2) Yes, he found that the death was not brought about by any act or omission in-



## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

## INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

## General Affairs:

## Representations from ANC: fourteen-year olds

\*1. Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE asked the Minister of Home Affairs:

Whether he or his Department has received any representations from the African National Congress that fourteen-year olds (a) be granted the right to vote and/or (b) be supplied with weapons; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, what is the purpose of these representations?

B894E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Speaker, the Department of Home Affairs and I have at no stage so far received formal or informal representations from the ANC that 14-year-olds should be given the vote. In fact, up to the recent political statements on the matter it was not a subject for discussion at all. I think that it was so generally accepted that the current practice, namely that 18-year-olds would acquire the vote, would also apply in future that Mr Mandela's statements even came as a surprise to the ANC.

There are actually a few countries in which persons younger than 18 may vote. It must be added immediately, however, that some of these examples include one-party states and that not one of them can actually be regarded as a model of progressive democracy. In no case, however, is 14 the age at which one is entitled to vote.

The reaction of political parties and the press on this matter placed it in perspective. No institution of which I am aware supported the proposal. The proposal is not only impracticable but completely unrealistic.

Meanwhile a committee of the ANC has also indicated that the organisation's original standpoint that the franchise would apply to persons 18 years old and older would suffice.

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As regards representations on the supply of firearms to 14-year-olds, I can inform the hon member that neither my department nor I have received any such representations from the ANC. I also made enquiries at the Department of Law and Order whether they had received representations but I was told that they had not received any from the ANC in this regard. In terms of the Arms and Ammunition Act, 14-year-olds cannot acquire firearms licences either.

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, it is very clear in South Africa today that, when the NP make a new announcement, they first have to go to the ANC to hear whether they agree with them. When the ANC make statements, however, it is very clear that they do not take the Government into account. [Interjections.]

The Government does not understand what the ANC and the SACP can bring about in Southern Africa. Just as the women opened the gates for Raka, this Government is propelled by strange passions. Just imagine that this Government wants to share power with the ANC, and then the Government hallucination is still that everything will be prosperous, peaceful and friendly in South Africa.

Mandela's idea to give 14-year-olds the vote is only exceeded in absurdity by the ignorance and recklessness of the Government. Mandela has all the characteristics of an African despot. He is looking for only one thing in South Africa and that is power. After that he is looking for only one thing further and that is to retain power. Mandela speaks sanctimoniously about democracy but in reality he is involved in unbelly hypocrisy.

Mandela wants to use children to obtain and retain power. He wants careless, restless, disobedient and undisciplined children as a power base. In addition he is wooing them to keep them away from the PAC. He not only offers them the vote but also AK 47s, hand grenades, petrol bombs and necklace murders.

The NP wants to share power with such a person. The NP wants to regard the freedom of the peoples in Southern Africa as subject to such a person, and I want to ask them when they are going to stop this conduct toward Mandela. The NP is seeking an election date in Kempton Park

but they do not even have a constitution. They have no idea what the ANC's and the Communists' actual plans are for Southern Africa. [Time expired.]

\*Miss M SMUTS: Mr Chairman, the hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe has asked a ridiculous interpellation question because the hon the Minister would obviously not have received representations. It is especially ridiculous, however, to look for this opportunity for conducting a debate when the subject has already been concluded, and then to drag Raka in here.

The CP wants to say its say when everybody, including the ANC, has finished talking. We have already commented on the question of the 14-year-old voters. We said that it alarmed us and we also said that it was ridiculous.

This is an after meat mustard affair and I must say that the mustard has a dreadful taste, coming from the ranks of a party a senior member of which has been charged with complicity in the assassination of Mr Chris Hanu. [Interjections.] I think that the one useful thing that a person can do in this cliquish gathering in this context is to point out to hon members that what Mr Mandela is trying to do among other things is to establish leadership over a group which could become angry and directionless without Chris Hanu.

We think that there are better ways to make young people part of the process. A peace corps is one of them but there is no doubt that they must be taken care of. They are decisively important to the future of South Africa, both socially and electorally speaking. [Interjections.] Hon members should think about Mrs Winnie Mandela and then compare Mr Mandela with her.

There are 2 million young Black people between the ages of 15 and 19 outside the TBVC states. We estimate all South Africa's 14 to 19-year-olds at about 3,8 million. We do not think that they should vote or obtain firearms, not even in a youth brigade. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, I should like to agree with the hon member for Groote Schuur. I think that this is a ridiculous question on which the time of this House is being wasted. [Interjections.] The hon member Mr H D K van der Merwe also used

ridiculous arguments today. He is using this debate to say that the Government echoes the ANC before it makes statements. [Interjections.] With all due respect, those are arguments which a person could perhaps use in other contexts but not in this case. In this case, the moment Mr Mandela made his statement, which was completely ridiculous, the Government immediately said that it was completely foolish. [Interjections.]

I want to use the last few seconds of my time to share a few interesting points with hon members. The only country that has so far considered introducing the franchise for 14-year-olds was Nicaragua under the Sandinista government. This created so much public consternation that they immediately abandoned it, even under those circumstances.

Countries that at this stage give franchise to people younger than 18 are Afghanistan, Iran, Cuba, Yugoslavia and North Korea. We do not want to associate ourselves with those countries.

\*Mr L F STOFBERG: Mr Chairman, this afternoon I want to tell hon members in the NP in particular that they have been negotiating for months with the future leader Mr Mandela. They have elevated him to an enormous figure in South African politics. Today I want to know from them what they thought when Mr Mandela did something that had not occurred anywhere in the world yet. He requested that 14-year-olds be given the vote. There was no newspaper or political organisation which did not wonder whether Mr Mandela's brain was slightly addled. [Interjections.] Everybody denigrated it as something ridiculous. He was a ridiculous figure when he said it. I do not want to express myself more strongly on this for the time being.

One asks oneself immediately why he did it. Surely he is the man who was elevated by the NP, and then he made such a fool of himself in public. There is only one reason: Mr Mandela has to bid against Winnie, the PAC and the Mokobas for the support of the minors. He needs them and wants them in his struggle with the NP. That is the only reasonable explanation for his conduct.

South Africa has never permitted political power to land in the hands of such people. That is why the NP is warning the CP today. [Interjections.]

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

cont. -&gt;



\*HON MEMBERS: Hear, hear!

\*Mr L F STOFBERG: . . . the CP is warning the NP. We say that they should beware. They may laugh now but they do not understand that Mandela does not want to share power. He wants total power in the country. [Time expired.]

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: Mr Chairman, I want to tell the hon member for Groote Schuur that this afternoon she was very definitely not a mother of the people. She is an old-time liberal.

\*Miss M SMUTS: I am a Boer liberal!

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: If a white man or an Afrikaner makes a mistake, they jump on him but the Blacks of Africa can make all kinds of mistakes and they will support them. They are Jean Jacques Rousseau types. I want to tell the DP and the NP that Mandela is not just an ordinary leader in South Africa. He is accepted by the NP as the next president with the powers which the present hon State President holds. What do hon members think is going to happen? Hon members can speak as frivolously as they like today, where there are no Black people present, but I say that it is not a case of after meat mustard. This is the reality of South Africa. In another world there can be a J R Ewing in Dallas, but this is the reality.

Here is the leader of the ANC, whom they regard as the president of tomorrow, and he announces these things. The NP and the DP are living in a fool's paradise which will catch up with them in the reality of South Africa. In a year or two or three they will remember that the CP tried to talk to them for 10 years. Let him who does not hear, feel. The NP and the DP will still feel in this country. [Interjections.]

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member has only a few seconds left.

\*Mr H D K VAN DER MERWE: I want to repeat this. That hon member will, as an old-time liberal, learn the reality of Africa the hard way. Hon members will still find out the problems regarding what Nelson Mandela really thinks of democracy. [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the two hon members contended that this Government had elevated Mr Mandela to an enormous figure. I want to suggest that there

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is a measure of justification for that argument, but it is not because this Government released him now. It is because the former Government kept him in prison for years, for too long. This is what enhanced his image. I am not saying this in reproach but, if he had been released earlier, he would not have acquired that image.

I shall conclude simply by saying that those hon members and the country may rest assured that this Government will see to it that civilised standards are maintained, as regards the age of those entitled to vote as well.

\*The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! That ends the first interpellation. Before I put the second interpellation, I want to express the hope that the discussion of the next interpellation will take place in a more orderly fashion and that more attention will be paid to calls for order from the Chair, otherwise I fear we are not going to conclude this question session at full strength.

Debate concluded.

**Transfer of funds to TBVC states**

2. Mr P G SOAL asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs:

Whether any financial controls are in force in respect of the transfer of funds to the TBVC states; if not, why not; if so, what procedures are followed in this regard?

*B900E.INT*

The DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, during the discussion of the Foreign Affairs Vote on 29 April this year, the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs made the following comment on the financial affairs of the TBVC states. He said the following (*Hansard* 1993, col 6349):

My department and I are aware of the impression that financial maladministration, fraud and corruption are prevalent in the TBVC states and that not enough is being done to curb what is believed to be a wastage of taxpayers' money.

He acknowledged that there were irregularities, but in that debate he also stressed at length that important steps had been taken to put the matter on a sound footing. The steps taken and results achieved were dealt with extensively during that debate, as I said, and it is not possible,

in the short discussion we are having today, to repeat that.

However, the fact is that co-operation in terms of those joint financial adjustment programmes and the structural adjustment programme do represent progress, but that progress will have to be further strengthened. We acknowledge that at the outset.

I would like to remind hon members that, despite the agreements and the degree of success achieved in managing the problem of financial control and planning in respect of these states, their independent status is a hard fact of political life. As a responsible Government we must take that into account, but that does not remove the onus on us to be responsible in the way we act.

During the discussion of the Foreign Affairs Vote this same hon member raised this issue, as he is doing now by way of this interpellation, and he was given a comprehensive reply by the hon the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The hon the Minister pointed out that the audit report to which that hon member referred in that debate, which was a performance audit, had been debated on 3 March this year by the Joint Committee on Public Accounts.

Although everything is certainly not flawless by any stretch of the imagination, the evidence laid before that committee clearly demonstrated that the Department of Foreign Affairs, the other functional departments and the Development Bank of Southern Africa are doing everything possible to try to strengthen financial control under the given circumstances.

I would urge that hon member, and any other hon member of this House that shares his concern, to study the evidence submitted to that committee. I think that if they did that in an open-minded way, they would then acknowledge that the matter is not as simple as I suspect the hon member is going to try to portray it this afternoon.

A fundamentally important objective of the structural adjustment agreements is mutual co-operation between the Government of South Africa and the governments of the countries concerned. [Time expired.]

Mr P G SOAL: Mr Chairman, the hon the Deputy Minister quite rightly refers to debate on the hon the Minister's Vote.

In the course of that debate I put a number of specific questions to the hon the Minister concerning the transfer of more than R6 billion to the TBVC states last year. I asked him whether the department merely acted as a conduit, with cheques merely being forwarded to the four states, or whether normal accounting procedures were employed. I also asked whether funds were transferred against audited vouchers of expenditure to meet specific items, or whether globular amounts were simply sent to the homelands to be spent at will.

In his reply the hon the Minister ignored my request. He did not give me a comprehensive reply, as the hon the Deputy Minister suggests. He ignored my request for information, which was an extraordinary attitude to adopt, because the debate in Committee of Supply is to determine whether the funds which we are asked to approve are being properly expended.

The hon the Minister's reply was arrogant and dismissive. He told me to consult the record of a meeting of the Joint Committee on Public Accounts which was held on 3 March, as the hon the Deputy Minister indicated, a meeting at which he said senior officials of his department took two hours to inform the members of the committee "about exactly the matters he raised here today". He accused me of wasting taxpayers' money by raising the matter in Parliament. [Interjections.]

I want to say that I am doing my duty as a member of Parliament and as a taxpayer. I am concerned about how this money is being spent, and all other taxpayers in this country are concerned and want to know how R6 billion of their hard-earned money is being spent in the TBVC states.

Let me say that I have taken the trouble to read carefully, and at great length, the proceedings of 3 March and the documentation which was handed out as a result of the meeting.

Mr D CHRISTOPHERS: Then you know exactly what happened!

Mr P G SOAL: I note the concern of the department in dealing with these internal financial arrangements within the TBVC states, but nothing was said at that meeting, and no documents were presented, to explain how the expenditure of the R6 billion is controlled by his department.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

*cont. ->*



# Push to set election date today

NEGOTIATORS at constitutional talks will make every effort today to set an election date, meeting the initial deadline they set themselves. (112)

President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela met yesterday and Mandela said afterwards the two had moved "very close together" on the question of an election date. (3044)

Sapa reports that participants in negotiations were convinced that pressure was being exerted to set a date today. But the DP's Colin Eglin said: "It can only be tentative and ringed with provisos."

ANC and government negotiators said yesterday they would be pushing for a date to be decided today, when talks would focus on constitutional principles, and the powers, functions and duties of regions.

At the same time Cosatu said negotia-

tors were dragging their heels. It would initiate action to put pressure on the politicians to meet today's deadline for setting a date and to speed up the process.

At Tuesday's negotiating council meeting, the technical committee on constitutional matters was instructed to make recommendations on regions during the transition. The committee said it would be able to report on these today.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the ANC Youth League said it was prepared to launch within days its campaign to make the country ungovernable should an election date not be set today. League president Peter Mokaba said: "We are intent on ensuring that the people who delay the elections are unable to govern us."

BILLY PADDOCK

# 10 minibus taxis torched in Soweto

JOHANNESBURG. — Police yesterday afternoon had yet to establish the motive for the torching of 10 minibus taxis in three Soweto areas early in the morning.

Attackers gutted the vehicles and shot and injured three men. One taxi was burnt at the Baragwanath taxi rank, four near the Diepkloof hostel and five in Orlando East.

The rampage began about 5am. Damage is estimated at R400 000. Police said they were searching for the occupants of a white BMW believed to have been in the three areas.

● The bullet-ridden bodies of two men were found less than 100m apart next to the Tamboklesfontein-Biesboksiaagte road near Kiliprieter, south of Johannesburg, on Tuesday night.

Neither of them have been identified. A murder docket has been opened.

● Thirty-two deaths and 23 injuries were recorded in incidents of violence in the week-long period ending on Tuesday, the Human Rights Commission said yesterday.

The weekly violence toll was substantially lower than the previous week's total of 100 deaths and 189 injuries countrywide. — Sapa

# Stoning 'hampers' repair services

By PETER DENNEHY  
Municipal Reporter

TOWNSHIP youths throwing stones at vehicles often prevent council electricity trucks from going into Guguletu to attend to accidental supply cuts.

Council spokesman Ms Dolcé Perks said yesterday that when stoning was common, "we adopt a policy of asking the police whether we can go into a certain area, especially at night."

When the police thought it was too dangerous, the trucks were not sent in.

Ms Perks was asked for comment after a complaint by Mr Lennox Sabela, of NY147, who said there had been no electricity in his section of Guguletu "at least four or five times" last week after 6pm.

"It always happens when we get home from work and want to start cooking," he said.

He said regular power breaks, espe-

cially in winter, had been going on for the past five years.

He had written to the authorities and people in his neighbourhood had continually telephoned to complain, but the breaks continued.

He had been told that the trucks only go in when the children are at school.

Ms Perks said it was not true that trucks only went in when school was in progress.

"One of our trucks was badly stoned just today, in Hazeldene which is a nice area, in the middle of the day," she said.

"We must protect our staff. If we know something is dangerous."

She said the council had to adopt new strategies, such as going in at very unusual times, such as the early morning.

The substation near Mr Sabela's home would be checked to see if there was a trip-switch problem there.

# Govt, PAC set for bruising encounter

Political Correspondent (3014)

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the PAC are set for another bruising encounter when they hold their fourth meeting this week before multi-party talks resume at the World Trade Centre today.

Nearly three hours of talks on Tuesday failed to resolve the festering dispute sparked by the swoop on PAC members last week and the ongoing refusal of the PAC to at least suspend the armed struggle.

Neither side last night appeared willing to budge from their positions and a government source said prospects for a compromise looked decidedly gloomy, adding: "There appears to be little chance of movement from their side."

The source said last night that if the PAC failed to either agree to suspend the armed struggle or declare a moratorium on all armed activities, the government would look for support among the negotiating parties to censure the PAC.

"But we don't have any strong remedy," he said. The government is clearly anxious not to force the ANC to choose sides in the dispute.

Last night sources conceded that the one possible area of compromise in the stand-off could centre on the announcement of an election date. The PAC indicated at the weekend that a poll date for a constituent assembly could allow the organisation to reconsider its commitment to the armed struggle.

# Stop negotiations, FW told

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk is coming under pressure from the right wing to suspend negotiations and preparations for interim rule and to tackle violence as a priority ... or hold a referendum or election for whites. (304A)

And the Conservative Party is considering pulling out of the talks and turning to mass action which could seriously hamper key sectors of the economy if violence is not addressed first, and Afrikaners' right to self-determination is not accommodated.

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# No jail for Winnie

CF 3/6/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Winnie Mandela was fortunate to have escaped imprisonment when the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein yesterday found her guilty of kidnapping, but replaced her five-year prison term with a fine and suspended imprisonment. Lawyers for Human Rights said.

Although the question of the appropriate sentence was problematic, the judgment was nevertheless well reasoned and motivated, IHR national projects director Ms Jody Kollapen said.

She said the findings of the Appeal Court, which differed from the trial court, were notable factors in determining the sentence.

In a 192-page judgment, Mr Justice M Corbett, with four other judges concurring, ruled that Mandela and two other accused, Xoliswa Falati and John Morgan, had kidnapped the three complainants and teenage activist Stompie Seipei on December 29, 1988.

Stompie was found dead in an open field on January 6, 1989. Jerry Richardson, a former Mandela Football Club coach, is serving a life term for Seipei's murder after his death sentence



JUBILATION... Winnie Mandela (left) hugs her daughter Zinzi after learning she will not have to go to jail, though the Appeal Court upheld her kidnapping conviction. Picture: AP

was commuted on appeal. The original trial judge, Mr Justice MS Stegmann, convicted Mandela, Falati and Morgan on May 14, 1991.

The Appeal Court also quashed Mandela's conviction as an accessory to assault after the fact.

The court instead sentenced Mandela to a fine of R15 000 or one year, plus two years, which was suspended for five years. In addition, she was ordered to pay compensation of R5 000 to

each of the three surviving complainants, Kenneth Kgase, Bar-end Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Pelo Mekewe.

Mandela celebrated the ruling with champagne at her Braamfontein office, joined by her daughter Zinzi and friends, as she received congratulatory calls from supporters, but refused to comment.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday he was happy that his estranged wife was not going to prison. — Sapa

# ANC, govt hopeful on poll dates

CF 3/6/93

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC and the government were still bullish last night that a date for South Africa's first non-racial election could be announced today.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said after his second meeting with President F W de Klerk yesterday that the two parties were "very close" to agreeing on a date for a poll.

A three-day election, possibly on April 18, 19 and 20 next year, is on the cards after yesterday's discussions between the two leaders.

Mr De Klerk, however, declined to make any commitment.

Agreement rests with the 26-member negotiating council, which meets today at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

The ANC's optimism was echoed by a government spokesman who said last night: "We hope a date can be set and we are working, as are other parties, to achieve this."

The government and the ANC's determination to set a poll date is not shared by all the other parties at negotiations.

## 'Great progress'

Inkatha Freedom Party chief negotiator Mr Joe Mathews said yesterday that it would be premature to force such a controversial issue at this stage of the process. He favoured fixing a date when the negotiating forum met on June 25.

Mr Mandela said after emerging from in-depth constitutional talks with Mr De Klerk yesterday that "a great deal of progress" had been made.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC would be "pushing very hard" for a date today but added that this might well have to be announced with a number of qualifications.

A senior government source said he believed sufficient progress might have been made by tonight "to allow us to get a date" and added pointedly: "We are far better off in the entire negotiations process than a week ago."

One man who is adamant that a date be set is SA Communist Party national chairman Mr Joe Slovo, who has warned that there will be "an explosion" if this does not happen. "

# CP may quit talks and resort to mass action

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party is on the verge of withdrawing from multi-party negotiations and is considering resorting to mass action aimed at paralysing the country's economy.

A top CP member said last night that negotiators "are forcing us to

withdraw from the process while what we are trying to do is prevent a civil war".

And if the CP does pull out of talks, mass action appears inevitable.

"Boere mass action" could see the country effectively brought to its knees by a strike in essential and strategic services.

Among those who could take ac-

tion are air-traffic controllers, transport and energy workers and key personnel in the iron and steel industries, the mines and the civil service.

Another serious warning of growing CP militancy came last night from CP leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, who said after a meeting with President F W de Klerk that the negotiation process should at least

be suspended given the revolution-ary climate prevailing in the country.

He said the current crisis wiped out Mr De Klerk's referendum mandate and that the people should once again be consulted.

CP negotiator Dr Corne Mulder confirmed last night that there was "a great deal of unhappiness" with the CP's treatment at the World

Trade Centre negotiations.

CP negotiators have also been coming under increasing pressure from their parliamentary caucus and grassroots supporters.

It is understood that ways in which the CP's concerns could better be accommodated will be raised in today's planning committee before the meeting of the full negotiating council.



# FW, Volksfront: 'Deep differences'

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and leaders of the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront emerged from bilateral talks yesterday acknowledging that there were "deep differences" between them.

The Volksfront delegation, which consisted only of its leader General Constand Viljoen and CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, argued that free elections were impossible in the current climate.

In a memorandum handed to Mr De Klerk, the Volksfront argued that the current security situation nullified the mandate he had received in last year's referendum.

They said the negotiations process should be stopped until the security situation improved to such an extent that all South Africans felt free to express their opinions without fear of intimidation.

Alternatively, Mr De Klerk should hold a referendum on a question to be decided.

Dr Hartzenberg said after the meeting that it was clear that deep differences existed between the Volksfront's position and that of the government.

CT 3/6/93 (304A)

Asked what the consequences would be if the government did not submit to the Volksfront's proposals, Dr Hartzenberg said the group would consider a variety of actions, citing the recent mass meeting in Potchefstroom as an example.



# April election date looks a strong prospect

ARG 3/5/93 (304A)

## Political Staff

ABOUT 22-million voters may go to the polls in April next year in the first election under a fully democratic system.

Members of the negotiating council are involved in last-minute efforts today to fix the first election date.

Issues which still have to be cleared up are those of violence and how fair conditions for an election can be ensured, constitutional principles and how a new interim constitution must be drawn up.

A system of proportional representation instead of the present constituency system will be used. There will not be a registration of voters. Instead, all South African citizens above 18 who have identity documents will be able to vote.

The issuing of these documents is being stepped up.

A date — probably in April — will be proposed at today's negotiating council meeting if suitable progress is made at the talks.

Two sets of election dates are being mentioned — April 18, 19 and 20 or April 29 — but key negotiators were adamant that no "precise date" had been reached.

The Argus Correspondent in Pretoria reports that the Department of Home Affairs is

"ready, willing and able" to handle a general election early next year and is just waiting for a date to be set.

Sources involved in the electoral office of the department confirmed they were geared to run the election at any time early next year.

Negotiators got back to work at the World Trade Centre this morning amid increasing tension over the announcement of a date.

Negotiators expressed amusement at speculation on specific dates, saying they were whipping up a "storm in a teacup".

The Concerned South Africans Group decided after a morning meeting that it would oppose the setting of a date today unless considerable progress was made.

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Joe Matthews said the organisation could agree to a date being set only once the pre-conditions agreed to last month had been reached.

In another development, a fourth meeting between the government and the PAC failed to resolve differences over the recent police raids on the organisation and its armed struggle. The meeting in the World Trade Centre was adjourned at 9am and was due to resume at lunchtime.

# Election date

*South Africa 3/6/93*  
■ Date to be confirmed today:

SOUTH Africa's first multiracial general elections would be held on April 29 next year, sources told Sapa yesterday.

The date is likely to be announced at the multiparty negotiating council today.

The election is likely to cover three days with April 29 as the central date.

The announcement of the election date is likely to be ringed with conditions but it is understood a firm decision was taken at yesterday's Cabinet meeting. - Sapa

# 'No talks breakthrough'

Sowetan

3/6/93

By Themba Molefe

NEGOTIATORS meet again at the World Trade Centre today to consider recommendations on constitutional matters following broad agreement earlier regarding transition.

The PAC yesterday said the 26 parties in the negotiating council still maintained their original positions and that there was no major breakthrough in negotiations. (H) (30/4)

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander told a Press conference: "Reports of a major breakthrough on constitutional matters at Tues-

day's negotiating council meeting are blatantly untrue. The fact of the matter is that parties still maintain their original positions."

The majority of the parties adopted a resolution tabled by the ANC and the Government which provides for a two-phased process of transition. This would be the drafting of an interim constitution and an elected constitution-making body. The resolution also instructed the technical committee of experts to make recommendations on constitutional principles and powers, functions and structures of regions and procedures to be followed in the drafting and adoption of a transitional constitution.



# DP lodges complaint on threats

Sowetan 3/6/93

■ Peace secretariat in-  
formed about Azapo's

warning:

(304A)



THE Democratic Party's Soweto branch has lodged a complaint with the National Peace Secretariat following statements by the Azanian People's Organisation at a recent meeting.

On May 13 Azapo branch spokeswoman Ms Makoma Lekalakala warned at a meeting in Jabulani, Soweto, against political campaigning in the townships by the National Party and the DP.

She said only blacks should campaign in the townships, while whites should consolidate their campaign in their own areas.

# PEOPLE'S LIVES *Why females should infiltrate the male-dominated political struggle*



Alda Santos of the Philippines and Gloria Patols of Chile



Lena Naslund of Sweden.

## Quest for woman power in politics

Sowetan 3/6/93

304A

By Sizakele Kooma

■ KEY VOTE Women must vote into

*power a party that represents their interests.*

**T**HEY MIGHT BE A LONG way from forming their own political party but the least South African women can do for themselves is to put into power a political party that is serious about gender issues.

This sisterly advice was given by international speakers at a workshop on educating women for elections, attended by 200 women from 75 community-based and political organisations.

The message carried through in the speeches of the women from Uganda, the Philippines, Chile and Sweden, was that it is not just enough to teach women how to vote. It was equally vital to equip women to vote for a political party that had high on its agenda issues that tug at their heart-strings.

"The sex struggle is part of the race struggle. Women's issues must therefore be an integral part of the electoral agenda," said Ugandan Miria Matembe.

She said women should evaluate individual political parties by what they

say in their manifestos. The exercise will ensure that whatever party they vote for will have the rights of women entrenched in the constitution.

The message from Filipino women, brought by Aida Santos, was that women should build their own electoral machinery. They should structure their agenda in a way that will help them infiltrate the male-dominated political struggle.

"Women must not be content with just being 'appendages'. They should recognise their right to shape the nation and their responsibility to the coming generations. They should also realise that it is not enough to be political activists, yet being marginalised from the political processes," Santos said.

One way of achieving their goal would be by pushing that women's issues be accepted as national issues.

Women's issues, she said, use issues

of gender, development, human rights and liberation. The four issues which were considered national issues also related to women in that they touched on power, access and control. They were about land, water, education and employment. They affected the rights of women as persons and individuals to just and human lives. They stated that no country could be liberated until its people are free. Lena Naslund of Sweden said South African women should beware of politicians who reduced women to hobbies, who believed they were the masters and use a language they do not understand. "Women should be made aware that the decision on the party that will win the elections will be determined by the women vote, since women make up 54 percent of the total population. They should realise their power to choose a party that will represent their interests," Naslund said.



Miria Matembe of Uganda.

**“Women must not be content with being ‘appendages’. They should recognise their right to shape the nation and their responsibility to coming generations”**



# AWB insists that talks be suspended

Buss. day 316193

(304A)

RAY HARTLEY

THE AWB would never become involved in talks with communists because this amounted to "sitting around a table and trying to negotiate with the devil himself," AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said yesterday.

Addressing a lunch organised by Randburg mayor Brian Crail, he said ANC president Nelson Mandela was under pressure from radicals, including his estranged wife Winnie, to nationalise banks and industries once the ANC came to power.

In a separate statement issued yesterday, the AWB called for the immediate suspension of negotiations because of attacks on whites. The organisation said it would have "no choice but to use other methods" if talks were not stopped.

Terre'Blanche said conflict between MK and Inkatha would worsen once the ANC had achieved a 70% majority in nonracial elections, because Zulus would never accept rule by Xhosas.

Communism was the only political philosophy which had as its objective "the dethroning of God. I don't believe you can compromise with communism. They are not interested in any form of power sharing; what they really want is SA", he said.

Terre'Blanche said in his experience blacks were incapable of sharing power. "Our task is to prepare for war and a bloody revolution. There is no way confrontation can be prevented," he said.

"I was the first leader to sign a non-aggression pact with Inkatha," he said.

"The AWB is not the racist organisation the media makes us out to be. I will talk with any leader — white, brown or techni-

colour. But I want to talk to real leaders," he added.

"I was the first leader to speak on behalf of a people and not a race. We must not make the mistake that the NP, the CP and the HNP have made by demanding a country because they are whites," he said.

The lunch was attended by Randburg town councillors, businessmen and former DP co-leader Wynand Malan.

Meanwhile, TIM COHEN reports from Cape Town that President F W de Klerk and Afrikaner Volksfront leaders emerged from bilateral discussions yesterday acknowledging that "deep differences" existed between them.

The Volksfront delegation, which consisted of its leader Gen Constand Viljoen and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, argued that free elections were impossible in the current climate of violence.

In a memorandum handed to De Klerk, the Volksfront argued that the current security situation nullified the mandate he received in the referendum and posed two options: to halt the negotiations process temporarily until the security situation improved to such an extent that all South Africans felt free to express their opinions without intimidation; or that De Klerk hold a referendum.

Hartzenberg said after the meeting that it was clear that deep differences existed between the front's position and that of government.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the proposals would be discussed in follow-up meetings.

## Plan to boost opportunities for lawyers

Buss. day 316193

THERE were too few opportunities for the number of potential candidate attorneys to be trained professionally and a Bill would soon be tabled in Parliament to provide alternate ways for law graduates to enter the profession, Deputy Justice Minister Sheila Camerer said yesterday.

In an address to a seminar presented by the Johannesburg Attorneys' Association and the Transvaal Law Society, she said in terms of the Bill graduates might enter the profession in five ways:

□ Attendance for at least four months at the Association of Law Society's Law School, plus one year of articles;

□ Attendance at the Association of Law Society's Law School for four months plus a year of community service;

□ One year of articles plus one year of community service;

□ Two years of community service; or

□ Five years of experience in an appropriate related legal practice.

"This will not only ensure greater possibility of entry into the profession, but will afford greater legal representation to persons who appear daily in our courts.

She said there were also opportunities in the public sector for entering the profession. — Sapa.

## ANC Natal branch calls for



# Speed up talks, urges Cosatu

Sowetan 3/6/93

## ■ Federation calls for setting of an election date:

ALL South Africans should take action to ensure speedy progress at multiparty talks, Congress of South African Trade Unions spokesman Mr Neil Coleman urged yesterday.

In a statement issued yesterday, Coleman said all civil society organisations should decide on the action that should be taken if the negotiation council did not decide on an election date by today. (304A)

"The planning committee should recognise the urgency of the situation by bringing the meeting date of the broader negotiations forum forward from June 25.

"The negotiations forum needs to, as

a matter of urgency, agree on a package which will include the question of the transitional executive councils, constitutional principles and the functioning of the constituent assembly," he said.

## Formal or informal

Asked to elaborate on the action that would be taken, Coleman said it could be formal or informal.

This, he said, would depend on a consultation between civil society and other interested organisations.

He further urged non-political groups to participate or follow their own programmes of action. - Sapa.

## News in brief

### Johnny in court

MR JOHNNY Mokaleng, the man who alleged that police murdered and buried political detainees in graves in the Western Transvaal, has appeared in court.

His claims in January sent police on a grave-digging expedition through the Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana but the widely publicised excavations revealed no bodies. Mokaleng (29) appeared before Rustenburg Regional Court magistrate Mr AF Snyman yesterday. No charges were put to him and the case was postponed to June 15. Bail was set at R1 000.

### Croc shocker

A ZIMBABWEAN policeman travelling in the back of a police truck with an apparently dead crocodile got the shock of his life when the reptile suddenly lunged at him.

The crocodile had been stoned and knocked unconscious by villagers after it rushed at a group of

children on a riverbank in central Zimbabwe. The police were called, pronounced the 2.5-metre beast dead and loaded it into their truck. One of the officers hopped in the back with it. He was next heard screaming for help as the crocodile chased him around the moving truck. Colleagues stopped the vehicle and shot the reptile.

### Search for miners

FIVE teams of rescue workers were by last night still trying to locate a miner who was trapped underground following four earth tremors at the Vaal Reefs Mine in the Western Transvaal. 3/6/93

And six miners, who were admitted to the Duff Scott Mine Hospital in Klerksdorp after being injured during a faction fight between Shangaan and Xhosa workers at Hartebeesfontein Gold Mine, also in the Western Transvaal, have died.

This brings the death toll at the mine to 17.

# April 27 set down as date for elections

Buss. Day 4/16/93

APRIL 27 next year was provisionally agreed to last night as the date for SA's first nonracial election.

The 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park passed the resolution with sufficient consensus, despite stiff opposition from some members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) alliance.

After initial protest, Inkatha and Bophuthatswana agreed to a compromise resolution that the date be set, but that it be finalised only on June 15, when the council meets again to debate its merits. Four parties objected — the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, KwaZulu and Ciskei.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo made the proposal to set the date on behalf of the 10-member negotiations planning committee. He admitted, though, that there was not unanimous support for the proposal.

Slovo, in motivating the proposal, said there was "a visible sigh of relief among the vast majority when we declared that we would set an election date today. Failure to set it will have a serious negative effect in the country, and trigger responses that will be unpredictable and spread a feeling of betrayal."

His proposal encountered instant opposition, mainly from Cosag, but government and the NP supported the view that a final decision should rather be taken at the next council meeting so that "consensus could be maximised."

Inkatha's Walter Felgate said much was at stake "and the process of finding each other and reaching agreement is in jeopardy if we try to rush this process now on the basis of party political interests."

The DP's Colin Eglin said: "There has

BILLY PADDOCK  
and WILSON ZWANE

been significant progress and if we set the date tonight, it will be a clear signal to the world."

In other business yesterday, the technical committee on violence recommended joint multiparty control of all armed formations, implemented in a phased way.

The committee said its proposals should be considered in the light of the objective to establish "impartial, accountable, effective and legitimate security forces for a democratic SA". It proposed that in the short term all parties with arms or armed formations establish proper control over them, conduct an audit of all weapons and personnel and establish mechanisms for bringing them under the supervision of "a joint multiparty agency".

During phase two, after the establishment of a transitional executive council, a joint agency should be established, and a distinction made between statutory and non-statutory armies and police forces.

The committee said policing functions had to be clearly distinguished from military functions, and that the various armies should play no role in the election process while police fulfilled normal law and order functions. "The multiparty agency must ensure effective supervision, including clear identification of personnel, weapons and locations and the circumstances and manner in which any armed formation or members of any armed formation may be deployed in peacekeeping functions."

During phase three it would be the responsibility of an elected government to

□ To Page 2

## Elections

Buss. Day 4/16/93

□ From Page 1

integrate, disband and rationalise the various armed formations and introduce comprehensive measures for integrating their members into society.

The committee made a variety of other recommendations to help eliminate violence, including the strengthening of the peace accord to ensure parties abided by its terms. It also recommended that all parties not yet signatories to the accord be put under pressure by the negotiating council to join the peace effort.

With regard to mass action, the committee endorsed the Goldstone commission view that it was a fundamental right to protest and demonstrate, but it recommended that all organisations adhered to a strict code of conduct to ensure these did not lead to violence or intimidation.

The technical committee on constitutional issues said allocating powers and functions for regions was particularly difficult when the nature of the final constitutional order had not yet been settled. It was therefore more advisable to make these flexible, subject to the supervision of a

constitution-making body and a government of national unity.

The committee set five criteria for dividing powers between national and regional governments:

□ The level where there was most control over the quality and delivery of services should be the level responsible for the execution of the programme or the delivery of the service;

□ National government should not encroach on the territorial, functional or institutional integrity of the regions;

□ In the event of a dispute over concurrent powers, precedence had to be given to national government;

□ Where it was necessary for the maintenance of national standards, economic unity or national security, or where one region's action prejudiced the interests of another, the national government should be empowered to intervene; and

□ The essential principles of the constitution and fundamental rights should apply to all organs of state at all levels.

● See Page 3



# AWB keeps its eye on talks

AN AWB delegation watched proceedings on video in the World Trade Centre media room as their talks ultimatum was passed around the negotiating council yesterday.

Uniformed but apparently unarmed, the delegation had demanded to be present when the statement was presented as they were "distrustful of the process".

Signed by AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche, their ultimatum gave negotiators six months to deliver a constitution which did not interfere with the sovereignty of Afrikaners. (SAPA)

"If this right is not acknowledged, the AWB will regard it as a declaration of war," the ultimatum said. (SAPA)

Although the ultimatum was delivered to the council, it will first go to the planning committee for a decision on whether it should be discussed.

A short debate did ensue about the crowd of armed AWB supporters at the gate, numbering about 100, and the mili-

tant tone of their placards.

The CP, the SACP and the Bophuthatswana government formed a brief and unlikely alliance as they condemned both the arms and those placards which threatened individual lives.

The Afrikaner Volksunie has distanced itself from CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg's demand "on behalf of the Volksunie" that negotiations be suspended.

Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said the suspension of negotiations would create more problems.

"There are no grounds to accept that the suspension of negotiations will decrease the wave of violence," Beyers said.

Negotiations should be conducted to arrive at a settlement in terms of which the combating of violence was recognised as a matter of national priority, he said.

"If Afrikaners present themselves as enemies of the negotiation process, they eliminate the possibility to peacefully bargain for ... self-determination." — Sapa.



IN MAY 1990, in the wake of Nelson Mandela's release, the drab town of Middelburg became the setting of a dramatic sequence of events which have echoed around the country.

In the wake of the shock waves caused by the ANC's unbanning and perhaps flushed with the expectation of victory, a group of unemployed youths in the town threatened to attack black and white personnel officers at what was then Middelburg Steel if the company did not give them jobs.

The breathtaking effrontery of the youths was matched by the obstinate conservatism that at first overcame the company's management. However, the new spirit of conciliation encouraged local businessmen to take an unusual step — and perhaps also elicited an unusual response. Four managers bravely attended a meeting where they promised a formal meeting with the unemployed, an offer that was accepted.

The representatives of the unemployed at first refused to drink tea with the management representatives, drinking water out of a bucket they had brought instead. But the meeting went well enough to lay the foundation for what was to become the Middelburg forum.

Since that first meeting, representatives from the CP-dominated town council, members of the ANC and even the PAC, management from the steelworks, now the massive Columbus project, and many other groups have been meeting monthly.

Two questions dominated the first meetings of the forum: the local electricity boycott and, naturally, the unemployment problem. The electricity boycott was the subject of a marathon 16-hour negotiations session which culminated in the company paying off the entire arrears of R376 000 and the town clerk being woken in the middle of the night to switch the electricity back on again.

But it was the unemployment problem that proved the most difficult and the most educative. For the first time, the township youths were forced to confront the difficulties of

# Forums may be the cornerstones of nation-building

Busse. Day 4/6/93

TIM COHEN

putting into practice concrete measures to satisfy the demands they made so flipantly. For the first time also, management had to confront what it really meant to exist in an interdependent community.

What the forum did was to establish a small enterprise that converted discarded stainless steel into pots and pans. The enterprise was called Compots, short for comrades pots, and still provides work for a dozen or so people. The range of products has been expanded to include braais. The scheme has been extended to other projects like sewing circles and car washing operations.

The forum is funded by a foundation and new subcommittees on housing, education and health have been formed. Although these efforts have been modest, the forum can point to at least one very large, concrete success. The forum managed to convince the IDT to build a new school, the H M Sefoloshe Learning Centre, at a cost of more than R1m.

Members of the forum say one reason for its success is the brutal simplicity of its aim: to make Middelburg a better place to live. Grassroots visions have given way to serious thinking about how to organise the township's refuse removal. But perhaps the secret of the forum's success is that it has brought together,

in classic form, conception, ability, management, and delivery. The new school might have been built anyway. But the forum's lengthy motivation, which included a historical study of the town's education provision, plus the forum's wide-ranging support and credible management, constituted an irresistible formula for the IDT funders.

The Middelburg story has had its sequel in hundreds of other towns all over the country, and is also reflected in the many different forms of forums. There are now eight national forums, at least seven functioning regional forums, five well-developed metropolitan forums and at least 365 local government negotiation bodies. This excludes the mother of all forums, the negotiating forum, and peace committee structures.

The sheer number of forums is remarkable, how unobtrusively they have all been established is surprising and the huge diversity of their aims and functions is extraordinary. But in truth, it is also remarkable that they have achieved so little. Forum-watchers say while most have not really achieved anything yet, they have not failed. Most are in

the early phases of their existence and are still engaging in a process of researching the challenges.

The forums' strength lies in the way they point to a joint decision-making approach, rather than a bureaucratic one, one analyst says. But most suffer skills shortages and may not be sustainable if they cannot deliver a tangible product.

Political uncertainty has also tended to hold up the forums. The forums were established because ordinary people on the ground had the perception that they should speak to each other to get things done. People and institutions have been ahead of political movements, which have been forced to play a demeaning game of catch-up in an effort to stamp their authority on the forums, one analyst says.

Until recently, government in particular has been suspicious of the forums, which potentially strip away its authority. Last year Cabinet decided that government would not involve itself in forums because there should be "no interim government by stealth", as if joint decision-making was something only a thief would do.

Thankfully this has changed somewhat, although government bureaucrats' ability to listen to what the forums propose is still in question. However, Finance Minister Derek Keys held out the hope this year that

at least some of the forums would get the one thing they need more than authority: money.

Using the widely representative housing forum as an example, Keys said this was "exactly the way to go", and suggested that other forums would be funded should their operations be sufficiently well developed. Keys also insisted on the need for the forums to involve government departments, suggesting this would result in a marriage of technical capability and legitimacy.

Official sanction might be boosted further soon, and there are even suggestions that some of the forums might become arms of the subcommittees of the proposed transitional executive committee. There is even talk of a process whereby the forums can "fast-track" legislation.

One of the main problems with forums as they age currently constituted is their lack of transparency and accountability. Because they are institutions where parties need to compromise on their positions, participants prefer to keep their meetings secret. However, the consequence is that the public is barely aware of their existence.

If they are to become, effectively, arms of government, this must change. Nevertheless, officially sanctioned and state-funded forums would be a powerful nation-building force. As Sebastian Mallaby says in his book *After Apartheid*, people who have never shared power seldom make good rulers. Post-independent African countries suffered because the optimistic new rulers had little experience of power and expected too much of it.

"South Africans' pessimism, and their disillusion with politics, may save them from such folly; they may avoid self-defeating ambition in government, and put their faith in individual diligence instead. Pessimism may help to breed a gritty realism," he says.

If SA does have a future, it is possible that its origins will be traced back to the hundreds of forums that, Phoenix-like, rose out of the calamities of the '80s and the hope and tragedy of the early '90s.



# IT'S APRIL 27

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG. — April 27** next year was provisionally agreed to last night as the date for South Africa's first non-racial election.

A weary 26-party negotiating council took the decision as a compromise after almost four hours of bitter wrangling.

The provisional date will have to be ratified when the negotiating council reconvenes in 10 days' time and then be given a final stamp of approval when he extended negotiating forum meets at the World Trade Centre here on June 25.

Not only the Concerned South Africans Group (Co-ag), but government and other smaller parties originally resisted plans to force the issue through by last night.

But they were brought around at the 11th hour by compromise proposal from ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Afterwards Mr Ramaphosa said the historic decision on an election date was going "to reverberate throughout the length and breadth of the nation".

Mr Nelson Mandela welcomed the development at Johannesburg function where Mr Ramaphosa and chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer were jointly honoured by the New Nation newspaper and given with a "Man of the Year" award.

Mr Mandela joined Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer on stage when the pair arrived late from their session at the World Trade Centre.

Mr Ramaphosa promptly announced the election date.



MEYER ...

Proposed a counter-resolution that the issue of a date be deferred to the council's next meeting on June 15.



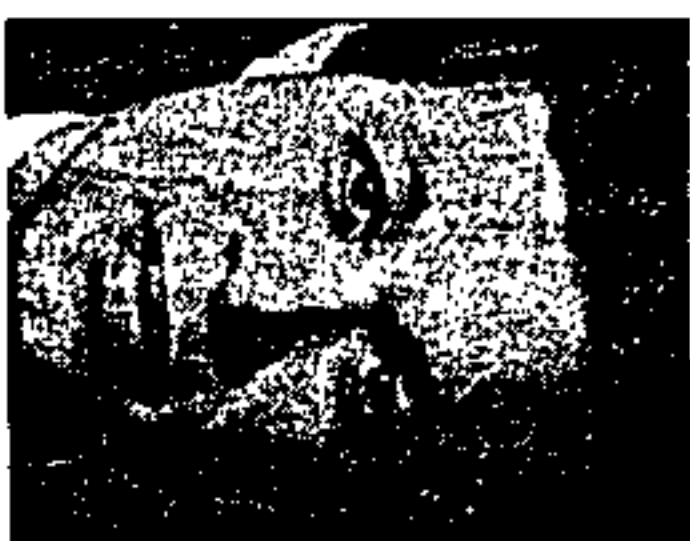
RAMAPHOSA ...

Decision on election date would "reverberate throughout the length and breadth of the nation ..."



ALEXANDER ...

Concerned that the issue had "so divided" the council, PAC wants united position at negotiations.



LANDERS ...

"Sufficient consensus" on the resolution despite objections from the CP, KwaZulu, Ciskei and others.



EGLIN ...

Believes now is the time to bite the bullet. "I believe the time has come to announce the date ..."



SLOVO ...

Warned that failure to set an election date last night "could trigger off responses which are unpredictable ..."

Mr Mandela extended "our warmest congratulations to both Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer for their excellent performance and what they have achieved. They have given us all strength and new hope."

Four parties — the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, the KwaZulu government and the Ciskei — objected, but the chairman, Mr Lewellyn Landers of the Labour Party, ruled there was "sufficient consensus" on the resolution.

The divisive debate on the poll date only began after several other agenda items were unceremoniously sidelined, angering smaller parties.

In a move described by KwaZulu negotiator Dr

Ben Ngubane as "blatant manipulation", a debate on violence was postponed to the next council meeting shortly after it began and the scheduled tabling of a report by a technical committee on an Independent Election Commission was also dropped from the agenda.

As Patriotic Front members led by the ANC and SACP scrambled to get the debate on an election date under way against fierce opposition, proceedings degenerated into what one delegate, Mr Pravin Gordhan, described as "a dog fight".

Proposing that an election date be set on April 27 next year, SACP national chairman Mr Joe Slovo warned that failure to set a date last night could

have negative effects on the ground.

"It could trigger off responses which are unpredictable," he warned. It would "create a tremendous feeling of let down and betrayal and diminish the new spirit of optimism sweeping the country".

During talks at the World Trade Centre yesterday Mr Meyer said he supported the immediate setting of an election date. But he also argued that many delegations needed more time to agree.

Mr Meyer then tabled a counter-resolution that the thorny matter be deferred to the council's next meeting on June 15, where it would receive priority treatment.

This proposal won immediate support from Bo-

304A  
CT4/6/93

phuthatswana's Mr Rowan Cronje. The Afrikaner Volksunie hit at the "determination of a few parties" to "force this thing through now".

As the ANC-SACP appeared to be headed for certain defeat on the issue, the Democratic Party's Mr Colin Eglon argued that sufficient progress had been made to bite the bullet.

"I believe the time has come to announce the date," he said.

Mr Eglon said a compromise was necessary from parties that had been at each others' throats for much of the evening.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander also supported the ANC position, but added that the PAC wanted elections set for March 31.

In the end, Mr Ramaphosa's compromise won the day.

The compromise delayed the showdown and another bruising encounter is expected when the negotiating council reconvenes on June 15.

A technical committee report on violence was also tabled and halted by all parties as a significant contribution towards halting violence.

Earlier yesterday, the negotiating council debated the 14 general constitutional principles to underpin any future constitution. It postponed debates on self-determination and the allocation of powers to second- and third-tier authorities until the week after next.

Mr Ramaphosa told negotiators that "we have done wonderful work, and the spirit characterising this should be carried forward to the next meeting".

The council effectively goes into recess for the next 10 days.

Joint armed forces control suggested — Page 2

'Philep' was in

### De Beer hails progress

SOUTH Africans should take heart from the "astonishing" progress made on economic policy by the major political parties, DP leader Zach de Beer said in parliament yesterday. (BOLA)

He said the ANC, previously committed to nationalisation of major companies and a large role for the state in economic management, now spoke of a mixed economy with the private sector in the lead. (BOLA) 4/6/93

The NP, after operating a heavily managed economy, now wanted economic liberalisation.



Star 4/6/93  
**Bid for 'volks  
register' at  
AV meeting**

By Glen Elsas (304A)  
West Rand Bureau

Registration forms in order to compile a "volks register" were handed out for the first time at an Afrikaner-Volksfront meeting in Roodepoort on Tuesday.

The meeting, attended by about 1 000 people in the city hall, was addressed by Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, leader of the CP, General Tienie Groenewald, Peet Ungerer of the Mine Workers' Union and Len van Niekerk Venter of the Iron and Steel Workers' Union. Chairman was CP MP for Roodepoort Jurg Prinsloo.

Groenewald said the SADF had been humiliated — soldiers were made redundant, proud units had been disbanded and the whole force was labelled as an instrument of apartheid.

It was also impossible for the restricted South African Police force to maintain law and order.

He urged people to support both bodies and not to hinder them in their difficult task.

3v

*Sowetan 4/6/93*  
**AVU supports talks**

THE Afrikaner Volksunie has distanced itself from Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's demand "on behalf of the AVU" that negotiations be suspended.

(304A)

**brief**

*Sowetan 4/6/93*

AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers said yesterday the suspension of negotiations would create more problems than is currently being experienced. "There are no grounds to accept that the suspension of negotiations will decrease the wave of violence."

(304A)



# Focus on talks

**T**HE confluence of events over the past few weeks have demonstrated that this country is in dire need of an international peace-keeping force, an independent mediator and quarantining of all the security and other armed forces.

Wherever there has been conflict, international codes of conduct have accepted that the parties engaged in conflict cannot themselves arbitrate a peaceful settlement of that conflict — except in very unusual circumstances.

In Angola, Mozambique, the Middle East and numerous other countries, the contending parties meet under the guidance of a neutral mediator, while international agencies place peace-keeping forces in the arena of the conflict to ensure that peace is maintained while the parties negotiate.

Curiously, in this country there is an almost naive belief that it is possible to negotiate without neutral mediators and without a neutral peace-keeping force.

## Neutral mediation

Political analysts, commentators, the media and the parties themselves all appear to have their heads buried in the sand as far as this question of neutral mediation in this country is concerned.

Everyone, it appears, is avoiding such a discussion like the plague. One wonders why.

Is it because there is a settlement already in the bag and the so-called contenders are waiting for the ideal moment to pop it out like some magician entertaining a group of schoolchildren?

Or is that the Nationalist Government has so brow-beaten the contenders — some of them, at least — that they are afraid to pull out of these farcical talks and call for another format or mechanism?

The death toll in this country — since February 2 1990 — is an indictment against every party who plays the fiddle at Kempton Park. Can they continue to act the part of the proverbial Nero while our people continue to die?

It is evident that the most recent incidents in Tokoza and Katlehong, and the loss of innocent lives there, have altogether ruled out any possibility of there being a joint policing system.

The African National Congress, Inkatha and the South African Police have no capacity to control their members.

## Unimaginable

It is unimaginable that such a joint force can work together when the conflicts and contradictions among and between them are so irreconcilable — whatever they may say at Kempton Park.

The manner in which confusion reigns in the education sector and the farce being played out by the various education departments and the

**Strini Moodley**, journalist and assistant to Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, asks whether it is feasible that the Kempton Park diplomats have the competence, capacity or the moral will to guarantee the free elections that have been promised within 12 months:

*Sowetan 3/6/93*



**Strini Moodley ... we need a neutral venue and a neutral mediator in order to negotiate.**

*(304A) [Signature]*  
South African Democratic Teachers Union adds to the already overwhelming woes of the down-trodden people.

Never before have educationists shown such a blatant disregard for the well-being of children — let alone preparing a nation that seeks to rule itself.

Add to this the ANC's confusing position regarding 14-year-olds having the vote and the regime's arrest of the Pan Africanist Congress leadership and we have the makings of a major recipe for national disaster.

The arrest of the PAC leadership demonstrates quite aptly the Nationalist Government's plan for Kempton Park — whip everybody into line so that their recipe for the future is accepted by all.

We saw how the Nationalists immobilised the ANC when it did the same thing to them with the

Operation Vula debacle. Ever since then the ANC appears to have compromised almost all its positions with regard to the transfer of power from the minority to the majority.

All of the parties involved in the plethora of disasters that have assailed us are supposedly sitting at Kempton Park to plot out a course for the future.

## Moral will

There is talk of an election within a year.

Given these events that we have witnessed and add to it the confusion that has reigned since February 2 1990, is it feasible that these Kempton Park diplomats have the competence, the capacity or the moral will to guarantee fair and free elections within 12 months — let alone the structuring of a democratic mechanism which can usher in majority rule in a unitary state? I doubt it.

In fact, the majority of us in the country must stand up now and tell the gentlemen (and women) sitting at Kempton Park to admit their failures.

They must close down Kempton Park and call on the international community to mediate in the conflict that ravages our country.

Mr FW de Klerk and his government must do the honourable thing. Resign.

The Nationalist Government must suspend parliament and the constitution. It must suspend the armed forces and restrict them to barracks.

An international peace-keeping force must be brought into the country to takeover the policing of the country and create a climate for fair and free elections.

The Nationalist Government is not only illegitimate, it is perhaps, one of the most incompetent and bankrupt governments in the world.

In any normal society such a government would have been ousted from power a long time ago.

If that does not happen, then the least that can be done by Azapo, the ANC, PAC and SACP is for them to stop the political posturing and bungling and come together behind closed doors as a matter of urgency to thrash out a programme which can contribute to a solution which does the greatest good for the greatest majority.



# Focus on reconstruction

**N**EGOTIATIONS for a new democratic order in South Africa have reached the point of no return. At least this is what the negotiators representing 26 parties at the World Trade Centre ensured this week, albeit unconsciously or involuntarily.

Basically, several factors indicate that indeed the solution to the country's political crisis will be reached at Kempton Park or a similar venue eventually.

All except a few participants agree the date for the country's first nonracial elections must be announced as a matter of urgency. An announcement was thus awaited from the World Trade Centre yesterday.

And, contrary to expectations, the Multiparty Negotiating Process, as it is called while an agreeable name is being sought, is still on course despite last week's infamous police swoop on the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress (a major negotiating partner).

## Compromise

Also, compromise from across the left to the right prevailed when the majority of the parties on Tuesday agreed to negotiate a proposal for a two-phased transitional process and an elected constitution-making body bound by certain principles.

On the PAC raid debacle, Benny Alexander, secretary-general of the PAC, said pulling out of the process would be playing into the hands of the Government (and its notorious Military Intelligence) which "wants us out".

And in spite of their seemingly irreconcilable differences, the two parties continue to meet bilaterally until they reach agreement on the instructions of the negotiating council.

The PAC refuses to abandon the bullet before the ballot and the Government says you cannot simultaneously shoot and negotiate.

While these two parties strive agonisingly to reach agreement, negotiations on substantive issues move forward.

- Who are the major players?
- What are the issues at the negotiating table?
- What do the players want from the process which has "replaced" the Convention for a Democratic South Africa — depending, of course, on which side you are.

● The major players are: the National Party-South African Government, ANC-South African Communist Party alliance, Inkatha Freedom Party-KwaZulu government (the NP and Government are separate delegations as are the ANC and SACP and IFP and KwaZulu); PAC, Democratic Party and the two rightwing groups, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

While on "alliances" the Bophuthatswana government, Ciskei, CP, AVU and IFP belong

**Themba Molefe**, *Sowetan* Political Reporter, takes a look at the talks in Kempton Park, the topics at the heart of negotiations and what major players expect agreement on:

(SokA)



## NEGOTIATION PROCESS

### PLENARY

Composed of leaders of parties + 9 delegates per party (eg Mandela and De Klerk)

### NEGOTIATING FORUM

Composed of 3 delegates + 2 advisers

### NEGOTIATING COUNCIL

Where real negotiations take place  
eg C Ramaphosa, R Meyer & B Alexander

### PLANNING COMMITTEE

Composed of 10 members of Negotiating Council, each member appointed in personal capacity

### TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

Any persons appointed by the Negotiating Council

### TECHNICAL COMMITTEE

Any persons appointed by the Negotiating Council

## MAJOR ISSUES

- Constitutional Matters
- Elections
- Future of TBVC states
- Violence
- Fundamental Human Rights
- Transitional Mechanisms
- Independent Media Commission & Independent Telecommunications
- Amendment or repeal of discriminatory laws

Graphic by J Tsatsi

to the Concerned South African Group which is opposed to bilateral decision-taking of FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on issues they say are meant for the multiparty table.

The ANC enjoys "strong" allied support of several homelands and parties around the table such as the Transkei government, the Labour Party as well as the Transvaal Indian Congress and Natal Indian Congress.

## Human Rights

● Seven topics are at the heart of negotiations: Constitutional matters; violence; fundamental human rights in transition; transitional executive council-transitional authority; independent media commission and independent telecommunications authority; independent electoral commission; and amendment or repeal of discriminatory laws.

Other constitutional matters are the form of state, transitional regional government, constituent assembly and the future of TBVC states.

● Instead of using the previous working groups of Codesa comprising large numbers of people, seven technical committees of experts

outside the MNP have been appointed. Consisting of between three and nine members each they produce reports for consideration by parties to speed up agreement.

These are the fundamental issues major players expect agreement on at the negotiating table:  
NP-Government: Power-sharing. Strong regional government to forego unitary state. Free market system and multiparty democracy.

ANC and allies: Multiparty democracy. Limited interim government of national unity. Equal vote. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation.

PAC: Elected constituent assembly to draw new constitution. Multiparty democracy. Bill of Rights. Proportional representation. International intervention.

DP: Democratic election and constitution. Proportional representation. Regionalism-federalism.

Cosag: Regionalism-federalism. Self-determination. Ethnic political aspirations.

Notably, therefore, the technical committee on constitutional matters is charged with the most tedious of tasks: to base recommendations on diverse perspectives to aid negotiators.

# Poll date agreed on

*Savetani 4/16/93*  
*(304A)*

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

**A** DATE FOR SOUTH AFRICA's first nonracial election has finally been agreed upon. Negotiators at the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last night agreed on April 27 next year as the election date.

The agreement followed intense debate throughout yesterday with battle lines clearly drawn between those who supported and those who opposed it.

The proposal was tabled by the African National Congress-led alliance and supported by the Pan Africanist Congress, which also suggested that the elections should be for a constituent assembly.

The Concerned South Africans Group — consisting of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — agreed to the proposal after putting up a fierce fight.

Their main objection was that the date was being foisted on them by the Government and ANC.

The Government, ANC and PAC and their

allies pointed out that failure to move on the election date by last night would render the negotiations useless, with South Africans losing patience and the violence escalating.

South African Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said in a motion that the negotiating council had, in fact, adopted a declaration of intent on May 7 that the process should be concluded constructively, urgently and peacefully.

The negotiators had, therefore, agreed that an election date should be announced within four weeks of that date, said Slovo.

In his compromise motion, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the proposal on the date would be tabled again on June 15 with a view to getting consensus.

The decision would be recommended to the broader negotiating forum on June 25 for adoption.

The Cosag group agreed to this with the proviso that they report to their principals and would give a final decision on June 15.

Earlier in the day there was tension as negotiators wrangled over the proposal that elections should take place next April.

And there were signs the parties would postpone announcing the date in order to consult more fully.

## Birth of new SA: April 27, 1994

- Date proposed by ANC.
- Endorsed by PAC.
- Cosag agrees after a fierce fight.
- Proposal to be tabled again on June 15.



# Like a red flag to a general

w/mail  
4/6-10/6/93.

Afrikaner Volksfront generals hired ex-Koevoet members to prevent any photographs being taken of them in front of AWB insignia — but they didn't count on the determination of Eugene Terre'Blanche.

By JAN TALJAARD

**E**VEN the Koevoet Old Boys couldn't stop it. Former Koevoet members recruited to provide VIP protection for generals Constand Viljoen and Tienie Groenewald at the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's "volksaamtrek" last Saturday eventually had to concede defeat.

Not that any physical harm came to the generals at the mass rally held at the Union Buildings. But part of the former Koevoet members' brief was to guard against Viljoen and Groenewald being photographed against the background of AWB insignia.

The generals from the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) even had a back-up plan. Waiting discreetly beside the tent where the dignitaries sat was a neatly dressed university student with a large Vierkleur flag. The plan was to use this flag to block off any unwanted AWB insignia once the march got going.

But AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche was not to be outmanoeuvred.

Shrewdly sidestepping the master strategists from the era of Total Onslaught, he had AWB rosettes pinned on to the generals before they could as much as look around.

Viljoen and Groenewald also pulled out of the procession in an apparent attempt not to be photographically compromised. They later rejoined the march at Strijdom Square.

Despite these attempts, Viljoen seems at least willing to walk that extra mile for the elusive

ideal of Afrikaner unity. Although he has admitted to a difference of culture between himself and the AWB — he allegedly disapproves of its posturing militaristic style — he has not yet knocked the AWB in public, instead coming out in support of Terre'Blanche "who had been active while the rest of the *volk* was happily complacent".

Even Terre'Blanche startled with an uncharacteristically magnanimous ges-



Protection services ... Heavily armed AWB members on guard at the Union Buildings Photos: LUANNE CADD

ture when he announced he was willing to be the corporal to Viljoen's generalship. The honeymoon, albeit dragging along tortuously at times, is not yet over.

Perhaps nowhere was this clash of culture as apparent as in the contrast between the "protection services" organised by the AWB and the AVF.

Under the command of gung-ho "brigadier" Keith Conroy, the AWB

had a troop of at least 20 black-clad heavies armed with enough shotguns, sniper rifles, combat daggers and automatic assault rifles to start a real war. At the merest whiff of something suspicious they ran towards the "trouble spot", arsenal at the ready.

During the procession they hung from cars and bakkies, trigger fingers poised, muzzles roaming across tree tops, deserted offices, corner cafes and sub-economic tenements.

In contrast, the Koevoet Old Boys at least played it low-key and professional. In dark glasses and with barely discernible bulges in their leather jackets, they must have warmed the hearts of old-time securocrats such as Groenewald.

But they were fighting a losing battle. Gesturing at the Iron Guards scurrying around them, one muttered under his breath: "Don't know why we're here — these guys are the biggest danger."



On the march ... The flag the generals couldn't avoid



# How the NP will hang on to power

which had insisted a constitution should be written by an elected constituent assembly.

Although the government's proposals are presented as a "text of a transitional constitution", they will be virtually impossible for a future democratically elected government to change.

It will only be possible to alter the constitution by a majority of at least two thirds of National Assembly members — and all changes will have to comply with stringent constitutional principles which will also be laid down by the multiparty negotiating forum.

The draft constitution provides for a bicameral parliament elected for a five-year term, comprising a 400-seat national assembly and a senate made up of at least five representatives of each region.

**The government's draft constitutional proposals ensure that 'power-sharing' continues long after the transitional phase, and make for a puppet president.** By CHRIS LOUW

draft text of its constitutional proposals tabled at multiparty talks. The *Weekly Mail* has obtained a copy of the proposals.

On Tuesday the government scored a victory in its drive to entrench "power-sharing" in the constitution, when the negotiators in Kempton Park agreed to a two-phase transition and an elected constitution-making body bound by agreed principles. This was a major concession by the ANC,

THE government plans to entrench "power-sharing" in a future constitution — not only in the transitional phase, but permanently. It also plans to strip a future state president sure to be an African National Congress leader — of almost all executive powers.

In the National Party's scheme of things, the president will only be able to exercise his powers "on the advice" of the government, and the government will consist of "cabinet ministers designated by ... parties in proportion to their relative support in the National Assembly".

This will ensure that the white-dominated NP has an effective say in the governing of the country for as long as it can muster substantial electoral support — without winning majority backing. The government strategy emerges from the

It stipulates that "there shall be a government of national unity" consisting of the leaders of political parties having at least 20 seats in the National Assembly, and of cabinet ministers designated by those parties in proportion to their support in the assembly.

Power-sharing is entrenched in proposed "principles governing constitution making". The document states: "The electoral system, procedures for the appointment of executive bodies at all levels of government, and the representation of parties in the executive relative to their representation in the legislature, shall be designed to provide for the effective participation of the major political parties in executive bodies."

Entrenched powers and strong autonomy for the regions are also a major feature. The criterion is the "maximum measure of powers and functions" allocated to each level of government.

A state president would be the constitutional head of state, but his powers would be limited to addressing parliament, defining parliamentary sessions, entering international agreements, promulgating legislation or referring it back to parliament on grounds of procedural shortcomings, referring constitutional disputes to a constitutional court and convening cabinet meetings. All other presidential powers would be exercised "on the advice" of the government.

Ordinary legislation would be passed by 50 per cent majorities in each house of parliament, or a majority at a joint sitting. But legislation "concerning the interests of regions" would also have to be endorsed by some two-thirds of the regional legislatures.

Parliament will not consider constitutional legislation unless the constitutional court rules that it falls within the schedule of constitutional principles. It would then have to be passed by a two-thirds majority of the national assembly. If regional rights are involved it would also have to win a two-thirds majority in the senate. The constitutional principles could only be amended by a four-fifths majority in a joint sitting of both houses of parliament.

If all else fails, changes can be referred to a referendum — but can only be approved by a majority of 60 percent of the votes cast.

The draft proposals confirm a *Weekly Mail* report that the government's strategy is to have a new constitution drawn up "by stealth", leaving a democratic government to fill in minor details.

The proposals provide the first clear picture of the sort of deal which the NP is seeking at multiparty negotiations. They also explain President FW de Klerk's insistence, in a recent interview with the London *Financial Times*, that his government "definitely believes that in a final constitution ... the principle of power-sharing must be part of it".

In the interview, published on May 26, De Klerk went further: "I'm committed to ensuring that the only workable alternative will be in place. We cannot afford to experiment with anything else."

The need was "a government of national unity — with regard to fundamental issues — for the country to be governed on the basis of consensus between the main role players", De Klerk said.

In practice, this means minority parties will have an effective veto on all cabinet decisions.



**O**N first reading, I rather liked the Democratic Party's draft Bill of Rights. It is lean and clean without being mean. It is certainly the neatest and most compact of the many drafts prepared by different bodies.

If one day children are commanded to learn the text of a Bill of Rights off by heart, they will certainly opt for this one. Since a certain innocence should lie at the heart of every Bill of Rights, the elegance and simplicity of phrase are to be commended.

There are three major strategic and difficult questions that any Bill of Rights has to face. On all of them the DP document at least pointed in what I consider the right direction.

The first is over the scope of the Bill of Rights. Does it act only as a limitation on government action, or does it have wider application? It is sometimes said that a Bill of Rights only applies vertically between citizen and state, and not horizontally between citizen and citizen.

In South African conditions, the real question is whether privatised apartheid is to be permitted by the constitution (or, even worse, protected by it).

The DP draft declares that the rights contained in it shall be respected and upheld not only by all organs of state but also "where applicable, by all persons".

**T**his is particularly important in relation to the section on equality which says there shall be equal treatment and no discrimination. Discrimination is defined as unjustified differentiation. Differentiation on a number of specified grounds is presumed to be unjustified unless it is "the result of a decision made in the exercise of the type of private choice which preserves personal autonomy".

By implication, differentiation which was not truly based on private autonomy, but simply intended to keep blacks, or gays, or women, or disabled people or Jews out of a job or a house or a motel, would be unjustified.

The second praiseworthy option of broad significance made by the drafters is in favour of the legitimacy of affirmative action. The dreaded or desired term is not itself used. Instead, it is provided that differentiation on specified grounds shall be presumed unjustified "unless it is part of a rational programme intended to remedy substantial inequality".

Put another way, differentiation designed to overcome disadvantage

# Lean and clean, but DP dodges difficult rights

W/ Wed 4/6 - 10/6/93.

*The Democratic Party's draft Bill of Rights is elegant, simple and on mark. But it skins over the tough, uncomfortable issues.*

By ALBIE SACHS

suffered by blacks or women (or older people or non-believers etc) would not be held to violate the equality clause provided it was part of a rational programme to advance the rights of those held back.

The third relates to social and welfare rights, though once again these dreaded or desired words are not used. In an article called *Entitlement to the Essentials of Life*, every citizen is said to be entitled to the food and water necessary for survival, to shelter from the elements, to basic health care, to a basic education, and to a clean and healthy environment.

No matter that it promises little more than at least the workhouse for all, a year ago this would have been considered socialism.

The article goes on to emphasise that basically it is up to parliament, rather than the courts, to decide on these entitlements. Any decision by parliament which is reasonable and practicable and which respects the limitations on available resources, shall be regarded as justified.

So, having given the DP reasonably good marks for overall style and for substance in these key areas, why do further readings of the document leave me disquieted?

Strangely enough, while the DP seems to have made some tentative but creative advances in the areas where it is generally considered weakest, namely, in relation to overcoming de facto inequality, it disappoints in relation to its chosen ground of liberalism.

I will repeat an expression I have



Albie Sachs ... The DP's Bill of Rights points in the right direction' Photo: ERIC MILLER

used before: This is Illyria, lady — This is South Africa, man.

In South Africa you have to spell certain things out. If you are against censorship, you must say so explicitly, or use language that leaves no doubt, not simply speak about freedom of expression. If you wish to uphold the rights to conscientious objection, you must use language that points clearly in that direction.

I do not see anything that outlaws or at least severely inhibits phone-tapping, intercepting mail, spying on people, bugging rooms (sorry, *Weekly Mail*, though I think you were right to do wrong), tailing people and keeping secret files. These are the modern, Kafkaesque ways of controlling and manipulating people. Something stronger than the vague though important right to dignity and to privacy is

the right to be released or to be charged and tried within a reasonable time.

The phrase "within a reasonable time" seems unreasonably vague. When I first practised at the Bar, it was axiomatic that 48 hours was the maximum period that someone could be held before being brought to court. Successive security laws have so undermined our libertarian consciences that unless we use words of an imperative character, detainees will be kept for far longer in the new South Africa than they were in the old South Africa.

Then, on a third reading of the draft, I discover that much of its elegance comes from it having avoided many of the hard, uneasily and uncomfortable questions that should have been tackled.

**G**ender oppression is not new, but the revolt against it and the determination to establish well-protected human rights for women, is. The draft shows an awareness that there is discrimination against women but does not tackle sexism and patriarchal domination. The dignity and privacy clauses could be built upon — at the moment they appear quite pallid in the face of extensive violence against and subordination of women, in the home, in the streets and at work.

Similarly, the question of workers' rights is ducked altogether. No future parliament should be able to take away the three basic rights that workers have won: the right to independent unions, to collective bargaining and to strike.

There is nothing on children's rights and a very weak section on language and cultural rights, a difficult area that requires great sensitivity and thought. The section on property rights might be acceptable if present ownership was considered legitimate. In fact, the way people were displaced by conquest and racial statutes undermines the legitimacy of present titles and demands a much more nuanced property clause than the present pro-status quo one.

Finally, the drafters crosily and disappointingly rely on the existing judiciary to enforce the Bill of Rights. The introduction to the document states that a special constitutional court, presumably even one at the apex of the judiciary as in the United States, would become "too contentious, powerful, politicised". One wonders what the present court has been these last decades ...

Albie Sachs is a member of the ANC's constitutional committee



# Kriel shoots himself in the foot

Wimant 4/6-10/6/93.  
In a conference room dominated by eloquent and independently minded black people, the tricameral parliament's "Mr Tough" was like a fish out of water.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel fumbled; mispronounced black delegates' names; kept — in parliamentary fashion — referring to delegates as "the honourable member"; tried to out-stare journalists in the press gallery. He even attempted to win sympathy through feeble and self-effacing jokes: "Mr chairman, I write so badly I can't even make it out myself..."

Never in the National Party's history has a cabinet minister been publicly humiliated as Kriel was at the World Trade Centre last week.

He nervously sipped water from his glass, leaving the room from time to time either to smoke or to pee, hands in his trouser pockets, looking studiously at the ceiling, trying to project an aura of nonchalance while resembling a man whistling as he passes the graveyard.

Behind him, unobtrusive and like someone's poor and slightly embarrassing uncle, sat the man who officially ordered the raids on the Pan Africanist Congress which touched off the controversy and landed Kriel in the dock: police commissioner Johan van der Merwe.

Van der Merwe had been sent out like a dutiful errand boy to collect documents, facts and figures on the PAC when the NP politicians needed them

*The day Hernus Kriel was summoned to account for the police raids on the PAC, the negotiating forum at the World Trade Centre resembled something from the Theatre of the Absurd. By CHRIS LOUW*

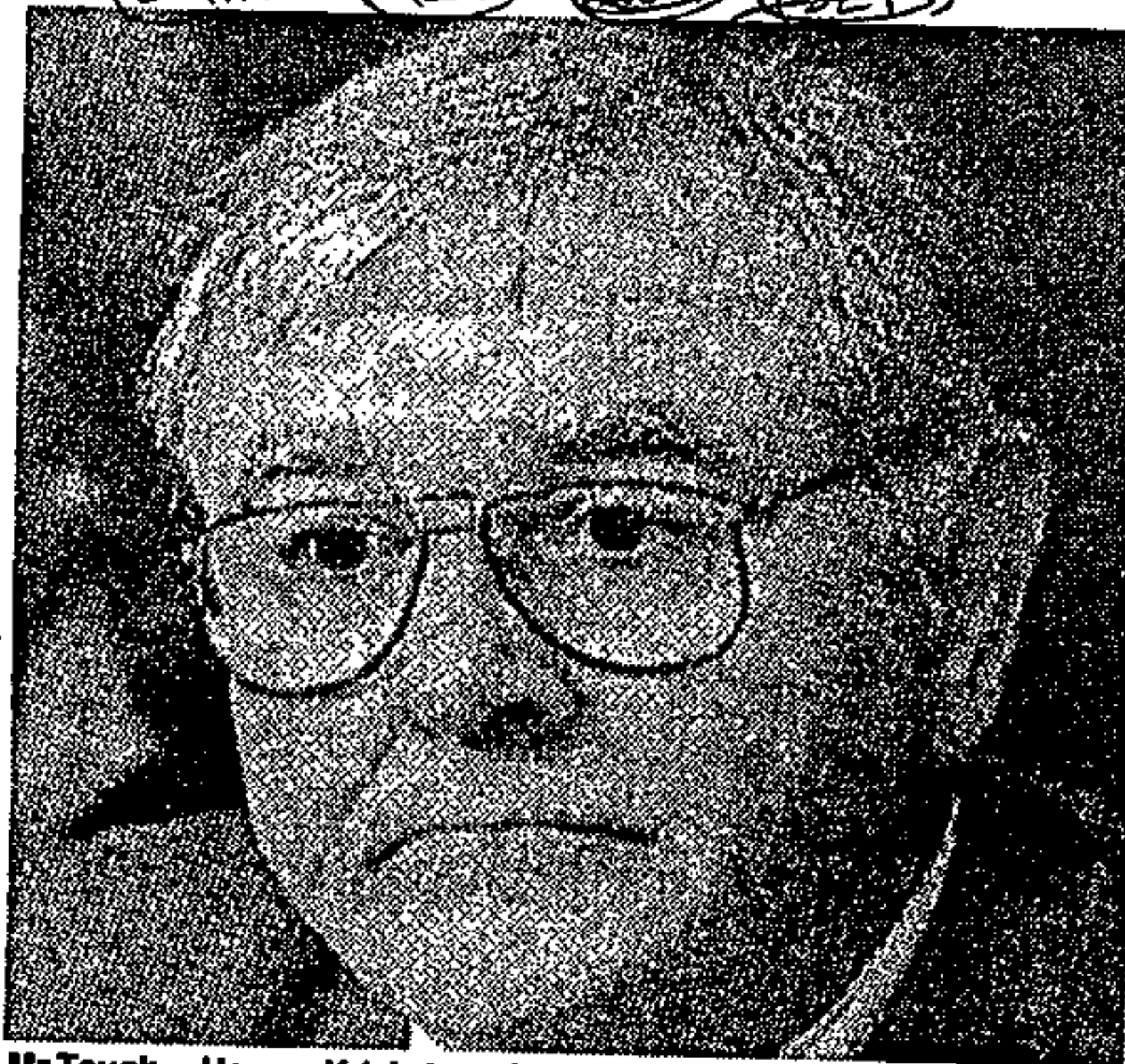
— despite their claims that the police had acted independently on a criminal matter.

Right at the end of the evening, like a naughty and nervous schoolboy, Kriel secretly lit a cigarette which he hid in his palm between thumb and forefinger, waving his hand under the desk to hide the smoke, taking a quick draw every now and then when he thought no one was looking. (The banning of smoking in the negotiation hall was one of the first issues decided on through "sufficient consensus". Smoking is also not allowed in parliament.)

Kriel needed the fag, because he lost the argument.

How do you explain to representatives of liberation movements that the arrest of 73 of their colleagues followed thorough police investigations when, in the end, only four are brought to court?

Even delegates who would have preferred to give Kriel the benefit of the doubt were forced to conclude that the arrests were politically motivated and had little to do with crime prevention.



Mr Tough ... Hernus Kriel struggles to change his style

They included the talkative Amichand Rajbansi, as well as — surprisingly — the Bophuthatswana government and the kwaZulu representatives.

From the press gallery, the scene on the floor resembled something from the Theatre of the Absurd.

There was the Consultative Business Movement's Theuns Eloff, organiser of the forum, walking up and down like a Doppe koster (church warden), making sure that everything was in order.

And there was the PAC's Benny Alexander, taking notes, hardly looking up while Kriel defended the police action. Two nights before, Alexander's house had been ransacked in the early hours of the morning by policemen. Other PAC members reportedly had their doors kicked open.

In the stilted atmosphere, the brutalities became abstractions as chairman Rowan Cronje gently chided participants, cracked jokes and hurried on speakers.

When Alexander, in true parliamentary debating style, launched an attack on Kriel, he was stopped in mid-sentence by Cronje, who insisted on formalities: "Mr Alexander, you have now had seven minutes..."

Replied Alexander, slightly embarrassed: "The 'house' has been gracious... Unfortunately, I do not have the time to correct all the misrepresentations of this illegitimate regime."

The debating style might have resembled parliament, but it quickly became clear that Kriel was out of his depth in the negotiating forum, where representatives of opposing parties have learnt by experience to find common ground.

Rather, Kriel was an obvious and anachronistic product of the tricameral parliament, accustomed to justifying his actions to the disproportionately represented Conservative Party and his own restless caucus.

There is little doubt that the actions taken against the PAC were an effort to pacify the increasingly nervous NP caucus.

But it is easy to play "Mr Tough" in parliament, where the majority will applaud; it is rather different when you have to justify yourself to the victims of those actions, and to people who have no interest in NP kragdadigheid. And when you are someone who so obviously craves popularity, it becomes a nightmare.

Conservative Afrikaners —

Kriel's usual appreciative audience — formed a very small band at the World Trade Centre, consisting mainly of members the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and the CP. For those who were looking for a real tough guy, an alternative to the blustering Kriel, there was the AVU's hawk-like Moolman Mentz, the real McCoy, talking tough with confidence.

"What we have seen demonstrated tonight," said the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo after Kriel's fluffed efforts to justify the police actions, "was a demonstration of how difficult it is for those brought up under apartheid to adjust to civilised values."

Kriel was in the front-row seat normally used by Roelf Meyer, the government's chief negotiator, who had been kept in the dark when police launched their raid.

In the end the two men swapped, so that Meyer was back in the negotiating seat. But throughout the night he said nothing, looking withdrawn and only showing interest when either Alexander or the African National Congress' Cyril Ramaphosa had something to say.

It was Ramaphosa who had the last word. Things were changing in this country, he said. It had been the first time a minister of police had been summoned to account for his actions.

"You are," he added in winding up the debate, addressing Kriel directly, "becoming a danger to this negotiating process... We say you must resign... This country does not need a minister who is as abrasive as you are."

Kriel was clearly unhappy with the planning committee's decision that the government and the PAC meet the next morning to sort out their differences, and report back to the negotiating council. Receiving no assistance from Meyer, he started remonstrating with Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delpoit, only stopping when he realised media representatives were watching.

Afterwards, he complained bitterly about the way he was criticised by Ramaphosa. "I have never been told to resign in such a low way (op so 'n lae vlak)... I think the atmosphere at Thursday's meeting was aimed at my person... I had to be destroyed, because I was seen as the biggest opponent," he told an Afrikaans Sunday newspaper. "To be minister of law and order during these times means that you have a high profile. That is not quite my style."

Locking up people — preferably unobtrusively — apparently is his style.

What he must realise, however, is that power is unstoppable moving away from parliament to "the people" — and that the posturing of yesteryear has little value in the South Africa of today.



# Govt, PAC talks due to continue

Star 4/6/93

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Deadlocked talks between the PAC and the Government will continue. (304A)

However, a heated row was conducted between the two parties after last night's negotiating forum. After two meetings yesterday, they were expected to report back to the negotiating council.

National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers, on behalf of the Government, asked that a motion be tabled calling on the PAC to abandon or suspend its "policy of political violence".

After opposition from PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, it was decided that the report back would only take place at the next meeting of the council in 10 days.

At a press conference after the council meeting, De Villiers said the Government had no other option but to request the negotiating council to urge the PAC to abandon the armed struggle or to place a moratorium on armed activities.

At a separate press conference, Alexander accused the Government of non-compliance with an earlier resolution by the council. It called on the Government to immediately charge or release PAC detainees and to return confiscated documents.

He accused the Government of "deceit" and read out a joint statement drafted earlier.

In terms of this statement, the two parties were discussing a mutual cessation of hostilities by June 18 and the return of documents within 48 hours.

The PAC further accused the Government of killing a PAC member in detention and said two of its detained members were unaccounted for.

The Government denied this.

# Meyer, Ramaphosa share award

The two central figures in the negotiation process — ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer — jointly received the Man of the Year award presented by New Nation and Engen in Johannesburg last night.

The cream of black and white business people and political figures, led by ANC president Nelson Mandela, packed the Carlton Hotel's ballroom for the awards ceremony. President de Klerk was unable to attend.

Meyer and Ramaphosa had to leave the World



Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer ... had to leave Negotiating Council to accept award.

Trade Centre's Negotiating Council last night to appear at the banquet.

Ramaphosa's announcement of April 27 as the tentative date for the country's first democratic election was greeted with applause.

"The date for elections has been set and this country is now irrevocably on the way to democracy," he said.

Mandela said he was confident black and white South Africans would vote together for

the first time before the end of April.

Meyer said there was no alternative to a negotiated settlement.

Both men were rushed off to the airport where a plane had been delayed to ferry them to Boston, United States, where they will receive an achievement award.

They are expected to return to South Africa on Sunday.

National Sorghum Breweries founder Professor Mohale Mahanyele was honoured as New Nation/Engen Businessman of the Year at the function. — Sapa, Staff Reporter.



SA's rulers face an uphill battle to the nonracial election, reports Patrick

Stear 446193

# Warning lights flash for

(304A)

**W**ITH less than a year to go before South Africa's first nonracial election, warning lights are flashing ominously for President F W de Klerk's ruling National Party.

According to a recent poll conducted by Research Surveys, support for the NP in the 5 million-strong white community is at its lowest ebb ever. The survey of 800 white women and 500 white men in the main urban areas shows that hardly more than 25 percent of whites will vote for the NP.

The findings point to an alarming drop in white support for the NP since last October, when it was a relatively low 40 percent.

In the intervening months, many disillusioned male NP supporters have switched allegiance to the right-wing Conservative Party, to give it a slight edge over the NP. Disgruntled female NP supporters have been more circumspect, joining the growing number of undecided voters.

It is, of course, easy to dismiss these findings as either inaccurate or temporary. They are, however, reflected in more than one poll.

A Markinor survey shows that the Klerk's rating in the white

community is the lowest of any premier or president for the last 15 years. Lawrence Schlemmer, of the Human Science Research Council, reports that his researchers are picking up similarly negative indications for De Klerk and the NP.

But it is important to note that the findings confirm a longer trend of steadily declining support for the NP in the white community, dating back to the 1977 general election — a highwater mark for the NP.

The NP's decline is chronicled in its dwindling percentage of the white vote in general elections from Prime Minister B J Vorster's November 1977 victory onwards: 1977 — 66 percent; 1981 — 58 percent; 1987 — 52.5 percent; 1989 — 48 percent.

Seen in broader context, the surge of support for the NP after last year's pro-reform referendum vote is an interruption, not a reversal, of its long-term decline — a slump that has been confirmed in a string of by-election results since De Klerk came to power in September 1989.

Another recent development is distinctly inauspicious for the NP:

in previous elections it has been able to rely on State television and radio to punt its case but, with the selection of a new independent board for the South African Broadcasting Corporation, the NP has lost a powerful auxiliary to its propaganda machine.

While there is debate about the extent to which De Klerk "mediated" in the selection of the new board by a panel of jurists, there is no doubt that the new board will not allow the SABC to become an adjunct to the NP in the pending election.

There is another factor which will certainly not help the NP. Only a small proportion of its present MPs are likely to make it back to Parliament in the pending nonracial elections.

The incentive for them to remain loyal is greatly diminished. Already NP MPs are starting to look around for an alternative way back to Parliament.

In retrospect, a remark by Henrie Bekker, the NP parliamentarian who defected to Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, seems to be prescient.

A white-led party like the NP has very little chance of stopping

the African National Congress juggernaut in an election where black voters will account for 17 million of the estimated 22 million voters, Bekker reckons.

A black-led party, meaning the IFP, will have to fulfil that task, he concludes.

The thinking of Bekker and his co-defector, Jurie Mentz, may be influenced by a more cynical calculation as well. They are likely to be placed fairly high up on the IFP list of candidates and will have a better chance of being re-elected.

Part of De Klerk's problem with the white community is that he is now perceived as an appeaser of Nelson Mandela's ANC rather than a bulwark against it. The Record of Understanding, which he signed with Mandela in September 26 last year, is partly to blame because it created the impression that De Klerk had lost the initiative to the ANC.

A major factor in the decline of the NP has been De Klerk's inability to stop the violence, which increasingly impacts on the lives of whites instead of being a plague confined to the black townships. Figures collated by the Institute

of Race Relations show that the level of political violence rose last year despite the signing of the Peace Accord in September 1991: the daily average death toll rose from seven in 1991 to eight in 1992.

A similar increase in criminal violence is reflected. The number of murders in South Africa, excluding the 10 black "homelands," rose from just under 14 700 in 1991 to 20 135 in 1992.

As Ken Andrew of the Democratic Party has pointed out, the combined effect has been to destroy the NP's image as a protector and patron of its white supporters, who increasingly are looking for an alternative defender in the current turbulence.

The right wing has been a major beneficiary so far, as is manifest in the formation of the Afrikaner Volksfront under the leadership of retired security force generals.

The generals as a whole, and General Constand Viljoen in particular, project the strong-man image that De Klerk has lost.

Some observers think the IFP may gain increased white support. The Research Surveys poll does

not reflect a current surge for the IFP but its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, is a strong man and mass defections from the NP to the IFP cannot be ruled out in the months ahead.

The NP's decline in the white community has serious repercussions for its hopes of garnering major backing among South Africa's 4 million coloured and Indian people.

Their preference for the NP has been largely premised on the belief that it will protect them against the threat of "black domination". The NP, however, looks increasingly bewildered and confused.

Apparently unable to win significant black support, it no longer even dares face its white detractors — the Casual Vacancies of Parliament Act was conveniently

passed to avoid by-elections — let alone a rampant ANC.

Without the support of a clear majority of whites, the NP's hopes of winning a third of the vote in next year's scheduled nonracial election are remote. Short of a major reversal in fortunes, it will be lucky to win a fifth of the vote. □

Nats

Laurence



# Playing tight and loose

304A

Commonsense is at last beginning to dominate the federal debate

We may not come to be known as the Federal Republic of SA, but it is almost certain that a new constitution will accommodate strong regional authorities as part of a three-tier system of government.

Aside from being the key to producing a lasting political settlement, the practicality — political, economic and social — of some form of regional government has become common cause.

Still to be resolved are the precise powers and functions of regions. The actual boundaries are not really contentious; a nonpartisan commission is to be formed to investigate them. The critical aspect is the precise relationship between regions and central government: under what circumstances may the centre override the region?

Fortunately, the gap on this issue has been greatly narrowed at negotiations. A workable compromise will probably be struck — perhaps this week.

It has gradually dawned on the protagonists that, in practice, as the Consultative Business Movement's report on regions in SA last year argued, "there are no absolutes as to central versus regional powers, but rather a continuum of greater or lesser powers and responsibilities." In short, words

like "federal" and "regional" can mean pretty much what you want them to mean; the trick is make sure that everyone agrees on those meanings and feels happy.

The big breakthrough on regionalism came last month when the ANC finally agreed to the demand that regional powers — or at least the principles governing them — should be constitutionally entrenched. In return for the ANC's concession on regionalism, it appears that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party has dropped its opposition to the need to set up a transitional executive council.

This suggests that the process of transition can now go forward — even though the setting of an election date by the multiparty negotiation forum by this week's deadline hung in the balance.

Inkatha's position has been that it wants the "form of State" (federal, confederal, regional or unitary), including regional boundaries and powers, to be determined before an election; and that these should be constitutionally entrenched and beyond the reach of an elected constitution-making body.

The ANC, of course, sticks to its belief that the precise formulation of regional

powers and functions should be left to an elected constituent assembly — though its work will obviously be constrained by parameters predetermined at the negotiations. So, if the ANC, for instance, wanted in future to take away or amend entrenched regional powers, it would need a specially large majority, 67% at least, to do so.

But the ANC has for practical purposes accepted the regional idea — as a check and balance on the centre, as a means of bringing government closer to the people and to achieve more effective government. And with signs of its youthful constituency growing rapidly impatient with a drawn-out transition (some talk darkly of a pre-Bolshevik situation in SA), the ANC is holding the prospect of an imminent agreement in both hands.

The ANC bottom line is that the centre should ultimately have the power to override regional governments on matters deemed to be repugnant to the national constitution. It also believes the centre should be the repository of powers not specifically allocated to the regions (the concept of residuality). But these are eminently reasonable positions — and include the proposal that a constitutional court would adjudicate in such disputes.



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## LEADING ARTICLES

federal government."

This is at variance with both government's and especially the ANC's view, which has it the other way round — giving the central government the power of ultimate override. Where Buthelezi wants residual powers vested in the member states, the ANC places these at the centre.

The IFP stresses its belief that federalism and territorial autonomy cannot be solved through majority rule.

However, this begs the question of whether most people in KwaNatal want the kind of federal autonomy Buthelezi and the IFP are pressing for. To that extent at least, there's a certain logic in the ANC's insistence that in the end only an elected body

can write the constitution.

Unless the negotiators opt for confederalism or a unitary state, the outline of a regional dispensation that has emerged is as near to a federal system that anyone could reasonably expect.

A little more give-and-take ought to resolve the outstanding issue of power-sharing between regions and the centre — which in a modern state is neither black or white, after all.

Meanwhile, negotiators will have to be on their guard against approving a system which represents a compromise between the various political players — but which turns out to be inefficient or even unworkable in practice. As the *Penguin Dictionary of Poli-*

*tics* expresses it, "federalism is often seen as a complex and cumbersome method of government because it involves a number of potentially overlapping jurisdictions ..." Whatever form our system eventually takes, and whatever it is called — if it has to be called anything — that kind of confusion must be avoided.

Theoretical clarity is essential: if hard choices must be made, let them be made in advance rather than fudged in the interests of compromise.

It is worth noting that most constitutional systems with federal features have created an enhanced role for the judiciary, in order properly to adjudicate disputes between central and regional authorities. ■

FM 4/6/93

THE TRANSITION

304A

# Time is of the essence

We entered this week expecting the announcement of the date of the first general election in this country based on universal suffrage. It seemed a fateful week, one that could set the seal on the political aspirations of the majority of South Africans — and be a source of anguish to those whites who fear for their existence in the midst of a very familiar yet alien majority.

The process of negotiation that made this historic event possible cannot be said to have been either smooth or rapid. The setbacks have been enormous — at times, they have seemed to ordinary people to be overwhelming. Final agreement should have all the force of having been forged on a solid anvil out of great heat.

Negotiations have survived frequent rioting over education matters; mayhem in some townships; the Boipatong and Bisho massacres; the assassination of the charismatic and pragmatic SACP leader Chris Hani; the posturing and politicking of a variety of leaders; the puzzling demands of hidden agendas; the ill-starred raid on a hopelessly belligerent Pan Africanist Congress leadership; and the seemingly constant revelations of government corruption.

Most parties have moved substantially from their declared policies of only three years ago — and have taken substantial care to enjoin the support of a wide spectrum of dissenting opinion. None can hope to move back to previous positions: apartheid cannot now be reinstated, nor the armed struggle resumed with any hope of victory in the field. There is no future in “whites only” thinking; there is no “bush” to go back to, whatever Winnie Mandela might say.

The ANC has begun to lift its eyes above the horizon and show concern, not only about the type of society that is to follow but also how ordinary citizens, many unemployed, will be able to provide for themselves the basics of civilised life. It is none too soon.

A likely candidate for Foreign Minister in the new SA, Thabo Mbeki, has begun to ask foreigners to consider investing in SA. Even the ANC's economics chief Trevor Manuel has taken the *FM* to task for calling him a socialist: he fears it might damage investment prospects.

If an interim government in some form or other follows shortly, the World Bank says it will bring material assistance to the country. The Gramm Amendment, which effectively blocks SA's access to IMF balance of payments support facilities, will have little force or effect.

Maybe even Archbishop Desmond Tutu will display uncharacteristic consistency and call for a reversal of trade and financial sanctions and a return of American investment. He once did claim he would leave the country under certain

circumstances which, when they were fulfilled, he ignored.

If, in addition, US President Bill Clinton continues to do his incompetent best for us, the gold price will remain reasonably buoyant and the year should end on a substantially higher level of business activity than that on which it began, which was very low indeed.

But there are still some dangers. After a year's delay following the Codesa breakdown, there is not a great deal of time left. We probably don't have enough to sustain the inevitable violence if there should be another major hitch.

The perceptive Chester Crocker, former US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa, tells us we have the potential for a stable and prosperous society here. But the potential will not, he observes, last for ever. He has noted that much of last year was wasted and wonders how many years — or months — we have left.

Investors, whether they be locals with limited choices or foreigners who have the world at their feet, will be encouraged by a general election date. But that is not going to be enough to preserve even the present fragility of investment confidence.

Firm measures are going to be needed — and the ANC and IFP will have to be seen to be enthusiastic participants in their propagation — to curb violence. Both delinquent teachers and children will rapidly have to be disciplined.

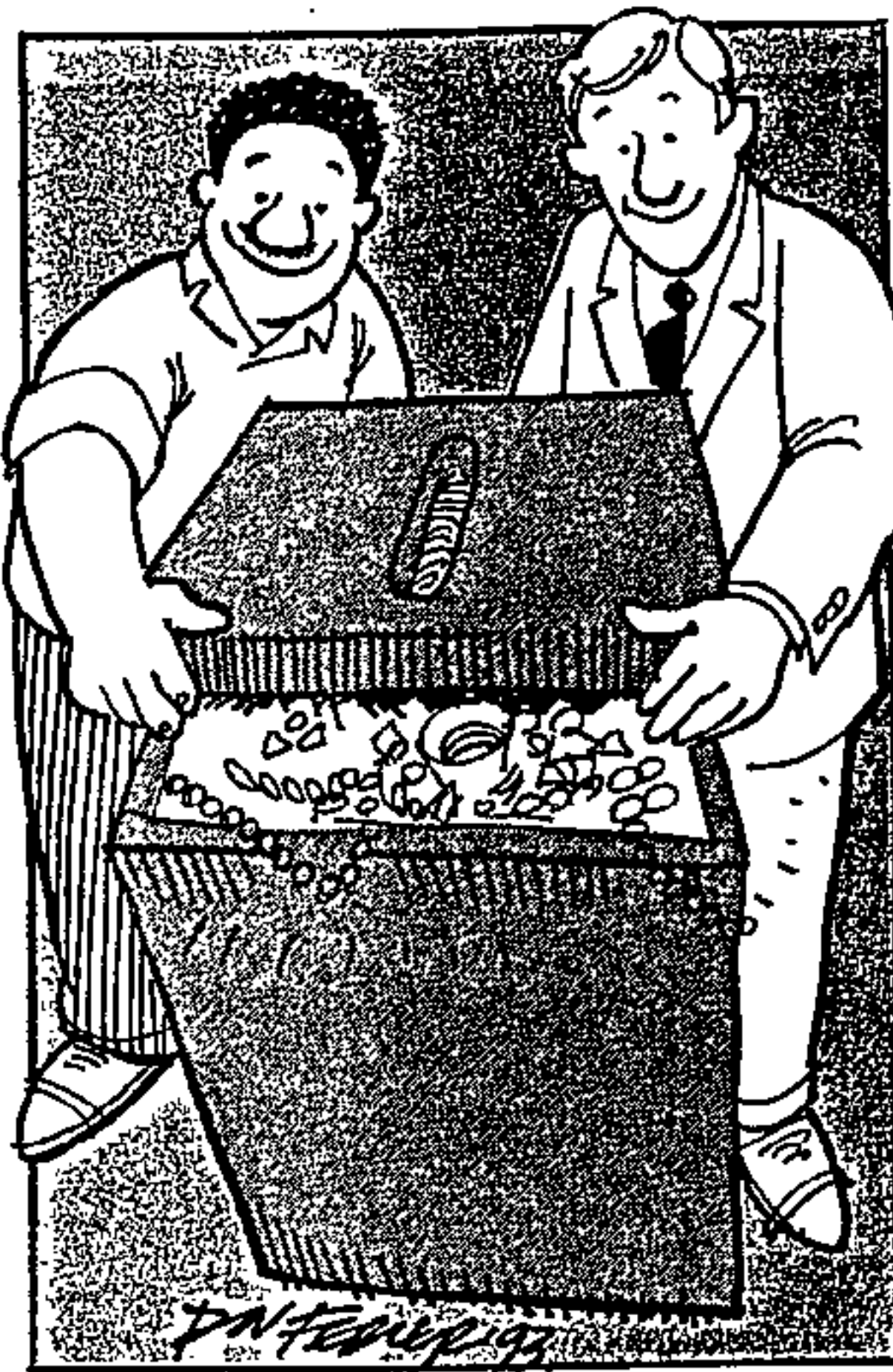
Those measures are necessary if investment is to be encouraged — but they are not going to be sufficient. Investment decisions, especially those by international entrepreneurs, coalesce over a period.

No government can legislate private-sector investment into existence. It is going to take time before the economy experiences investment initiatives other than those already announced.

It is for that reason that the *FM* has constantly remonstrated with those who have stubbornly refused to remove their opposition to SA's IMF facility, until their access to a vote is a legislative fact. It is now clear that the process towards universal enfranchisement may at worst be delayed, but it is not going to be reversed.

Yet the process of economic despoilment continues, capital is still leaving the country in quantity and the programme of mass action — which inevitably leads to more deaths — will linger on. The families of those without jobs will sink deeper into misery.

Hopefully, the process of renewal will begin this week — and those who have needlessly prolonged the suffering of so many for so long will have to look into their consciences to find out whether the delay was worth it.





# View from a bridge

FM 4/6/93

304A

**THE NEGOTIATED REVOLUTION: Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa** by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley (Jonathan Ball, 277pp, R59,95).

"If we are to understand SA politics, victimology needs to be balanced by accounts of how the seemingly powerless survived, gave meaning to their lives, and acted upon their particular historical circumstances." This is how Heribert Adam introduces his third major work on SA politics (the second to be co-written with his wife, Kogila Moodley). The others were *Modernising Racial Domination* (1971) and *South Africa Without Apartheid* (1986). I shall refer to them as "Adam" for the sake of convenience, without detracting from Moodley's contribution.

Adam is a Canadian academic who has worked for long periods in this country; his wife, also an academic, was born and raised in the Durban Indian community. Only they can know exactly how their differing life experiences have been mutually enriching for political analysis, but about the results there can be no doubt: this is an important, refreshing and readable contribution.

"The ideological confusion," Adam writes, "of black activists about the new politics of negotiation can be traced to past indoctrination. The assumption was that the government would make no concessions unless absolutely forced to do so. But the regime almost out-radicalised its opposition in adaptive political manoeuvring." It is a simple point with profound implications, but one not widely appreciated.

The result is that the ANC needs myths to explain the "capitulation" of Pretoria. In contrast with armies in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique, the ANC's guerrillas were never a serious military threat and hardly saw action. Hence the necessity for negotiations — and hence, Adam argues, the fiction that SA forces were humiliated at Cuito Cuanavale in Angola.

But the SADF was not defeated at Cuito, as has been demonstrated conclusively by Fred Bridgland in *The War for Africa* and in Chester Crocker's new book *High Noon in Southern Africa*. As Adam notes, the ANC's "revelling in an imagined victory was all the more remarkable since no ANC units were involved in the stalemated siege ... (the ANC was) appropriating foreign heroism."

Adam presents an excellent analysis of Nelson Mandela's position, including his paradoxical views on the need to accommodate whites, coloured and Indians in the ANC. Instead of opting for the more fragile role of "a reconciling statesman capable of rising above the petty quarrels," Mandela had the shrewdness to emphasise on his release that he was a disciplined ANC member. This was ultimately to give him a demo-

cratic mandate and greater clout.

But Mandela's historic need to appear militant will have its backlash, suggests Adam: when the deal with government is finally achieved, and power is seen to be shared rather than transferred, "the resulting compromise will necessarily be considered a sell-out, especially when compared to the notion of a victorious transfer of power."

Adam tends to confront simple truths which more jaded observers have either neglected or forgotten. For instance, he wonders why there should be in the ANC mem-



Mandela, De Klerk ... raw material for academics

bership a "total absence of liberal whites who have fought the anti-apartheid struggle within the country."

There is a commendable lack of mercy for the SA Communist Party: Adam relentlessly demolishes the fumbling and unconvincing backtracking from the SACP's Stalinist past. He also excoriates socialists generally for refusing to acknowledge what has happened in eastern Europe — and thunders about the ANC's lack of morality in accepting money from foreign dictators.

However, there is a cost to this roller coaster stuff. Contradictions appear; some issues are apparently not thought through. For instance, Adam writes that white SA "has so far failed to recognise the ANC's need for symbolic victories," because "the more the ANC is drawn into constitutional politics, the more it loses its status as a liberation movement." Well, yes — but does Adam appreciate that President F W de Klerk's reluctance to allow the ANC too many symbolic victories may rest on De Klerk's own need to avoid symbolic defeats?

There are times when the style conceals the lack of substance. Consider this persuasive explanation of *toenadering*: "The instant love affair between the NP and the ANC replicates an experience many SA exiles from different political backgrounds

have had when they meet abroad. Free of the apartheid framework, they discover their common South African-ness. A psychological explanation of cordial relations between former archenemies would point to the rediscovery of bonds of origin, of a repressed kinship." Perhaps it would point to that — so what?

Towards the end of the book there are more instances of the obvious being stated. "No democratisation," argues Adam, "can succeed without some degree of tangible equalisation; enfranchisement without redistribution remains meaningless ... in SA, a special form of democratisation is being attempted in order to block too radical an equalisation."

But this thinking ignores the kind of redistribution that is already taking place: in education, for instance, and in the higher real wages paid to unionised workers, and in the equalisation of State pensions.

After so much that is sensible, it comes as a shock to read Adam's views on privatisation — "a particularly devious design" on the part of Pretoria. He continues: "The ANC quite correctly states: 'The current privatisation programme is simply transferring wealth to a privileged few and would diminish the stock of assets and resources available to a future government to satisfy a pent-up demand for social services.'" What does Adam want? To cram the railways with tens of thousands of unproductive workers, as the Nats once did?

Perhaps the most serious error by Adam is the acceptance at face value of the slogans surrounding the 1992 referendum — such as the NP's "Vote yes, if you are afraid of majority rule." Adam argues that whites did not vote to transfer power, but to share it. Perhaps he was out of the country at the time: the mood among white voters was grim acceptance that majority rule was inevitable. They voted for De Klerk mainly in order to get the best terms.

Opinions are arguable, but sloppy writing should simply not have been allowed to infiltrate such a book: "ANC supporters in the eastern Cape have burned copies of provincial newspapers for continuously misrepresenting and neglecting ANC views." Were the newspapers guilty of these things? Or were they merely allegations?

There is a sudden shift in tone when Adam deals with women's rights. The breezy polemic becomes quite prudish: "Half-naked bodies adorn the front pages of even serious newspapers." And a glaring factual error surfaces here: Adam talks of "the lone female member" of the NP caucus, whereas there have been at least three female Nat MPs since the 1989 general election — Rina Venter, Shiela Camerer and Tersia King. Such mistakes are always unfortunate; when the writer is taking risks, they are embarrassing.

David Williams



# Sound reasons for setting election date soon

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(304-A)

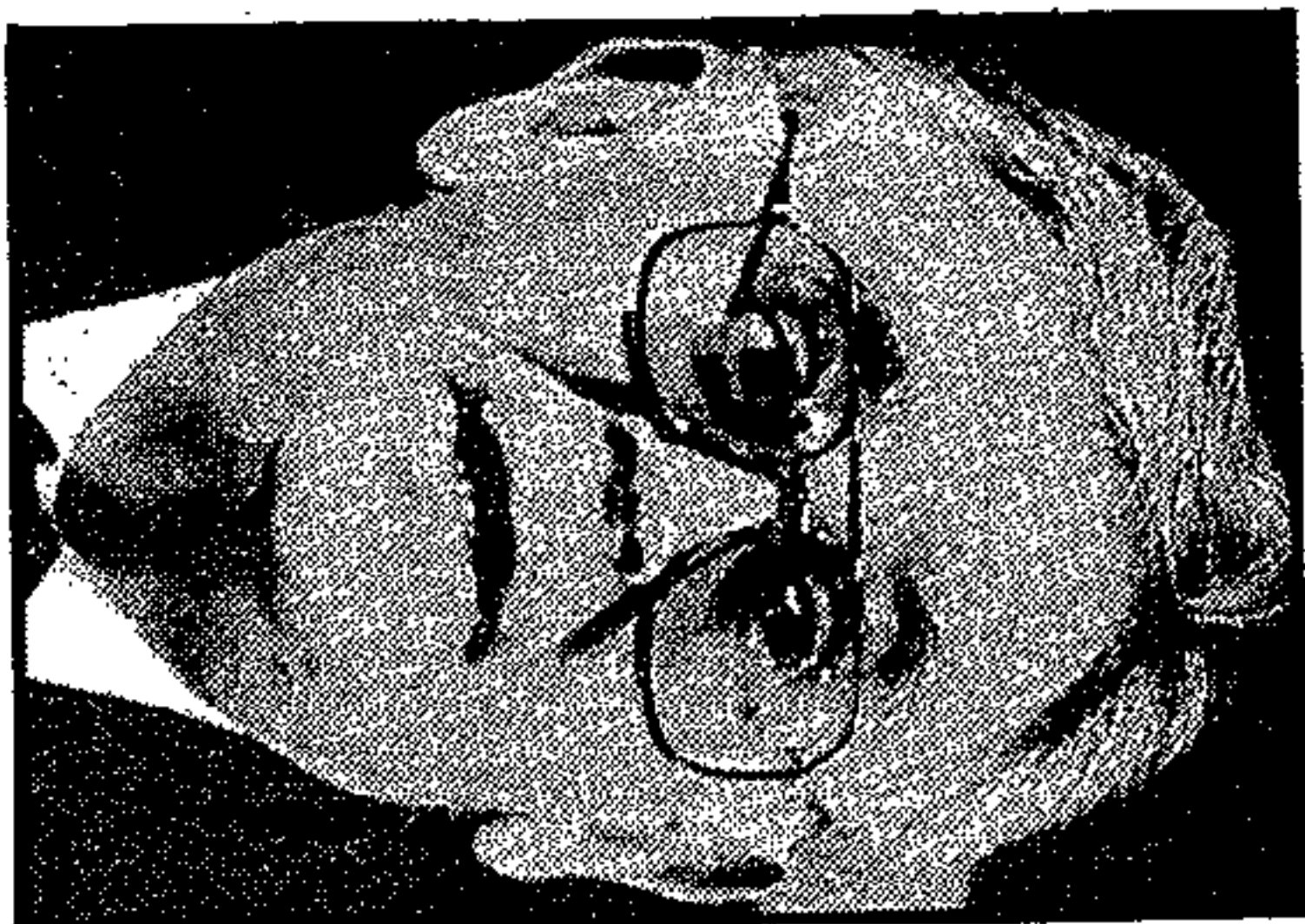
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DEMOCRACY talks have advanced a considerable way with some dramatic breakthroughs in a very short period, despite parties' failure to get to grips with detailed agreements.

There are now sound political and economic reasons for setting an election date soon — albeit with conditions and riders — despite protests from several quarters that government and the ANC are rushing the process. And the same applies to the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Facilitating the setting of an election date are the ANC's concessions on regionalism. Inkatha, in turn, has indicated that it is prepared to make concessions with regard to accepting a two-phased approach to the transition. This has bridged major gaps between the key participants.

The announcement of an election date could, for a start, go a long way towards easing the deadlock between government and the PAC over the continuation of the armed struggle. PAC negotiators would better be able to argue among members for the suspension of the armed struggle if there was a firm election date plus a transitional authority with significant powers, particularly over the



**BILLY PADDOCK**

little scope for further movement in this area. "Our constituents need to see progress. We need to fulfil our promise to them after the assassination of Chris Han," he says.

An election date will also expedite the lifting of sanctions, creating better conditions for economic growth and political stability.

According to SACP negotiator Joe Slovo, an announcement on an election date will also undermine those fomenting violence with the express purpose of delaying elections.

A multiparty transitional executive council can potentially create a more legitimate governing authority that will create the conditions for increased stability, removing from the political contest key areas required for development.

For example, the police would be able to act with more authority without the fear that a major negotiating partner is going to criticise its every move.

The NP government, too, has a constituency problem, and it as-

sumes that progress may stem the flow of support away from the party.

Inkatha has a significant problem with the establishment of a transitional executive council — it will mean a dilution of the powers of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. However, it did agree at Codesa to a transitional authority.

Last week the negotiating council effectively operated like a transitional executive council when it summoned Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel to account for his department's actions against the PAC. In that debate Inkatha participated with fervour, and helped prevent a bungle degenerating into a fiasco.

Inkatha's main conditions for progress are that the interim constitution be fairly comprehensive and that the powers, functions and duties of regions be entrenched. The hard bargaining has only just begun over those and other principles of an interim constitution.

The current process is in sharp contrast to Codesa, which was marked by ambiguous agreements and inadequate safeguards or mechanisms for dealing with amendments to the interim constitution. Now, it has been proposed that the

constitutional principles to be negotiated in the multiparty forum be binding on the elected body, and that any changes to these must have a two-thirds majority. Also, changes that directly affect regional powers will have to be passed by a two-thirds majority in the national assembly (which includes the regional representatives) as well as a separate two-thirds majority by the regional representatives.

So far, the general constitutional principles drafted by the technical committee from the submissions of the 26 participating parties suggest there is not much difference among most of them.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer says these principles have been debated thoroughly over the past year. "Therefore we do not need to drag out the process of reaching agreement. We can realistically debate, compromise and come to an acceptable agreement on the constitutional principles within a short period of a week or two."

An announcement of an election date would be a clear morale-boosting signal to the total population — and the international community — that progress is being made.

□ SLOVO

security forces.

It will also, to a certain extent, mollify the ANC radicals. The ANC has recently made significant concessions that have elicited criticism from its more radical quarters. According to a senior negotiator, it has

LETTERS



THE INTERIM FM 4/6/93  
**Hard details** (304A)

**Government only** last week presented its detailed proposals on a new constitution to the technical committee assisting the negotiating council on the matter. It's as though it had waited to see what the other parties were bringing forth before cutting to the heart of the matter.

Intended as a working document for negotiating a transitional constitution, it nonetheless takes the form of a full-blown draft Bill, which perhaps indicates how close agreement is at the talks. There are gaps in the document — a first draft — which will be filled in as the negotiations unfold, "in order to support the process as effectively as possible."

Thus the preamble is to be formulated when the text is complete. The precise contents of a Bill of justiciable fundamental rights binding on all levels of government is yet to emerge from the negotiations.

The Republic of SA, defined as consisting of territories within its boundaries when the Act comes into operation, will continue to exist as a sovereign state and be known as the RSA. Government has also presented to the negotiating council draft legislation on the

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**Meyer ... introduced the first draft**

re-incorporation of the TBVC states.

The proposed constitution will be the supreme law of the land; any law inconsistent with it will be null and void. Two national anthems are envisaged — *Die Stem* and *Nkosi Sikelel iAfrica*. The design and colours of the flag and coat of arms are to be agreed in the multiparty negotiations.

English and Afrikaans will be the official languages. However, an Act of parliament may, on the request of a regional executive and with the consent of the regional legislature, provide for one or more languages to be additional official languages in that region. Other official and cultural symbols, including monuments already in existence, shall be respected and protected. There is sure to be heated argument about these clauses.

While regions are given the power to choose an additional official language, every organ of the State in carrying out its functions "shall promote the unity of the South African nation," respect the diversity within it and support national reconciliation. The ANC will not be unhappy at this, though Inkatha might.

Legislative power of the country will vest in the parliament, consisting of a national assembly and a senate and, subject to the constitution, the two chambers will "have

the power to make laws applying equally in all parts of the Republic."

However, parliament will not, subject to other provisions in the constitution, be competent to legislate beyond its competency with regard to matters within the scope of regional governments. In education, for example, the central government's responsibility is limited to setting the national policy framework for standards and financing (see page 21).

The draft constitution envisages parliament continuing "for five years" from its first session.

The national assembly will consist of 400 members elected — by those aged 18 and over — according to the system of proportional representation, on national lists. The senate is to be composed of at least five members of the legislature of each region: smaller regions will elect six members to the senate, larger ones seven or eight.

A majority of not less than two-thirds (67%) of the national assembly and the senate, subject to other provisions, would be required if constitutional legislation concerns regional government. The basic principles (determined at the negotiations) cannot be amended unless by a minimum 80% of all members of parliament in a joint sitting.

If the 67% majority required for adopting a new constitution or constitutional laws is not attained, a representative committee of parliament will be appointed and all proposals before parliament referred to it. The committee would then negotiate a draft constitution and report back within 30 days. If this doesn't work, the State President will consult party leaders before submitting a new draft constitution.

Should this fail, but the draft is supported by 50% of the assembly, the draft will be referred to a panel of five constitutional experts for their advice, based on the basic principles. The (nonpolitical) experts would be appointed by the president in consultation with party leaders representing at least two-thirds of the assembly.

If this draft fails to muster 67% it may

after 30 days be adopted by 50% of the assembly and senate sitting separately. It will then come into operation one year after adoption — unless two-thirds of the assembly and a majority of regional legislatures approve another date for implementation. There is provision for a national referendum, requiring 60% approval, if parliament fails to adopt a new constitution within two years. Parliament will be dissolved and fresh elections held if the constitution is not approved

and the whole procedure will start again.

Executive power will rest with the State President who will be the head of State and exercise his powers subject to the constitution, and in certain matters after consultation with the government of national unity.

The government of national unity will consist of the leaders of parties occupying at least 20 seats in the assembly, and of Cabinet Ministers designated by those parties in proportion to their relative support in the assembly.

bly.

The president will be elected by parliament at its first (joint) sitting. Details of the composition and functioning of the national executive will be submitted in due course, says government.

On finance, government's draft constitution says nothing in it shall affect any assets or rights belonging to the State, or any debts or liabilities existing immediately before commencement of this constitution.

Bills appropriating revenue or monies or imposing taxes will originate only in the national assembly, after they have been considered and recommended by a joint committee of both houses.

In the event of disagreement between the senate and the assembly, a Finance Bill will go to the president for assent and become an Act of parliament as if the senate had approved it.

FM 4/6/93

(304A)

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

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## **BLIND DATE**

FM 4/6/93

The chances of an election date being set this week received a not unpredictable setback when the 26-party negotiating council on Tuesday agreed to a planning committee proposal to cancel Thursday's scheduled meeting of the negotiating forum, which was expected to name The Day.

The negotiating forum will now meet on June 25, essentially because the negotiators have not made "sufficient progress" in order to set a date.

An ANC source said on Tuesday it was "still possible" that the council — which now has more time to work on a package

of agreements, including constitutional principles and the form of transition — could recommend a date by June 3. Much depended on whether a draft resolution on principles and process, before the council on Tuesday, would be adopted.

The intensity of bilateral discussions set down for the 48 hours before Thursday was unprecedented, said a government source.

If a date cannot be announced as expected, it could for political purposes doubtless be ascribed to the security swoop on the PAC last week, which delayed matters.



PERSPECTIVES

# Hope flickers in gloom of unrest

(304A) ARTS 6/93

**A**T last — the firm prospect of a date for an election which will involve all South Africans.

This will in part dispel the sense of despair and fear which has gripped so many in recent months.

Further, the progress made by technical committees at the Multiparty Forum at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, and in particular the resolution giving the technical committee a mandate to formulate regulations on the structures, powers and functions of regions is significant.

This was an issue which gave rise to serious objections by the Inkatha Freedom Party and this resolution will certainly put to rest some of their fears, thus giving a decisive boost to the negotiation process.

It is more than probable that the IFP will not now oppose the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

In addition, the decision by the Multiparty Forum to accept self-determination as a right will encourage the Conservative Party and the other rightwing parties to stay at the negotiation table.

All in all, the readiness and willingness to compromise augurs well for an early date for an election and the appointment of a TEC. This will set the stage for a protracted election campaign culminating in April 1994.

Unfortunately the deliberations of the Multi-Party Forum have far less impact on the general public than many other incidents.

Firstly, the on-going education crisis with schoolchildren on the rampage, burning cars and boycotting classes, is a much more vivid portrayal than the concept of party

■ Setting a date, however provisional and conditional, will go a long way towards speeding the transition to democracy, writes **Dr ALEX BORAINÉ**, director of the the Institute for a Democratic South Africa (Idasa).



leaders sitting around a table.

The strike by teachers, the dithering of educational authorities and cabinet ministers, the disgraceful inability to take decisive action regarding matriculation fees and salary negotiations have a far greater impact on the general confidence of the public.

The chronic state of black education is a breeding ground for bitterness and it should have come as no surprise that the feelings of hopelessness have spilt over onto the streets.

It is equally understandable that pupils and teachers alike have come to the conclusion that no-one takes notice of their grievances until they adopt radical and visible methods.

No-one can condone some of the actions and statements of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas), but attention must be given to the root causes and not merely the symptoms. Teachers generally, and black education in particular, have had a raw deal.

Apart from the constitutional area, it seems that government is inept and incapa-

ble of managing the transition.

Months ago, all the warning signals were there of an impending educational crisis. These signals were largely ignored.

Once again, we have the familiar scenario: demand is made, it is ignored, the crisis grows, polarisation increases and hey presto, bring in De Klerk and Mandela to clean up the mess.

Judging from initial reaction from the teachers and from Cosas, no unilateral decision by even these leaders will suffice.

What is needed is an Educational Forum to deal seriously and realistically with longstanding grievances involving all the key participants.

Secondly, the irresponsible call by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mogoba, "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" is having the inevitable and predictable reaction from farmers.

Their mass meetings, their tough statements, their call for curfews, road-blocks and virtual call to arms further deepens the climate of dis-

trust and tears apart community relations in rural areas.

Thirdly, the stepping onto centre stage of former powerful generals raises the spectre of a unified rightwing block which threatens to subvert the negotiation process.

Although they have moderated their position somewhat, the intervention by the former generals is a cause for considerable concern and exacerbates the general climate of uncertainty.

Fourthly, against these manifestations of conflict there is the backdrop of continuing violence, daily reports of continued attacks on the homes of elderly people in suburban and isolated areas, coupled with the persistent killings in black areas. These all add to the general mood of pessimism.

The real question is, which is shadow and which is reality?

There can be no doubt that enormous progress is being made at the World Trade Centre, but it is a world which the overwhelming majority of South Africans never experience.

Theirs is the world of continuing unrest, increased unemployment and an awful feeling that the education crisis is only the tip of an iceberg.

Hopefully the appointment of a Transitional Executive Council will help to translate the shadowy negotiation process into the reality of security, education and community relations.

Certainly until such time as ordinary South Africans can see a link between the world of formal negotiations and the world of daily life as it impacts upon them, the mood of uncertainty and insecurity will continue.



# Peace

ARGTS/6/93

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**O**NE thing is very clear: South Africa's neighbours are watching every foot-fall of this transition. They know that, for better and for worse, the region has a common future: South Africa's progress is their own; reversals point in the other direction.

If — as some believe — South Africa disintegrates, the neighbourhood will be plunged into the deepest insecurity. This — the Yugoslavia option — will divert much-needed resources from development projects. The militaries of the region will gear themselves to protect their countries from the fallout which will follow South Africa's violent break-up.

Although military planners are taught to keep their powder dry for the worst possible outcome, most in the region hope South Africa will emerge, in spite of the present ferocity, from this transition intact and economically sound. This is the Namibian option: South Africa joins the regional family as a peaceful and prosperous member.

If this happens, the militaries of the region will shift their priorities: Budgets will contract, releasing resources for education, health and welfare. Gradually, the region's potential for conflict will fade and, through deepening trust and understanding, the militaries of southern Africa widen their own co-operation.

For many in South Africa, military collaboration is a contradiction in terms: After all, seen from the perspective of apartheid the armies of the neighbourhood were bent on the country's destruction. To collaborate with them, is to collude with the enemy, to help bring South Africa's military preparedness to its knees. To argue this, however, is to believe that southern Africa ends at the Limpopo.

Consider this: The momentous changes which have taken place internationally have driven states in furthest corners of the world — corners like southern Africa — closer together. Faced with marginalisation from the mainstream, a failure to link up with our neighbours, in all spheres, will not only leave us isolated, it will further impoverish the sub-continent.

Together, however, we can help each other understand and manage new security threats — from Aids to small-arms proliferation, from drought to drug-trafficking,

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# a plus in entire region

■ In the '80s, with liberation struggles being opposed by total onslaught, extensive destabilisation was the order of the day in Southern Africa; in the '90s, with the emergence of a New South Africa, will the nations of the region manage to stitch together a peace and security pact? Political analyst **PETER VALE** reports.

from malaria to migrants, from waste-disposal to the management of dwindling water resources.

For these reasons alone, the recommendations made by last week's conference in Namibia on Peace and Confidence-Building in Southern Africa deserve serious consideration and wider discussion.

If, as the conference suggested, the states of the region can establish an interstate committee on peace and security which is user-friendly to the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference, the region will have developed a mechanism to air security concerns. But, it promises more. It will act as an early-warning system and institutionalise forms of joint military training between the countries of the region.

Fortunately, many at the conference argued that governments alone could not se-

cure democracy, peace and confidence. This was why the conference, in two creative recommendations, expressed support for the establishment of a regional institute for strategic studies, and for the creation of a non-government centre for mediation.

A triangular relationship between understanding conflict, managing it and resolving it will, all things being equal, strongly foster the cause of peace in the region.

For South Africans, however, the price of entry into this new arrangement is high, but — given our destruction of the neighbourhood in the 1970s and '80s — not too high.

The conference was clear that only an internationally acceptable South Africa would be welcome in the proposed club.

This would happen only when the negotiation process passed a certain line; a tran-

sitional executive council or an elected government of national unity and reconstruction — the final cue, however, would come from the Organisation of African Unity.

Secondly, only the integration of all armed formations into a single defence force will reassure our regional partners. We should be clear about this, too: This means a fundamental restructuring of the country's defence forces not simply the absorption of Umkonto we Sizwe into the rump of the existing SADF.

On paper, absorption looks easier than restructuring, but here Namibia teaches a powerful lesson: Understanding and peace can grow between adversaries only if former formations are recast in favour of a single one based on common understanding, common loyalty to a legitimate constitution.

And, finally, we can be free of the past only if we are prepared to face up to it.

Here, Yugoslavia offers a potent lesson. The destruction of that country is in no small way ascribed to the belief that the history simply could be swept under the carpet, that the horror of previous decades would be forgotten in the name of some new future.

In spite of many widows and orphans in Mozambique and the thousands of amputees in Angola, our neighbours are not clamouring for retribution. They know that regional prosperity will not be fostered by unnecessarily taxing southern Africa's strongest economy.

But, they are owed some explanations as to how decisions were made, as to why infrastructure was destroyed and, more importantly, why lives were lost. They want to understand our common past in the context of our common history: This we must do if our children are to enjoy the peace they deserve.

As South Africans — except those in the dark corners — walk these last painful miles towards the nonracial democracy, our every tread is watched. Our near neighbours measure the rhythm of these steps: Peace and mutual confidence in Southern Africa will follow only footprints that are bold, that are true.

■ Peter Vale is research professor and director, Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape. Last week, he attended a three-day conference on security, development and confidence-Building held in Namibia. The gathering was organised by the Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, the Foundation for Peace and Development, Bonn, and the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape.



# Election date could lift major sanctions

RORY CHANNING

Sapa-Reuter

**RATIFICATION** of a proposed date for South Africa's first all-race election could lead to the lifting of all major anti-apartheid sanctions apart from the arms and oil embargoes.

This would give a psychological boost to the local business community, analysts said yesterday, but they saw no major windfall soon in foreign aid or investment.

A majority of democracy negotiators on Thursday proposed April 27, 1994, as a provisional election date.

But uncertainties over political change and future economic policies, along with violence, could keep many potential private foreign investors away, analysts said.

"I don't think foreign investors will be prepared to step up interest yet. They still want to see what will happen," said Mr Johan Louw, chief economist for Sanlam.

"One shouldn't expect an immediate windfall," said Mr Dave Mohr, chief economist

with Old Mutual. "It'll take time to see results."

The African National Congress says an election date must be set and a transitional national executive formed before it will support the lifting of all sanctions except those on arms and oil trade.

It wants those enforced until a democratic government is formed.

The government hopes to see a Transitional Executive Council installed in July.

The proposed poll date is subject to review at further talks on June 15 when its supporters hope to win full consensus on the date.

Once the ANC was happy its demands were met, it would drop its support for remaining sanctions on diplomatic ties, new investment and loans, including a freeze on World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) assistance.

The current chairman of the European Community's (EC) Council of Ministers, Danish Foreign Minister Mr Nils Petersen, said last week

the EC was ready to help rebuild South Africa's economy once agreement is reached on a Transitional Executive Council.

The United States, which has already lifted most federal sanctions, said it would work with state and local governments to repeal their embargoes when the ANC reversed its stand.

Many analysts, however, believe renewed access to the World Bank and IMF agencies would offer the most crucial benefits.

Apart from vital funding they could provide, creditors and investors would feel easier dealing with South Africa knowing it had the IMF as a backstop, analysts said.

But funding by those bodies could take time, analysts warned, adding they would be wary of becoming fully involved until an administration which they felt legitimately represented the nation was in place.

Requirements would probably include a programme of economic reforms.

"I guess everybody's waiting for some kind of legitimate mechanism that could request us (to extend assistance), and will in effect bind the future governments of South Africa to whatever agreements we might have," a top World Bank official said during a recent visit.

"Obviously I think an interim government, which is an elected government, would qualify. The question is whether a Transitional Executive Council would do the trick. I just don't know. I'm not willing to speculate," said Mr Edward Jaycox, the World Bank's vice-president for Africa.

The bank has so far identified projects, worth \$1 billion (about R3 bn), which it could assist to redress imbalances in socio-economic areas such as housing and education.

Mr Jaycox cautioned, however: "It will take a long time to disburse that sort of money, and it will take further time to prepare these projects so that they can actually absorb the investment."

R PATRICIO Tan from the Philippines stressed the importance of domestic election monitoring and observing of elections.

Tan is a regional chairperson of the National Citizens Movement for Free Elections (NAMFREL).

He co-ordinated monitoring in a region of the Philippines plagued by violence and intimidation.

Since 1984, Namfrel had helped to achieve free and meaningful elections and honesty of government through the power of informed and concerned citizens working under the auspices of

# Local monitors are vital

South 516-916183

Namfrel.

For the 1986 elections Namfrel recruited and trained over 500 000 volunteers to monitor polling stations and the entire electoral process.

"The Philippines has lived under Spanish rule for 300 years, and thereafter under American rule for 50 years," Tan said.

"Over all these years, the election process in the Philippines has lost credibility. They are not free or

honest and violence is endemic.

"In 1984, therefore, government could not guarantee free and honest elections. Who else could do so? Only Philippine people. That is when Namfrel was formed."

Among the tasks Namfrel performs are monitoring and observing the entire voter education and political process during the pre-election campaign period, monitoring the election campaign period and monitoring on election day

itself.

Namfrel insists on cleaning up the voters roll every year because "many dead people were found to be still voting". Namfrel also watches the counting of ballots and the reporting of the results.

"In the Philippines, ballot boxes have three separate padlocks. Each political party is given only one of the three keys, so that none can open it without the others being present," Tan said.

Tan said for the duration of the election campaign period, which in the Philippines varied from 90 days to 60 or 45 days, the armed forces, the police and the media, all fall under the control of the electoral commission.

This ensures free political activity for all parties in all regions. The electoral commission allocates free and equal media time to all parties contesting the elections during this period.

It also allocates a radio station to Namfrel which is used for issuing instructions and briefings to all its monitors and the public.



# SABC nominees refuse to serve

By Christelle Terreblanche  
and Rafiq Rohan

AT LEAST two members of the SABC Board "substituted" by President FW de Klerk had no plans to attend the board's first controversial meeting in Johannesburg on Thursday.

The two were included after De Klerk objected to the original list drafted by the panel of eight jurists who were charged with selecting the board.

Dr Franklin Sonn, rector of Peninsula Technikon, and Mr Enos Mabuza, a trustee of the Independent Development Trust, informed De Klerk of their objections on Wednesday and sent a similar letter to Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who agreed to convene the meeting.

"It would be in the interest of democracy that they start the whole process from the beginning," Sonn told SOUTH.

"We are all learning the demands of democracy, and some, like the National Party, are way behind in this process."

Sonn replaced University of



FATIMA MEER

the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel on the second list, accepted by De Klerk.

Sonn and Mabuza are believed to have decided not to attend the board meeting after discussions with ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela on Wednesday.

Their main objection concerns the panellists failing to stand their ground against De Klerk's demands.

"They are spineless, while all of us have placed our credibility

on the line believing they would stick to their guns," Sonn said.

De Klerk said the panel had given him several additional names, should some of the appointed members be unable or unwilling to serve. This means that he is unlikely to heed a call for the process to be repeated.

Meanwhile, at least one of the people who survived De Klerk's scrutiny, Professor Fatima Meer of the University of Natal, has indicated that she will attend the meeting, but called for reinstatement of the original board.

"De Klerk had no business to interfere after giving the panel their guidelines," Meer said.

Mandela also echoed her demand: "We want to go back to the original list. If De Klerk does not do this he will have a fight on his hands."

"We cannot accept that the president should decide to undermine the choice of an independent panel."

"If we lose this fight the Nats will go on the rampage and want to decide every step. We must fight this fight and win it."

## De Klerk's actions 'a mockery'

### NEWS ANALYSIS

FW DE KLERK is sticking to his interpretation of the selection process of the SABC Board, saying he was mandated to "interact" with the jurists.

Observers this week noted he had the right to do so, but that this was unwise in the context of De Klerk's insistence on "power-sharing through consensus".

They also question the way he covertly pressurised the panel twice to change the list, which led

to seven of the 25 being replaced. "Considering that the name of the game was transparency, these meetings with De Klerk make a mockery of the process," one observer said.

The jurists said De Klerk objected to individuals on their list, something he earlier denied.

The biggest criticism against the final list is the exclusion of

trade unionists and journalists from the board. Mr John Erntzen of the South African Municipal Workers Union and former editor Mr Allister Sparks were axed.

The question is whether the board will remain intact and if so, how it will regain credibility.

Some feel the seven axed should be reappointed. Others think the process should be scrapped and decided by the Transitional Executive Council.

# A lesson learnt in Africa:

Parties must believe they can win

NUMBER of South Africans monitored and observed elections in Lesotho recently.

Among them was Mr Doug Anglin of the South African Council of Churches (SACC).

There were massive administrative breakdowns in Lesotho which could easily have compromised the election results, Anglin said.

Some of these were that at a number of polling stations ballots and ballot boxes had still not been delivered on the actual day of the elections.

Anglin told of seeing Basotho people from rural areas outside polling stations, sleeping under their blankets in the cold and waiting for the chance to vote.

"The system worked because the

people were determined," he said.

The landslide victory for the Basutholand Congress Party (BCP) proved that "you never know what the people are thinking until you ask them", Anglin said.

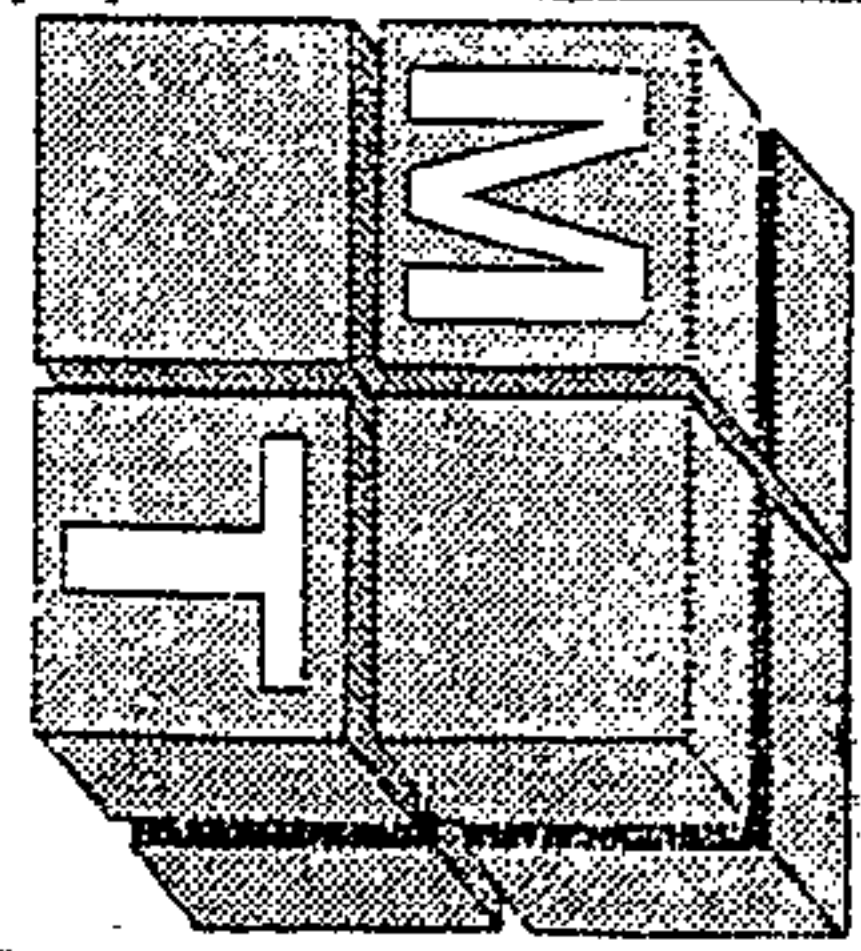
The criterion monitors used when ballots were counted was to establish whether "the intention of the voter" was clear.

"All sorts of marks were made,

but in most cases we were able to decipher the intention of the voters," Anglin said.

From his experience of monitoring elections in Lesotho and Namibia, Anglin drew the following wisdom: "It is important that parties think they will win an election. If they don't, they either withdraw from the constitutional process or try to undermine it."

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TRUST AND  
SOUTH





# Democracy rules in Surrey Estate

South 516-96193  
By Quentin Wilson

BY THE time South Africa's first democratic elections are held, Surrey Estate residents won't be strangers to voting.

A local election is to be held in July for eight leadership posts in the Surrey Estate, Primrose Park, Greenhaven and Portavue Civic Association — and is being organised to mirror the real thing.

An electoral college of five people has been charged with organising "free and fair elections" in the broader Surrey Estate area where candidates are expected to run election campaigns to get vote.

To run "for office", candidates must first be nominated by 10 of their neighbours or by a local organisation.

Once their nominations have been accepted by the electoral college, and an election date set, the rush of baby kissing, broad smiles and election promises will begin.

Mr Essa Moosa, president of the civic said this would be the first time most residents participated in an election.

"People will develop their understanding about what it means to participate in an election," Moosa said.

And according to Mr Kevin Patel, vice-chairperson of the civic association, the election will also help discover the true representatives of the area.

On election day in July, booths will be set up where residents over of 18 will be able to cast their secret ballot.



# 10 Voter education

## Let's not do it the Kenyan way

South Sile - 9/6/93

**S**OUTH African voters can learn a lot from the experiences of other countries during elections, particularly African countries.

The Kenyan experience was one of many international perspectives provided at a recent conference in Durban on election monitoring and observing in South Africa.

Ms Jayne Wanjiru Michuki is a partner in a private law firm in Nairobi and an advocate in the High Court of Kenya. She is also a founding member of the International Federation of Women Lawyers (Fida) as well as its vice chairperson.

As part of the joint monitoring program of Fida and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) for the December 1992 Kenyan elections, she organised the countrywide recruitment of election monitoring and district liaison officers and served as a training consultant for Fida for election monitors.

Kenyans had lived under a one-party state rule for 30 years.

"For 30 years, Kenyans did not experience the difference between a ruling party and a government because they had been one and the same all along," Michuki said.

A major problem during the period leading up to the elections, was that the electoral commission had no credibility among the people.

To start with, it was formed by the government of the day.

Secondly, the chairperson of the electoral commission was a member of the ruling party. Other members were drawn either from the ruling party or the civil service.

The result was that ordinary people did not believe the commission was independent. They believed it



**ROUTE TO DEMOCRACY: The V-salute for peace has become a symbol for Africans preparing for democratic elections**

owed its allegiance to the government.

"There were lots of problems, because whatever the electoral commission did was seen as suspect from the very beginning," Michuki told the conference.

The manner in which voter registration was handled also gave rise to tremendous difficulties.

Kenyans had to go to their home areas to register as voters, they could not register wherever they were at the time.

They were only given one month to register. This meant 20 million people throughout Kenya had to find the means to travel to their home areas and register within the

stipulated period.

Because the announcement was made shortly before the registration period came into effect, and because the period was limited to only a month, a large percentage of Kenyans could not vote on election day as they had not registered at voters.

"The election was compromised by the fact that 3.5 million Kenyan youth could not vote because they were not registered," Michuki said.

When they registered, voters were issued with voter identification cards which was the only documentation accepted at polling stations as qualification to vote.

Free and equal access to the media by all political parties was another major problem. There are two television networks in Kenya. One is state owned and was only freely accessible to the ruling party. Other parties had to buy time on the air and did not have the resources to do so.

The other television network is privately owned but is available only in Nairobi, and does not even cover the whole of Nairobi. So the ruling party had a complete advantage in terms of access to television. The ruling party also used government resources during the election campaign. For example, government vehicles were used to transport ruling party workers and

voters during the election campaign and on election day itself. Another problem was that in Kenya all parties were required to have licences to campaign for elections, and many opposition parties were not granted licences.

The official voter registration cards were so devoid of identifying characteristics they could be reproduced to an extent that the electoral commission could not tell genuine IDs from fake ones. They could simply be photocopied.

This led to irregularities, a major one being that the government imported refugees to vote in government-controlled polling areas.

No-go areas in Kenya are referred to as "zoned" areas. In Kenya, the "zoned" areas were all government controlled.

The government registered many Somali and Ethiopian refugees to vote for them in these "zoned" areas. People from other parties could not easily get access to these areas to check on irregularities there, Michuki said.

The Electoral Commission's partisan status therefore affected many aspects of the election campaign in the government's favour.

Major lessons South Africans can draw from Kenya are:

- The importance of a non-partisan electoral commission;
- If voter registration is not properly handled, many people can be barred from voting.
- A reasonable time period needs to be allocated for voter registration to take place;
- Whatever form of voter identification is issued should be designed in such a way as to prevent counterfeit versions being produced;
- Media has to fall under impartial control to allow all parties free and equal access.



**Pik denies  
squeeze on  
Swedish funds  
for ANC** (304A)

By Christelle Terreblanche

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has denied South Africa's ambassador in Sweden exerted pressure on the Swedish government to discontinue financial assistance to the ANC.

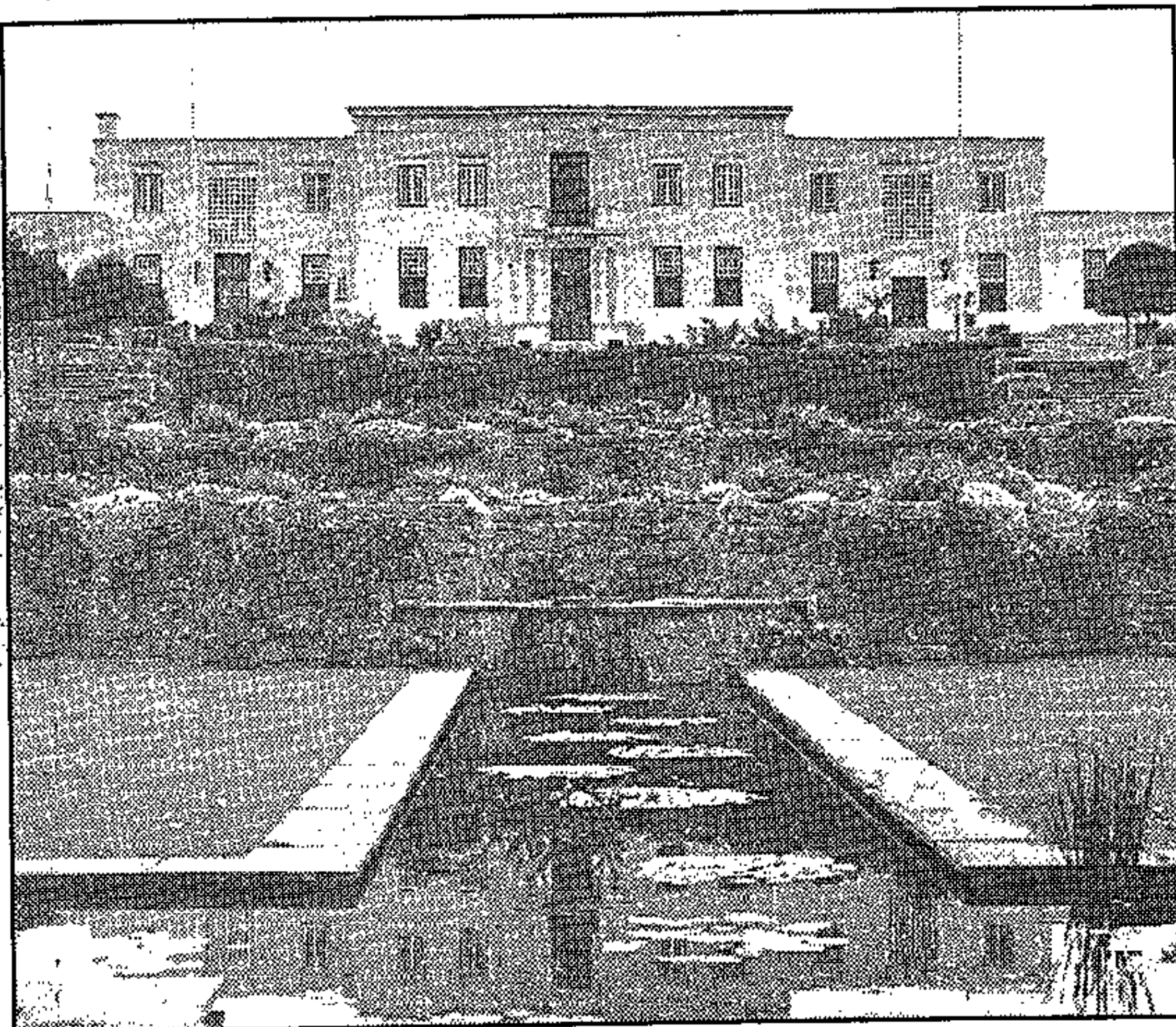
He was responding to a question in parliament by Mr Jannie Momborg, independent MP and ANC member. Botha also denied that he or his department have given instructions or approval for such pressure to be exerted.

The question was asked after SOUTH reported on a debate in Sweden about the continuation of aid to the ANC. Allegations were made in Swedish newspapers that South Africa exerted diplomatic pressure for Sweden to stop aid on several occasions earlier this year. (SAP)

Details were given and a memorandum supporting the allegations was published in a daily newspaper.

Sweden has not made any formal decision about the issue although the country adheres to an informal agreement that once a movement becomes a political party and takes part in an election, aid should be discontinued.

# Historic State buildings protected for posterity



**SAFE AS HOUSES:** Libertas, the official Pretoria residence of the State President, has been declared a national monument.

THE Government has decided to save for posterity several major buildings owned by the State. (304A)

The move comes only days after it was disclosed that the Pretoria residence of the State President, Libertas, had been declared a national monument, which makes it virtually inviolate from action taken by future governments.

Now the same protec-

## **NORMAN CHANDLER** Pretoria Bureau

tion has been granted to the original Houses of Parliament in Cape Town and other buildings. (304A)

According to a Government Gazette issued yesterday, the State President's Cape Town home, Westbrooke, as well as the Government residences Groote Schuur and Kleine

Schuur, have been declared national monuments.

The office of the State President in Cape Town, Tuynhuys, is now also a monument.

Other buildings designated include the historic Rheezicht house in Cape Town; the city's De Meule property, on which is situated Mostert's Mill; and the entrance gates to Welgelegen.



From strong roots in theology to planning election strategies for governments

# Optimising parties' chances

After 5/6/1993

3044

**E**LDAD Louw, the man on whom many of Africa's political parties — including the National Party — have pinned their hopes for successful election, is a quiet person who prefers to work behind the scenes rather than under the spotlight.

However, as managing director of Optimum, a subsidiary of Saatchi & Saatchi Klerck & Barrett, he plays a leading role in election campaigns.

Optimum specialises in handling political campaigns and elections for African governments and political parties.

Louw is not a politician. He recalls a leading South African politician, during a brain-storming session with key members of his party, turning to him and saying: "Now let's ask someone who dislikes politics what he thinks!"

His directness, ability to plan effective strategies and success in past campaigns have made him one of the key behind-the-scenes players in South African politics during the past decade.

It was Louw's strategies that all but destroyed the Progressive Federal Party in the 1987 elections, topping it from its position as the official Opposition.

He masterminded the 1983 and 1992 referendums for the Government and has been a key strategist for the National Party in each of the elections it has fought since 1982.

Born in Cape Town and the pro-

duct of a "personage upbringing", Louw set out to study theology at Stellenbosch. His direct manner and questioning mind soon put him at odds with his colleagues, and when he was offered a post with an advertising agency in the early 1970s as an Afrikaans copywriter, he took the job, not even knowing what it entailed.

Within months, as one of a mere handful of Afrikaans-speakers in advertising, he was exposed to strategic planning.

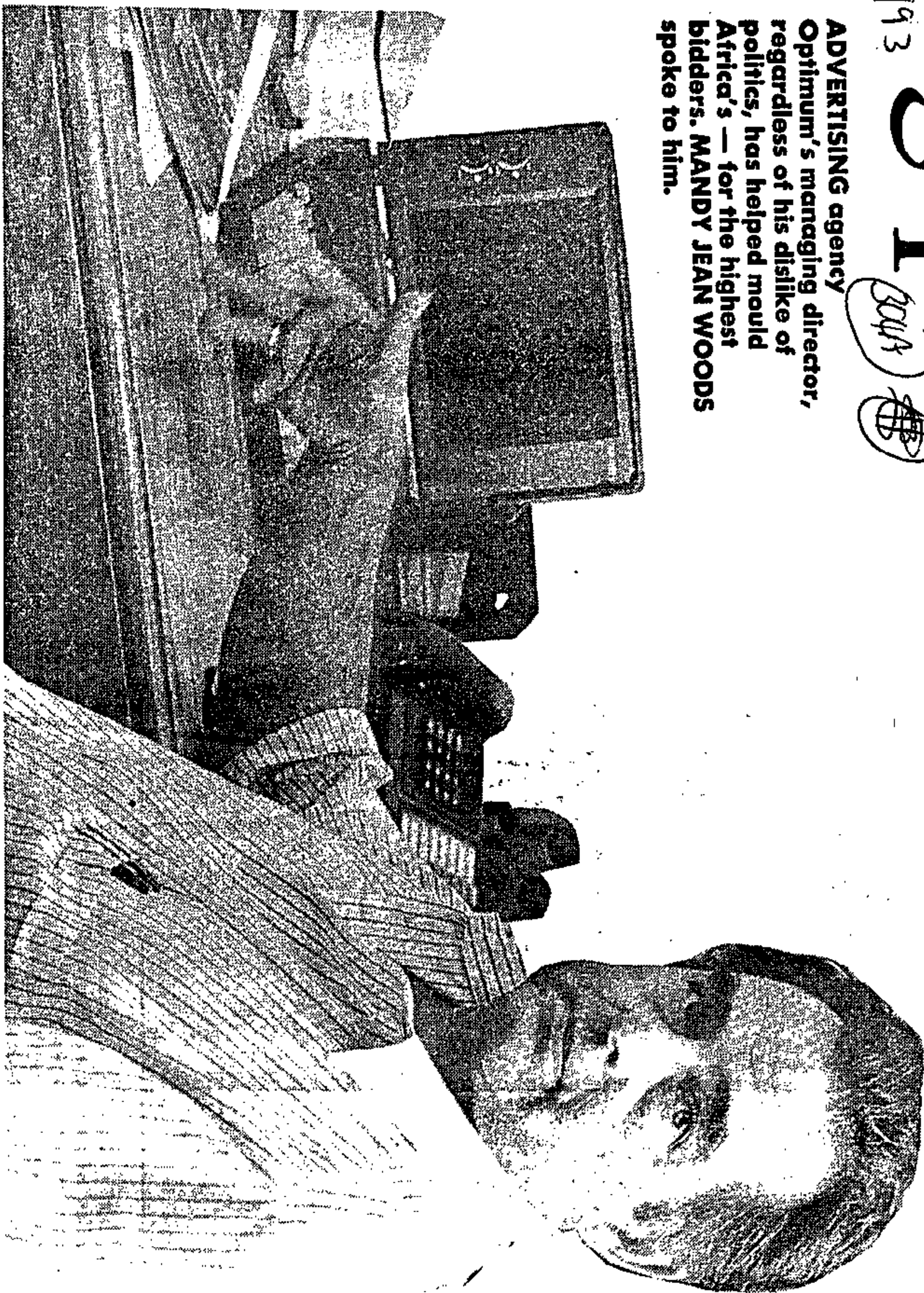
"I was dragged off time and time again to sit in on research and strategic planning sessions because I was about the only person in the company who could speak Afrikaans," he says.

**H**E WORKED for several of South Africa's leading advertising agencies before joining Optimum almost 14 years ago.

He is modest about his contribution to clients' successes. "People don't scare me, nor do positions or titles. I treat politicians like I do everyone else," he muses. His relationships with his clients are good because "I listen to them and they listen to me."

The biggest test of his skills will no doubt be the upcoming election in which the NP will pit its wits against the ANC in a supreme battle for power.

**ADVERTISING agency Optimum's managing director, regardless of his dislike of politics, has helped mould Africa's — for the highest bidders. MANDY JEAN WOODS spoke to him.**



**THE STRATEGIST:** "People don't scare me, nor do positions or titles," says Eldad Louw. "I treat politicians like I do everyone else. I listen to them and they listen to me."

● Photograph: MYKEL NICOLAOU



## Optimistic new Minister carries hopes of thousands

# Shill homes in on backlog

CAPE TOWN — When Louis Shill took over this week as the new Minister of Housing and Public Works he also took on to his shoulders a mountain of problems.

Not only does he inherit all the complex ramifications of South Africa's housing crisis and related financial bottlenecks, but he becomes the personification of the hopes of hundreds of thousands of desperate people clamouring for homes or just for a roof over their heads.

"You must offer people a solution — that is our problem," Shill told Saturday

Star in an interview yesterday.

He clearly means what he says, and his businesslike approach to problems makes him all the more convincing. Like Finance Minister Derek Keys, he is not a politician but a top businessman, coming straight from the private sector to head a ministry which, for the first time, includes housing and public works under one umbrella.

In the business world he is chairman and chief executive of the giant finance and property group Sage, whose board agreed to release him from his duties until the next general election.

His first few days in the ministry and in Parliament have been hectic and promise to be more so as he gets

**THERE is hope that South Africa's housing crisis is at last heading for a solution some time in the future. The potential miracle man began his task this week. FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.**

his teeth into his new job.

"My first impression is that people in Government are enormously busy. So far I have been learning, not teaching."

But Shill (62) clearly knows what he is up against. In a matter-of-fact way he tells of his task, which seems to grow in its enormity as he proceeds with more and more details of problems to be solved.

Only one aspect of the problems he has to handle is a backlog of 1.3 million houses, plus a growing need for new houses.

To overcome the backlog

and to meet the growing need, about 380 000 houses will have to be provided every year for the next 10 years.

Then there is the squatter problem, which is a crisis in itself. Shill describes this as a two-pronged problem.

### Instability

On the one hand, people need homes, and land must be found on which they can live without prejudicing the existing property rights of others. People also have a right to ensure that existing property values are not di-

minished.

Another serious problem is that of "illegal" squatters and backyard dwellers — of which there are more than 5 million.

Then there is the problem of the socio-economic consequences of all this — instability in communities, overcrowding, lack of planning, inadequate basic services, and health hazards.

"It is a question of providing living conditions, not just roofs," says Shill.

A further problem of critical proportions is finance. How do you provide homes to people who cannot pay

for them? The poorest of the poor must be helped to afford homes and then to upgrade themselves as they find jobs and earn a living.

"We recognise it is a vast problem which cannot be solved overnight. But we don't think negatively. We see housing as an opportunity for benefiting the country rather than having to meet a serious obligation."

He emphasises that the recipients of houses also have obligations.

"However, as long as there is resistance to paying mortgages or meeting other commitments, no housing department in the world can solve the problem."

In Parliament this week Shill said a new national housing policy and strategy

was being negotiated, with all interested parties, including the National Housing Forum and Government departments. Full details were expected to become available in about three months.

Shill has warned that the country cannot afford to waste any more time in dealing with the housing crisis.

Shill was one of the founders of Liberty Life in the late '50s. He was a founder and the first chief executive of the pioneering unit trust fund in South Africa — Sage — in 1965, having helped to introduce the unit trust concept in the country. He established the Sage Group Limited in 1969. The group controls and manages assets exceeding R5 billion.



# Reading Press



## GETTING READY FOR DEMOCRACY

CIPRESS 6/6/93

(30/4)

SA's first non racial general election seems near. Some parties and groups have ventured out onto the streets to test the electorate. They found some questions such as, "Is an 'X' with its classroom meaning of 'wrong' too confusing?" They also found that the general public response was uncertain. The idea of really having a say seems too good to be true. Yet, there is also a fierce determination to try out the power of a vote.

At Kempton Park, voters are being educated by independent organisations and political parties. These efforts reflect the excitement as well as the concern, cynicism and confusion surrounding the election.

At the Randburg CBD taxi rank, the ANC sets up a mock cardboard polling booth and ballot box every Saturday. Passersby stop to learn how to vote. An ANC organiser explains, "An 'X' is not bad, like in school. It doesn't mean you don't like the party." He holds up a sample ballot. "Don't make your 'X' too small or too big."

Passersby step up to take their turn at practising. After they 'vote', ballots are removed from the box. They are then checked to make sure they are correctly marked and counted up.

Until an Electoral Act is passed, no one knows what the ballots will look like. The ANC ballot lists party names and symbols. The fake ballot which the DP uses has no symbols.

The ANC thinks that only an 'X' will do in an election. Others say almost any mark will be acceptable. Mipho Keagile of the Matla Trust says: "Parties with literate voters will push for an 'X' to be the only mark. Parties with illiterate voters - who have learned that an 'X' means 'wrong', or is for a signature - will push for any mark to be acceptable."

The Black Sash provides a sheet which allows people who have never held a pen before, to practise making Xs. To reach different and semi-literate audiences, the ANC uses a play with people talking



Many workshops are being held to make sure that people are ready for SA's first non racial election.

about the vote.

Both Matla Trust and the Sash are making special efforts to reach rural women who cannot easily leave their home and work to learn how to vote.

The Sash's Gill De Vlieg says she has been asked, "Why should we vote?" and "Do we have to vote?" There is no law, she says, but it is important for democracy.

Tensions between Inkatha and the ANC in Natal are so high that voter education workshops no longer announce sample results in case this might cause fighting.

De Vlieg says the question of violence arises frequently in workshops: "How will a new government end the violence?" For some, elections seem the only hope; for others, the workshop is a place to talk about a hopeless situation.

"No one can see who you are voting for. It's totally secret. If your employer says you must vote NP, you can vote ANC, then say you voted NP," the ANC organiser tells the Randburg crowd.

Keagile says that fear comes not just from the competition among parties, but also from the belief that Home Affairs officials or the police will be present.

"We have to convince voters that there will be international observers and representatives of all parties," he says.

"Intimidation shouldn't stop an election. There has been fighting in Northern Ireland almost since they started having elections, and people still go to vote."

The technical committees at Kempton Park may understand the difference between a Transitional Executive Council, Constituent Assembly, Interim Government and Government of National Unity, but things aren't so clear for the man and woman on the street.

"If there's an interim government, there is no State President, so why are we having non racial elections?" Goodman Lekwakwa demands of an ANC official in Randburg. He adds: "Do we vote for a State President once, and is he then president permanently?"

Lekwakwa gets an answer. But there are limits to how much of the negotiation process anyone can understand. "Especially with real rural people, if you take them and bombard them with a lot of knowledge, you actually leave them with nothing," Keagile says.

Trying to understand the policies of different parties can also be difficult. The ANC both gains and loses followers for its supposedly communist beliefs. "I don't care if the ANC is communist, I don't give a damn. I don't know what communism is, but I want to taste it just like I tasted apartheid capitalism," says Mphalla Motlakeng, of Juikse Park.

An indifferent response from most of the domestic workers at a meeting in Sandton, shows that what the workers really want to talk about is how hard they work for so little pay, with so few breaks.

Voter education cannot teach people how to tell the difference between an empty promise and a realistic one, or between a slogan and a policy. De Vlieg says: "We can only encourage people to be cautious of promises - the economy cannot produce instant housing and water."

Keagile believes, however, that most people will not vote on issues in the first election. "Right now they are just looking for a new government - to vote is to change."

This time around, despite the delays, concerns and confusion, the act itself will be most important. He describes a workshop where during the mock voting, the power generator failed. "We bought candles and kept going in the dark, because people wouldn't move from the queue until they voted."

### DICTIONARY

**Electorate:** the public who are going to vote.

**Fake:** not the real thing.

**Bombard:** give too much information.

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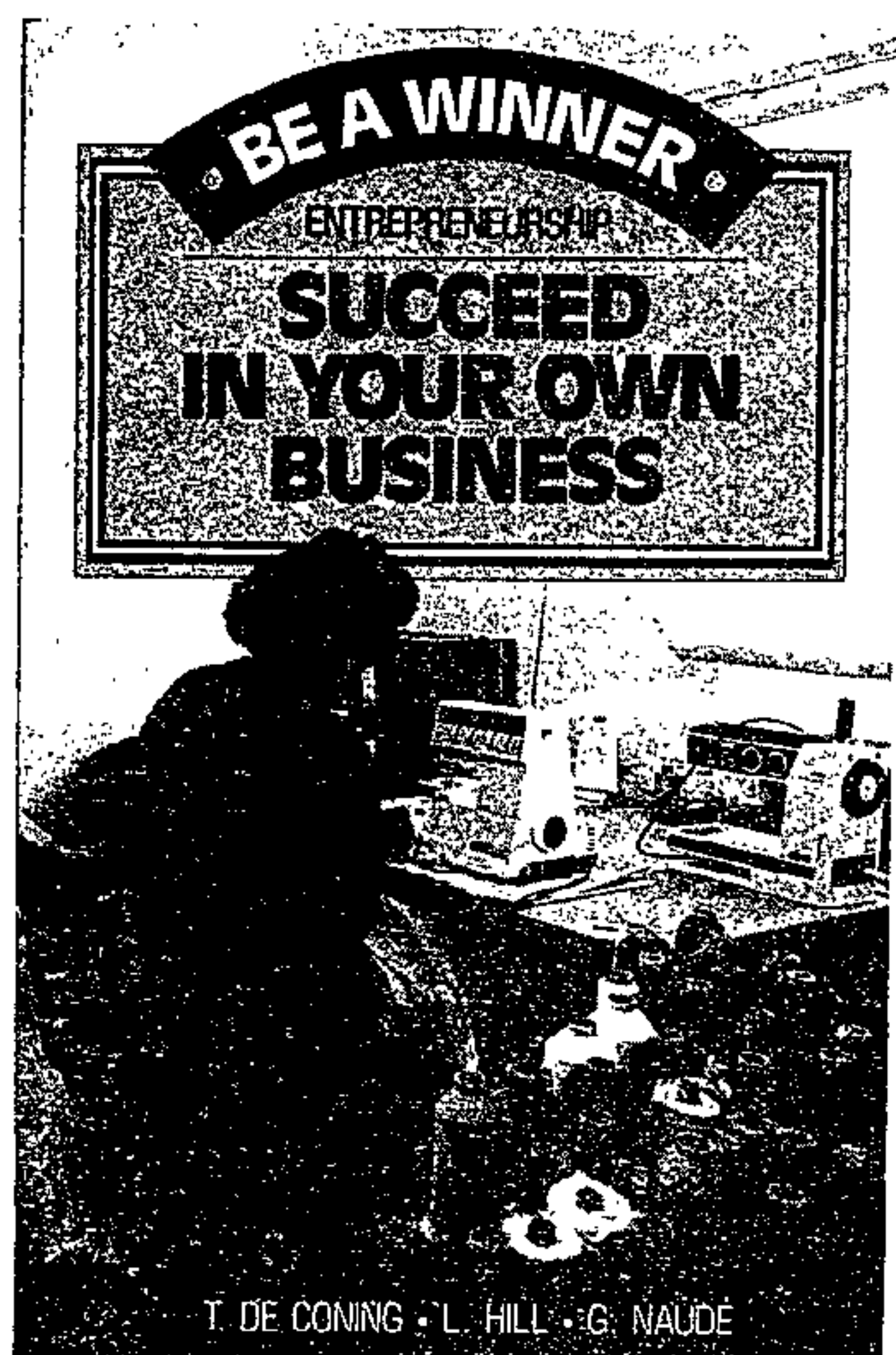
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# FICTION • FICTION • FICTION

## Love for baby sister nearly killed!

IT WAS the year 1956 when my sister was born. I was doing Std 2 and not staying with my parents because of the distance between my home and the school. My parents sent me to stay with my grandmother, from where it would take me 3 kilometers to school. From my parents to school would take me 13 kilometers, 26 back and forth. Monday to Friday would make 130 kilometers a week. For an 11 year old boy, that's crazy!

One day my gogo told me that she had heard that my mother had given birth to a baby girl. What news! I joyfully asked her to allow me to go and see if it was true, but she would not agree to let me go. She told me that I had to wait for the school holidays in December when I would be going for good. Ewu! That was not good at all. My head was filled with the thought of having my own baby sister! This thought made me try other ways of going, despite gogo's refusal.

I thought carefully about a plan. I woke up earlier than usual, took my school clothes and hid them in the bushes outside the kraal. I was relieved to find the old lady still under covers.

It had rained heavily all night and was certainly cold enough for a 70 year old lady. On my way out, something almost went wrong. I had not thought of a good answer if she asked why I was going to school in my dirty manikiniki clothes. Wemane! What now? Without hesitating, I told her that it was because of the mud and it would be better to put them on when I was on school ground. She was satisfied!

Then I began my 10 kilometer journey to where my sister was born. Why don't you ask me why I wanted to see her so much? Phela, she was the only baby girl to be born after four izinsizwa. So, I was as proud as the others who boasted of their sisters. All of us at home had been waiting for this day, especially my mother. That's why I wished to share those happy hours with the others. But I also knew that my father would slaughter a goat to thank abaphansi for a daughter, Uyabonake!

I ran for about one and a half kilometers to put distance



between me and whoever might be curious enough to follow me. Habe! It had rained so heavily that there were pools of water here and there, frogs singing to praise the Almighty for rain, earthworms sliding happily on the ground and drops of water glittering on leaves as the sun shone against them. Awu, the day was calm and peacefully quiet. I saw a beautiful flower and I decided to take it for my sister.

After I had walked nine and a half kilometers, I came to a river by the name of Umsunduzi, the pusher. This river was the last step before I reached home. I noticed the washed away soil, dead grass and trees. Habe! Can that silly Msunduzi be in flood? It did not rain heavily enough to fill up this river, I thought to myself. Hay Bo! That noise? Can it be of rushing water? My joy was turning to disappointment. I slowly walked nearer, and for sure the river could not be crossed. It really was in flood!

Trees and stones were rolling furiously down as if the river was

showing off. What to do now? I stood there, my head spinning, trying to think how I could cross.

A plan came. I thought for a while and I was satisfied with my trick. I was going to cross the river now or never. I am me and this is a river. I can think, it cannot.

Quickly I took off my shirt, tied it around my neck, fastened my short pants and walked upriver. I judged carefully where to start with my plan. When the crossway was about 100 yards down, I jumped into the rushing water. I hoped that it would take me down to the crossway while I swam towards the other bank. If I got nearer to the opposite bank, I would be the winner. Wena mame! Would that happen? If not, what then?

The noise, water, dead leaves and logs blocked me and I was forced down instead of being able to swim as I had planned. Although I was somersaulting, I made sure that my mouth was shut. It was by the mercy of Divine Providence that I raised

my head and saw the shrub I knew grew on the crossway. I got hold of one of the strongest branches and lifted myself up on to the shrub. Fortunately, the water had not covered this plant yet.

What now? Shame! No short pants, no shirt around my neck! I was naked. Where I was standing, ants, grasshoppers and millipedes were crowded! Thank God that there were no snakes. Fear came to me, but when I thought of my new born sister, I felt strength and hope flow through my veins. I was determined to fight once more to touch the dry grounds of home. You know, from where I was standing, I could see the tops of the huts. So I decided to shout in case someone would hear me.

After more than a dozen shouts, I felt water touching my ankles. When I looked down, habe! Water was coming up, threatening my safe castle. I shouted more loudly for help. I had begun to cry and could not see clearly because of the tears. Water was now between my knees. When I opened my eyes, I saw a figure approaching.

Holding a long pole, he walked quickly toward where I was. Then he stretched his arm, so that the pole reached me. I grabbed the pole and held tightly. He pulled, I eased my weight, and he walked back with me following him until I felt water below my stomach. I was going to live! He stopped, but I could not stop. I continued and he grabbed me by my hand and led me out. With my hand clamped in his, I knew what was going to follow. I made no effort to escape. Of course, what happened is what any father will do to stop future disobedience!

With stings on my naked body, I saw my mother come running with my younger brother and the others. My mother snatched me away from him and I noticed the stain of blood on his trousers. What then came to my mind cleared and soothed all the pains. Our neighbour had a baby on her back. All was well now!

She was carrying my new sister, and that stain of blood was of a slaughtered goat to thank the abaphansi for a daughter, who by her arrival, created love that nearly killed her brother!



# HOW TO SAVE YOUR MONEY

Knowing how to use bank accounts will help you to save your money. Here we discuss the different types of bank accounts that you can choose from...

## SAVINGS ACCOUNT

You can deposit money into this account and it will earn interest. For example: If the interest rate is 10% this means that for every R100.00 left in your account for a full year, you will get an extra R10.00. Interest rates can change though, so you must find out what interest you will get. Most banks ask their customers to leave at least R10 in their account. With this account, you can deposit any amount of money whenever you want to. You can also draw out money when you need it. The more money you leave in the account the more interest you get!

## SPECIAL SAVINGS ACCOUNT

If you want to save the same amount of money every month, you can open a special savings account. With this account you have to make monthly deposits for at least 12 months.

You must first decide how much you can afford to deposit each month. You must deposit the money every month for as long as you keep the account. Most banks say you should deposit between R50.00 and R100.00 every month. With this type of account your money will earn higher interest than with a normal savings account. Different banks may use different names for this account.

## CHEQUE OR CURRENT ACCOUNT

A cheque or current account can work as an ordinary savings account. You will still be saving your money but you can also ask the bank to pay your accounts for you. The good thing about this account is that you get a cheque book, which you can use to pay for whatever you want. This means you do not have to carry a lot of cash with you. But you must make sure you do not write out cheques that are worth more money than the amount you have in your account! Have you ever heard anyone say that a cheque bounced? This is a different way of saying that there was not enough money in the account to pay for the cheque. A cheque

account offers less interest than most other accounts. You also have to pay a service charge for each cheque that you use.

## FIXED DEPOSIT ACCOUNT

This account is useful if you have money that you want to keep aside for a special reason, such as your child's education. You can deposit some money into an account and ask the bank to keep it for you for a certain number of months. After that the bank will give you the money back, together with some interest. Usually fixed deposits offer a higher interest than ordinary savings accounts. The longer you keep money in a fixed deposit, the more interest it will earn for you.

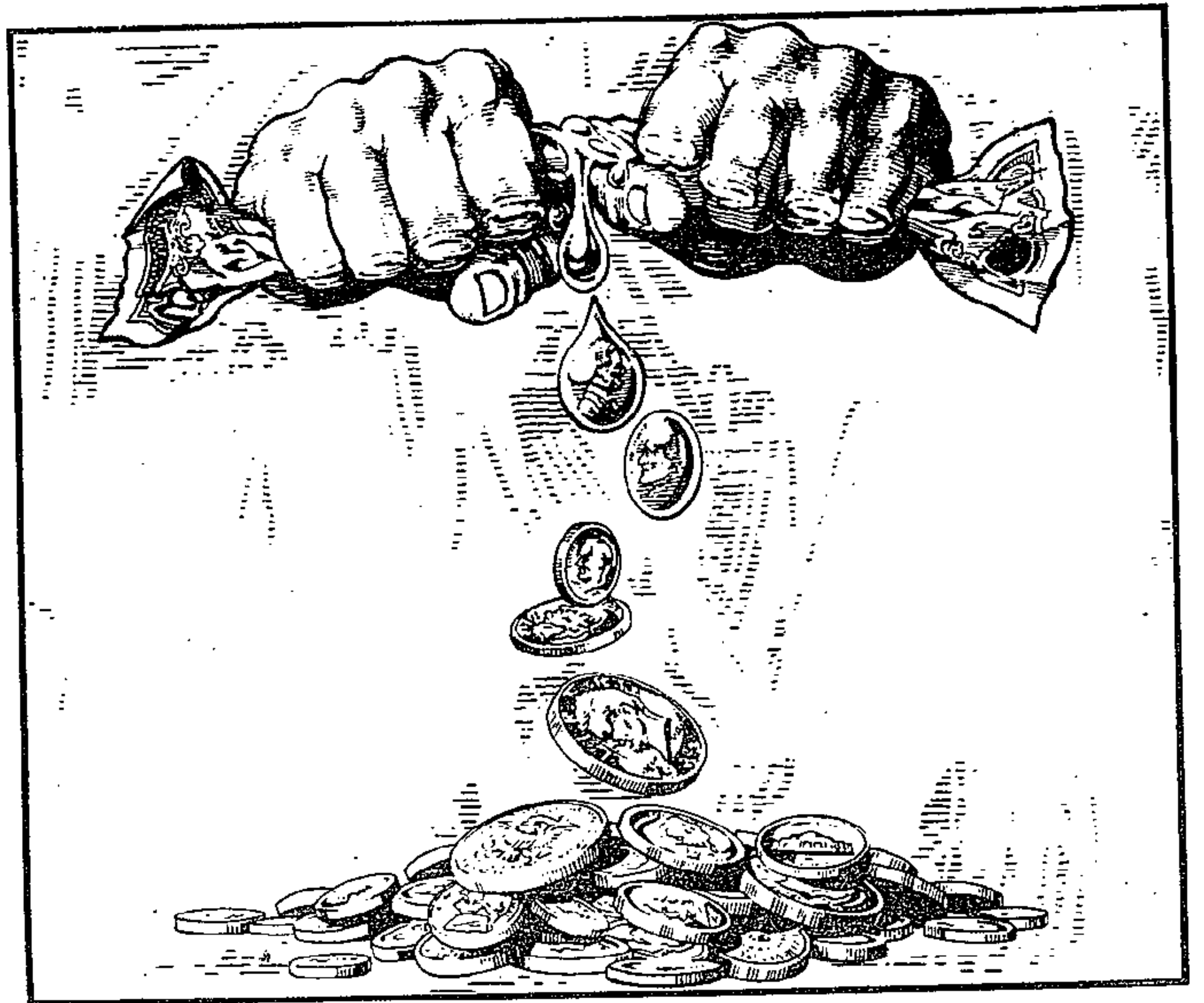
You will need at least R10 to open a fixed deposit account. The interest on a fixed deposit will be between 14% and 18% per year. The time period for which a fixed deposit can last will depend on which bank you go to. You can renew a fixed deposit as many times as you wish, but if you take out your money before the end of the fixed time period, you will lose all or some of the interest.

You should speak to an Investment Advisor at the bank before you open an account. Here are some things you need to ask about:

- Find out about different types of accounts and choose the one that will best serve you and your money.
- Ask about the different interest rates for the different accounts.
- It is important to know how much money you need to keep in your account before you benefit.
- Find out whether there are any transaction charges, and how much they are.
- Find out if you can draw money from the account whenever you need it.

### DICTIONARY

**Deposit:** to pay money into an account.  
**Interest:** extra money a bank pays into your account for choosing to bank with them.  
**Benefit:** when you stand to gain something.  
**Transaction:** any kind of business deal.



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## Short Story Competition

### Prizes to be won!

Read the short story on page 51. Now try to write a short story of your own. Your story can be about anything you like. It can be about something that happened to you or about somebody you know. It can also be something you dreamed about or something you imagined. It can be true or it can be something you made up, but it must be written for adults.

Each month, for the next 6 months Reading Press will announce one winner and four runners-up. The 6 winners will each receive a prize of R100.00 and the 24 runners-up will each get R50.00. Prize money has been kindly donated by Via Afrika. Winning stories will be published in Reading Press. Start writing today and send your story together with this entry form to: Reading Press Short Story Competition, PO Box 3413, Johannesburg, 2000.

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**Write your story now so that your entry reaches us soon!**  
**COMPETITION RULES**

1. Your story must be your own work. It should not be copied from someone else. It should be written for adults to read, not for children.
2. Your story should be neatly handwritten or typed in simple English.
3. Final judging will be done by the ERA Initiative. Although you should write with care, your story will be judged on the content and storyline rather than perfect grammar and spelling.
4. Your story should be between 1000 - 1200 words.
5. Only winners will be informed in writing. If you do not win, you will not be informed. However, non winners will be informed if their story is ever published.
6. Stories will be judged on a monthly basis, but the competition deadline for all stories to reach us is 29 August 1993. Stories must be sent together with this entry form.
7. No stories will be returned by post.



# Secret document used by Inkatha a fake — SACP

Sunday Times Reporter

A DOCUMENT being used by Inkatha to claim collusion between the National Intelligence Service and the ANC and its allies is a fake, according to the SA Communist Party. (4B) (HB)

Inkatha has obtained a document which purports to be an internal SACP memorandum. The writer alludes to a political settlement having already been concluded between the ANC alliance and elements within the government.

The writer says these elements, including the National Intelligence Service, have been responsible for disruptive actions aimed at Inkatha, the Conservative Party and elements within the military. However, SACP spokesman Jeremy

Cronin said the document was a skilful fake written by someone who was obviously familiar with debates taking place inside the party.

The document had as its target not so much the SACP, but State President FW de Klerk, the intelligence service and National Party negotiators.

"It appears to be an attempt to curry favour for military intelligence and the SADF in right-wing and Inkatha circles, and would suggest a serious split in Mr de Klerk's intelligence community," Mr Cronin said. (304A)

The document was first published in the right-wing Aida Parker Newsletter, he added.

● See Page 20

# CP's fear or

By MOSES MAMAILA

WHILE most delegates came out of the negotiation council relieved that a provisional agreement on the election date had been reached, the Friendly Parties Group led by the CP and Bop government described the agreement as "frustrating".

"After a protracted debate on the issue of the election date, the negotiation council agreed that April 27, 1994 - the recommended date for elections - be submitted to the next council meeting to be held on June 15.

Addressing journalists after the adoption of the

## Moment of truth: election date set

provisional agreement in Kempton Park this week, Bop chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said: "What is important is not the date. We want sufficient progress on crucial issues like the determination of boundaries of regions to be made before the date is agreed upon."

The CP announced it vehemently opposed the setting of the election date. It said it deplored the procedures followed

in the Thursday deliberations aimed at forcing delegates to agree to an election date.

Joe Slovo, speaking as a member of the ANC delegation to the multiparty talks, said yesterday that the resolution for the election date was "total" and for the good of the country.

He said 18 of the 26 parties were in agreement and those who were not would not be allowed to scuttle the agreement.

The FPG includes Inkatha, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ximoko Progressive Party, Dikwankwetla, Avstig, and the Ciskei and KwaZulu governments.

Delegates from the organisations advocating setting of an election date maintained the moment of truth had arrived and that those who were hiding behind minority rule had realised they could only maintain their positions by delaying elections.

However, FGP members argued they were not afraid of majority rule saying there had not been binding agreements on any of the major issues.

Motivating the setting of the election date immediately, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa said the date would give people hope and assurance that steps were being taken to resolve the political crisis in the country.

Ramaphosa's proposal, which was later adopted as a resolution, suggested that the council accept April 27 as an election date provided the matter would still be discussed and the final ruling be made by June 15.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

6/6/93  
frustrations?





**HONoured ...** Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, left, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa at this week's function where Ramaphosa and Meyer shared the New Nation-Engen Man of the Year Award.

■ Pici TLADI KHUELE

## Ramaphosa, Meyer win top award

By ZB MOLEFE

ONLY hours after they had clinched a glimmer of hope for SA's first non-racial elections – provisionally set for April 27 next year – Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa received a wonderful send-off to the UN this week.

The two high-profile negotiators at the 26-party negotiating council in Kempton Park outside Johannesburg walked off with the inaugural 1993 New Nation-Engen Man of the Year Award.

In a black-tie ceremony at a swank Johannesburg hotel hun-

dreds of guests high-profile personalities gave Ramaphosa and Meyer a standing ovation when they were announced the winners.

To complete the night of achievement prominent businessman Mohale Mahanyele notched the Businessman of the Year Award and won high praise from guest of honour Nelson Mandela as having "put the issue of black economic empowerment very forcefully on the agenda in this country".

Even President FW de Klerk, who could not make it to the awards night because of work pressure, sent a congratulatory

note to Meyer, Ramaphosa and Mahanyele – citing their crucial contributions and achievements toward a better SA.

"This award is about faith and hope. Faith and hope can be realised through negotiations. Either we talk ourselves into a new SA or fight. If we win, we win collectively. If we lose, we lose everything," said an obviously tired Meyer in his brief acceptance speech.

"We stand at the gateway to democracy. Democracy so many of us worked and died for," said Ramaphosa as guests broke into spontaneous applause.

The guests rose to their feet

when a smiling and obviously proud ANC president Nelson Mandela led Ramaphosa and Meyer out of the massive ballroom to prepare for their flight to the UN.

New Nation editor Zwelakhe Sisulu summed up the night's events after sketching the reasons for the awards when he said: "Our country needs reconciliation and we dare not fail ..."

It was close to the magic midnight hour when guests started streaming out of the ballroom while the strains of popular singer Sibongile Mngoma-Khumalo's "this is the night of achievement, we are building a nation," filled the air.



By JOAO SANTA RITA

**T**HE Clinton administration is moving full speed ahead with plans to help SA as soon as a Transitional Executive Council is in place.

It is understood that plans include aid for the multiracial election process, different aid packages from the US and the G-7 group of industrialised nations and moves towards "encouraging" other southern African countries to quickly and efficiently integrate their economies with SA.

State Department sources said the United States government wanted to move quickly in order to send a clear message that it supported negotiations and the democratic process and that it strongly opposed radical forces which supported violence.

As soon as the Transitional Council is in place the Clinton Administration will ask for a lifting of the so-called

# US gearing up to pump aid into post-apartheid SA

Gramm Amendment, which requires the US to veto IMF and World Bank loans to SA.

President Clinton will also ask Congress for about R31-million to help the election process in SA.

Reports in the US said that once the electoral process was fully under way the US would begin negotiations on tax agreements and scientific co-operation.

However, the Clinton administration has already told the World Bank to start planning economic goals for SA. The US Agency for International Development, AID, has also been told to review its assistance strategy for SA.

The US government and Congress are also expected to discuss soon an aid package to SA worth millions.

John Hicks, acting assistant administrator for Africa at the AID, has told Congress that because of events in SA the US government "considers this to be an optimal time for donors and regional institutions to formulate a new vision for southern Africa".

Hicks said the US government wanted initiatives that "will promote regional integration and... emphasise market-oriented economic development". Some anti-apartheid personalities here continue

to tell the US government to exercise caution in its rush to come to SA's aid.

However, they do recognise that SA will need massive injections of financial aid to help improve the living conditions of the majority of black South Africans.

Donald Payne, member of the Congressional Black Caucus, said aid restrictions should not be lifted until AFTER an elected government was in place.

However, Randall Robinson, executive director of the Trans Africa lobby group, says he supports lifting all sanctions as soon as a transitional government is in place. "Once we have a

transitional executive council in place... then it's time for sanctions to be lifted... and it's time for American and Western corporations to return to South Africa," he told the Los Angeles Times this week.

Robinson said Western nations should come to the aid of SA to ensure that there are economic benefits for the black majority in a politically democratic country.

Otherwise, he said, blacks "will really begin to question the value of the process they've undertaken".

In his interview Robinson, one of the strongest advocates for a total isolation of SA, said sanctions "did not contribute to black poverty".

"Black people always wanted sanctions because they had so little to lose and everything to gain in terms of what this kind of enormous economic pressure would cause in the way of a reaction from the white minority government. And they worked," he said.



# GENERAL AIR OF MISTRUST

C/Press 6/6/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

**T**HE first democratic elections in SA, set for April 27 next year, could see the generals and members of the security forces placed in the forefront of political developments.

This is not a scenario many relish. The question occupying the minds of politicians and political analysts is: "What role will they play?"

Dabbling in politics is nothing new to generals in developing countries. In Latin America they still play a pivotal role in the authoritarian regimes and emerging democracies. They have been agents of progress – and ruthless suppressors of change.

Even in SA, particularly during the reign of PW Botha, the security forces played a dominant role in state affairs, although from behind the scenes.

## Emerging

Now, in the relatively more open administration of FW de Klerk, they are emerging from the barracks to take up a more visible profile. Will they be agents of change or not?

It is not an exaggeration to say that the success or failure of the country's first democratic elections could well hinge on their attitude.

Should they endorse the outcome of elections – expected to be an ANC victory – the country's passage to democracy will have overcome its major hurdle. There will still be serious problems ahead, no doubt.

Rejection of the election outcome by the security forces and the generals would make an ANC government shaky and the country could well be balkanised into little fiefdoms where military warlords hold sway.

Threats by the AWB and other rightwing groups to disrupt transition to democracy can only be taken seriously if they are assured of support by those who have the firepower.

It is against this background that one should see the importance of former SA Defence Force chief Gen Constand Viljoen entering the political stage.

Viljoen recently launched the Afrikaner Volksfront whose aim is to bring together all rightwing formations and establish an Afrikaner homeland.

The Conservative Party and the



TRUE COLOURS ... Former SADF chief Constand Viljoen.

**Military  
men: Will  
they help  
or hinder  
change?**

AWB have already welcomed his initiatives. With the recent death of CP leader Andries Treurnicht, the former army chief is seen as the best man to unify the right.

Interestingly enough, other analysts – even those on the left of the government – don't see Viljoen as someone who is likely to embrace the ultra-racist policies of groupings such as the AWB.

Noted Cape Town University political scientist, Prof David Walsh, sees Viljoen as someone who will be a "stabilising force" among the rightwingers.

According to Walsh, the army chief is "not the wildman of the right" and has "emphatically stated that he is not in the market for violence". Viljoen's emergence as the father figure of the right, says Walsh, will in the long term emasculate dangerous demagogues like Terre'Blanche.

The fact that the ultra-right Herstigte Nasionale Party has not formally joined forces with the Volksfront and are reluctant to do so, shows that to pigeonhole Vil-

joen as a rabid right winger may indeed be incorrect.

Viljoen is only one of numerous army men who have entered the political terrain although he is without doubt the most senior and important. Other figures that will need careful watching in the coming months are Tienie Groenewald, a former chief of military intelligence and his brother Jan, also a former military man.

According to a bulletin which has commented with authority on military and political issues, Tienie Groenewald played an important role in forging the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) alliance which includes Inkatha and the CP among others. He is also reputed to have coaxed fellow generals on to the political scene.

His younger brother, Jan, a founder member and later deputy leader of the AWB, is considered the power behind the scenes. After a fallout with Terre'Blanche, he is reputed to have taken with him the bulk of the AWB's intelligence who now form the core of the rightwing think-tank.

If elections are held next year without resolving the problem of the white homeland, it is not difficult to imagine what role some of these generals are likely to play!

Some of them played a leading role in reducing Mozambique to the begging bowl it is today through collusion with Renamo's Afonso Dhlakama and also helped Unita's Jonas Savimbi turn parts of Angola into rubble.

## Dangers

The government is obviously aware of the dangers posed by some of the generals and the heavily armed rightwing formations. In spite of this, Pretoria seems committed to early elections.

This can only mean that De Klerk is confident of support from the army.

As an astute politician, he would not endorse elections which he knows could possibly lead to another Angola where Savimbi simply ignored the outcome and continued with the hostilities.

But it would be wrong to believe that De Klerk is capitulating power.

On the contrary, De Klerk wants a meaningful role for the National Party.

The government is likely to insist on power sharing whatever the outcome of the elections.

One thing seems certain though: The generals are here to stay.

It was anathema for anyone in this climate to suggest that there was no grand theory of change, no final solution, no guaranteed outcome, no monopoly on truth.

To question the reality of "a total onslaught" immediately got one defined as part of it; to doubt any strategy of "The Struggle" immediately made you a willing or useful idiot of "The System". It was a time when dogmatic confidence rode roughshod over any expression of reasonable doubt.

## WHY ARE LIBERAL VALUES FASHIONABLE NOW?

TODAY, the major protagonists, when trying to negotiate an agenda for successful transition, talk about a justiciable Bill of Rights where core values such as the rule of law, freedom of association, speech, movement and infor-

tual coexistence and power sharing. All rather embarrassingly liberal and tentative, given the messianic convictions with which they confronted one another.

I am sure Alan Paton would have realised, as we do, that there is no mass liberal democratic movement carrying or driving these values.

As I have pointed out, most of the conventional institutions in society that sustain liberal democratic values, in our country, have been deeply contaminated by the legacies of the past.

And yet, precisely now, with South Africa in fundamental transition trying to consolidate around a fragile new emerging centre, liberal democratic values seem to guide the negotiations.

How do we account for this?

Obviously, one has to pay generous tribute to Paton and others like him who have with great fortitude proclaimed

of one of the most powerful redemptive political ideologies that dominated more than half the 20th Century world. Its practical bankruptcy is everywhere in evidence.

In the South African context, this collapse coincided with the demonstrable collapse of another redemptive ideology that has not only dominated, but oppressed, South Africa for the last 40 years, namely Apartheid/Separate Development as an articulation of Afrikaner Nationalism.

One is reminded of Paul Johnson's observation that "history painfully demonstrates that collective righteousness is far more ungovernable than any individual pursuit of revenge".

Between the struggle for liberation and the repression of domination, this country has been brought to the threshold of ungovernability.

Is it unsurprising that when

the dominant force is in transition, nothing is calculated to make a liberal democrat of a tyrant more quickly than the prospect of his most ardent adversary coming into power.

## WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN THE FUTURE?

OF one thing I am quite sure: premature triumphalism is completely inappropriate as far as the future of liberal democracy in South Africa is concerned. Particularly if formerly hostile opponents to it, seize upon it as a political compromise to bring about a negotiated transition.

Two things need to be appreciated in this context. First, even if political leaders

“The abiding virtue of a democracy is that it is the easiest way for a society to change its mind to meet changing circumstances. It enhances a country's ability to adjust and be flexible. But this cannot happen just because there is a liberal democratic constitution”



**I**f I could have had dinner with Alan Paton tonight there are three questions I would have liked to put to him. Why did South African liberalism evoke such vehement negative responses among those struggling for liberation? Why has this suddenly died down? What implications does this hold for liberal values in the future?

Because he is no longer with us, I wish to honour his memory by provoking some argument and reflection on these three questions.

## SOUTH AFRICAN LIBERALISM: THE POLITICAL POLECAT

DR NEVILLE ALEXANDER wrote on his release from Robben Island in 1974: "Liberalism is a greater danger in the long run to the struggle of the oppressed than fascism, for the very reason that it seems to speak with the tongue of the people".

Steve Biko also targeted "white liberals" in particular as the main danger to black emancipation. The contempt of Afrikaner nationalism and South African Marxism for South African liberalism is well documented.

I do not have the time, nor do I wish to trivialise this question by dwelling on jaded stereotypes about liberals.

The more interesting theme to explore in trying to understand why South African liberalism was the political polecat for so long is this: Why was the implementation of liberal values seen as both a protector of and a threat to the status quo in the South African context?

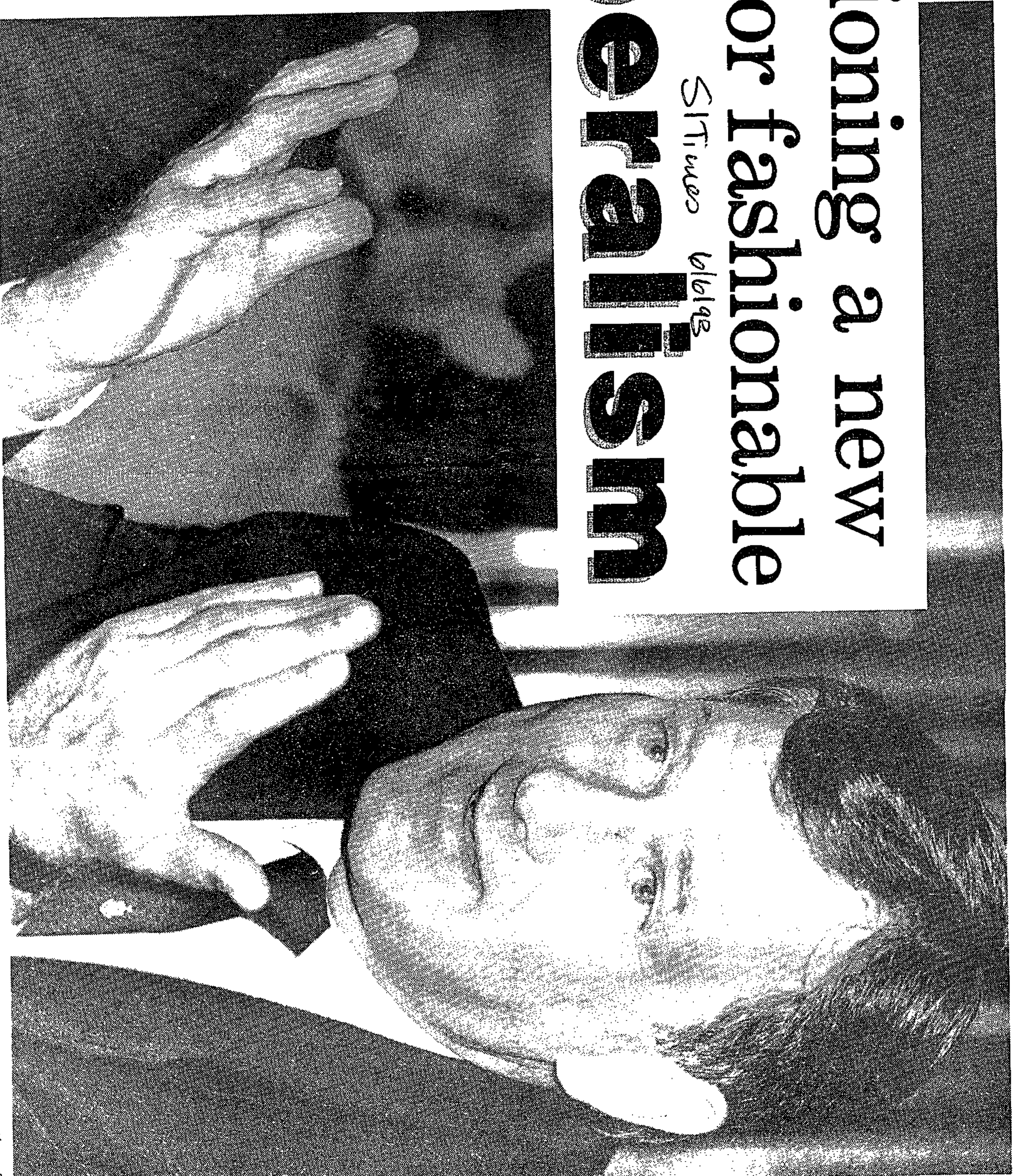
Suffice it to say that, in the South African context, when racism became institutionalised and legalised after 1948, it permeated through all the institutions and organisations in society, also those where people of liberal persuasion found themselves, such as universities, the press, the courts and business.

At the same time, South Africa became polarised between competing redemptive ideologies aimed at saving the poor, oppressed and exploited majority or protecting the wealthy, privileged minority: a National Democratic Revolution vs Apartheid; Liberalism vs Racial Capitalism, a Total Strategy to meet a Total Onslaught, the Struggle vs the

# Fashioning a new role for fashionable

## Liberalism

**FREDERIK VAN  
ZYL SLABBERT**  
says now is the  
time for liberals to  
put their money  
where their  
mouths are. This  
is an extract from  
his Alan Paton  
Memorial  
Lecture, delivered  
on Friday night



nation are placed beyond the capricious political will of a minority or majority; how to protect and nurture a market economy; how to have effective checks and balances in a democratic constitution to guard against the abuse of power.

Both the NP and the ANC have moved away from ideologically defined positions of exclusive intolerance and preach the virtues of inclusive tolerance and respect for diversity.

They have abandoned core assumptions about their respective, predestined and mutually exclusive roles to lead this country to redemp-

the core values of liberal democracy. (30/4/93)

Also, liberals have not only proclaimed and sermonised. They were active in civil society, business and politics and some of their pragmatic common sense obviously prevailed until today.

But more than liberal activism in the South African context is needed to explain the current vogue of liberal values.

The last five years saw the

the major antagonists confront each other in deadlock on the ashes of their mutually antagonistic redemptive ideologies, they fall back on liberal values in order to get negotiation under way?

But there is another dimension. In deadlock, power frustrates power. Neither side had the ability to impose its will on the other, only the ability to frustrate each other's intentions.

When, in such circum-

may have suspended, or even abandoned, the messianic/redemptive aspirations of their parties or movements, a sizeable section of their constituents have not.

Leaders cannot simply dismiss the political pressures that flow from such fears and aspirations. Romantic populism on the left and right of the spectrum is an ever-present and growing possibility.

Second, if liberal democracy is seen as the vehicle that is to meet and solve these

aspirations in the short term, for example where democracy is equated with economic development or with protecting the self-determination of exclusive minorities, then a burden is placed on democracy which it cannot carry.

If this perceived "failure" of democracy translates into the spread of confrontational populism, then, as comparative analysis shows, the result is not sustainable democracy, but renewed repression.

That is why perhaps now is

Such a constitution has to be sustained by supporting institutions that enhance a society's capacity for self-critical understanding. Institutions that continually remind us that no body, party or organisation has the monopoly on truth.

Also, institutions that help us to understand that the issues which redemptive ideologies try to solve in a deterministic fashion — such as poverty, inequality, minority self-determination, growth and unemployment — must enjoy sustained attention of an adjusting, critical flexible nature.

I am talking about professionalism and independence in the media, transparency and accountability in the civil service, critical inquiry in education, real freedom of enterprise in the economy, independence in the administration of justice and autonomy in civil society.

Such institutions prevent any special interest lobby or party from claiming the right to build a nation on behalf of everybody and instead make nation-building a never-ending enterprise for all the interest groups in society.

Building such institutions to underpin a liberal democratic constitution will demonstrate that the pursuit of core liberal values is not the preserve of a privileged few or a threat to the disempowered majority.

In fact, such institutions become the means by which we, or our country, can most effectively explore the best relationship between growth and redistribution, stability and legitimacy.

In Paton's times, liberals were defending, protecting, protesting and opposing. Given the prevailing dogmas, they very often found themselves excluded and isolated. They found it difficult to engage. Hence the image of talkers and moaners.

However, when a country like ours undergoes fundamental transition, it is also a time for institutional transformation and building. It is not a time for liberal democrats to coast along with relief at the current fashionability of their long-held convictions. They have a brief time to actively build those kinds of institutions that can sustain a liberal democracy.

In the South African context it is quite unique that liberals get an opportunity to put their money where their mouths are. Liberals have it — now.



IF BREAD and circuses are enough to keep the citizenry quiet, as a cynical old Roman observed about 1900 years ago, then South Africans should be *tjoepstil* after this week's talks at the World Trade Centre.

They got both *panem et circenses* — all the Big Top hoopla of an election date and rather more than the crumbs of progress that have dribbled from the Negotiating Council before.

What the 104 negotiators delivered are the first fragile shoots of a new constitution as this society begins to redefine itself in brave but sometimes silly terms; movement in the inexorable herding of smaller parties towards meeting the ANC's bottom line on how we get there from here; and suggestions on how to end violence, hailed as "historic" by the ANC and Inkatha. And, of course, agreement on an election date, or the illusion thereof.

What they did not deliver, according to many, was the eagerly sought "break-through". A document asking for further recommendations on constitutional issues was interpreted by some as binding the council to having accepted a two-phase process, one of the many sticking points between the negotiators.

Not so, said many parties, from the PAC to the Afrikaner Volkunie. What they were referring to was moving to a democratic South Africa via a transitional phase, with the eventual constitution being decided on by an elected constituent assembly — the two-phase process — rather than writing the new constitution in the Negotiating Council, where precious few were elected and everyone with a fax machine and a power suit gets to have his or her say — the single phase.

All we agreed to, they said, was to brief a technical committee to report on the powers of the future regions.

The ensuing report from the committee itself could have been controversial this week if it had not been shelved for later discussion. Inkatha delegates said privately the report from the technical committee "made our hair stand on end". The party disagrees with the committee's interpretation of its brief — that what is being drafted is a transitional constitution, and that the rights granted to regions are transitory.

Nonetheless, the party accepts that informal bilateral talks between the ANC and IFP must be "formalised soon" so the two parties can begin to move toward one another — Inkatha seeking to gain ground on regional guarantees while being prepared to concede some of the writing of the national constitution to an elected body.

A similarly conflicting interpretation of another council document nearly kept the crucial election date debate from happening. It all hinged on a declaration of intent adopted in the early days.

The smaller parties, fearful of an election which would finally show their true support, said they interpreted the declaration to mean that an election date would be decided on once "enough progress" had been made. Nowhere near that point had been reached, they said.

The big chaps, slaving to go to the polls, reminded the others that the country was expecting to hear the date on Thursday, and to not meet this expectation was to court "unpredictable" reaction.

Who created the expectation? Why, the big parties did. And who created the illusion that the expectation had been met?

After almost three hours, when it was clear the anti-date debate parties would not budge, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa came up with a compromise.

What the council opted for was to decide on a date that day, re-open the debate in 10 days and decide again.

Shazam! With the aid of mirrors and a puff of smoke, a date was set.

But, if the ANC alliance seeks to create the illusion of movement, both in the debate and outside (when spin-doctor supreme Ramaphosa gives his version of what took place) the parties to his right will always return to the written version of exactly what the council decided.

This will not help their cause much. There must be movement, and the ANC alliance, making concessions to an undemocratic council for the sake of progress, will force through vital issues for the same reason.

Beginning to draft the constitution did not take much forcing.

As usual, the council took a long time to decide how to debate the matter, whipping itself into a frenzy of protocol and points of order just as a group message on pagers in the press gallery set the gadgets pinging and bleeping like a chorus of amorous tree-frogs.

Chaos threatened, but lunch restored good humour and for the next few hours 14 constitutional clauses were adopted or referred for amendment with (relatively speaking) the speed of light.

Democracy, universal suffrage, equality — all the cherished (and barely controversial) concepts were there, along with some sensitive to this country's needs — the amelioration of the lot of the disadvantaged and the "appropriate" recognition of the role of traditional leaders.

The right-wing white parties spoke on almost every clause, with the CP, visions of a homeland dancing in its head, seeking time and again to change "constitution" to the plural — in vain.

The debate produced one startling proposal — that religion, language and culture be subject to laws guaranteeing equality of the sexes.

The clause was referred to a panel of experts, and we will know next week whether we may one day have the odd distinction of being the first country to sue the Catholic church or the local Imam for their treatment of women.

Nothing was decided on violence — but when both Inkatha and the ANC can indulge in mutual back-patting when faced with a document that recommends the phasing out of armed formations, there is hope for rather more substance than circus in coming weeks.

## How magic and mirrors conjured up a poll date

STimes 6/6/93

304A



# PAC won't quit talks

Political Reporter

THE PAC would not quit the negotiating forum and fall into a government "trap" to knock itself out of elections, PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday. 6/6/92

Mrs de Lille, a PAC NEC member, said the bitter row between the government and the PAC over the operations of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had escalated.

This had happened in spite of a PAC offer to discuss a "mutual cessation of hostilities" with the government. (2047)



# What a pity Mr de Klerk didn't turn up for dinner

STimes 6/6/93

**P**RESIDENT DE KLERK, having accepted an invitation to attend a New SA banquet at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel on Thursday night with Mr Nelson Mandela, pulled out with only hours to spare, pleading that the pressure of events had thrown his schedule into disarray.

It was a pity. He missed that moment of history when Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, with a happy Mr Roelf Meyer beside him, announced that a date had been set, more or less, for South Africa's first democratic election.

Like the state president, Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer were under pressure. They raced to the banquet from the World Trade Centre to receive a joint award from New Nation and Engen as "men of the year", holding up the aircraft that was to take them both to the United States to receive further joint honours.

Mr Mandela, who makes a point of disproving the "African time" stereotype by always turning up, and turning up on time, watched benignly from the main table (where the empty space, one imagined, was Mr de Klerk's), while the country's chief negotiators beamed happily at the crowd, at each other, and at the future. They have grown so close, they could wear each other's smiles.

The editor of New Nation, Zwelakhe Sisulu, and his deputy, Gabu Tugwana (whom I have known since they were both reporters at the Rand Daily Mail), had planned the occasion, with Engen, as a signal: the days of protest and destruction are over — it is time to build a nation. If President de Klerk let them down, Mr Meyer saved the day. They were content.

Three points arise: firstly, the pressure on Mr de Klerk is frightening. I did not expect to see the day when he, the master-politician, would make so amateurish a mistake as to name Dr Van Zyl Slabbert to the chairmanship of the SABC board without first speaking to him.

His Cabinet is now so weak and divided that his government generates a circus a week: the huffing and puffing over the examination fees, and the back-down; the Wild West roundup of PAC leaders, and the tame release of

most of them; and the woefully mismanaged appointment of a new SABC board.

All of this is damaging to Mr de Klerk's personal stature, and even to his credibility. How, for example, can anybody justify kicking out Dr William Rowland, who is, despite his blindness, an extraordinary force in South African philanthropy, and who might have a great deal to contribute to radio? The pretence that his expulsion has something to do with "political imbalance" is simply to add insult to injury.

The impression one gets — and I am not alone in this — is of a head of government who is overworked, harassed, isolated, and often misinformed. Yet he remains the only person in this country who can preside over a peaceful transition to democracy. Without him, the transition would proceed to its fore-ordained conclusion — majority rule — but it might take a terrible course.

(304A) (2)

**T**HIS leads to the second point: the naming of an election date was contrived, even bulldozed. It was hedged about with qualifications. The work required to fix the date, finally and with certainty, has simply not been done. The dissident parties, who insist that the multi-party talks must take whatever time they need to thrash out the constitutional questions before they fix the election date, have persuasive arguments.

Indeed, there was a time when I held similar views: the making of a constitution is a once-in-a-century chance to lay down the foundations of a democracy, and we should get it right. That is why I objected at the start to a process that tied the interests of the government, and, as it has turned out, its fate, to the negotiating process.

Towards the end of last year, however, I was persuaded that time had run out, and that the need to find national stability had begun to outweigh the need to craft the perfect constitution. In my view, the National Party's constitutional ideas are deplorable; those of the ANC are hardly better; the Democratic Party's bill of rights has been a bitter

disappointment. But the country is disintegrating.

The government's lack of legitimacy hampers or stymies economic policy, international relations, education, housing, health reform, crime control, the administration of justice, tax collection, and even such relatively minor matters as the appointment of a board for the SABC. We cannot go on like this.

Right-wingers think they could do better by *kragdadigheid*; they delude themselves. It was *kragdadigheid* that ruined the economy, corrupted the civil service and brought the Nationalists to their knees. Not long ago the police were complaining that too many officers were suffering nervous breakdowns from their experiences in the townships; the army was running out of conscripts. To think they can reimpose their will is fantasy.

To repair anything in this country, to restore order, to end recession, to control crime, to open schools or even to make appointments without controversy, requires a legitimate government. Such a government can only come from elections, and it had better come soon.

**T**HIS brings me to the final point. Some parties, knowing they will lose heavily in free elections, are spinning out the negotiations as long as they can; the ANC, on the other hand, expects to govern, and it is becoming increasingly anxious to limit the damage, to bury the past and to heal the nation.

That is why it took over the task of damage control after Chris Hani's assassination, and that is why Zwelakhe Sisulu, who spent more than three years in prison without trial, pays homage to Roelf Meyer, a member of the government which inflicted that injustice on him. Mr Meyer, who seems much more at home in the new South Africa than the old, eagerly grasped the hand of friendship that was proffered.

It's a pity President de Klerk was not there to see it happen. The sight would have lifted his spirits, and filled him with hope.

**KEN OWEN**



# Gqozo nuzzles up to Volksfront

Sunday Times Reporter

THE new political movement set up last week by Ciskei strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo has moved swiftly to forge links with the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront.

On Friday — just 48 hours after the Christian People's Movement was formed — Brigadier Gqozo held talks in Bisho with former SA Defence Force chief and Volksfront executive member, General Constand Viljoen.

General Viljoen flew to the Ciskei capital from East London, where he and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre Blanche shared a platform on Friday night.

He was accompanied by Mr Riaan van Rensburg, who with his brother, Koos — a spokesman for the Volksfront — runs the Pretoria-based consultancy, Multi Media Services, which Brigadier Gqozo has used

in the past. The CPM is set to replace the African Democratic Movement in Ciskei.

But unlike the ADM, which claimed to be a non-racist national organisation of moderates, the CPM is based on the idea of a united Xhosa nation within Brigadier Gqozo's proposed Kei region.

This is in line with the Volksfront's ideology, Mr van Rensburg said.

"We consider ourselves allies in the whole process of negotiations and on the idea of separate states," Mr van Rensburg said of Brigadier Gqozo and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Ciskei ruler's overtures to the Volksfront have stunned senior officials in his administration.

"Even members of the inner circle did not know about it. It is the strangest thing. It appears to have been an overnight decision," said one.

# FW overrules indemnity board

STimes 6/6/93

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk overruled a recommendation by the Indemnity Board, and granted partial indemnity to a key witness in the inquest into the murder of Cradock teacher Matthew Goniwe.**

The board advised that an application for indemnity by former Eastern Province staff officer Colonel Lourens du Plessis not be granted, a spokesman for Mr de Klerk said last night.

Colonel du Plessis was, however, granted indemnity to allow him to give evidence about a signal

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

recommending the "permanent removal from society" of the UDF activist, but was not indemnified in terms of Operation Katzen, a secret SADF plan to oust former Ciskei president Lennox Sebe and turn the Eastern Province into a unified Xhosa state.

Mr de Klerk's spokesman said the board had disputed whether a political offence in terms of the Further Indemnity Act had been committed (304A).

"After consultation with State legal advisers and the acting Attorney-Gener-

al of the Eastern Cape, Mr Michael Hodgen, Mr de Klerk nevertheless granted indemnity to Colonel du Plessis to allow him to testify freely in the Goniwe inquest," the spokesman said.

He said indemnity had not been granted in respect of Operation Katzen because "insufficient material" was available indicating that any offence had been committed.

"Nor is Operation Katzen the subject of any judicial proceedings. Should any information become

available indicating that Colonel du Plessis committed any crime with a political motive related to Operation Katzen, his application for indemnity may be reviewed," the spokesman said.

The former SADF officer's lawyer, Mr Wayne Gray, said his client — who was expected to take the stand in the Port Elizabeth Supreme Court on Tuesday — was reconsidering his decision to testify.

"Colonel du Plessis is in possession of damning information about Operation Katzen, and there is an inextricable link between Katzen and the Goniwe murder," Mr Gray said.

"If he takes the stand under the conditions of his indemnity, he could lay himself open to prosecution," Mr Gray said.

Details of Operation Katzen — masterminded by Lieutenant-General Joffel van der Westhuizen, now head of Military Intelligence — emerged at the start of the reopened inquest earlier this year.

The signal referring to Mr Goniwe's "removal" is alleged to have been issued by General van der Westhuizen.



Incompetent bureaucracy hampers Scheepers in land reform

# MINISTER QUILTS NAILS IN DESPAIR

STimes [buss] 6/6/93

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

DEPUTY Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers, appointed by President FW de Klerk to manage the crucial land reform portfolio, has quit the government after months of fighting an incompetent bureaucracy intent on frustrating reform.

Senior leaders of the Vryburg Constituency Council were informed yesterday that Mr Scheepers's resignation would come into effect on July 1. A source in the council said it had been asked to keep his resignation confidential until the middle of the week.

(3047)

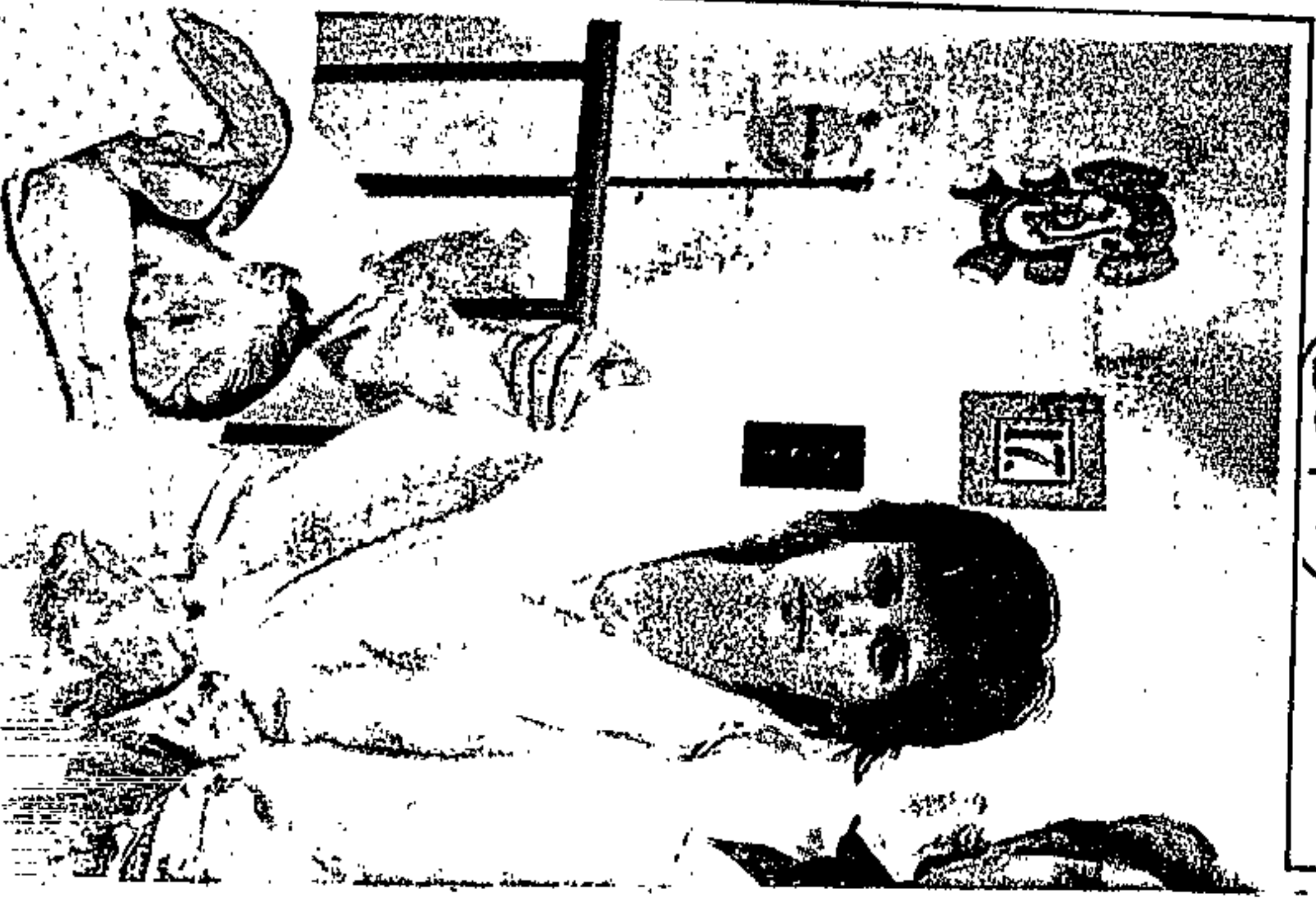
Mr Scheepers's decision to quit politics signals a fresh crisis for Mr de Klerk and his demoralised party. It comes in a month of severe blows for Mr de Klerk after the government's mismanagement of the education crisis, the bungled appointment of the SABC board and new evidence of a sharply divided Cabinet.

A source at the president's office said Mr Scheepers told Mr de Klerk a month ago he was frustrated with officials in his department whose intransigence and incompetence were thwarting his attempts at land reform. He told Mr de Klerk he wanted to resign.

More than 95 percent of Mr Scheepers's staff dealing with land issues were transferred from the disbanded and discredited Department of Development Aid.

Their unimaginative approach effectively stymied his attempts to introduce a progressive method of land reform.

A few days after speaking to Mr de Klerk, Mr Scheepers...



Police  
under  
fire  
over  
checks  
system

By SHARON CHETTY

A KEY member of the National Peace Accord has accused police of lacking commitment to — and on occasions resisting — a checks-and-balances system designed to bridge the gap between the police and the community.

This has led to the failure so far of the Police Reporting Officer system in the Witwatersrand — the country's most violent area — he claimed.

Under the peace accord, attorneys and advocates were appointed as independent facilitators to ensure that complaints against the S.A.P.

STimes  
6/6/93



6/6/93

3049



QUITTING: Johan Scheepers, whose resignation signals a fresh crisis for the NP Picture: TERRY SHEAN

## No happy ever after for Annie

AS SHE faces her second divorce in 13 years, Anneline Kriel-Kerzner-Tucker must wonder if happy-ever-after exists.

For the second time in nine months Anneline's millionaire husband, Philip Tucker, father of her daughters, Tayla, 3, and Whitney, 2, has begun divorce proceedings.

Last September he withdrew a divorce petition days after filing it. But this time he appears to be serious about ending their four-year marriage.

Specialist divorce lawyer Billy Gundelfinger confirmed: "Yes, divorce proceedings have begun."

"On Friday Philip brought an urgent application relating to the children, which was heard by Mr Justice Myburgh in his chambers."

Sunday Times Reporter

"We expect the matter to proceed on Monday."

Mr Gundelfinger also confirmed that Anneline and Philip were still living in the same house. Both are remaining tight-lipped about the reasons for the divorce and seem intent on shielding their children.

In terms of section 12 of the Divorce Act of 1984, it is a criminal offence to publish details of a divorce.

Most of Anneline's friends have refused to say anything. One said: "Anneline is a devoted mother who loves her children very much."

Other friends cite Philip's "insane jealousy and possessiveness" as a possible cause of the split. One said that a well-

known photographer had asked Anneline "several times" to pose for a calendar of the most beautiful women in South Africa. She refused — ostensibly because she thought Philip would not approve.

Copies of Fair Lady, which carried stunning pictures of Anneline at 37 and an interview in which she said she was happy, were still on the shelves when Anneline and Philip marched separately into the Supreme Court on Friday.

### Reconciled

For nearly 20 years beautiful Anneline has remained South Africa's darling. Her face on the cover of magazines is a guarantee of added sales and her perfect body has been used to endorse products.

When she married "Sun King" Sol Kerzner in 1980, young and fresh-faced Anneline looked set for a happy life.

But the laughter died in Annie's eyes when Sol filed for divorce in June 1984. A few days later they were reconciled and Annie flew to London to be with him. On November 21, 1985, the divorce was completed.

## Muis wins Oaks classic

SOUTH AFRICAN jockey Michael "Muis" Roberts won the English Oaks horseracing classic at Epsom yesterday — after surviving a near fall.

Roberts, the reigning English champion jockey, took Intrepidity to the winning post with a thrilling late sprint.

Afterwards, he disclosed that his mount had stumbled at a road which crosses the Epsom course. "I was almost out of the saddle," he said. "We were well behind from that point, but she picked up brilliantly in the straight."

See Page 27

## A WINNING TRAMP FOR COUZENS

THE Sunday Times Alan Paton Award, South Africa's top prize for non-fiction writing, has been won by Wits University academic Professor Tim Couzens for his book *Tramp* Royak See Page 4

NEW chairman of the SABC board Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, who delivered the Alan Paton Memorial Lecture, discusses the fashionability of Liberalism on Page 21

## PICK 6

TURFFONTEIN There were 83 winners with each collecting a payout of R13 217,10. Numbers: 2; 5; 2; 8; 9; 1; 4; 6; 8; 2; 10.

GREYVILLE 58 winners each received a dividend of R9 796,20. Selections: 6; 12; 5; 1; 8; 2.

MILNERTON There were 501 winners with each collecting a dividend of R1 203,60. Combinations: 8; 1; 3; 9; 7; 5.

to quit politics signals a fresh crisis for Mr de Klerk and his demoralised party. It comes in a month of severe blows for Mr de Klerk after the government's mismanagement of the education crisis, the bungled appointment of the SABC board and new evidence of a sharply divided Cabinet.

A source at the president's office said Mr Scheepers told Mr de Klerk a month ago he was frustrated with officials in his department whose intransigence and incompetence were thwarting his attempts at land reform. He told Mr de Klerk he wanted to resign.

More than 95 percent of Mr Scheepers's staff dealing with land issues were transferred from the disbanded and discredited Department of Development Aid.

Their unimaginative approach effectively stymied his attempts to introduce a progressive method of land reform.

A few days after speaking to Mr de Klerk, Mr Scheepers informed Cape NP leader Mr Dawie de Villiers he had decided to resign from his job. "He realised there was nothing that could be done to change the situation in the department," a source in Land Affairs said.

Mr de Villiers asked Mr Scheepers to reconsider. But, a week later, Mr Scheepers informed him he was still intent on resigning. Mr Scheepers officially informed Mr de Klerk about 10 days ago.

Mr Scheepers's colleagues and close friends said there were several reasons for his resignation.

He no longer believed in the long-term survival of the NP, given its inability to gain black support, they said.

However, being a loyal member of the NP and a supporter of Mr de Klerk's reform initiatives, he could not desert to another party more capable of ensuring his political career.

### Faith

In the new dispensation, his friends said, he faced a shortened career in politics. Even if elected in the first non-racial poll next year, he would be a junior MP earning far less than he now received as a deputy minister.

Seeing a dead-end in politics, Mr Scheepers, who is 45, wanted to return to a career in law before it was too late, they said.

His desire to quit over a lack of faith in his party's ability to survive was strengthened by his frustration over his job.

Mr Scheepers, who is regarded as a more enlightened member of the government, tried for months to introduce a progressive land reform policy. However, the work of the Department of Land Affairs was severely hampered by several other departments — such as Agriculture, Defence and Public Works which also have land policy agendas.

He has long been in favour of a land tax, measures to counter absentee farmers and to ensure



RECOVERING: Barry and

## No faith in party's ability to survive

property rights for farm labourers. These were not supported by Cabinet members, many of whom own farms of their own and fear the impact Mr Scheepers's proposals could have on rural whites.

His attempts to broaden the powers of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, which was approved after months of argument and opposition, had not resulted in any legislation after nine months.

Mr Scheepers became frustrated by his inability to sway conservative opponents in the Cabinet and by an unsupportive staff to effect changes in land reform.

A close friend said yesterday: "Johan is tired of it all. He is unable to achieve anything constructive. He has four children to consider. He thinks it's time to leave."

### Deny

Mr Scheepers leaves an NP which has experienced a dramatic decline in white support, and a caucus which is riddled with infighting.

The Vryburg advocate was elected to the Cape Provincial Council in 1981. He was elected MP for Vryburg in 1985 and was appointed Deputy Law and Order Minister in November 1990. In April last year he took on the portfolio of Land Affairs and in August the Law and Order portfolio was removed from him.

Yesterday Mr Scheepers declined to confirm or deny his resignation. He said he would issue a full statement this week.

Win R420 000 in the Charity Crossword: See Business Times





Mr Roelf Meyer

# 'Roelf and Ramaphosa' team wows Boston

PETER FABRICIUS

The Argus Foreign Service

BOSTON. — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were given an unprecedented standing ovation when they accepted honorary law degrees from the University of Massachusetts for their contribution to promoting democracy.

The large crowd of graduating students, professors and Boston community leaders in United States's premier educa-

tion city abandoned academic decorum and acclaimed the two key negotiators, who were the undisputed stars of the event.

The ceremony symbolised the international community's recognition of the convergence of views which resulted in last week's announcement of April 27, 1994 as the date for a democratic election.

Resplendent in red and blue academic gowns, hoods and black mortar boards, the "Roelf and Ramaphosa" team basked in the acclamation.

Reading the citation to the

two South Africans, University of Massachusetts Chancellor Sherry Penny called Mr Ramaphosa an able negotiator, masterful organiser and pivotal force within the ANC, who had overcome great obstacles — including solitary confinement — to help achieve a new democratic order.

She said Mr Meyer was a "shining emblem" of a country which was struggling to achieve democracy and praised him for his tenacity and vision in leading the government's

negotiating team.

Both men were honoured in particular for their vital role in keeping the democratisation process alive by maintaining personal contact.

Mr Ramaphosa said President Clinton and the international community had a duty to help rebuild the new South Africa from the "pain and ashes" of apartheid.

He confirmed that the ANC would call for the lifting of all remaining sanctions once a transitional executive council had been installed, which he

said was possible by mid-July.

Mr Meyer said the time had already arrived for the world to help the economy as democratisation was in its final stage.

"There is not a constitutional problem we will not be able to resolve. One man, one vote elections will take place before the end of April," he said to loud applause.

Mr Ramaphosa has returned to South Africa, while Mr Meyer is to address the National Press Club in Washington today.



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa



# Perceptive analysis of present day SA

8/03/93 7/6/93

**THE NEGOTIATED REVOLUTION — Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa**, by Herbert Adam and Kogila Moodley (Jonathan Ball, R59,95)

ADAM and Moodley have been among the most perceptive analysts of SA politics since the early '70s when Adam's *Modernising Racial Domination* came to grips with the reformist path the NP had begun to follow.

Political analysis in the fast-evolving SA has become an even more challenging task. Although this book was completed only five months ago, some of the writers' theses have already been tested.

Unusually and commendably, they state their leanings up front: "We write as social democrats who identify with the underdog but lack the enviable certainty of orthodox Marxists or liberal moralists about the best solution."

And unlike the "Marxists and liberal moralists" they can look towards an outcome which fits both political reality and their preferences. "The multiparty negotiations will neither leave the status quo intact, as the reformers had hoped, nor utterly reverse all power relations, as revolutionaries had expected. Instead, the negotiations will

grant all major forces a stake in an historic compromise."

The book analyses, essentially, the factors that led to the 1990 urban-ruralings, the factors pushing SA, often reluctantly, towards that compromise, and also those which may prevent the compromise transpiring or being workable; they prophetically warn of the possible effects of a high-profile assassination.

The authors undertake fairly detailed analyses of most main players, with chapters devoted to the ANC-SACP alliance, the PAC-Black Consciousness axis, Inkatha and the right wing. Curiously, there is no similar examination of the NP. Although they may argue that the NP is not overlooked insofar as its relationship with other parties is examined, it is the most obvious shortcoming of a generally high-quality work.

One of the most striking features is the authors' devastating assessment of the SACP's Stalinist past and the total inadequacy of the apologies made for it, such as by Joe Slovo in *Has Socialism Failed?* And they then witheringly examine the ANC's indirect association with the crimes of communism.

But what makes this assessment particularly valuable is that it is not made from the perspective of Cold War paranoia — still the most common perspective from which anti-

SACP attacks come. It is carried out from a principled human rights perspective. And Adam and Moodley are sufficiently clear-sighted to recognise that changes in SA and the world are forcing the SACP off its Stalinist path and that today's paranoid attitudes are inappropriate.

Less clear-sighted, the authors perpetuate a fond myth — that the collapse of communism in late 1989 was the main factor which persuaded government to unban the ANC and other parties. This leads them to underestimate the contribution of internal resistance.

While, by February 2 1990, that was a useful explanation for De Klerk to insert in his speech so as to pacify the right, not to mention members of his own caucus, it was really a case of smoke and mirrors. De Klerk knew by the time of his election the previous September that he would unban the ANC (although he may have had some final misgivings about the SACP). By mid-October Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and several others were already free. It was not until the following month that the Berlin Wall came down to signal the end of the communist bloc, and even later before the hardest cases like Romania's Ceausescu were ousted.

The book identifies a problem only

recently accepted by the ANC — that "social forces are so diverse and multifaceted that political legitimacy and economic stability cannot be reached by a coercive alignment, even one acceptable to a numerical majority". Where the white right is concerned, "the best that can be hoped for is that the ANC can engage the moral ideologies of Afrikaner self-determination (that is, the more moderate Afrikaner Volksunie and others) who still form the majority in the right-wing camp.

It also examines the dangers of an elite deal where "business, state bureaucrats and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance reach an unwritten contract at the expense of the unorganised and weaker sections of the population". But the authors are not sufficiently sensitive to the awareness of these dangers on the part of, especially, the alliance.

Finally, they enter the increasingly popular scenario arena — comparing possibilities for SA with events in Zimbabwe, Yugoslavia and Germany.

A last complaint, already made by other reviewers, is that economics is not the authors' strong point. But that should not discourage a reading of one of the better political analyses of present day SA.

ALAN FINE



French team's huge lock who is noted for his line-out jumping and over-all mobility, needed no encouragement to join the Bombers. ● Rounat les

# NP blow as deputy minister quits

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

A FRUSTRATED Mr Johan Scheepers yesterday delivered a damaging blow to a troubled National Party when he confirmed that he was resigning both as a deputy minister and as an MP.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer and the Inkatha Freedom Party's parliamentary leader, Mr Jurie Mentz,

said Mr Scheepers' shock decision to quit at this stage in South Africa's history demonstrated the extent of tensions within the NP caucus.

Mr Mentz predicted there would be further splintering from the NP after the parliamentary session and that at least 10 NP MPs would soon join the IFP.

Dr De Beer said Mr

Scheepers had been frequently blocked by the "for-toises" in the civil services clinging to white supremacy.

But Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers moved yesterday to smother suspicions that the resignation of the deputy Land Affairs Minister indicated disenchantment within the party.

He said Mr Scheepers was

resigning to pursue a legal career.

A successor will be named in few months.

In a statement yesterday Mr Scheepers cited a return to legal practice as his "main" reason for resigning.

But his frustrations with slow-moving civil service and the inability or unwillingness of some of his NP colleagues to

move more decisively is no secret in political circles.

Mr Scheepers has been an enthusiastic supporter of NP reform, promoting unity in local government, reform in the police and changes in land policy.

National Party spokesman Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday there were no divisions in the National Party caucus.

## Bishops court summit plan

CT 7/6/93

INKATHA Freedom Party president and KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had agreed to meet in Cape Town "within the next couple of weeks", Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu announced last night.

He said in a statement that the meeting, to be held at his official residence, Bishops Court, would be chaired by the presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of South Africa, Dr Stanley Mogoba, and himself.

"Following the process of shuttle diplomacy between black political leaders which I initiated last year, I had the opportunity this weekend to meet both Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela," he said.

Archbishop Tutu said he followed up his discussions at those meetings with telephone consultations later yesterday, both leaders had accepted an invitation to meet at Bishops Court.

"The date and time of the meeting are still being discussed. I would like it to take place as soon as possible. I certainly hope it will happen within the next couple of weeks," he said. He is due to leave for London today on an overseas visit but would cancel whatever engagements were necessary to return for the meeting. — Sapa



### UPSET ...

Spain's Sergi Bruguera lofts the French Open trophy after winning the final against defending champion Jim Courier in Paris yesterday.

Bruguera showed majestic form, proving that earlier rounds had been no fluke, by beating Courier 6-4, 2-6, 6-2, 3-6, 6-3.

● Report Back Page  
Picture: AP

## Teenagers raped in city hostel

Staff Reporter

TWO teenage girls were raped in a Peninsula hostel early yesterday by a lone intruder, who also attempted to rape a third girl.

Police spokesman Captain John Sterrenberg said the rapes occurred about 2am.

An intruder had broken into the hostel, entered a bedroom and raped a 15-year-old girl. In another bedroom he had raped a 16-year-old girl and had been about to rape a third girl when the alarm was sounded.

The man managed to escape and no arrests have been made.

The location of the hostel has been withheld to protect the identity of the victims.



# FW's headache: The job no-one wants

Deputy-Minister Scheepers' resignation said to be because of problems with officials

## Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has the problem of filling a top job that nobody in the National Party wants — the post of Deputy Minister of Land Affairs.

The reluctance to be appointed to the post is because of the unresolved apartheid land battles that lie ahead, particularly in Natal and KwaZulu, and because the officials with whom the Deputy Minister has to work have now put paid to two political careers.

Mr Johan Scheepers announced at the weekend his resignation as Deputy Minister of Land Affairs and as MP for Vryburg. He plans to build a law practice in Cape Town.

One of the tasks he was handling was trying to settle the future of land promised to the six self-governing states in terms of the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, but still not handed over to them.

The six governments want the land they were promised. But in some significant instances the people on the land do not want homeland rule. Some major political problems lie ahead.

This issue is particularly acute in Natal where 93 pieces of land (some 500 000 hectares) was promised to KwaZulu in terms of the now discarded homelands consolidation plans, but is still under central government control. The Kwazulu government says that as it was promised the land, the National Party should now honour that promise.

The NP offered "joint administration" of the land, but has in many instances not cleared this with the people living on the land.

Mr Scheepers was helping to pass more land to the self-governing states, but was also attempting to curb their powers.

Former Cabinet Minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said when he was in office that one of his most difficult problems was dealing with officials in the then Department of Development Aid.

He said they were Verwoerdian in their thinking. This was one of the reasons that led him to leave politics.

Although officials from Development Aid were divided among 18 different government departments, the bulk ended up in Land Affairs. Mr Scheepers was known to have problems with the officials. He thought them slow and not always helpful.

NP sources said today that nobody was keen to take on these complex, slow-moving bureaucratic problems.

Mr Scheepers became the second government official after Manpower Minister Mr Leon Wessels to apologise unconditionally for apartheid.

Announcing his resignation, which takes effect from July 1, Mr Scheepers said: "Apartheid was a mistake and I join the ranks of those within the National Party who regret this policy and who have expressed their regret for this policy."

Mr Scheepers would not comment on the belief in political circles that he was resigning because of the intransigence of officials in the Department of Regional and Land Affairs.

Minister of Regional and Land Affairs Mr Andre Fourie said he was aware Mr Scheepers had had problems with officials, but that these had been responsibly addressed and resolved through the head of the department.

He said changes in the functioning of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation were being finalised and he hoped legislation would be passed in parliament this session to give the commission more powers.

According to Mr Fourie, there was a positive attitude throughout the Department of Regional and Land Affairs.

Democratic Party Land Affairs spokesman Mr Peter Soal said Mr Scheepers's resignation was a blow to reform.

Land was and always has been an emotional issue in South Africa, and his clear head would be missed in the transition, Mr Soal said.

(3044) ARK 7/6/93



# CP 'under pressure to pull out of talks'

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

Star 7/16/93  
304A

CAPE TOWN — This week could prove decisive to future Conservative Party participation in negotiations as some in its ranks contemplate a form of "mass action" to strengthen its hand at the talks.

CP sources said the party was facing increasing pressure from its constituency to pull out of the negotiations.

A member of the CP negotiating team said yesterday: "We are being asked whether it is worth continuing if we cannot achieve anything."

He said the growing perception was that ANC secretary

general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were "just forcing things through and using us to give the process legitimacy".

CP spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder echoed his words, saying: "We are frustrated and feel we are not going anywhere there (at the talks).

"They say they want an inclusive solution, but force through bilateral agreements."

Mulder said the CP was continually reviewing its participation in talks.

And it is understood that a report-back from negotiators to

the CP caucus on Thursday could be particularly significant. Some in the CP's ranks believe it could mount a highly effective form of mass action, with supporters in key jobs across South Africa being able to bring the country to its knees within days.

However, it is not known how seriously the party leadership is considering such action at this stage.

The CP talks source said: "Negotiations is but one of the means to achieve your goals. It is the easiest one, but up to now we have not got anywhere and it seems we must still prove ourselves."

Star 7/16/93

# Scheepers apologises

(304A)

Deputy Land Affairs Minister and Vryburg MP Johan Scheepers — reported to have handed in his resignation because of bureaucrats who blocked reform — yesterday unconditionally apologised for apartheid.

Announcing his resignation, which becomes effective on July 1, Scheepers said: "Apartheid was a mistake and I join the ranks of those within the National Party who regret this policy and who had expressed their regret of this policy in the past."

In an interview with The Star, Scheepers would not comment on the belief in political circles that he was resigning because of the intransigence of officials in the Regional and Land Affairs Department.

It was reported that he had quit because of the frustration of dealing with an incompetent bureaucracy which deliberately blocked reform.

The Sunday Star said Scheepers found it impossible to achieve land reform

with officials he inherited from the defunct Development Aid Department, which was closed amid a corruption scandal.

Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie yesterday said he was aware Scheepers had experienced problems with officials but that these had been responsibly addressed.

He said changes in the functioning of the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation were being finalised and he hoped that legislation would be passed in Parliament this session to give the commission more powers.

Democratic Party Land Affairs spokesman Peter Soal said land had always been an emotional issue and Scheepers's clear head would be missed.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said an apology for apartheid should be accompanied by action to end apartheid. This, he said, was a challenge to Scheepers and others who had apologised.

In his interview with The Star, Scheepers said he had

experienced the negative results of apartheid first hand during his two-year stint as a public prosecutor in the early 1970s.

"I experienced what it was like to prosecute people because they did not have their pass books on them."

Later he also defended those contravening apartheid laws.

Scheepers said he had first-hand experience of the Government deciding in 1978 to freeze further development in the townships around Vryburg in the northern Cape, the constituency he has represented since 1985 as MP. "I witnessed the fact that they could not build houses ... that they had no electricity."

"That's why I say apartheid was a mistake. Because I only experienced the negative effects of apartheid, I say I am sorry."

Scheepers first spoke to President de Klerk a month ago and finally informed him on May 24 of his plans to retire. — Political Correspondent and Sapa.



# Voting date 'brake on desertions'

30417

Own Correspondent

7/6/93

LONDON. — Last week's setting of a provisional date for South Africa's first non-racial election must draw President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela's dispirited supporters back to the centre, the Observer reported yesterday.

The announcement is significant because it ends three years of "tedious" negotiations marked by a massive decline in support for the key political players who, in a spirit of compromise, have failed to deliver the goods to their constituencies.

Deserters on both sides are turning to radical extremes on the left and the right, Johannesburg correspondent Allister Sparks noted.

"It is crucial, if South Africa's transition is to succeed, that this erosion of the major constituencies must stop."

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Printed on 01/07/93

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# Meyer: Democracy a certainty

JOHANNESBURG. — A constitution providing for strong democratic central and regional government would be successfully negotiated in South Africa, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said at the weekend in the United States.

Mr Meyer was addressing a ceremony at the University of Massachusetts on Saturday where he and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, the ANC secretary general and chief negotiator in talks with the government, were awarded honorary doctor of law degrees.

Mr Meyer predicted a future South African constitution would provide for a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist state.

"Apartheid is gone, it was wrong and after creating a new constitution we will still have to overcome many of its other consequences. The socio-economic reconstruction in South Africa is going to be a more difficult task," Mr Meyer said. Referring to resistance to the rapidly moving negotiations, Mr Ramaphosa said he hoped to keep as many factions as possible involved in talks and not to allow them to be derailed. "The people of South Africa had victory in sight," he said. — Sapa-Reuter



# Election (30419) CT 7/6/93 for healing — Mandela

MARITZBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has called for signatories of the National Peace Accord to meet urgently to strengthen the accord and unleash a "mass movement for peace".

The ANC president also called on all South Africans to unite around the tentative April 27, 1994 election date to begin the healing process in violence-torn South Africa.

Mr Mandela was addressing several hundred people in the City Hall here yesterday before he unveiled a memorial statue honouring Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi.

Mr Mandela said despite the shortcomings of the National Peace Accord, the document had assisted in quelling violence.

"We can no longer delay our coming together again as signatories of the Peace Accord to strengthen it and revisit the source of violence and give peace fresh momentum," he said.

The ANC president welcomed recent reports around the phased integration of armed formations in the country into the security forces, adding that this could be an important

subject to be addressed by a meeting of Peace Accord signatories.

The ANC welcomed all peace initiatives, said Mr Mandela, who commended a recent peace plan by the ANC southern Natal region and also by the group of concerned Zulus who have both called for urgent meetings between himself and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Referring to recent debate around the election date, Mr Mandela said: "Our country and people need to know the shape of the future to resolve the uncertainties and fears and address their concerns."

The larger-than-life bronze statue was unveiled by Nobel Peace laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu in front of the building where bureaucrats humiliated Gandhi a century ago.

Gandhi said his philosophy of "Satyagraha" (passive resistance) emerged from an incident on June 7, 1893 when he was thrown off a segregated train in Maritzburg.

"It is ironical that we are dedicating a memorial to a man who refused to use violence, in a city which has over that past eight years become synonymous with violence," Archbishop Tutu said. — Sapa

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OLD SABINET RID

ISBN..... 1-87388-200-7 (p. 1)

LANGUAGE eng

COUNTRY OF PUBLICATN GB

TITLE..... Life cycle cost planning : a guide to life cycle costing and financial appraisal of local authority property and new construction / Graham A.J. Smith ... (et al.)

IMPRINT..... {Great Britain} : Society of Chief Quantity Surveyors in Local Government, {1984?}

PAGINATION 89 p. : ill. ; 30 cm

NOTES..... "This guide was produced by a working party of the Property Management Committee of the Society of Chief Quantity Surveyors in Local Government"

SUBJECT..... Cost effectiveness.

SUBJECT..... Building - Estimates.

SUBJECT..... Building - Cost control.

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A Namibian woman casts her vote during her country's first democratic general elections. In South Africa, 23 million people still need to be educated on how to vote.

# The mark that will change your life

*Sowetan 7/6/93*

By Mathatha Tsedu

## WINDS OF CHANGE At last all South

*Africans will exercise their birth rights.* (304A)

**F**ormer British Minister Harold Macmillan once told South Africans in the sixties that the winds of change blowing through Africa would not stop until the continent was free.

At the time, many African countries were still colonies of one European country or another.

Zimbabwe was still Southern Rhodesia, Zambia was Northern Rhodesia and Namibia was South West Africa. Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho were still British protectorates.

Indeed, the winds of change never stopped blowing since then. Blacks rose in unison in their quest for freedom.

But what does it entail to be free, as South Africa is now on the threshold of a new dispensation?

For one thing, as the demand today shows, there must be a general election in which people who will draft the new constitution in a constituent assembly must be elected.

But with blacks having been denied the right to vote over the years, many people have no idea of what voting is all about.

While many would have had some experience during the bantustan,

tricameral and council elections, the dictates of the struggle at the time demanded that people did not take part.

But if the elections are to become a success, South Africa's 23 million voters would have to be educated on how to vote.

Many institutions, including the Johannesburg-based Social Development Centre, are presently engaged in voter education, using meetings as a starting point.

The Matla Trust's Community and Citizen Education Programme have commissioned a play called *Moments*, a politically neutral comedy that deals with voting.

The play is written by Peter Ngwenya, directed by himself and Doreen Mazibuko and co-ordinated by Willie Tshaka.

Mazibuko (28) is a poet. "I speak for the women of South Africa, for the women of colour."

A strong feminist, Mazibuko says she wants to ensure that the high percentage vote that women command is used to advance gender issues.

She cautions against euphoria of free-

dom as if it would be able to give people all the things they want overnight.

Democracy, the play argues, means giving people the power to decide who must rule and how. But above all, they also have the power to take them out when they do not deliver.

The new government will have to make many changes and rectify mistakes made by the previous regime. The changes must benefit the dispossessed, Mazibuko argues.

Election is about putting a cross in the right place, next to the name of the party or candidate you want to vote for. A cross at the wrong place spoils the ballot paper and renders the vote useless.

The play devotes time on the practicalities of voting. Mazibuko talks about her frustrations about women who go to voter education meetings to cook instead of learning how to vote.

"I always have to call the women and tell them you are not here to cook, you are here to learn how to vote", Mazibuko ends her script.

Tonight at 9pm, a programme on TSS will also look at the gender issue and the vote, and how women can organise



Women command a high percentage of the vote for women power.

The insert puts the spotlight on a workshop held in Johannesburg under the theme "Organising Women for Elections" a week ago.

It centres on a Duduza woman, Mrs Sheila Tyolweni, who is sent to represent her community at the workshop.

Out of the experience, Sheila and her comrades plan to have the gender issue put on top of the agenda of the new dispensation.

Another documentary, titled *Democracy's Building Blocks* and created and presented by Gail Day, deals with representative democracy, proportional rep-

resentation, community empowerment, direct democracy, the constitution, a Bill of Rights and independent courts.

Democracy is debated and defined as "government of the people, for the people by the people".

Indeed that is what democracy is all about.

But for people to make those choices right, they need to be educated.

Why not tune into TSS tonight at 9pm and join the millions who will be learning how to vote in South Africa's first democratic and non-racial general election?



**NEWS** Death toll of unrej**news in brief***Sowetan 7/6/93***ANC slates State's refusal**

THE ANC has accused the SAP of "ridiculous adherence" to apartheid laws by refusing a firearm licence to SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

Police have refused to give Slovo a firearm licence, citing pending criminal charges against the formerly exiled anti-apartheid leader. (254)

They said Slovo could still be prosecuted if permanent indemnity is not granted. "The SAP cannot grant a licence to possess a firearm to Mr Slovo or any other member of the ANC who is in the same position."

The ANC said Slovo was guilty of offences for which he has not been tried. (115) (304A)

**NEWS** Police investigations end with 81 people de

# PAC members face charges

*Sowetan 7/6/93*

POLICE said yesterday they had charged 15 members of the Pan Africanist Congress with various crimes following investigations into its activities and that of its military wing.

The investigations came after the police swoop on PAC offices and homes of its members last month in which more than 70 people were arrested and questioned.

## 15 face charges

Colonel Johan Mostert, who headed the police investigations, announced the completion of the operation yesterday, saying 15 people would face charges including murder, unlawful possession of explosives and possession of unlicensed firearms.

He did not disclose their names.

Mostert said all but five alleged PAC and Apla members detained following the May 25 police swoop had been freed. He said 81 people, in total, had been detained.

Those still in detention included four

## 15 to be tried for murder and unlawful possession of firearms:

people arrested in connection with the alleged plot to bomb a Yeoville, Johannesburg restaurant and a man arrested for alleged plans to attack establishments in Durban and the South Coast.

"The South African Police investigations into PAC and Apla activities have been successfully completed," Mostert said in a statement.

"The pro-active action taken by SA police when the plot to bomb various restaurants and hotels was uncovered undoubtedly saved many lives and prevented possible serious injuries to countless others."

Mostert said the man arrested in connection with alleged plans to attack targets in Durban and the South Coast would appear in court today. — Sapa.

# Deputy Minister quits NP

*Sowetan 7/6/93*

By Ismail Lagardien (304A) Political Correspondent

REELING under successive shocks the Government has received another jolt with the news at the weekend that deputy Minister of land Affairs Mr Johan Scheepers has resigned.

Scheepers' resignation has sparked off a new crisis in the National Party and politicians from across the spectrum said yesterday it was only a matter of time before the NP comes apart completely.

Mr Jurie Mentz, who left the NP after more than 40 years in January to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, said yesterday Scheepers had recognised "at Cabinet

## Scheepers' resignation sparks another crisis:

level" what he (Mentz) saw at caucus level. "The National Party will not be a force in the future.

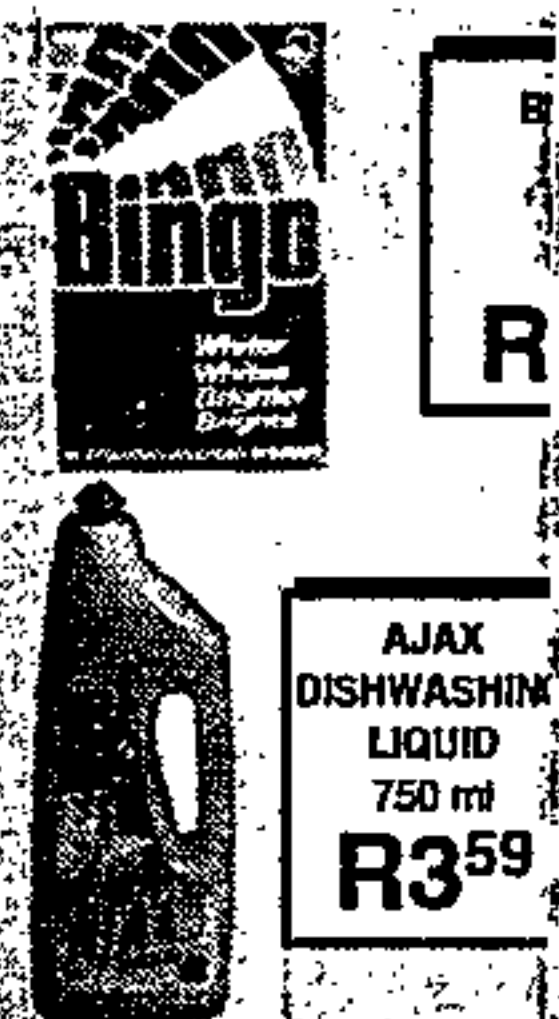
"Only the black-based and black-led parties have a future - and that is why they are coming apart.

"White people are important, and perhaps indispensable, to the country. But if they think they can control it as they did in the past they are making a hell of a mistake," Mentz said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday that Scheepers' resignation confirmed further the widely held belief that the NP was "deeply divided".



Singers Letta Mb  
Yourself Concert  
all out playing to





# How deadlock at Codesa saved the ANC

Star 7/6/93.

304A

**T**HE deadlock at Codesa last year and the breakdown in negotiations saved South Africa from a disastrous development: the rejection of the ANC by its own followers for betraying "the people".

Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley, a husband-and-wife academic team, propound that thesis in their thought-provoking study of contemporary South Africa.

One of the worst scenarios is one where negotiated settlement is clinched but at the cost of the ANC leaders being perceived as sell-outs and Nelson Mandela as a co-opted stooge, Adam and Moodley say.

## Credibility

Rejection of an "accommodationist" ANC, and the sidelining of Mandela as a local Muzorewa, would have meant repudiation of the settlement and renewed strife, the authors assert.

But, they add, the deadlock at Codesa saved South Africa from that fate by enabling an "elitist ANC leadership", which had moved too far, too fast in its quest

## BOOK OF THE WEEK

**Negotiated Revolution: Society and Politics in Post-Apartheid South Africa** by Heribert Adam and Kogila Moodley. (Jonathan Ball R59,95)

**Reviewed by**  
**PATRICK LAURENCE**

for a negotiated settlement, to reaffirm its credibility with its followers.

Adam and Moodley focus on — and offer an explanation for — an apparent paradox in the ANC: the three minority groups — white, coloured and Indian — are well if not over-represented on the ANC national executive.

They recall that of the 50 directly elected ordinary members of the ANC national executive, 21 are non-blacks, consisting of seven whites, seven coloureds and seven Indians.

Yet support for the ANC in these communities is low. Their conspicuous presence on the ANC executive apparently does little to

commend the ANC to the ordinary folk.

The answer, Adam and Moodley argue, is that whites, coloureds and Indians on the ANC executive are seen by their racial kinsmen as dissenters rather than representatives.

They write of the Indians: "They do not represent the Indian community; they are not active in the ANC as Indians but as marginalised dissidents from the Indian community."

A similar statement is made about whites; they are described as "self-confessed members of the SACP" who fought long and bitterly against the attitudes of the white community.

"While the sophisticated tolerance of an Albie Sachs attracts admiration among liberal whites, the actions of someone like Ronnie Kasrils — his unconventional behaviour, the manipulative games he plays — serve to deter other whites from supporting the ANC."

Downplaying the significance of the defection to the ANC by five white Democratic Party MPs, the authors focus on the failure of lib-

eral whites to win election to the ANC national executive at the organisation's 1991 conference.

"The ANC made no efforts to woo into its ranks some of its potential high-profile supporters, people like F van Zyl Slabbert, Alex Boraine and Wynand Malan.

"The SACP faction, which in the past exercised the power of vetoing which whites were allowed to join the ANC, does not wish to share its monopoly with strategists of a different outlook."

These two statements lead to another theme in the study: an analysis of the role of the SACP in the ANC and an assessment of its value to the ANC-led alliance.

## Socialist

The authors believe that the SACP is a powerful but not benign force within the ANC; it is one which is trying to "piggyback" its socialist vision on to the populist ANC.

They identify the ANC's alliance with the SACP as "the single most important reason why so few whites, coloureds and Indians have formally joined the ANC"

and dismiss the view that "communists are only loyal members of the liberation movement from which they take their orders."

The authors are critical of the SACP's failure to speak out against the tyranny of Stalinism and its slavish obedience to the Kremlin for decades.

"The party that in 1929 was told by the Kremlin to campaign for a black republic in South Africa subsequently supported the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968) and Afghanistan.

"Long after Arthur Koestler's seminal account of show trials in *Darkness at Noon* (1945), long after most European intellectuals on the Left had grown disillusioned with the Soviet Union, long after Eurocommunism and Solzhenitsyn, the SACP's solidarity with the Soviet Union remained unshaken."

They accuse the SACP leadership of political myopia, noting that in 1989, on the eve of the dramatic collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the party spoke glowingly of socialist countries as "a powerful interna-

tional force" leading the way to a new life where "there are neither oppressors nor oppressed".

Even after the fall of communist dictatorships in Eastern Europe and shortly before the collapse of the Soviet Union, the SACP appeared incapable of adjusting to the new reality, the authors contend.

They quote an editorial in a 1990 edition of the *African Communist*, which declared: "Nothing that has happened in Eastern Europe or elsewhere makes us believe that (Marxism-Leninism) needs to be altered."

The attempt by Joe Slovo, SACP national chairman, to grapple with the problem is recognised and labelled "laudatory" but found wanting; it relies too much on "metaphor and euphemism" and does not really examine the causes of "Stalinist tyranny".

Adam and Moodley have written a thoughtful book with interesting chapters on several pivotally important themes, including the white right wing and the Inkatha Freedom Party. It is analytical rather than reverential and deserves to be widely read. □

# Leadership



No magic wand to both sever and preserve labour links with blacks, writes Henry

# White homeland is but a

Star 7/6/93

(304A)

**H**ERE are three reasons, in my view, why an Afrikaner homeland has been obstructed from emerging in South Africa.

I write from America, as a former South African who in the 1950s and 1960s championed the homeland idea. Indeed, I was a main articulator of it.

New insights given me by a five-year sojourn in Israel (1969-1975) and now 17 years in the US (a gradual swallow of ethnic groups) tell me the following.

Afrikanerdom's 340-year history in South Africa contains no meaningful Afrikaner-only past, no period or periods in which the folk was self-sufficient in territory of its selection. Dark-skinned hands did the manual labour.

This was one of the effects of the introduction of slaves in 1657, a mere five years after Van Riebeeck landed in 1652.

The fabric of white and black interdependence thus initiated is, three and a half centuries later, beyond unravelling. The attempt

to unravel it (a white homeland call) must therefore be seen for what it is: a radical idea, not a conservative one.

This is the problem of the right-wingers. Resistant to change, they run to a revolutionary answer, finding themselves utterly bemused. For there is no magic by which they can be severers of their labour links with black South Africa and, at the same time, preservers of that same link.

General Constand Viljoen embodies the contradiction. As all ways, black hands, not white will work his farm. What moral authority would he have as a champion of a white homeland? There is no way out of the contradiction.

Second reason: A homeland can only be established by people fired with fervours usually associated with — wait for it — Socialists, collectivists, Marxists, communists and Utopians!

I argue thus because the 20th century has been marked by a remarkable homeland creation — Israel. It started at the turn of the century with "own labour" Jewish

idealists from Eastern Europe working through collectives in (then) Palestine.

These collectives came to be known to the world as kibbutzim. They put in the groundwork for what became the Jewish state.

Not imaginable to me is a single member of the audience at the founding of the Afrikaner Volksfront who could fit into the early kibbutz scheme of things, drenched as it was in socialistic thinking.

You had Jewish farmers working nationally owned land through collective ownership by the whole group of all the means of production — soil, equipment, livestock and so forth. The commune itself controlled purchasing, production, marketing, consumption — including housing — and the rearing and education of children.

No wages were paid. Every member was expected to work according to his ability and had all his basic needs met in return.

(The kibbutzim have changed vastly since the early days, but that is another story.)

Over to Mordechai S Chertoff, who edited the book *The Kibbutz Experience*.

"The kibbutz took the form it did because there was an ideal behind it, and a philosophy.

"Ideal motives joined with dictates of the hour in the spirit of the members, and in the motives there was a curious mixture of memories of the Russian Artel, impressions left over from reading the so-called 'utopian' socialists, and the half-conscious after-effects of the Bible's teaching about social justice."

I repeat, no conservative face in South Africa could fit into the picture of the Jewish pioneers carving out their future homeland. More, no face in right-wing ranks would even fit the Artel, the term used in pre-communist Russia to designate genuine, free, co-operative organisations of craftsmen, fishermen, etc sharing labours and profits equally.

Moral of the story for right-wingers: Stop demonising Joe Slovo and consult him instead.

The third reason: The Afrikaner

homeland ideal has not been able to call forth poets, singers, novelists, psalmists and philosophers to propound it. It is culture-less.

The failed movement of the Oranienburgers of the 1980s did produce a literature. The movement aimed to make Morgenzon, 120 km from Johannesburg, the nucleus of a *volkstaat* growth point.

The books it produced included the following (titles translated into English):

● *White Man, Where is Your Homeland?* edited by Professor W J G Lubbe.

● *Republic Afrikaana* — A Home for the Afrikaner, by F W Bruwer.

● *Our Survival* — The Cultural Struggle of the Afrikaner, by Marius Swart.

● *And Here Now is Our New Boer Nation State*, edited by Alkmaar Swart.

● *Dynamic Conservatism*, by Hercules Booyens.

● *Heartland of the Afrikaner*, by Dr W van Heerden.

● *Afrikanerland* — A Territori-

al Indication, by F W Bruwer, H F Verwoerd, BHS van den Berg, W van Heerden and J W Fischer.

This is a very earnest and passionate literature, but shallow and blind. It got nowhere because the *volkstaters* failed a first task, namely to come to grips with Van Wyk Louw's sobering truth:

"But one thing Afrikaner nationalism did not do: It did not establish a generally valid intellectual basis for its struggle ... it failed to find a reasonable answer to the fundamental political question: What moral right has a small nation to wish to survive as a nation? Why are rights for the individual not enough?"

I claim Van Wyk Louw established the Afrikaner's right to survive as a nation in essays of his 1958 book *Liberale Nasionalisme*. But the right-wingers, walking away from the word "liberal", would not know this.

They do not know that half their think tasks have been done for them in that liberal book.

But that, too, is another story. □

Katzew

dream



Star 7/16/93  
(304A) (14)

# Rousing ovation for Roelf, Cyril

By Peter Fabricius  
Washington Bureau

**BOSTON** — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa received an unprecedented standing ovation in Boston on Saturday when they stood together to receive honorary law degrees from the University of Massachusetts for their contribution to realising democracy in South Africa.

It was the first time a South African Cabinet Minister and a leader of the ANC had together been honoured in this way.

The large crowd of students, professors and Boston community leaders in America's premier education city abandoned academic decorum and rose to

their feet to acclaim the two key negotiators, who were the undisputed stars of the event.

The ceremony symbolised the international community's recognition of the convergence of views which resulted in last week's announcement of April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first democratic election.

Resplendent in red and blue academic gowns, hoods and black mortar boards, the negotiating pair stood together on the podium shaking each other's hands and basking in America's approbation.

They were told afterwards that not even popular actor Robert Redford — who recently received an honorary degree from the same university for environmental contributions —

had been given a standing ovation on graduation day.

Reading the citation to the South Africans, University of Massachusetts chancellor Sherry Penny called Ramaphosa an "able negotiator, masterful organiser and pivotal force within the ANC".

She called Meyer a "shining emblem" of a country which was struggling to achieve democracy and praised him for his tenacity and vision in leading the Government's negotiating team.

Meyer and Ramaphosa were both honoured in particular for their vital role in keeping the democratisation process alive by maintaining personal contact when formal negotiations broke off last year.

# Proposed election date meaningless, says PAC

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander yesterday warned of the dangers of setting a tentative date for the country's first democratic elections.

The Negotiating Council has set April 27 next year as the proposed date — to be ratified at a meeting of the council on June 25.

Alexander said there was "little reason for optimism" about the election date.

"The date is meaningless if it

is not linked to immediate voter registration and the setting up of an internationally supervised electoral commission. We do not want a repeat of the Angola elections problem caused by lack of foresight."

This week seven technical committees are to meet at the World Trade Centre behind closed doors. Their reports will be discussed at the Negotiating Council next week.

● The ANC national executive committee will meet for four days this week to discuss its negotiating strategy and election campaign.



# Voter education planned

AN EDUCATION programme to familiarise SA's voters — many of them illiterate — with election procedures will be launched at least a month before election day, Home Affairs director-general Piet Colyn said at the weekend.

Details would have to be worked out by the electoral commission.

Government estimated the cost of the election to taxpayers at about R155m.

Colyn said the form of ballot papers was still being planned.

Symbols as well as lists of candidates and their parties would have to be incorporated to simplify voting procedures. (304A)

GERALD REILLY

Preliminary planning showed there would have to be more than 7 000 polling stations. Their locations would also be a task for the electoral commission.

For the purpose of planning, Colyn said, the department had assumed the six homelands and TBVC states would be incorporated into SA.

At least 70% of voters would be black "and illiteracy would be a problem".

Currently there were 2,8-million eligible voters without IDs and about 40 000 a day were being issued.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the Institute of Personnel Management

said voter education should be tailored in such a way that it addressed crucial areas of an election, such as cynicism or apathy of politicians and ignorance of election procedures.

In the latest edition of its People Dynamics, Matla Trust was quoted as saying it had found a problem with making an X next to the voter's choice.

It said because a cross in school education denoted something wrong, there was a danger that people would put an X against the parties they disliked.

Matla Trust official Barry Gilder said voter education should include "discussions about the concept of democracy".

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R. G. N. A.

Star 816193  
**'Tensions will continue'**

Political and social tensions as well as unrest would continue as long as the majority of the urban population was excluded from normal public activities and aspirations, retiring Institute of Town Clerks president Paul Botha said in Pretoria last night. — Pretoria Bureau.



# Farmers rise to general's anti-FW call

Staff Reporter

UPINGTON. — A crowd of more than a thousand, mostly farmers, rose in standing ovation last night to a call to mobilise against President F W de Klerk's policies.

"Do it as Christian Afrikaners", exhorted General J J Bischoff, former SADF chief of staff planning, and one of the committee of four generals that has been touring the country to drum up grassroots support for an umbrella Afrikaner movement.

The generals, including former head of the SADF, General Constand Viljoen, have been drawing huge crowds the past week.

This northern Cape town was last night filled with farmers who had travelled from towns such as Pofadder, and from the far reaches of the Kalahari.

As at previous meeting of the generals, uniformed AWR members guarded the doors.

## Militant questioners

General Bischoff encouraged the crowd to support the security forces, but had to field militant questioners who wanted to know "when do we shoot".

"The Afrikaner has waited too long," one farmer said. "What do I do when I am faced by an MK man in an armoured car?" he asked.

No one would have voted yes in the referendum if they knew what they knew now, another said.

The meeting, which was also addressed by two former dominees who now farm in the area, unanimously adopted a resolution rejecting a unitary state which would "swallow" the Afrikaner. It demanded a confederation instead.

CT 8/6/93

(24) (304A)

## Deal is near, says Meyer

PETER FABRICIUS  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — South Africa's negotiating forum is expected to reach agreement on outstanding issues by June 25, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Speaking at a news conference at the National Press Club in Washington yesterday, he said this would enable a transitional executive council to be installed.

The ANC and the government had indicated that the installation of the TEC would be

the signal for remaining sanctions to be lifted.

Mr Meyer said the two parties were close to agreement.

Mr Meyer said both agreed on the need for strong, autonomous regional government but still differed on what powers and functions should be allocated to regions.

Agreement on the regional issue would make it easier to draw in other parties such as the Inkatha Freedom Party, which favoured strong regional powers, he said.

MANAGEMENT SCHOOL



# ANC camp chief

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The first commander of the ANC's Quattro camp in Angola said today torture was not the organisation's method of extracting information from prisoners.

Gabriel Mthunzi Mthembu, whose camp name was Sizwe Mkhondo, told the Motsuenyane Commission into alleged abuses of human rights in ANC camps that there were strict rules prohibiting the torture of prisoners. It was only in very extreme circumstances "that third-degree methods were used".

Mr Mthembu, who was 19 at the time he was appointed camp commander in 1979, quoted in-

stances in which he intervened when prisoners were assaulted. He even demoted his junior when he did not comply with the rules.

Referring to allegations about Quattro which have come up before the commission, he said that these came from people who were "aiming to besmirch the image of the movement and some of them are still serving the interests of the system. We have incontrovertible evidence that some of them still get support from the system".

Reacting to allegations made yesterday that he ordered Jamiez Tombisa to be tortured and assaulted he said it was "a total fabrication".

The hearing continues.

## denies charges

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The alleged "Norwood rapist" pleaded not guilty in the Rand Supreme Court today to 15 charges, including five of murder and three of rape.

Mr Jacobus Petrus Geldenhuys, 26, of Benoni, said in a plea explanation he had not acted in his full senses.

But in a statement to a magistrate that was handed in as an exhibit, Geldenhuys described his attacks and acknowledged he had acted intentionally.

Mr Geldenhuys pleaded not guilty to five counts of murder, three of rape, one of attempted rape, one of aggravated robbery, four of theft and one of using a car without consent.

The trial continues.

### INVESTMENT INDICATORS

June 7 — June 13

From Peter George



#### PROSPECTS FOR A RENEWED CUT IN RATES

- ★ Money supply growth zero.
- ★ CPI way below expectations at 11%.
- ★ Money Market shortage eases.
- ★ Fin Rand continues to strengthen.
- ★ Election date set.
- ★ Reserves improve.
- ★ World deflation continues.

COMMENT: Fears of a final jump in rates are fading. Those who wait may miss the bus. Do not be surprised if rates fall 100 points near terms to re-test last year lows of 13,74%. If this is a bull market expect these levels to be broken. Buy signals have been given. A break below 14,74% for the R150 will signal the end of the eight month correction and cause the down move to accelerate. Call Options should be locked in place before this happens.

#### HOW OPTIONS WORK

All options we quote are on R1-million nominal value of R150 stock. Latest yields are found in "Guide to Gilts" in Cape Times or Business Day under heading RSA 12.00% — 2004/06.

As rates fall, Bond prices rise. The longer the bond the bigger the rise. Although the "yield to maturity", of say 15% at the time one buys a bond, fixes the income for the life of the bond, the market price of the bond fluctuates from day to day with every change in rates. The bonds are actively bought and sold — up to hundreds of millions of rands per day.

If Long Term rates halve in the next twelve to eighteen months, to repeat the world-wide trend, market values of R150 bonds will rise by 60 percent. That is why 12 month options which pick up only a third of the above profit, can generate R180 000 for an outlay of only R14 500. One can buy options expiring in August and November 1993 or out to February and May 1994. Cost increases with time. If the option is taken out below the ruling rate in the market, the cost of the option falls. This rate is called the "strike price". Naturally profit will also fall as strike price is lowered but cost of the option falls more rapidly. Therefore it pays to purchase lots of time but not too high a strike if a major fall in rates is on the cards.

All quotes given below are based on a strike of 14% and are subject to change as rates fluctuate. NB: If rates do not fall, one cannot lose more than the cost of the option. Keep purchases modest in the relation to your capital. Unless you have a debt problem — then an option can help you clear the debt.

Current rates are 14,78% (R150) and 14,94% (R153).

#### RISK:

- R3 000 with the chance of making R50 000 Aug expiry
- R7 500 with the chance of making R90 000 Nov expiry
- R12 500 with the chance of making R180 000 Feb expiry
- R14 500 with the chance of making R180 000 May expiry

To find out how this can be done, telephone for an appointment:

Peter George BA (Hons) Oxon (PPE)  
MBA (UCT)

CONSULTING ECONOMIST

at (021) 761 4911

## FW: SA on the threshold of big breakthrough

Political Staff

(30419) ARG 8/6/93

JOHANNESBURG. — South African negotiators stood at the threshold of a major breakthrough and would soon be able to present their achievements to all South Africans, President De Klerk said today.

Opening the annual general meeting of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg, President De Klerk said he strongly believed that success and "binding agreements" in multiparty negotiations would go a long way towards dealing with the violence which was undermining investor confidence.

He said South Africa had lived through "three tumultuous years of socio-political change", and that it was a matter of "considerable regret" that hopes of a flying start to a democratic future had been deferred continuously by outbreaks of violence.

Investor confidence had to be restored if South Africa were to "optimise its ample resources and fulfil its potential as the economic and industrial giant of sub-Saharan Africa". To this end, he said, it was vital that violence had to end and negotiations speeded up.

"I am convinced that we will succeed to create an environment conducive to investor confidence and economic growth within the near future.

"I am equally convinced that the mining industry is eminently equipped and ready to make a major contribution to the economic prosperity and success of the new South Africa, as it has done throughout our history," President De Klerk said.

There was anxiety about the present and uncertainty about the future and this could be addressed by reaching "binding agreements" in negotiations.

President De Klerk said now was the time "to stand firm and say we will not settle for a second-rate or second-degree constitution". South Africa had the potential to become an economic world player.

The president also commended the mining industry for its contribution of between 10 and 15 percent to the country's gross domestic product.

Star 8/6/93  
**Arm yourselves, whites told**  
(304A)

The Conservative Party urged whites yesterday to travel armed and to be ready to shoot to defend themselves on highways. CP spokesman Joseph Chiolie said in a statement that black attacks on cars driving between Cape Town and the city's main airport were part of a national campaign against whites. — Sapa-Reuter.



## NP 'unfazed by sabotage'

Star 8/6/93  
Nationalist Party organisers in Soweto have become the targets of widespread intimidation aimed at sabotaging the party's membership drive in the township, spokesman Daryl Swanepoel alleged yesterday. According to Swanepoel, some party officials have received threatening telephone calls and have had their homes broken into and searched. — Staff Reporter (304A)

## NP 'could unleash clampdown on PAC'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress says reports of a deepening white public crisis of confidence in the National Party could lead to further a clampdown on PAC members. (304A)

It said the NP could unleash a clampdown in its bid to generate an image to whites that the NP was in control and strong, since the previous clampdown on the PAC had been aimed at boosting white support for the NP. ARG 8/6/73

"The PAC has now become a whipping boy in the struggle for white support between the NP and the CP."

The PAC said the government had not yet returned the property of its members confiscated in a country-wide swoop by police.



## Afrikaners' case

AFRIKANERS would have the right to secede if simplistic majority rule was introduced, the Conservative Party said in its constitutional proposals submitted at the multiparty talks yesterday.

"At that moment, oppression of the Afrikaner by the majority will start. Hence a right of secession will arise according to the requirements of international law," the CP argued.

The 37-page document was submitted to a technical committee on constitutional issues.

*Sowetan 8/6/93*

*(304A)*

Sowetan 8/6/93

### Back to the iron fist?

THE National Party in Natal has asked the Government to urgently reintroduce the death penalty, increase the security force presence in the province and investigate rumours that murderers are being armed and harboured by Transkei. (304A)



audience ● Provisional voting date set

# Levelling field for free and fair poll

*South African 8/6/93*  
*(3044)*

A DRAFT "election code" has been drawn up by a negotiations technical committee to ensure South Africa's first democratic election is free and fair.

Multiparty negotiators last week provisionally set April 27 next year as the date for voters to elect a constitution-making body. "South Africans have to avoid at all costs a situation where such an election will not qualify as free and fair," the committee said in its final report to the negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park near Johannesburg.

"If the result of the election is not accepted, peace and democracy will suffer irreparable damage.

"We have to avoid the 'Angola spectre'," the technical committee said, referring to the renewed Angolan civil war after Unita rebel leader Jonas Savimbi rejected last year's elections.

"Violations of the code will have to be declared invalid and other appropriate relief should be provided for."

The report detailed discriminatory laws "which constitute the foundations of political apartheid", and laws which may impede free and fair elections.

It identified 27 laws constituting the foundations of apartheid, 14 discriminatory laws which flow from such laws and four laws which discriminate on grounds of sex and religion.

The committee was briefed to "level the political playing field" by identifying discriminatory legislation to be repealed or amended, and legislation im-

## ■ Committee draws up draft 'election code':

peding free political activity.

The committee, using international conventions, said it viewed discrimination "as the unequal allocation of rights and freedoms on the basis of race, ethnic origin, colour, gender, age, disability, religion, creed, conscience, political opinion or sexual orientation".

It identified 10 security-related laws, including the Internal Security Act, Public Safety Act and the Publications Act, to be repealed or substantially amended. "Obviously South Africa will require security laws during the election period," the report said. "Such laws should not, however, place arbitrary powers in the executive authority."

The draft code deals with the freedom to form political parties, belong to them and to stand as candidates; freedom of assembly; freedom of expression and thought; equality; an ombud and tribunal with the typical functions associated with each at central and regional level; and sanctions and remedies necessary to ensure effective participation in free and fair elections. "The early implementation of this proposal will provide an opportunity to conduct election campaigns and the election itself in terms of clear and precise guidelines," the report said. "The majority of the population has never voted ... the present violence requires effective and adequate structures." — Sapa.



# focus on elections

If a general election were held now, who would win? Few people would dispute that the single largest share of votes would go to the ANC.

But would it win an absolute majority? And, if not, would the National Party be able to put together a coalition to beat the ANC in Parliament?

Two years ago, a scenario which had the NP forming a majority coalition might have been plausible. In the aftermath of FW de Klerk's early reforms, support for the man and his party was fairly high.

Nowadays the chances of the NP forming a majority coalition are slim.

Support for the NP was never very strong among blacks. But the drop reflected in these polls is as steep as one is likely to see in polling. Among blacks, the NP has lost about 75 percent of its support. Even among whites, the decline in support for the NP is major.

From a high of 67 percent in a May 1992 Markinor poll, support for the NP has dropped to about 30 percent in the most recent poll conducted by Research Surveys in March 1993. The plunge in NP support is so serious that the party might no longer even be the second most popular political organisation after the ANC.

How has the ANC fared? Relatively well, compared to the NP. ANC support among black South Africans has dropped during the past year from about 75 percent (Markinor, May 1992) to 65 percent (Research Surveys, March 1993).

Support for the ANC among other South Africans has always been — and remains — relatively low.

But if the "main players" are losing support, where is it draining to? The main beneficiary is the "don't know" or "none of the above" vote. In other words, an increasing number of people have become confused or have begun to think that there may be no party that deserves their support.

The violence of the past year may also have encouraged people to duck political questions in surveys. A variety of smaller parties are gaining from the ANC and NP losses.

## Important change

The most important change over the past year has been the rise in support for the Pan Africanist Congress among blacks. Although the PAC still lags far behind the ANC, it is now the second most popular party. To what extent do the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army affect PAC support?

The answer is probably that Apla activities have helped enhance the PAC's image as a party that has black interests at heart.

However, it also puts a firm ceiling on PAC support since the number of black South Afri-

Who is likely to come out tops in South Africa's first nonracial poll? Leading research analyst **Jan Hofmeyr**, writing in *Work in Progress*, guides us through the campaign jungle:

*Sowetan 8/6/93*

(304A)



ANC leader Nelson Mandela



NP leader F W de Klerk

cans who believe in the sort of strategy pursued by Apla is very small.

The Inkatha Freedom Party continues to register little support, even in Natal. It cannot be classed as "one of the big three" in any popular sense. As time wears on, the IFP is likely to become even less significant among black voters; the basis of its appeal is mainly ethnic and therefore strictly limited. Gradually, black voters are likely to decide that the broader appeal of the PAC is a better electoral platform than Inkatha's limited ethnic appeal. In short, the

latest polls suggest the following trends:

- The NP has very nearly blown its chances of creating a broadly based "anti-ANC" alliance.
- The electorate is generally traumatised by the political process and many people can find no party to support.
- The PAC is poised to emerge as the single most powerful electoral force beside the ANC, even though it will be exclusively black.
- The basis of the PAC's appeal is likely to remain narrow since a "nonracial" position has more support among blacks.



# New Bill to halt local elections

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A Bill providing for the indefinite postponement of municipal elections was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Local Government Affairs Second Amendment Bill would postpone municipal elections and enable the Minister of Local Government to determine a date for elections for "all local government bodies".

A spokesman for the Department of Local Government said the Bill was designed to "give a bit of room" for negotiations.

The ANC and the Democratic Party yesterday expressed concern that the Bill was "prescriptive" because participants in negotiations had not been consulted.

DP local government spokesman Jasper Walsh said the elections clause granted extensive powers to the Minister of Local Government to determine election dates and make regulations on issues such as polling districts and voter qualifications.

Many of these matters were being negotiated in the Local Government Negotiating Forum, he said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa added that the Bill appeared to pre-empt discussions at local and national levels.

Nationwide municipal elections were last held in 1988.

2 Cape Times, Tuesday, June 8 1993

# Code will ensure fair election

JOHANNESBURG. — A draft "election code" has been drawn up by a technical committee to ensure South Africa's first democratic election is free and fair.

April 27 has provisionally been set as the election date.

"South Africans have to avoid at all costs a situation where such an election will not qualify as free and fair," the committee said.

"If the result of the election is not ac-

cepted, peace and democracy will suffer irreparable damage.

"Violations of the code will have to be declared invalid and other appropriate relief should be provided for."

The draft code deals with the freedom to form political parties, belong to them and to stand as candidates; freedom of assembly; freedom of expression; equality; an ombud and tribunal with the typical functions associated with each; and

sanctions and remedies necessary to ensure effective participation in elections.

"The early implementation of this proposal will provide an opportunity to conduct election campaigns and the election itself in terms of clear and precise guidelines," the report said.

ANC leaders begin a three-day meeting in Johannesburg today. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus would give no details except to say it was a meeting of the national executive. — Sapa

(SOPA) CT 8/6/93



● NP faces growing crisis of confidence ● 'Fear factor' cited

# Top Nats set to quit

Star 8/6/93

By Chris Whitfield  
and Martin Challenger

**CAPE TOWN** — More senior National Party members are expected to quit Parliament within the next few weeks, deepening the public crisis of confidence in the party.

There is also deep concern in the party over uncertainty among grassroots supporters, and party members acknowledge the need to communicate the changes facing the country more effectively.

## Prominent

However, NP members were unanimous in rejecting suggestions of deep caucus divisions, with one saying recent progress in negotiations had in fact forged new party unity.

The sources said the names of at least two senior members who were expected to resign soon were well known in NP ranks.

This follows the shock resignation of Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers, who said he would return to a legal career.

NP MPs interviewed yesterday said some long-serving members were expected to leave politics at the end of the current session of Parliament — probably early next year — and "they leave with our blessing".

However, there was little sympathy in the party for what the sources described as a "handful" of MPs who were poised to pull out of politics immediately although they were young enough to fight next year's election.

The feeling was that "these people should go sooner rather than later", although this would reflect badly on the NP in the short term.

The MPs said these people saw their chances of returning to Parliament as slim

and were planning new careers. (30/1/94)

However, they rejected suggestions that Scheepers' resignation reflected divisions within the caucus. One said: "I would say 90 percent of the guys are throwing their weight behind the party like never before."

He said a report-back to the caucus on negotiations by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last week had buoyed spirits. The sources said the "open" style of debate within the party encouraged by President de Klerk had led to sharper exchanges in caucus meetings. These were part of the new "internal democracy" within the party, they said.

Party media officer Martinus van Schaikwyk said there were no divisions in the caucus but there was "vigorous and constructive" debate.

He said "differences in emphasis" were evidence of democracy within the party. The sources did acknowledge that a "fear factor" existed among supporters who were uncertain about the future.

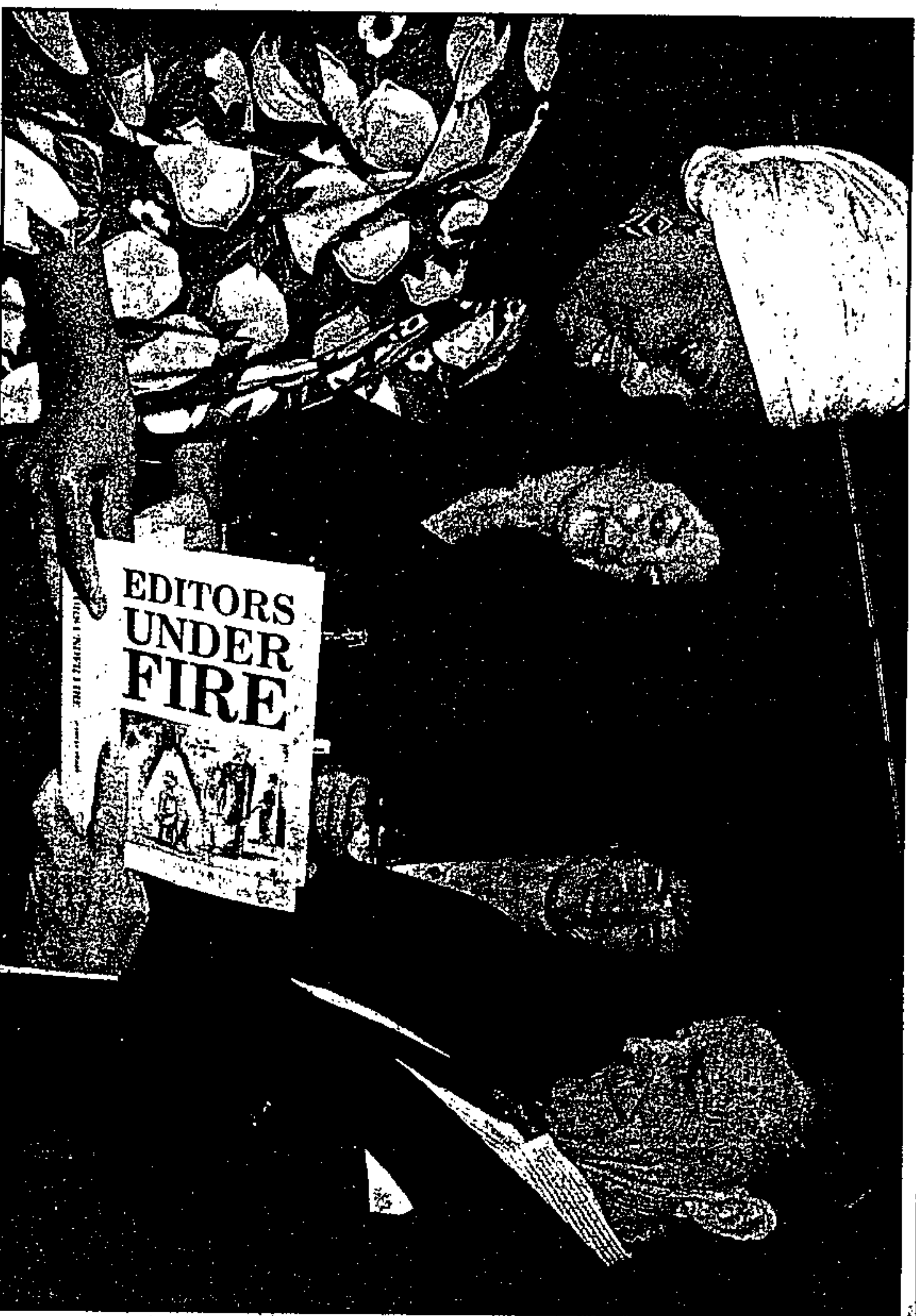
## Groundswell

This had been heightened recently by the announcement of a provisional election date of April 27 next year — little more than nine months away.

Meanwhile, the Conservative Party has claimed it is experiencing a sudden groundswell of support, and that most new members are coming from the NP.

The CP's Dr Corne Mulder pointed to recent municipal by-election successes as evidence of growing movement away from the NP.

He believed the shift from the NP was "fundamental" — unlike the period before the referendum — as whites were faced with concrete evidence of movement to a new order.



Man with a mission... Harvey Tyson, former editor-in-chief of The Star, with Norma Shongwe from Campus Bookshop at the launch of his book yesterday. Looking on are his wife Arlene and Jo-Anne Richards, who edited the book. Picture: Air Kumalo

By Abdul Mliati

South Africa would never have a free press unless a large section of the population is prepared to howl freedom worth fighting for.

Speaking at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, Tyson said the

## Press freedom 'still under fire'

anti-democratic and violently anti-democratic passions which had led to censorship and attempts to kill South Africa's independent press from 1950 to 1990 were rising again in different forms. This, he said, prompted him to write *Editors Under Fire*, which reflects 40 years of history as recorded by

South African newspapers. The book is a behind-the-scenes story which answers questions concerning the press, its place in society and who should own it. It also reflects on how some newspapers fought against apartheid.

In his 40-year journalistic career, Tyson worked on nine newspapers — including five South African dailies.

The Times of London and The Scotsman of Edinburgh. He was editor-in-chief of The Star for 18 years.

An active campaigner for freedom of speech, Tyson has addressed various international conferences on the subject. He organised an international conference in South Africa on "Conflict and the Press" in 1987 during the oppressive P W Botha reign.



1891

TUESDAY, 8 JUNE 1993

1892

Hansard

Hansard

(aa) public, (bb) Government, (cc) community and (dd) State-aided schools falling under her Department does not have electricity at present and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

D195E

# THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a)	(i) Number	(ii) %
(aa) Public Schools	None under the control of this Department	
(bb) Government Schools	1	2%
(cc) Community Schools	None under the control of this Department	
(dd) State-Aided Schools	Nil	N/A

(b) Date of information is at 12 May 1993.

## Education and Culture: teacher/pupil ratio

47. Mr M RAJAB asked the Minister of Education and Culture:

(a) What is the teacher/pupil ratio for (i) primary and (ii) secondary schools in her Department and (b) in respect of what date is this information furnished?

D203E

# THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE:

(a) The average teacher/pupil ratio is:

(i) Primary schools—1 : 26

(ii) Secondary schools—1 : 19

(b) The information is as at 01 May 1993.

1893

WEDNESDAY, 9 JUNE 1993

1894

Hansard

Hansard

## HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

### INTERPELLATIONS

The sign \* indicates a translation. The sign †, used subsequently in the same interpellation, indicates the original language.

#### General Affairs:

#### Executive transitional council/subcouncils legislation

\*1. Adv T LANGLEY asked the Minister of Constitutional Development:

Whether any draft legislation has been or is being prepared to make provision for the establishment of an executive transitional council and subcouncils; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) what persons and bodies were or are involved in the preparation of this legislation and (b) when is it proposed to pilot it through Parliament?

B924E.INT

\*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, as a result of the agreements in Working Group 3 of Codesa in connection with an executive transitional council, draft legislation was drawn up last year for the establishment of such a council. The object of this was to make statutory preparations for any further agreement which could be concluded in connection with this council.

The desirability of introducing such enabling legislation during the second session of Parliament last year was put to various parties involved in the negotiation process, since no negotiating forum was active at the time. Because the introduction of the legislation did not meet with general approval, it was not proceeded with.

The entire issue of the executive transitional council is now once again the subject of discussion in the multiparty negotiating process. The Negotiating Council has appointed seven technical committees, one of which is devoting particular attention to the subject of an executive transitional council.

The desirability of an executive transitional council and the detail in relation to such a

council and its subcouncils, the composition and appointment, powers and functions as well as all related matters, are still the subject of discussion at the meetings of that technical committee. The committee has so far published four reports. Further consideration of the reports can take place once the Negotiating Council has given a final answer on the constitution-drafting process.

Once the final report of the technical committee has been approved by the Negotiating Council and thereafter by the negotiating forum, the agreements contained in it will be transcribed into legislation by the department's legal draftsmen. The final report of the technical committee may even be in the form of draft legislation, in which case it will then be submitted to Parliament.

On the question as to when such legislation will be piloted through Parliament, the answer is obvious. This will happen as soon as possible after the Negotiating Council and the negotiating forum have adopted the technical committee's final report.

\*Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, since the hon the Minister of Constitutional Development and I last saw one another, he has wandered far afield. We see he has come back safely. [Interjections.] He is heavily laden with a doctorate and for the present we welcome him back here. [Interjections.]

We in the Negotiating Council are already beginning to talk of Roelf and Ramaphosa. If one abbreviates this in the modern-day style, it becomes "R and R". Then one begins to think of Shakespeare's Hamlet and one wonders, "To R or not to R, that is the question." [Interjections.]

The hon the Minister has answered quite correctly. It is indeed as he has said. At the last meeting of the Negotiating Council it was decided that the technical committee's affairs should remain in abeyance until finally had been reached in regard to, *inter alia*, the negotiation process, as the hon the Minister said in his reply.

The problem is, however, that we at the Negotiating Council are not always sure of what is going to happen at the end of a day, because we have now twice already . . . [Interjections.]



The hon members must not shout me down. I am in the process of informing them.

We have now had the experience on two occasions that in the injury time of the council . . .

\*The MINISTER OF MANPOWER: Are you reporting now?

(3044)

\*Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister, who has just asked me whether I am reporting, sits and frowns at the Negotiating Council in an effort to even understand what is going on there. Seeing he has nothing else to say, he sits there with a frown on his face. [Interjections.]

Last week, in the final moments of that sitting, the hon the Minister, as one of the forces on the Negotiating Council, allowed the agenda to be changed and a date to be set or recommended. The next day this was proclaimed to the whole world as the date on which the next election—the first election on the basis of one man, one vote—would take place. [Interjections.] That morning and the previous day it was already being said in the newspapers that this would more or less be the date.

The inference we can draw from our experience is that that Negotiating Council is a rubber stamp in which matters are quite simply bulldozed through in the interests of the bilateral agreements between the Government and the ANC. [Time expired.]

Mr C W EGLIN: Mr Chairman, the speech made by the hon member who has just sat down is typical of the CP. We hear what they are against and what they do not want, but they will not tell us what they do want. [Interjections.]

We have sat at the negotiating forum, but they will not come clean, and once again I have tried to decide, by listening to the question, whether it is because they are in favour of an executive transitional council, or because they are against it. The question still remains. One does not know whether they are for it or against it.

I think South Africa will be pleased to know that Dr Cyril Meyer is back in South Africa. It is good to have him back. [Interjections.]

Let me tell the hon the Minister that we in the DP want an executive transitional council in place as soon as possible, and there are two reasons for it. Firstly, we want to start levelling the playing field in order to get ready for South

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

Africa's first genuine general election, and that is essential.

Secondly, it is very important because it gives a signal to South Africa and to the world that we have taken the first formal step towards a shared interim government in South Africa. That is a very important signal for the international community when it comes to our economic recovery.

As far as the hon member is concerned, let me say that the last report of the technical subcommittee dealing with this issue states that there is, in fact, only one party that seems to be opposed to it in principle. All the other parties, to a greater or lesser extent, support the principle and want to get on with it.

Secondly, the nature of the report of the technical subcommittee is cast in terms of a draft Bill. This is because they want to make progress. It is not a vague generality. It is cast in terms of a draft Bill. I would be very disappointed if the Government did not accept that draft Bill, work on it, and bring it to Parliament, if necessary, at a special session of Parliament towards the end of July or early in August of this year. It is imperative that we make progress.

\*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, let me say at once that it is the Government's stated standpoint, and we had already said this even before the present multiparty negotiations got under way, that we would like to see the executive transitional council in operation as soon as possible. We say this because we are ready for it and because we are of the opinion that it can in fact make an important contribution in preparation for the transitional phase. For this reason we wish that we could submit legislation in this regard to Parliament at this stage already.

It is precisely because we have respect for the multiparty negotiating forum, precisely because we have respect for the fact that as much consensus as possible must indeed be obtained in relation to what the process should look like in the future, that we said that we would wait until a decision could be taken in connection with the constitution-drafting process. That decision was in fact taken by the Negotiating Council last Tuesday. If hon members go and look at the specific wording of that resolution of the Negotiating Council of 1 June, they will note that all parties with the exception of the CP, expressed their agreement to a twofold transitional pro-

cess. [Interjections.] That hon member really should go and read the resolution, then he will understand it better.

The process which has been formulated by way of that resolution provides that there should be a twofold transitional process. What is necessary now, is for us to thrash out the matter fully and reach an agreement in the time remaining during the next few weeks prior to 25 June, before the negotiating forum convenes. [Interjections.] If only the hon member for Pretoria West could be informed by the hon member for Soutpansberg, when he is awake, in regard to precisely what is going on in the Negotiating Council, this would help him so that he can remain silent.

\*Dr C P MULDER: Mr Chairman, the hon the Minister really should go and take a look at what was recorded in the minutes by the planning committee on Friday in respect of that so-called resolution in regard to a twofold process. The hon the Minister's interpretation is factually incorrect.

It appears to me that his overseas visit has done the hon the Minister some good. He answered correctly this afternoon. He said that there was no draft legislation, in other words the only draft legislation that existed was the legislation that had been drafted for the Codesa process, which had fallen away. The hon the Minister will also be aware of the fact that it was agreed at the Negotiating Council that there was no such thing as Codesa agreements, but in fact Codesa reports. That legislation has therefore fallen away and he is aware of the fact that such legislation does not exist. If this is the case, I want to ask the hon the Minister why we are going to debate the abolition of the President's Council this evening. I want to refer him to the standpoint which the hon the State President adopted at the opening of Parliament this year. He said the following about the abolition of the President's Council in Hansard, Friday, 29 January 1993, col 19:

The intention is that this should be done on a date on which the Council has completed its existing tasks and a beginning has been made with the implementation of transitional structures in terms of legislation arising from multiparty negotiations. This stage may already be reached by the middle of the year.

The hon the Minister told us this afternoon that that stage had not yet been reached. No draft

legislation whatsoever has as yet been discussed in that committee. Why, then, is the President's Council being abolished? It is because he wants to keep to the timetable which he has agreed on with the ANC.

The transitional councils were born of a compromise with the ANC. They demanded an interim government and the hon the Minister tried to catch them with the council with the five presidents, which they did not accept. He subsequently came along with the enlarged representative cabinet, which was not accepted. Then he came along with the idea of the executive transitional councils. In an interview with Dr Gerri Viljoen the year before last when he was still a Minister, he said that the hon the State President had indicated that consideration could be given to certain transitional arrangements at the various legislative executive levels in order to let leaders have a say.

In this way the ANC is obtaining a say and power without responsibility. [Time expired.]

\*Adv T LANGLEY: Mr Chairman, it is being said both outside and inside that once South Africa has reached an agreement on an election date and once provision has been made for a transitional executive council, everything will be in order and things will begin to come right in South Africa. Money and financial aid will then come streaming in. That is what the Americans, the EEC, the Empire and all the others are saying. That is what is being played for in South Africa.

However, until law and order have been restored in South Africa and the violence has been visibly dealt with—not by way of committees, etc—not a single cent will come into the country.

The hon member for Sea Point is outdated. He is still talking about Codesa's draft Bill of last year. Codesa's draft Bill has nothing to do with the present system of negotiation. [Interjections.] [Time expired.]

\*The MINISTER OF CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT: Mr Chairman, I want to point out to the hon member for Soutpansberg that if he looks at the technical report of the Working Group on the Executive Transitional Council, he will see that that committee has already drawn up draft legislation for consideration. [Interjections.] The hon member should

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



simply go and read his documents, then he will be better informed. He is the CP's chief negotiator.

(304A)

I want to tell the hon member for Randfontein that there was no sitting of the Negotiating Council last Friday. I therefore do not know what he is referring to. [Interjections.]

What is at issue in this interpellation, is when we are going to move forward in relation to the transitional process. Unlike the CP, it is the stated standpoint of the Government and the NP that we wish to move as quickly as possible towards a state of stability in South Africa. This party is a new source of concern in the negotiation process.

The hon member for Soutpansberg stood up any number of times during the first sitting of the Negotiating Council and told us that we should excuse him, he did not know the procedure, because he was still a newcomer there. [Interjections.] He told us that any number of times. He had only just joined in the process . . . [Interjections.]

\*An HON MEMBER: But he is learning fast.

\*The MINISTER: It is not even very fast.

The fact of the matter is that we have to determine what we must achieve in order to bring about progress in relation to the transitional steps. Firstly, we must reach a final agreement on the wording of the constitutional principles. These have already been drafted and came before the council last week already. The intention is finally to dispose of them at the next meeting on 15 June.

Secondly, we must gain clarity on the constitutional framework. This means that we must in fact decide what the content of the transitional constitution on which the following step is based, will look like.

Thirdly, we must gain clarity and reach agreement on the constitution-drafting process.

My submission is as follows. Substantial progress has already been made in regard to all three of these matters. Considerable progress in relation to the negotiations thus far has been registered. We are therefore now ready to give consideration in the Negotiating Council to the executive transitional council. [Time expired.]

Debate concluded.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

#### Township at Du Noon: steps/funds

\*2. Adv C H PIENAR asked the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs:

(1) Whether the Government has taken or intends taking any steps with regard to the establishment of an informal township at Du Noon; if not, why not; if so, what steps;

(2) whether any State funds have been spent on the establishment of this township to date; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, what amount up to the latest specified date for which figures are available?

B931E INT

\*The MINISTER OF REGIONAL AND LAND AFFAIRS: Mr Chairman, the reply to the hon member for Heilbron's question is the following. The Government has taken note of the establishment of an informal township at Du Noon and of the serious representations, objections and fears of established communities.

However, the Government is satisfied that this decision falls within the policy guidelines of the Cabinet Resolution, which was approved during September and October 1991, in the light of the increasing need for land for purposes of low-cost settlement in the Cape Town metropolitan area.

The Government has moreover taken cognisance that an amount of R9,257 million from the National Housing Fund has already been complemented and that all the land has already been purchased or expropriated, with occupation on 1 July 1993.

I should like to make the following statement. This decision was not taken in a haphazard manner. Investigations by consultants preceded the 1991 Cabinet decision. In order to position work and residential areas as close to one another as possible, the decision was taken to deal with low-income settlement in a more dispersed fashion. I want to refer the hon member to the press statement dated 17 October 1991, which contains full particulars, in which an area to the north of Milnerton was *inter alia* approved for low-income housing.

The Milnerton Municipality, within these guidelines, and in consultation with the CPA and all other interested parties, with the aid of consultants, identified various possible sites in order to accommodate the Marconi Beam, Doornbach Farm, Table View, Frankendale and Bloorbeek strand squatter communities.

After more than two years, and after interested groups, the public and the local inhabitants had been afforded several opportunities to comment, Milnerton formally applied for the proclamation of Du Noon at the end of October 1992, after it had become clear that the squatters did not find Frankendale acceptable because of the distance. The Administrator designated the area in terms of the Less Formal Settlement Act. Marconi Beam was rejected for various reasons. It is *inter alia* in the centre of the Milnerton municipal area and was earmarked for a business centre a long time ago.

The consultants had thorough regard for the nearby wetlands area and engineering planning will be dealing with all problems in this regard. I want to emphasise that all interested groups were invited, and will again be invited, to become involved in the planning.

Finally, the CPA is thoroughly aware of the problems that are being experienced because of squatting along the N2. Therefore this problem at Du Noon is being dealt with thoroughly by means of the following steps. The planned layout of the town is being done in such a way that the safest land-users will be located next to the N7. A considerably wider road reserve is being planned.

Urbanisation cannot be managed to such a degree that the low-income groups are kept away from the most important access routes completely. These people are to a great extent dependent on kombi taxi transport and therefore good access roads are important.

Adv C H PIENAR: Mr Chairman, it is quite clear from the hon the Minister's reply that the Government is bound by its decision of 1991. It does not want to change its mind despite getting better advice at this stage. It also smacks of possible forced removals from Marconi Beam. Are they going to remove those people and force them to live at Du Noon? How does one regulate people in squatter camps not to live here, but to live there? Have they regulated them along the N2?

The whole question of Du Noon transcends political differences. There is a misconception

which should be cleared up. People in their right minds are not against land being provided to the landless. What I am issuing a warning against is the deliberate planning of a less formal township at Du Noon, at the wrong site, by the Milnerton Municipality and the CPA. There are no landless or homeless people living there at present. Therefore this is not an effort to upgrade or legitimise an existing state of affairs. Those people live at Marconi Beam. It is an attempt to move an existing squatter camp at Marconi Beam, across the road from the Milnerton Racecourse stables, to Du Noon. This is the wrong site and it would be a very expensive mistake if the Government were to allow things to proceed.

The police have warned that siting squatter camps next to main roads and thoroughfares could create situations of conflict. The N2 situation, which borders on the impossible, is a case in point. Du Noon is sited next to the N7, which is the main arterial road linking the West Coast and Namibia to Cape Town. As a township Du Noon would also create costly transport problems for its inhabitants, as it is far away from existing facilities and any possible workplace for its inhabitants.

The drainage typical of a less formal township, without sewerage and domestic rubbish removal, would soon turn Rietvlei, which is a very valuable wetland area—not only for the Western Cape, but indeed for the whole of South Africa—into a gigantic open sewer. As far as I could ascertain, no environmental impact studies have been made by the authorities involved on the potential for an ecological disaster should the Du Noon township be proceeded with. The Western Cape is the jewel of South Africa and its tourist potential is vast. We ask the Government not to proceed with this scheme. It will have a disastrous effect on the Western Cape as it will destroy an environmental gem.

As for the moneys apparently loaned by the CPA to Milnerton, at least then develop Du Noon as a fully fledged township—possibly a subeconomic one—and assist in the upgrading of the people. Alternatively, use these funds to improve living conditions at Marconi Beam. To anticipate that the inhabitants of Marconi Beam will move away is a fallacy. Despite my requests, I have been unable to obtain details from the CPA, as we are unaware of what properties have

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



## CP talks of secession right

JOHANNESBURG. — Afrikaners will have the right to secede if simplistic majority rule is introduced in South Africa, the Conservative Party says in its constitutional proposals handed in at multi-party talks yesterday. (304A)

CT 3/6/93  
"At that moment oppression of the Afrikaner by the majority will start. Hence a right of secession will arise according to the requirements of international law," the CP argues.

The CP rejects a unitary state and supports a confederation. — Sapa

**M**ULTIPARTY negotiations have seen the tabling of widely disparate proposals for redefining SA's regions. The parties' motives differ markedly.

The NP's primary motive is to limit the powers of a majority government, and it has voiced a rather equivocal policy of "regionalism based on sound federal principles". The DP has traditionally been concerned with limiting the powers of the centre, and advocates an unqualified federalism. The ANC, while it has recently made important concessions, wishes to ensure that the centre retains its power over the regions, but concedes that a certain (and as yet undefined) degree of political power should be vested in regional authorities.

In stark but predictable contrast, the Inkatha Freedom Party tends towards a confederalist approach to promote the autonomy of Natal-KwaZulu. Finally, there is little doubt that the homeland administrations wish to retain their power bases intact, while the CP and others to the right are concerned with maintaining Afrikaner identity.

Given the divergence of motivations, the potential for regions to be delineated on the basis of short-term political goals seems high. A further worry is that, to break a possible constitutional deadlock, the negotiating parties might settle for compromises that give short shrift to rational economic planning.

**W**rongly and hastily planned regions could well be a recipe for disastrous and violent fission along ethnic, racial or party political lines. By contrast, many positive developments could flow from intelligently and sensitively constructed regions: the deepening and extension of democracy; the integration of regional sentiments into national politics; and the amelioration of regional economic imbalances.

Yet, an elaborate federal structure with well-entrenched regional autonomy may not be conducive to development. Economic reconstruction requires a strong central government with the power and compe-

# Regional policies must aid the cause of economic growth

GAVIN MAASDORP

tence to implement national development strategies, to engage in appropriate fiscal planning and to promote regulatory harmony.

The delineation of regions depends on the purpose they are intended to serve. Will the dominant purpose be to take account of population composition, or historical experience, or functional economic flows, or a rationalisation of existing administrative jurisdiction?

If (as it should be) the major concern is for economic reconstruction, then solid recommendations can be made about the nature and structure of a future constitutional system.

Legitimate government functions in an economy are limited to three areas: the allocation of resources for the provision of public goods; the stabilisation of the economic environment; and the correction of distribution of income and wealth society deems inequitable.

Economists agree that central government is the appropriate level for policy-making aimed at influencing the distribution of income and wealth. In the provision of services, however, other levels of government clearly have a role to play. The stabilisation function concerns fiscal and monetary policy. In both unitary and federal systems, it has to be

carried out at the central level.

Experts have recommended regional autonomy for regional development policies. But what powers are necessary? Should regions be free to diverge from national policy in promoting regional investment incentives for industries and tourism? The question of which level of government should be given the ability to declare export processing zones is a related concern. The same applies to devolution of control over airports and harbours.

**T**he fiscal relationship between the centre and regions is a crucial one. SA has an extremely centralised system of taxation with the central government raising about 93% of total taxes. However, regional and local authorities do need some degree of fiscal autonomy. Whatever jurisdictions are devolved to the regions, they require sufficient revenue to carry out their functions. But should limits be set on their expenditure levels and powers of taxation?

Provincial income tax was abolished in 1970, and the regional administrations have become more dependent on transfers from central government. These transfers need to

be equitable. Different regions have different needs stemming from such factors as population sizes, rates of urban growth, resource endowments and economic potential. It is desirable, to avoid disputes, that a simple, clearly defined formula for fiscal transfers from the centre should be evolved; these transfers should not be made ad hoc.

There are some interesting examples of fiscal transfer mechanisms in federations such as Malaysia and Australia, where central governments have the major taxing powers and then distribute funds to the regions. In Malaysia the distribution of funds is constitutionally guaranteed whereas in Australia the Commonwealth Grants Commission controls most of the grants given by the federal government to the states.

It appears that the Malaysian system has been more successful because the transfer of funds is tied, constitutionally, to a mechanistic formula. In Australia, by contrast, the federal government has been able to tie its levels of funding to a particular state's acceptance and implementation of federal policy — which has led to a controversial undermining of state autonomy.

Fiscal transfers are clearly important to minimise inter-regional income differentials. The aim should

be to mitigate the extent of inequality by financial transfers from the centre. Some regions are likely to continue to lose inhabitants to regions of greater economic opportunity. It is in the national interest that these people should have equal educational opportunities to enable them to compete from an equal position for jobs in the cities. Thus, it is important that social service standards be similar across regions.

An agreed formula for fiscal transfers would be critical: no central government should be able to penalise, or discriminate against, any region for political reasons.

Because SA is a nation of many peoples and cultures, the centre needs sufficient powers to hold the nation together and direct its economy through fiscal means.

On this basis, among the economic functions which it appears critical for the central government to retain are monetary policy, fiscal policy, foreign trade policy, regulation of financial institutions, transport and communications and the maintenance of national standards in terms of education, health and pensions.

The delineation of regions is likely to be based on an amalgam of homogeneity, functional economic flows and existing administrative criteria. SA has a plural society and regions should help, not hinder, the process of building, for the first time, a democratic society in the country.

**T**he number of regions should be minimised bearing in mind that the system is costly, especially if the regions are federal states.

In financial terms, a federal system is a costly form of government. Each state has its chief executive, ministers, legislatures and the "paraphernalia, pomp and pageantry that politicians love so much". While these costs might be offset by sociopolitical benefits, the general policy should be minimal government, and the policy of regionalism should be in line with this goal.

□ Prof Maasdorp is director of the Economic Research Unit, University of Natal, Durban. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of *Optima*.

SPOT DESK



# MPs poised to quit Nats

## 'Musical chairs' bid to save jobs

27/6/93

(344)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**A NUMBER of National Party MPs are set to quit Parliament, or the party, in the next few weeks as MPs furiously jockey for position in an 11th-hour bid to save their political careers in the dying days of the tricameral era.**

National Party sources said last night that a batch of predominantly Natal NP backbenchers were "looking at the options" and might join the Inkatha Freedom Party.

MPs from other parties in the 308-member Parliament are also considering their positions and a major game of political "musical chairs" is expected as MPs battle to remain public representatives in the new order.

Hot on the heels of the decision by Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Mr Johan Scheepers to quit Parliament, NP MP for Newton Park Mr Sakkie Louw last night said he was about to follow suit.

A number of MPs from the Eastern Cape and other regions like Natal and the Western Cape are expected to follow the same course. Mr Louw said he hoped to develop the

potential of his region by settling for a position on the regional legislature — an example expected to be followed by a number of the 167-strong NP caucus.

However, some MPs from the NP and other parties are expected to switch parties in a bid to maintain their positions as MPs in a new Parliament.

It is understood that many of the more junior members of the NP who are keen to continue their political careers in a new order realise they have little chance of gaining a favourable position on the ruling party's national or regional lists.

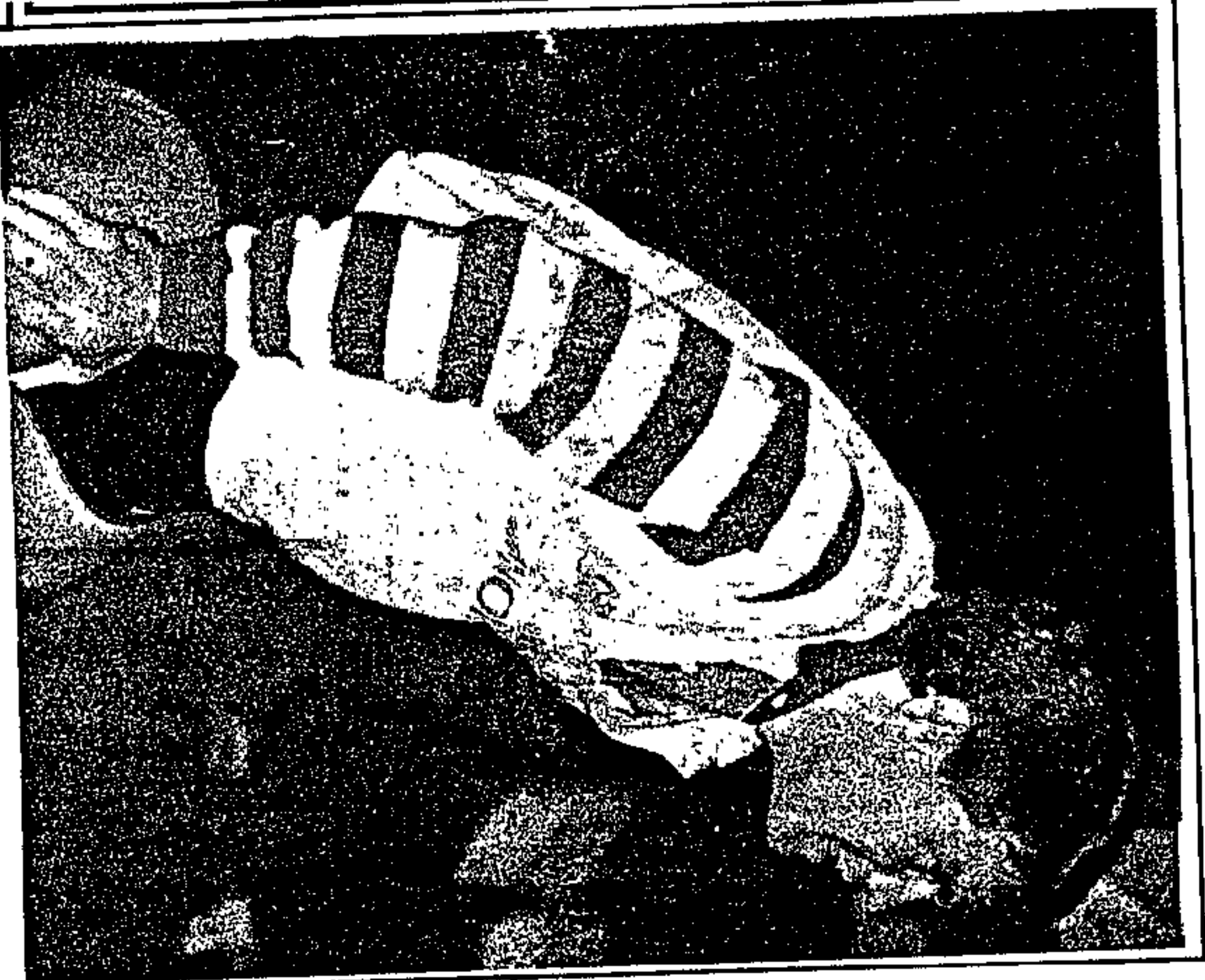
### Inquiries

Inkatha MPs have received a number of inquiries in the past few days from MPs in all three Houses.

Some of the NP's white and Indian MPs believe they have a better chance of retaining a foothold in Parliament if they jump ship and join a party like Inkatha, which has largely black support.

It is understood that the Natal leader of the NP, Mr George Bartlett, will meet Natal MEC Mr Peter Miller to discuss the whole "Inkatha question".

Senior Inkatha frontbencher Mr Jurie Mentz has indicated that between 10 and 15 NP MPs are toying with the idea of crossing the floor to Inkatha. 27/6/93



# Poll regions set in July

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Electoral regions for South Africa's first democratic election will be determined by the end of next month.

A commission on the demarcation of regions, appointed by the 26-party Negotiating Council on May 28, met yesterday for the first time at the World Trade Centre.

Its report will be completed by July 26.

Written submissions should be sent to the commission before noon on July 6 but parties or communities may apply to give oral evidence.

Although the commission will sit at the World Trade Centre, it will hear submissions in a centre close to a community that wants to make submissions, in the language the community prefers.

The 15-member commission, chaired by University of Pretoria principal Professor Flip Smit and Dr Bax Nomvete from the University of Cape Town, meets again on Saturday.



## POLITICS

# CP reveals volkstaat plan, but not its map

Star 9/6/93  
(304A)

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Conservative Party yesterday released its constitutional proposals but shied away from making public a map of its proposed confederal Afrikaner state and the thorny issue of who exactly would qualify to live there.

The proposals "for a peaceful South Africa" suggest Afrikaners will have the right to secede if "simplistic majority rule" is imposed on them.

In essence the CP's submission to the negotiations technical committee on constitutional matters provides for a "confederation" embracing independent and federal states.

At a press briefing in Cape Town, the CP refused to be drawn on whether people other than whites would be allowed to live in the proposed Afrikaner state.

Its definition of Afrikaner in the document is: "Descendants of the Afrikaner and those patriots of other languages who share the same destiny on the basis of mutual acceptance and striving for community freedom."

Asked whether this meant a person of colour could become a citizen, CP MP for Losberg Fanie Jacobs said: "We would like to propose that the document be studied in full. We are not here to answer theoretical questions."

On the proposed territory, the document states: "We propose a process which will result in a legitimate set of

boundaries as opposed to mere unilaterally proposed instant maps.

"In essence, extensive consultation and negotiation, mainly of a bilateral character with those affected, will be of the utmost importance."

It adds that the CP will submit its proposals to the commission on the delimitation of states, regions and provinces established through the negotiating process.

Asked why the CP would not make its proposed boundaries public, Jacobs said it would not be "decent" to release them before they had been considered by the commission.

The document emphasises that the Afrikaner's right to self-determination is not negotiable for the CP.

# Breakthrough is close, says FW

Star 9/16/93  
304A

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
and Chris Whitfield

South African negotiators stood at the threshold of a major breakthrough and would soon be able to present their achievements to all South Africans, President de Klerk said yesterday.

Opening the annual meeting of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg, he said he strongly believed that binding agreements in multiparty negotiations would go a long way towards dealing with the violence which was undermining investor confidence.

De Klerk said South Africa had lived through "three tumultuous years of socio-political change."

It was a matter of "consider-

able regret" that hopes of a flying start to a democratic future had been deferred continually by outbreaks of violence.

He said investor confidence had to be restored if South Africa were to "optimise its ample resources and fulfil its potential as the economic and industrial giant of sub-Saharan Africa".

To this end, he said, it was vital that violence ended and negotiations were speeded up.

"I am convinced that we will succeed to create an environment conducive to investor confidence and economic growth within the near future."

And at a second speaking engagement near Cape Town yesterday, De Klerk said the Government was busy achieving "one after another" of its objectives in negotiations.

Speaking at the opening of Sanlam's new head office in

Bellville, he rejected the perception that the Government was busy backing off from the mandate it had received in last year's referendum.

"We are busy attaining our aims," he said.

The framework and "fundamental departure points" spelt out by him in the referendum were "one after another" becoming part of negotiated agreements, he said.

De Klerk added that on the constitutional level the country was busy with initiatives which could "open new horizons".

The process was surrounded by uncertainty and risks, but what could be stated as fact was that the "old dispensation was heading for a disaster".

"Justice, national reconciliation and full participation for everyone can bring a daybreak of peace and progress."



# PAC halts talks with govt

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC said yesterday it was suspending bilateral talks with the government following a police swoop on its members, but would remain in multi-party talks.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander told a Spanish TV news agency the organisation's military wing would not abandon its armed struggle against white domination.

"We will carry on with the armed struggle. We will intensify it because

the regime is not complying with the negotiation council resolutions and is not interested in the mutual cessation of hostilities," he said.

Meanwhile, the PAC said yesterday reports of a deepening white public crisis of confidence in the National Party could lead to further clamp-downs on PAC members.

It said the government had not as yet returned the property of its members which was confiscated recently by the police. — Sapa

# FW denies Nats are 'yielding'

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT** De Klerk has rejected the perception that the government is "yielding" to its opponents.

Speaking at the opening of the new Sanlam building in Bellville last night, he declared that last year's referendum goals were being written into negotiated agreements "one by one".

Mr De Klerk acknowledged that no one could be certain what the future would bring,

but said he was confident "because we are achieving our goals".

Tackling negative perceptions about the National Party, Mr De Klerk said: "Contrary to the perception that we are yielding, we are in fact succeeding in achieving our (referendum) mandate. Good progress is being made."

"The framework and fundamental points of departure, which I set out in the referendum, are being included in negotiated agreements, one by one".

He acknowledged that the opening of new horizons in the constitutional sphere naturally entailed uncertainty and risk.

"We don't know what lies beyond the horizon, but what we do know is that the old dispensation was leading nowhere. Our future was dark if it was to be built on discrimination and injustice."

"However, justice, national reconciliation and the full participation of everyone can usher in a new era of peace and progress."

304A ARG 9/16/93

Handwritten notes and stamps at the bottom of the page, including a date stamp "1993-09-16" and various illegible markings.



# Conservative shift on defining Afrikaners

ARG 9/6/98 (304A)  
□ Race ignored in reference to citizenship

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party appears to have begun a shift away from defining the Afrikaner people as whites.

But in a substantial 37-page submission to the negotiating forum the party remains elusive this — and on the boundaries of its proposed Afrikaner state.

The party's "Constitutional Proposals ... for a Peaceful South Africa", released at a Press conference yesterday, present arguments to buttress the CP's demand for Afrikaner, rather than individual, self-determination within a confederacy of nation states.

The document defines the Afrikaner people as "descendants of the Afrikanervolk and other patriots who share the destiny of the Afrikaner people on the basis of a mutual acceptance

of and collective commitment to the struggle for freedom".

Pressed during yesterday's briefing to say whether this meant people of colour could be accorded full rights as members of the Afrikaner people in an Afrikaner state, Mr Fanie Jacobs said: "We have nothing to add to the document in this regard."

Although the reference to citizenship does not mention race, an early reference says: "We accept that the right of self-determination is a right of peoples (volke) and not of individuals nor racial groups as such."

On the critical issue of the boundaries of a future Afrikaner state, the CP document proposes an extensive negotiation process "mainly of a bilateral character with those affected" to create a "legitimate set of boundaries".

The party says its own pro-

posals will not be published before they have been presented to the Commission on the Delimitation of States, Regions and Provinces.

Other key points of the document are:

- Rejection of a unitary state.

- Rejection of an interim constitution because of its inevitable legal uncertainty and incompleteness.

- Endorsement of a confederation or commonwealth established on a voluntary basis by treaty.

- Endorsement of federal states with their own powers, functions and structures designed to meet the self-determination of peoples.

The CP says: "It is an illusion to believe that a way be found to rule such a deeply divided society in a way that one group will not be dominated by others."

# East Cape MP may quit

Political Staff

MR SAKKIE Louw, National Party MP for Newton Park, Port Elizabeth, has been appointed head of the party's election campaign in the Eastern Cape. He is considering stepping down as an MP.

He said today the decision would have to be taken in consultation with his constituency and party leaders. He did not plan to leave politics.

He said he would rather consider getting involved in regional politics and could make himself available for future regional structures.

This is an option likely to be considered by other Nationalist MPs who may not be nominated for a new parliament or may not be re-elected.

A number of Nationalist MPs entitled to full pensions will take this option.

Nationalist leaders maintain that this does not mean that the MPs are defecting from the party.

Inkatha Freedom Party sources claim at least two more MPs will join the IFP soon.

An announcement is expected next week.





**RAPPING THE VOTE . . .** Prophets of the City members (from left) Ramone, Ishmael, Junior and DSA, tell pupils at Spine Road Secondary School in Mitchells Plain how to vote, in the group's vote education campaign, which started a few weeks ago.

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

## 'Prophets' rap vote message

CT9/6/93

304A

Staff Reporter

**TOP** local rap group Prophets of the City, using the popular rap medium, have been educating thousands of young people recently about voting in a democracy.

The voter education campaign, Rapping for Democracy, is done jointly with the Centre for Devel-

opment Studies, based at the University of the Western Cape.

The five-member group told pupils at Mitchells Plain schools yesterday to grab the opportunity to get peace through the vote.

Prophets thrilled the many youths at Tafelsig and Spine Road Secondary schools with their

songs designed to educate youth on voting.

The campaign was started a few weeks ago and the group has already been to Johannesburg and Durban.

"Vote for education, hope, water and electricity, housing and sanitation, and peace," was their message to youth.

# CP unclear about non-white citizens

CT 9/6/93 (304A)

THE CP was still unclear yesterday about whether non-whites could become citizens of the CP's proposed Afrikaner state.

Introducing a document on the party's constitutional proposals, drawn up in response to a request from a technical committee at the Multi-Party Conference, CP constitutional expert Mr Fanie Jacobs also declined to reveal where the party thought the boundaries of the state should lie.

At a news conference, Mr Jacobs said it would be of no avail to answer "only speculating theoretical questions" when asked about the citizenship of non-whites in an Afrikaner state.

The document defines Afrikaners as "descendants of the Afrikaner volk and those patriots who speak other

languages, whose fate is bound up with the Afrikaner volk on the basis of mutual acceptance and a common struggle for liberty".

Mr Jacobs added later that if people of colour thought they could fit in with this definition, they should apply for citizenship.

"I don't want to take it any further than that," he said.

Also at the conference, MP Dr Corné Mulder, a co-compiler of the document, said the definition of the Afrikaner volk was very clear.

The issue did not relate to colour, he said. Nor was it necessarily true that people speaking the same language were members of the same volk. Austrians and Germans both spoke German, but they were members of different nations. — Sapa



3  
d in women's bedroom

Sowetan 9/6/93  
**Democracy urgent - FW**  
(304A)

**By Ike Motsapi**

THE establishment of a new democratic South Africa was more urgent now than ever before, President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

De Klerk, who was addressing the 103rd annual general meeting of the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg, said binding agreements had to be reached at the negotiating table so that investors' confidence could be regained.

He said violence was ripping the country apart and called on politicians to

work together towards achieving peace.

"South Africa has been living through three tumultuous years of socio-political change.

It is a matter of considerable regret that the hopes of a flying start to the democratic process in this country of enormous promise have been deferred by the continuous outbreak of internecine violence," he said.

The president of the chamber, Mr Bobby Godsell, told the meeting that they had devised a five-point plan aimed at keeping mines profitable.

# focus on the NP

**S**O MUCH HAS BEEN SAID in recent days about the state of the nation apropos of the floundering Presidency and the mediocrity of the State President's ruling National Party.

One is tempted to gloat at the thought of the party's imminent disintegration.

But given the sporadic violence in the country and Far Rightist backlash, it would be catastrophic for the country if the NP were to collapse completely.

This does not suggest a vote of no confidence in the extra-parliamentary leadership. What it means is that if the NP came apart today, under the present constitutional dispensation, a Far Rightist coalition, probably under the Conservative Party, could take over and consequently alter the course of events in South Africa.

## White power block

There has in recent months been a proliferation of Far Rightist factions that have taken shape within the establishment and within the white power bloc that could, in the event of a National Party collapse, turn the country around.

One must bear in mind that while the black political leadership might be competent, white South Africans still have the political, military and economic power; a successful black seizure of power in the event of the collapse of government would, therefore, be highly improbable.

On the other hand, a Far Rightist seizure of power is more likely should the NP collapse.

Let us pause for a moment on the actual state of the NP. Here is a political craft that is beastly and big, cumbersome and corrupt; one which is quite literally feeding off itself.

In recent weeks only, particularly since the assassination of Chris Hani, a perception has spread of a leaderless National Party following successive fiascos that have marred President FW de Klerk's credibility and stature.

## Pathetic President

From simple things, like a message of support De Klerk sent to Orlando Pirates for their game against AC Milan, to the bigger, more tumultuous issues, such as the perennial gripes in black education, the matric exam registration fee, the raid on the PAC and the SABC board debacle, De Klerk, personally, has looked bad; no, pathetic.

In and around political circles it is said that De Klerk is badly advised at the moment, but worst still, others comment, he has never been well advised — especially about the transformation of South Africa and the future.

"They always thought that they could sell a kind of co-option to the ANC and Buthelezi," a well-informed source who was closely connected to the Broederbond in 1991 told *Sowetan* yesterday.

President de Klerk and his National Party are fast losing support among whites. It would be a catastrophe if the party had to collapse, writes Political Correspondent

**Ismail Lagardien:**

*Sowetan 9/6/93*



FW de Klerk ... power slipping away.

**De Klerk is ultimately responsible for the debacle in the National Party**

"Until Codesa 1, they (the National Party and the Broederbond) thought they could co-opt Mandela and the ANC. It was said in a Broederbond gathering in 1991 that: 'It won't be that difficult to fool the *kaffertjies* (*dit sal nie so moeilik wees om vir die kaffertjies ore aan te sit nie*)).

"But when Mr Mandela challenged De Klerk at Codesa 1, the National Party and the Broederbond were shaken to their foundations," the source said. This, he said, was finally dawning on ordinary members of the National Party...

## Imminent disempowerment

The fissures in the National Party today are, therefore, a distinct disillusionment with the reality of imminent disempowerment.

Another informed political analyst and former National Party and Broederbond member, Professor Sampie Terblanche, the head of the economic department at Stellenbosch Uni-



versity, believes the moral basis upon which the NP was founded and kept alive was corrupt.

Terblanche believes that after more than 40 years in power, the National Party is so corrupt that there is nothing that can keep it together.

"Their positions of power and the very power itself was attained by a confusion of patronage, nepotism and corruption. As the reality of its demise is showing itself, they are seeking something which can keep them together but there is nothing morally honest enough.

"Actually, the ANC and Mandela have been accommodating towards the NP. They realise it is necessary to keep FW and the NP upright."

Terblanche believes that De Klerk is ultimately responsible for the debacle in the NP; for two reasons.

## Caucus uninformed

Firstly, because he never kept his caucus informed about major developments and a particular case in point is the February 2 1990 speech — which it is known was never discussed with the NP caucus.

And secondly, Terblanche agrees with the Broederbond source, because until Codesa 1, De Klerk and the Cabinet still thought they could co-opt the ANC into a power-sharing deal.

"It is a sad sight, when one looks at De Klerk and the unnecessary preoccupation with the man. The party cannot stay intact because the promise that they could deliver power-sharing is disappearing."

Terblanche said that during the referendum campaign, voters were deluded into believing that De Klerk could deliver (for whites). It has become evident, he said, that the man cannot and the NP is "structurally too corrupt".

"But the NP must continue to survive because the negotiations process will be jeopardised," Terblanche said.

A political take-over by the Far Right is a real threat; one must add, however, that the Far Rightist rhetoric by the generals of a military take-over is more emotive than reality.

The country moved close to a political crisis in Parliament last week where De Klerk had his Budget passed by a narrow margin.

When the President loses his Budget Vote in Parliament he has to resign and call an election.



1 again • ANC considers new strategies

# Soweto's rent boycott could end

*Sowetan 9/6/93*

By Isaac Moledi

**A**N ANNOUNCEMENT that could bring the seven-year-old Soweto rent boycott to an end is expected tonight. The announcement will be made after a meeting of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber.

Soweto administrator Mr Zakkie Lombard said yesterday that if things went according to plan at the CWMC meeting regarding Greater Soweto, the rent boycott, which began in 1986, could come to an end.

■ **NEW PLAN** Announcement expected after meeting of Chamber:

Meanwhile, a Sowetan correspondent reports that all residents in the area will soon be paying normal metered tariffs for electricity.

At present only half of the residents are paying the flat rate of R33,80 while Eskom "normalises" provision and maintenance of the services.

"This is now coming to an end and we are entering a phase when normal maintenance can take place," Eskom

sales and customer service manager Mr Paul Mare said last week.

The giant electricity supplier took over from the Soweto Council in March last year.

As an interim measure, it was agreed that consumers would pay a flat rate of R33,80 while Eskom fixed vandalised installations.

Mare assured Soweto residents that there would no longer be bulk cut-offs.

# ANC meeting to focus on elections, strategies

*Sowetan 9/6/93*

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

THE leadership of the ANC began a three-day meeting behind closed doors in Johannesburg yesterday.

The national executive committee meeting takes place following the setting of a tentative date for elections by negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

■ **Executive committee meets behind closed doors:**

(304A) It is expected the ANC NEC will focus on the forthcoming meeting of negotiators next Tuesday when the election date will be finalised.

The ANC will also focus on its campaign to develop new strategies.

An announcement of the date for the long-awaited meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela

and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is expected this week from Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu and presiding Bishop of the Methodist Church of Southern Africa Dr Stanley Mogoba.

The Tutu-brokered meeting aimed at putting an end to violence is expected to top the agenda of the meeting.

What led Scheepers to quit? asks Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield

Star 9/6/93

# Murk behind obfuscation

(304A)

**T**HE resignation of enigmatic Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers has, in the few days since it was made public, become the subject of a somewhat overheated political thriller.

Unfortunately, the search for his reasoning has been muddled by Scheepers's own refusal to elaborate. All that has emerged of substance since the news broke on Sunday was that he intends to return to his legal career. The NP damage-control machine also went quickly into action, adding to the obfuscation.

Media probing has, however, cast light on some areas which the Government and the National Party would no doubt prefer kept in the dark. One is an obvious problem the NP faces as it attempts to remain a factor in the country's future: keeping people of quality in its fold. Scheepers, for example, would have little chance

of getting a job of similar status in a new government.

Realistically, the NP can expect to get four to six seats of a 20-member Cabinet in an interim government of national unity. Using the same broad parameters, its representation in a 400-member constituent assembly would be 80 to 120.

Given the need to inject a number of candidates of colour into the party's election lists, the future in politics of many of its current crop of 167 MPs is bleak. An exodus of MPs who cannot face the prospect of a return to the backbenches or see no future in politics can be expected.

Another area cast into the spotlight by the resignation has been that of divisions within the NP hierarchy, particularly between reformists on one hand and hardliners becoming increasingly jittery at the direction of negotiations on the other.

Only 10 months ago Scheepers was Deputy Minister of Law and Order and earning a reputation as being one of the more enlightened bearers of that portfolio. At Codesa 2, for example, it was he who did the work on the ground for the Government which led to the late-night meeting between President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela and which rescued the plenary session from disaster.

In the Law and Order arena he was developing a track record of brokering negotiations between police and local authorities, most notably in his Vryburg constituency and in the eastern Cape. Then he was unceremoniously packed off to Land Affairs on a full-time basis amid speculation of clashes with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel.

NP sources claim the animosity remains, and some observers believe Scheepers's decision to quit may have been reinforced by

growing support Kriel has been getting in the caucus. Interestingly, the news of the resignation came little more than a week after Kriel's defence at the World Trade Centre of the police raids on the PAC. That performance — in spite of the consensus that it was inept — apparently strengthened Kriel's hand in NP ranks.

However, the most ominous aspect of Scheepers's resignation has been the charge that he was deeply frustrated by the bureaucracy within his department. A source who recently discussed land issues with Scheepers said this frustration was evident throughout.

This points to an area which should be of deep concern to those negotiating the future of the country: the capacity of the dying apartheid monster to make the transition difficult.

Those wringing their hands over the problem of making the SABC

— and not just its board — representative should cast an eye over the civil service.

And it is not just faceless civil servants who can use their capacity to make life difficult. The Government itself, having experienced a deathbed conversion to what it understands as liberal democratic values, is furiously busy defusing a future government's capacity to govern in the manner it once enjoyed.

Legislation being forced through the NP-dominated Parliament is designed to take away from a future government those weapons which the NP accumulated for itself. A crude example is recent legislation designed to ensure that South Africa abides by nuclear non-proliferation agreements. Or, as one cynical observer drily commented: "The children are coming into the room so they are removing all the breakables."



De Klerk himself has appointed coloured and Indian Ministers to his Cabinet with a view more to elections than efficient government. And is it a coincidence that the Government recently suspended its moratorium on the building of hospitals to announce that two — at a cost of more than R470 million — would be built in Indian areas of Durban? Or that State money would be donated towards the making in South Africa of a film on the life of Gandhi?

The NP Government may be a lame duck government, as the recent crises in education, over the PAC raids and surrounding the appointment of the SABC board have illustrated. But the background to Scheepers's resignation, whatever his reasons, should serve warning that its control of the legislative process and the treasury gives it a potent weapon.

And the potential for mischief of a disaffected civil service should not be underestimated. □



# Election campaign should stem power drain

Star 9/6/93

306A

SETTING a target date, however provisional, for South Africa's first one-person-one-vote election is an act of high symbolic importance.

The negotiators may or may not be able to keep to the April 27 deadline, but what is more important to both President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela is to send a signal to their restless constituencies and to the world that South Africa has turned the corner, that change is real and irreversible within a definite time-frame.

After three years of tedious talking and with racial violence and political extremism still on the rise, a mood of pessimism pervades the land and all who watch its affairs from abroad. Yet within the disputatious and slow-moving negotiating councils, real progress is being made, and last week the key players — the Government and the ANC — felt an urgent need to send that message to the gloomy watchers outside.

They did so because both are feeling their constituency support draining away as the talks drag on with few visible results. Disillusionment is setting in on both sides: the centre is weakening and

But it is a Catch-22 situation. While such strong-arm action may shore up the Government's support base, it impacts badly on the ANC's constituency. There impatience is growing at the slow pace of the negotiations and their failure to produce any tangible improvement in the quality of life for the majority of blacks.

Things may be improving for the political elite and the emerging middle class, but that only increases resentment and suspicions among the masses who still live in grinding poverty, with 43 percent unemployment.

As the Government's sudden displays of intransigence sent disillusionment soaring, the ANC felt an urgent need for a strong message to stabilise its flaking position. And there can be nothing more potent in this apartheid society than the date for that long-dreamed-of, democratic election.

As the prospect of an announcement loomed during the week, then faded as some of the smaller negotiating parties resisted it, the danger of even greater disenchantment sharpened the ANC's sense of alarm.

Joe Slovo warned of "unpredict-



Allister Sparks

the radical extremes of both the white Right and the black Left are growing in strength and menace.

New opinion polls show that the National Party's support has slumped to 25 percent of the white population and De Klerk's personal popularity rating to the lowest of any premier or president for the last 15 years.

This haemorrhage has alarmed the Government into reverting to its traditional tactic of *kragdadigheid* to reassure its followers that it hasn't really gone soft — hence the sloop on the Pan Africanist Congress two weeks ago, De Klerk's failure to act against the security forces which took that unilateral action, and his crass intervention to veto the appointment of a black man as chairman of the new SABC board and nearly a third of the other selected members.

able consequences" if the date was delayed any longer. In the end, the target date was provisionally accepted, to be confirmed at another meeting of the Negotiating Council on June 15.

If that happens, the setting of a firm time-frame for the transition will also provide Mandela with the political justification he needs to call for an end to sanctions.

The ANC has become sharply aware of the need for this if our depressed economy is to stand a chance of recovering by the time it comes to power as the major partner in a "government of national unity and reconstruction".

As this column has noted before, the inherent difficulty facing both De Klerk and Mandela is that they are locked into a hybrid exercise of negotiating and electioneering simultaneously — and the two activities are incompatible.

Negotiating requires parties to reach understandings and make compromises, while electioneering requires them to engage in combat. The one requires them to be sensitive to each other's constituency problems; the other to exploit those problems.

As the negotiations have

dragged on, party followers on both sides have seen their leaders increasingly as sellouts conceding cherished positions to the enemy. The opinion polls show that the Government is no longer seen as the patron and protector of the white population, but as a craven appeaser of ANC demands.

ANC officials report the same on their side. But it is De Klerk who has the greater problem. His inability to stop the violence, which is impacting increasingly on whites instead of being confined to the black townships as it was in the past, adds to his image of impotence.

And as the whites look for alternative protectors, they are turning to the far-rightist movements whose attraction has been enhanced by the appearance of the Afrikaner Volksfront with its four ex-generals in command.

Nor is that the only point of defection. More and more conservative whites, realising the political future lies with the black majority, are turning to the Inkatha Freedom Party as their best hope of a stop-ANC movement.

As Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi suffers his own haemorrhage of

Zulu support to the ANC, this raises the paradoxical prospect of Inkatha ending up with more white votes than black.

It is crucial, if South Africa's transition is to succeed, that this erosion of the major constituencies must stop. De Klerk and Mandela must both be able to deliver the bulk of their followers into the new South Africa, otherwise there will be chaos.

The hope must now be that the announcement of an election date will symbolically signal that the first phase of the negotiations is drawing to a close and that the election campaign proper is about to begin. There is nothing quite like an election campaign for rallying the troops and consolidating constituencies.

If the election date is confirmed, a transitional executive council could take office within a month. Everything will then focus on preparations for the election, and only after that has taken place will the constitutional negotiations resume next year in the elected constituent assembly. The two incompatible activities will have been at least partially separated. □





The commission on the demarcation of regional boundaries met for the first time in Kempton Park yesterday. Commission co-chairman Bax Nomvete and organiser Theuns Eloff addressed the media afterwards. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

## Stop homelands building — ANC

Wilson Zwane

THE ANC yesterday called for a moratorium on the building of new government buildings by homelands. ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the construction of such buildings on the eve of a new constitutional dispensation was a "total waste" of resources, which should be reserved for a common parliament.

Mamoepa's statement followed disclosures that the KwaNdebele government had recently built new government buildings in Kwa-Mhlanga. 9/6/93

A source close to the homeland said yesterday it spent about R30m on the buildings, which were completed some months ago.

He would not give reasons for the building of the complex, referring inquiries to the homeland's chief minister's office. 9/6/93

Attempts to get comment from the office proved fruitless yesterday.

The source also confirmed that about R5m had been earmarked for the building of a police station in the area. 9/6/93

Mamoepa said the ANC would consult KwaNdebele's ruling Intando Ye Sizwe Party about the circumstances surrounding the construction of the buildings.

Only after consultations would the ANC be able to make an informed comment on the matter.

# Demarcation of new boundaries begins

Buss Day 9/6/93

Wilson Zwane

THE process of demarcating new regional boundaries began in earnest yesterday when a 15-member commission asked interested parties to make submissions on the issue.

The commission, appointed by the multiparty negotiating council on May 28, met for the first time yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Commission co-chairman Bax Nomvete told a media briefing the meeting looked into the organisation's terms of reference and time frames within which to accomplish its task. 9/6/93

The commission would meet again on Saturday to consider criteria it would use to demarcate regional boundaries. 9/6/93

Nomvete, a University of Cape Town academic, stressed that the commission would not be investigating the structures, powers and functions of regions because that was not its brief.

He said since the regional question was important for SA's future economic, political and social prospects, the commission would ensure that submissions on the matter were received from all interested parties.

Commission member Chief Nca-

mashe-Burns said no submissions would be rejected because they emanated from certain political organisations. He said the commission would, if necessary, consider regional boundaries from the colonial days.

Co-chairman and Pretoria University academic Prof Flip Smit said the commission would use internationally accepted criteria when considering the submissions.

Ncamashe-Burns said the commission would also inquire into whether the demarcation of regions was possible before certain laws were repealed.

Also on the commission are the Urban Foundation's Ann Bernstein and the Independent Development Trust's Prof Wiseman Nkuhlu.

KwaZulu government negotiator Ben Ngubane said the commission had "enough credibility" to make proposals which the negotiating council could not reject.

The commission will make its recommendations to the council within six weeks.

Nkuhlu said the recommendations would not undermine the rights of people who had been deprived of their land to seek restitution.



# CP publishes proposals for the new constitution

Buss. Day 9/16/93

CAPE TOWN — The CP published yesterday its constitutional proposals, which insist on Afrikaner self-determination under a confederal constitution in a territory to be negotiated.

The proposals, submitted to the negotiations technical committee on constitutional affairs, do not specify the territory the CP suggested should be set aside as an Afrikaner state.

Nor do the proposals indicate specifically whether it will be possible for people in the territory who are not white to have the vote.

The document argues, however, that in terms of international law, states are not obliged to grant the vote to non-citizens. (BOKA)

Only Afrikaners would qualify for full citizenship in the state. Afrikaners were defined as people who were "descendants of the Afrikaner nation and those patriots who share

TIM COHEN

the same destiny".

CP MP Corne Mulder declined to say specifically whether this definition would exclude people who were not white, saying only that the definition was self-explanatory.

Non-citizens within the Afrikaner state would not have the vote, would not be able to stand for Parliament, would not be able to lay claim to immovable property, but would have other private law rights.

On the territory, the CP document proposes that a process of negotiations should result in a legitimate set of boundaries "as opposed to mere, unilaterally proposed instant maps".

The CP would present its proposals to the commission on the delimitation of states, regions and provinces, declining to release details of its proposals until they had been considered by the commission.

In contrast to parties that proposed a unitary state or a unitary state with regional powers, the CP was proposing self-determination for those who desired it, and any other dispensation for the rest.

These states — there would be at least two, the Afrikaner state and the New SA — would be bound together "for the benefit of all in a confederation of mutual acceptance and co-operation".

The confederal state would co-operate economically, in a way similar to the EC, and would share scientific and technical progress.

The document concluded that if all parties to the negotiations were serious and accepted the realities, it would be possible to resolve SA's complex problems.

"This may be our last opportunity to resolve our constitutional problems in a peaceful manner," the document said.

## PAC rejects nationalisation

TIM MARSLAND

THE PAC would not nationalise industry if it came to power, PAC secretary for economic affairs Sipho Shabalala said yesterday.

Addressing a conference on commercialisation and corporatisation at Midrand yesterday, he said the PAC did not have nationalisation on its agenda. (BOKA)

"I want to set the record straight. We will never nationalise buildings and so on. We are not fanatics," he said. 9/16/93

However, the PAC would like to see blacks on the boards of companies so that the workers "have a sense of ownership ... We want all people to have access to wealth," he said. (BOKA)

PAC economist Mosebajane Malatsi, who is also senior policy analyst at the Development Bank, said the organisation's focus would be on black empowerment through education.

There were too few blacks with the know-how to handle the running of businesses. Therefore, the organisation would make education a key priority, he said.

## DP MP attacks liquor Bill

Buss. Day 9/16/93

CAPE TOWN — Rather than stimulating competition, the Liquor Amendment Bill would protect certain players in the liquor industry, Geoff Engel (DP Bezuidehout) told Parliament yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the measure, he said the DP would vote against the Bill because the state's deregulation was unsound and licences and conditions of operation made such business inaccessible to local communities.

Central government should not determine trading hours.

"Due to the strong emotive, moral and religious issues at stake here, we believe the desired level (for setting hours and conditions) is third-tier government structures, namely local authorities, where each community can decide its wishes." (BOKA)

While the NP supported regionalism and devolution of power, it still demonstrated how selective its principles really were.

The DP knew there were many opponents of the Bill who did not want any deregulation.

However, experience in other countries had shown that deregulation did not necessarily increase alcohol consumption, and in some instances had actually decreased

consumption and abuse.

Government had not been even-handed in its deregulation programme, which continued to discriminate against beer sales in supermarkets or other retail outlets where wine sales were permitted.

This was unjustified state interference originally prompted by the wine co-operatives against English business, he said.

Earlier, Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff said the implementation of the Liquor Act was a dynamic process that depended on the perceptions of the society it served. But all the problems would not be solved by the amendment.

However, the industry had come a long way on the path of deregulation. He had no doubt that Parliament might find it necessary to pass further deregulation measures in future.

D G H Nolte (CP Delmas) said the CP would oppose the measure because it extended liquor trading hours, and the CP was against trading on a Sunday. (BOKA)

At a time of increasing murders, robbery and death, lengthening selling hours would contribute only to more violence and unrest, he said. — Sapa.

## Analysts warn of SA election chaos

Buss. Day 9/16/93

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Political analysts disagreed yesterday on the readiness of political parties, particularly the ANC, to meet the formidable challenges in the "brief" 10 month run-up to an election.

Willem Kleynhans said the country was totally unprepared for an election within a year and an attempt to hold one would end in chaos and a badly flawed result.

Of the country's 22-million eligible voters, 17-million would be Third World political illiterates.

It would take a year or more of intensive education programmes to equip them properly to take part in a democratic election.

He said there were massive "no

go" areas where parties would be unable to hold meetings without provoking violence and disruption.

For the ANC, these areas included Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Kwa-Zulu, while NP recruiting efforts would not be tolerated in townships. The DP would not fare much better.

Kleynhans said farmers were unlikely to allow the ANC to campaign on farms for the votes of the 500 000 enfranchised farm workers.

He claimed the ANC had almost no election infrastructure and had put out the "begging bowl" in an effort to scrape together the R200m it claimed it needed to fight an election.

However, Wits University political science associate professor Tom Lodge said an election in 10 months' time was feasible, with much hard work, and "certainly desirable".

He claimed the ANC was as well prepared as any other party at this stage but much remained to be done in registering and educating voters.

In certain areas the ANC's organisation was "creaky" but then so was the NP's. (BOKA)

Lodge said a delay in the election could lead to fragmentation of ANC support to the right. (BOKA)

An early election had the support of the business community, which believed it would lead to greater business and consumer confidence and stimulate investment.

advised  
readings

(BOKA)

June 9 1993

## Nats' loss

# could be gain for IFP

Star 9/6/93

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party is poised to lose a Transvaal MP — probably to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is also understood that the IFP could gain another member from the House of Delegates — not an NP MP.

An announcement will probably be made on Monday. The moves come amid speculation that some senior Nationalist MPs are poised to quit politics when the current Parliament ends early next year.

A reliable NP source said yesterday that "lots of my colleagues are going to move out" but added that they would not be leaving the NP.

Tony Reeves, House of Representatives MP for Klipspruit West, said last night he was "not happy" in the NP, which he joined last year after eight years as a Labour Party MP.

He cited the handling of the recent education crisis as a source of his discontent.

The NP leadership was "not even looking at rectifying wrongs" such as housing, he said. He had not yet made up his mind whether to join the IFP.

NP sources have indicated that some senior MPs from the eastern Cape may quit Parliament soon.

One is reliably understood to be Sakkie Louw, Nationalist MP for Newton Park. He could not be contacted for comment yesterday.



of vested interests and the maintenance of law and order.

A very important decision taken by the Cabinet is that 5% of the total amount intended for all future projects will be set aside in order to deal with precisely this problem. For us to make an emotional outcry here this afternoon is simply being as naive as the fellow who said: "If I have four acres in my hand, I do not ask for another hand." There is not a single settled community in South Africa that will be happy to accommodate an informal settlement close to it. No one wants it.

However, I want to tell hon members that if we do not plan in good time and if we do not settle people in an orderly fashion in South Africa, we shall not solve this problem.

Debate concluded.

## QUESTIONS

†Indicates translated version.

For oral reply:

General Affairs:

State President:

Atlantis: visit of State President's wife

\*1. Mr J J WALSH asked the State President:

- (1) Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 2 on 31 March 1993 in regard to his spouse's visit to Atlantis on or about 10 March 1993, the said visit was arranged by a certain political party, the name of which has been furnished to the State President's Office for the purpose of his reply; if not, by whom was this visit arranged; if so, what is the name of the party concerned;
- (2) whether any portion of the cost incurred in respect of this visit was charged against the State Revenue Account; if not, what is the position in this regard; if so, (a) what is the amount involved and (b) who gave approval for the amount to be so charged;
- (3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B893E

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

†The MINISTER FOR SPORT (for the State President):

- (1) No.
- (2) Yes. I have already replied fully to the same question by the hon member in this regard on 31 March 1993. It seems, however, that the hon member is actually interested in the cost of the function which was attended by my wife, which should be distinguished from the cost of her visit. My wife was a guest of honour at a goodwill tea which was organised by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives. The previous Minister of Education and Culture in the Ministers' Council in the House of Representatives, Mr Abe Williams, has already reacted fully to enquiries in this regard and I wish to refer the hon member to Mr Williams' letter in Die Burger of 16 April 1993. Should the hon member require further information in this regard, he should direct his question to the Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives.
- (3) No.

Mr J J WALSH: Mr Chairman, arising out of the reply, could I ask the hon the Minister why a goodwill tea organised by his former Department should be advertised as a NP function, inviting the public to come and listen to the hon the State President's wife and to him state their case?

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, it is typical of that party to make a political football out of a goodwill tea. Atlantis finds itself in a very poor economic situation. It was never intended to be a political occasion. [Interjections.] What happened was that the ANC and that party made it a political issue. Therefore the NP had the right to go in and protect the interests of freedom of speech. [Interjections.] No, that was a NP pamphlet. The tea party, however, was a cultural function given by the House of Representatives. [Interjections.]

My problem with that party is that it seems as if they do not grant the Coloured community the right to have tea with the State President's wife. [Interjections.] They have never questioned it when the State President's wife entertained other sections of the community. When it comes to our section of the community, how-

ever, they question the cost. Therefore I can tell them...

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! No, I cannot allow the hon the Minister to go beyond responding to the question.

Mr J J WALSH: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, could I ask him to confirm that in his own name he applied for and received R9 932 to compensate him for the expenses of this function? [Interjections.]

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, that was an application to the Director-General of the House of Representatives to pay for that function. It was a cultural function and it was agreed and approved. It was never a political tea party! [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! [Interjections.] Order! When an hon member puts a question to an hon Minister, the hon the Minister can at least expect to have an opportunity to respond to the question. The hon the Minister may proceed.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, when people set out in that community to wreck that tea party and go against the freedom of the hon the State President's wife to have a goodwill tea party, the ANC handed out a pamphlet. They started a pamphlet war. The hon member for Simon's Town addressed five meetings that evening, prior to the tea party. They turned it into a political issue. Then the NP... [Interjections.]

Mr R M BURROWS: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: The question was asked further arising out of the hon the Minister's reply... [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member is addressing me on a point of order.

Mr R M BURROWS: ... concerning a sum of money in order to ascertain whether that money was spent on a particular function. That was the question that was asked. The hon the Minister is now way off the point of the question.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I have already indicated to the hon the Minister that I cannot allow him to go beyond responding to the question that was put to him. I think the hon member...

†Mr J CHIOLE: Help him, Dawie! [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The next hon member to interrupt when the Chair is giving a ruling will leave the Chamber immediately, and I mean immediately! [Interjections.] Order! That also applies to the hon member for Hercules. [Interjections.] Order!

I have already indicated that the hon the Minister must confine himself to replying to the question. I think all hon members may leave it in the hands of the Chair to decide whether the hon the Minister is indeed going beyond the limits as laid down. The hon the Minister may proceed if he so wishes.

The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I was asked a question. I responded by saying that that cost was incurred in terms of a cultural function that was held in Atlantis by the then Minister of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives. [Interjections.] It was nothing but a cultural function and those were the expenses. The NP was never involved in that function.

Mr J J WALSH: Mr Chairman, further arising out of the reply of the hon the Minister, could I ask him whether he does not believe that, because the NP clearly got publicity from this function they should, in fact, refund this money to the State and therefore the taxpayer?

HON MEMBERS: Hear! Hear!

The MINISTER: We did not advertise the tea party. We did not get publicity beforehand. It is when they made a political issue out of it that the newspapers went in. That was free advertising for the hon the State President. We did not ask for it. Why should the NP be drawn into a matter that was never a political issue, but simply a tea party promoting goodwill? It subsequently became a very famous goodwill tea party.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Hercules indicated that he wished to put a question. Does the hon member wish to put a question?

Mr S P BARNARD: Me? Yes, Sir. [Interjections.]

†Arising out of the hon the Minister's reply, can he tell me how many people were present at that cultural meeting?

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



†The MINISTER: A broad spectrum of the community was invited. The fact that there was a pamphlet war against that tea party was . . . [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! No, the hon the Minister must stick to the question.

†The MINISTER: As the function for the hon the State President's wife was going to be disrupted by intimidation, people were asked to . . . [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order!

†The MINISTER: Sir, I shall mention the amount. Additional arrangements had to be made for orders, preparation and security. Even the schools . . . [Interjections.] I shall come to that. [Interjections.] Musical instruments had to be hired from Paarl because the community of Atlantis . . .

†Mr D J DALLING: You are a crook!

†The MINISTER: Four hundred people were invited to the tea. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Who wanted to raise a point of order?

†Mr J P I BLANCHÉ: Mr Chairman, on a point of order: The hon member for Sandton referred to the hon the Minister as a "crook". I want to bring that to your attention. [Interjections.]

†The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! I cannot hear the hon member.

†Mr J P I BLANCHÉ: The hon member for Sandton shouted to the hon the Minister, while the hon the Minister was speaking, that he was a "crook".

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Did the hon member for Sandton make such a remark?

Mr D J DALLING: Quite proudly, Sir. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Did the hon member make such a remark?

Mr D J DALLING: Indeed, yes.

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! Then the hon member must withdraw the remark.

Mr D J DALLING: I withdraw it, Sir.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon member for Wynberg previously indicated that he wished to put a question.

†Mr R V CARLSLE: I just want to ask the hon the Minister whether a cultural tea is the same as rooibos tea and whether it is "Nat"? [Interjections.]

The CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE: Order! The hon the Minister may reply if he so wishes.

Ministers:

N3 toll road: Heidelberg/Pietermaritzburg

\*1. Mr W U NEL asked the Minister of Transport:

(1) Whether, with reference to the reply to Question No 325 on 14 May 1993 in regard to the N3 toll road between Heidelberg (Transvaal) and Pietermaritzburg, any portion of the amount of R75 267 550 collected in toll money during the period 1 April 1992 up to and including 31 March 1993 that had not been used to defray the operating costs of toll roads and/or the cost of road maintenance was made available to his Department to be used for improving road infrastructure; if not, why not, if so, what are the relevant details;

(2) whether the principle of utilizing such unexpended amounts for the above-mentioned purpose applies in respect of other toll roads in the Republic; if not, why not; if so, to what extent;

(3) whether he will make a statement on the matter? B898E

The MINISTER OF TRANSPORT:

(1) No. The amount of R75 267 550 was, with the exception of a small portion, used to pay back loans.

(2) Yes. The principle applies to toll roads in the Republic. The principle which must be followed is that, in terms of the National Roads Act (Act 54 of 1971), each toll road is a separate accounting entity.

(3) No.

†Mr J CHIOLE: Mr Chairman, I could not hear the hon the Minister at all, but I should

like to ask a follow-up question. I therefore trust that I shall be pardoned if I ask something to which he has already replied. I want to ask him if surplus income is used at all for cross-subsidization in respect of those toll roads that are not profitable, and, if so, whether all surplus income is used for that.

†The MINISTER: Mr Chairman, I shall repeat part of my reply, because hon members were making such a noise that they could not hear me, even if they wanted to. [Interjections.]

Yes. The principle applies to toll roads in the Republic. The principle which must be followed is, in terms of the National Roads Act (Act 54 of 1971), that each toll road is a separate accounting entity, which means that there can be no cross-subsidization.

#### Technical colleges:

\*2. Mr A GERBER asked the Minister of National Education:

(1) Whether he will furnish information on technical colleges under the control of the Department of Education and Culture, Administration: House of Assembly, and the Department of Education and Training, respectively; if not, why not; if so,

(2) whether technical colleges under the control of these two Departments (a) follow the same curriculum and (b) set the same examinations; if not, why not; if so,

(3) whether the same admission requirements apply to examinations in both cases; if not, why not; if so, what are the requirements;

(4) whether he or his Department has made an investigation or will have an investigation made to determine whether these requirements are being applied strictly in both cases; if not, why not; if so, what are the relevant details? B901E

The MINISTER OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING (for the Minister of National Education):

(1) Yes, regarding matters which fall within my area of competence as Minister of National Education.

(2) (a) According to the National Policy for General Education Affairs Act, Act No 76 of 1984, the Minister of National Education is responsible for norms and standards of syllabuses and examination, and for the certification of qualifications. According to this authority he therefore determines the norms and standards for syllabuses followed by all the education departments. The various State departments responsible for education can develop syllabuses according to these norms and standards, separately or in co-operation with each other, in terms of the needs of their clients and/or communities.

(b) The conducting of examinations does not fall within the area of competence of the Minister of National Education; it is the responsibility of the various State departments responsible for education, who in this case too can deal with the matter separately or co-operatively.

(3) Minimum admission requirements are determined by the Minister of National Education . . . his general policy regarding norms and standards for syllabuses and examination, and for the certification of qualifications. Education departments are, however, free to set additional requirements.

(4) No, the Minister of National Education does not have a legal mandate to investigate or have an investigation done regarding the implementation of his admission requirements by the different departments or institutions responsible for the provision of education. Certificates are, however, issued by one body, namely the South African Certification Council (Safcert), and this is done in line with the Minister of National Education's general policy.

†Mr A GERBER: Mr Chairman, arising out of the hon the Minister's reply and in the light of the fact that the same curriculum is followed and the same examinations are written at technical colleges falling under the Department of Education and Culture of the Administration: House of Assembly and those falling under the Department of Education and Training, is the

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY



# FW enters debate on NP MPs

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk has entered the controversy over the shock resignation of Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers to reject suggestions that the National Party is racked by internal problems. (304A)

"We stand united as a party," he said during President's Question Time in Parliament yesterday.

De Klerk was responding to a question from Wynberg Democratic Party MP Robin Carlisle, who charged that some members of the Cabinet were intent on undermining the negotiation process and that reformist members such as Scheepers were being forced out.

## No conflict

"Nobody has been driven out," said De Klerk, adding that Scheepers had done a "marvellous" job in defining a clear land policy and now felt free to put his own personal interests first. It was clear from statements by Scheepers that there had been "no question of dissatisfaction" in his decision to quit politics.

Turning to other Cabinet Ministers who had retired or indicated that they would quit active politics at the end of this session, De Klerk said two had retired for health reasons and other senior Ministers had decided their careers had come to an end.

De Klerk denied charges that Scheepers had quit as Deputy Law and Order Minis-

ter 10 months ago because of conflict within that ministry.

Meanwhile, speculation continued to surround the futures of several senior NP Members of Parliament.

Newton Park MP Sakkie Louw yesterday denied he was retiring from active politics. He confirmed he would not be seeking re-election as an MP, but said he intended to remain active and had accepted the post of NP executive director for the Port Elizabeth area and intended advancing the party's cause in the region.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Jurie Mentz said yesterday that his party could soon gain 10 new members. One is expected to be NP MP for Klipspruit West, Tony Reeves. Mentz declined to elaborate, but there has been speculation the predominantly Natal NP backbenchers were "looking at their options" and might join the IFP.

In another development yesterday the Director-General of the Department of Regional and Land Affairs, C G de Villiers, issued a statement saying "any suggestion that officials are reluctant to carry out land reforms has to be devoid of any truth".

In a response to suggestions that Scheepers's resignation was in part caused by frustration with officials in the department, De Villiers said: "Each and every official of this department is aware of the crucial importance of land reform for political stability and peace." He hit out at claims by the National Land Committee that the department had "one of the blackest histories", saying they were an affront to devoted and conscientious officials.

# Row over Marike's 'goodwill tea'

Political Correspondent

AT 10/16/13

SPORTS Minister Mr Abe Williams was twice called to order in a brief but heated exchange in parliament on Mrs Marike De Klerk's visit to Atlanta earlier this year for a "goodwill tea."

Chairman Dr Helgard van Rensburg twice had to call Mr Williams to restrict himself to answering supplementary questions rather than digressing into a general political assault on the Democratic Party. Replying on behalf of President De

Klerk to a question by Democratic Party MP for Pinelands Mr Jasper Walsh, Mr Williams acknowledged that the tea had been arranged at a cost of R9 932 by the House of Representatives administration, but denied it was a party political function.

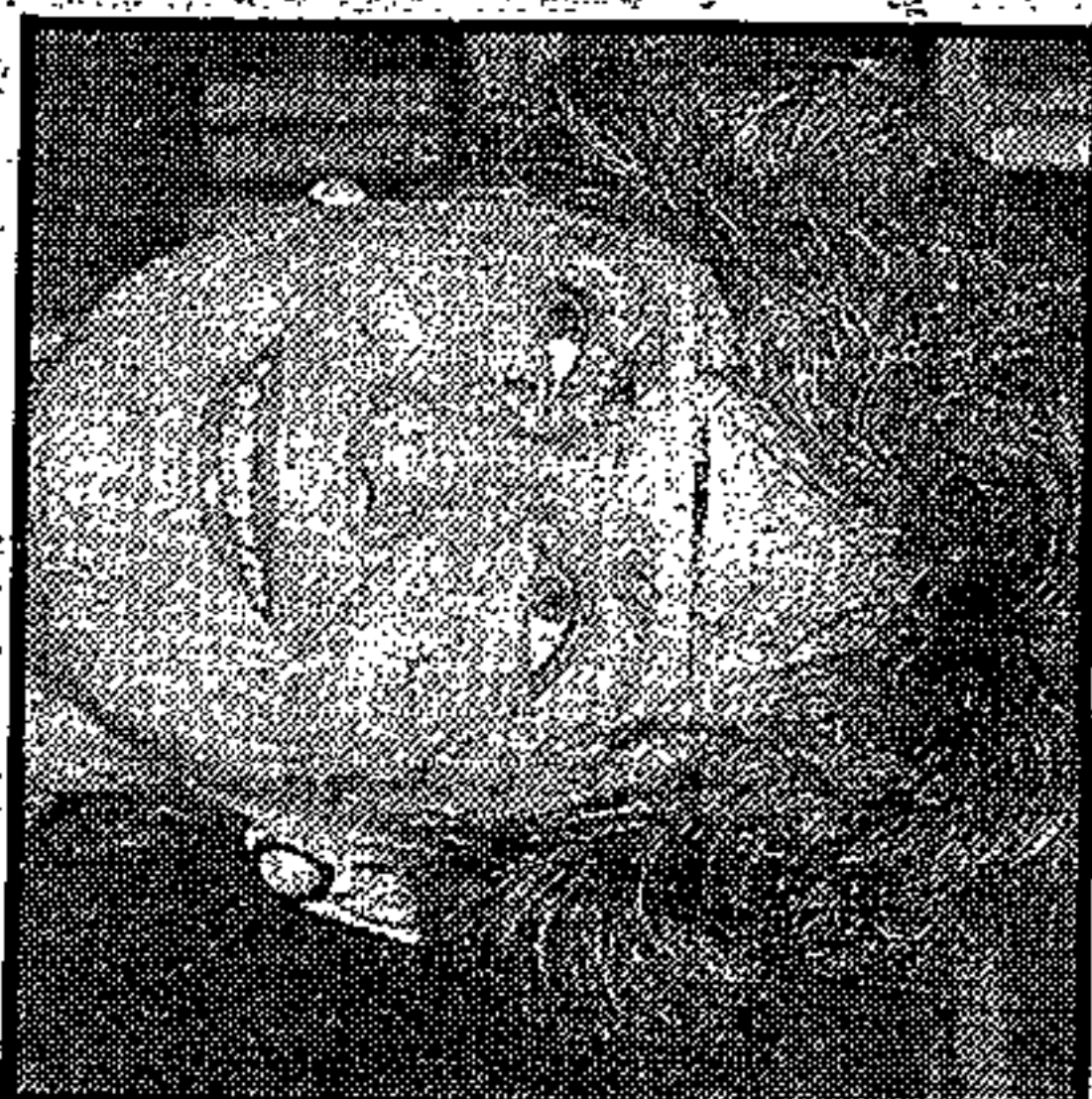
He said the National Party had had no part in organising what was, in fact, a "cultural function".

Accusing the ANC of turning it into a political event through its protests, Mr Williams said this gave the NP the right to "protect freedom of speech".

Mr Walsh said in a statement after the exchange: "This was not a goodwill tea party organised by the Department of Education and Culture in the House of Representatives. Pamphlets advertised the meeting clearly as a National Party function."

"This is another case of blatant National Party corruption. It is outright dishonesty that the NP can promote its cause using taxpayers' money. Too many years in power have blunted the NP's ability to distinguish between state and party funds. This must stop."

(Both)



Mrs Marike de Klerk



# Controversy over Du Noon plan for squatters erupts in parliament

Three parties urge government to reconsider settlement site next to N7

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

**CONTROVERSY** over the Du Noon settlement has flared in parliament, with MPs from three parties calling on the government to reconsider the plan.

The African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie all attacked the plan yesterday.

But Minister of Regional and Land Affairs André Fourie insisted the plan had been drawn up after wide consultation and that it was a preliminary step in a longer-term development scheme.

The Du Noon controversy was the subject of an interpellation debate on a question by the AVU MP for Heilbron, Mr Cehill Pienaar, who said the site was wrong and if the project went ahead it would prove "an expensive mistake".

There were bound to be problems along the N7 and the Rietveld wetlands risked being turned into a "gigantic open sewer".

He added: "This scheme will have disastrous effects for the Western Cape."

ANC MP for Simon's Town Mr Jannie Momberg warned that any attempt to move people from Marconi Beam would meet with resistance, would harden attitudes and would alienate the inhabitants.

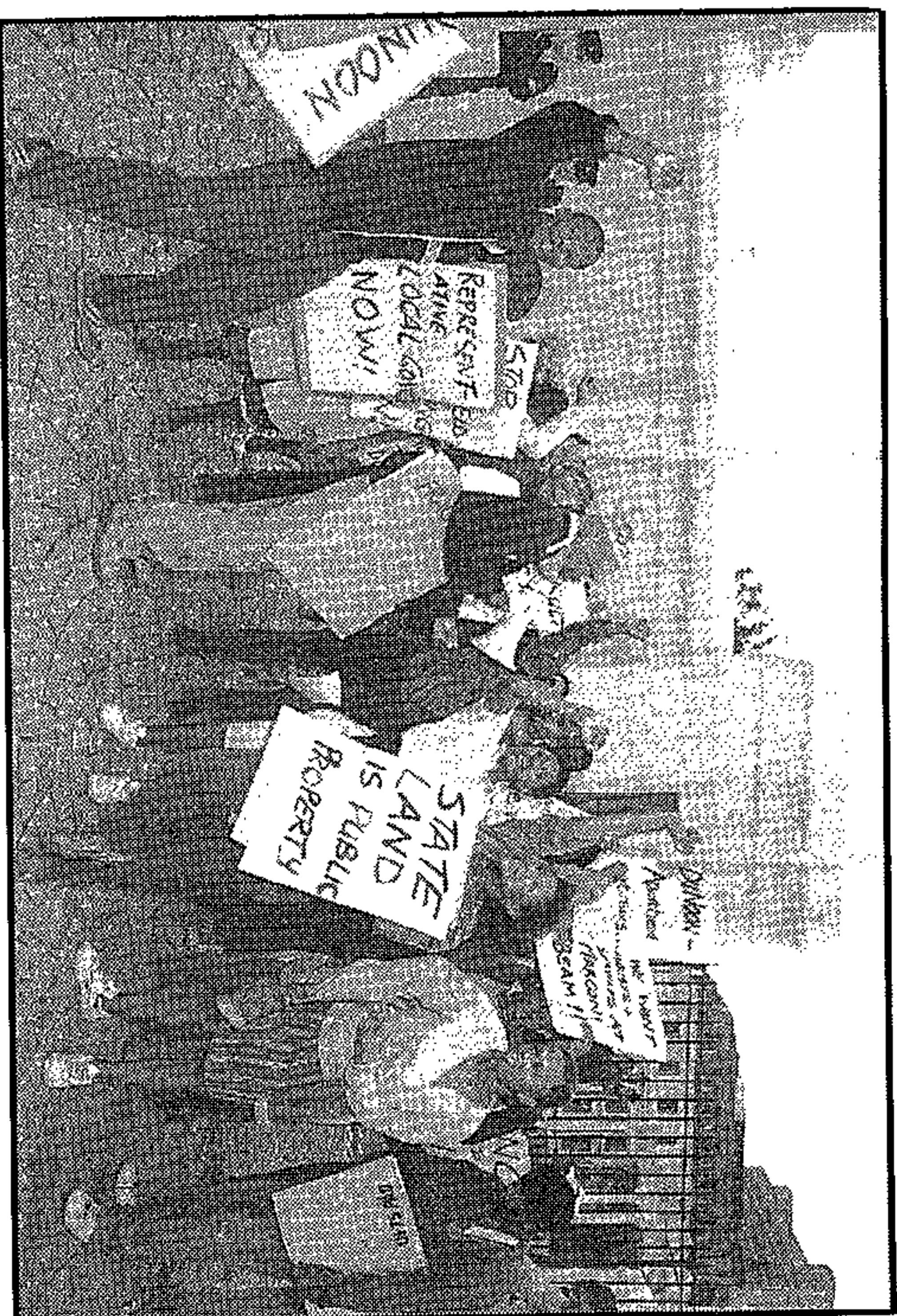
"Marconi Beam is one of the key pieces of land in the Peninsula. It belongs to Telkom and we in the ANC believe it is land that belongs to the people."

"It is close to transport routes to where people work, to shops and to other urban opportunities, which are the chief reason why people settled there in the first place," he said.

IFP MP Jurie Mentz said the safety of the public was of paramount importance. Informal settlements along the N2 were a mistake, "so why repeat the mistake beside the N7?"

Mr Fourie, who said it was difficult to respond rationally to "emotional arguments", said the Du Noon scheme was an interim measure in a broader development plan.

He acknowledged that no community was happy about having an informal settlement nearby, but the government had a responsibility to plan ahead.



**ANTI-MOVE:** Placard-carrying members of the Marconi Beam Civic Association protest outside parliament against Milnerton municipality's plans to move them to Du Noon.

Picture: DOUG PITHEV, The Argus.

## We won't go, say Milnerton squatters

**Staff Reporter**

**ABOUT 25** Marconi Beam squatters demonstrated outside parliament to protest against the plan to move them to Du Noon, 11 km away.

The demonstrators, members of the Marconi Beam Civic Association, yesterday said they were unwilling to move because the Milnerton race course stables and Montague Gardens industrial area were

close to Marconi Beam and provided employment.

They said Marconi Beam was also within walking distance of shops and public facilities in Milnerton.

In a statement, the squatters said they had been asking the Milnerton municipality for two years to develop Marconi Beam for low-income housing with permanent services of ac-

ceptable standard.

They said the municipality had not given them a good reason why Du Noon would be better for the residents of Marconi Beam.

They said they would resist any attempt to remove them by force.

They demonstrated peacefully for about an hour and then left in mini-buses.



# News

## in brief

### *Sowetan 10/6/93* **DP is going domestic**

DEMOCRATIC Party MPs will address domestic workers at five venues in Johannesburg on Saturday to explain their rights and duties under new labour legislation and how to vote in the coming election.

The party said yesterday the meetings would be held in Mondcor, Cyrildene, Saxonwold, Roosevelt Park and Bryanston. They follow similar meetings to target "this neglected sector of the new black electorate" in Norwood, Highlands North, Rosebank, Parkview and Sandown. *(304A) (294)*



# focus on Elections

**U**nless South Africa sees the establishment of a Transitional Executive Authority within the month and an election shortly thereafter, the country faces a steady decay. Professor Mervyn Frost told the Federated Hospitality Association of South Africa on Tuesday.

Frost, head of the political science department at the University of Natal, said much pressure was being put on African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela and State President F W de Klerk to prevent their support and power bases from waning.

In fact, Frost said, the two leaders needed to drive or co-drive a "re-legitimised" State machine.

"De Klerk and the reformers, if they are to continue to be powerful, have to maintain some grip on the State machine. In short, power sharing is a life or death imperative," he said in an analysis of the National Party.

Of the ANC, he said: "There is only one way the ANC can hope to meet the aspirations of its followers. It must become the government of the day, or at least a part of it. For only when this happens can it start redirecting resources to those who have been so grossly disadvantaged by the apartheid system."

In his analysis of the short-term political scenario for the country, Frost said the current political scene included an ongoing breakdown in law and order, a government without legitimacy, political parties and liberation movements which do not have control over their followers and an economy which is not showing signs of a quick recovery;

It also included the emergence of fanatical politics at both ends of the political spectrum, an education system in chronic turmoil, and micro disputes in the form of boycotts and low level faction fighting across the country.

"A precondition for an end to all this is the establishment of a new constitutional order which is seen as legitimate by most people."

Frost said hopes that the new order could be held in place until a switch to a new dispensation had been dashed by the crumbling of the old order.

In looking at South Africa's short-term political scenario, Frost examined the power bases of the key actors — Mandela and De Klerk.

He said the National Party, which once had a superb State machine, had lost its cohesion.

De Klerk's support, he said, was not organised by any party political machine but his very position as executive head of the State "helped by Saatchi and Saatchi and the SABC".

"Ultimately though, De Klerk, the Government and the NP depend on the machinery of the

Both Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk are under extreme pressure to proceed urgently towards a Transitional Executive Authority and an elected constitution-making body. This report from Sowetan Correspondent **Vasanthangamuthu.**

*Sowetan 10/6/93*



**FW de Klerk ... has taken a hard line.**

State. In order to stay powerful they must continue to control the greater civil service, the police and the army."

Frost said De Klerk's recent hardline approach on security matters must be seen not as an attempt to woo back the rightwing voters but as an attempt to keep the State machine together.

He said the ANC would have to become the government or part of the Government to keep its power base.

"Briefly stated, the ANC leadership has to placate its followers or face the prospect of losing them to other more radical groupings such as the PAC and Apla."

Of the other smaller parties, including those of the tricameral Parliament, the far left and the rightwing parties, Frost said they were likely to be very active in the run-up to an election but that their power was short-lived.



**Nelson Mandela ... under pressure**

"These parties have power at the moment which is greatly disproportionate to their portion of national support.

"What gives them power disproportionate to their insignificant military muscle is their ability to disrupt the talks.

"Once the talks have achieved a result their significance will wane. They will be reduced to illegitimate extra-systemic actors who might legitimately be crushed by the armed might of the established State."

Frost said the Inkatha Freedom Party, like the smaller parties, was expected to play a most vigorous political campaign in the short term with its aim the establishment of a federation.

"If a constitution were adopted against regionally strong parties, as a unitary constitution would do, it stands to lose a lot of influence," he said.

# Farewell for govt council

## Political Staff

THE National Party-controlled President's Council is to meet for the last time next week and will officially stop functioning on Thursday June 17. (204A)

The secretary of the council, Mr Johan Weillbach, said last night that a farewell function next Thursday would be attended by three of its four chairmen.

The President's Council was established in 1981 after the abolition of the Senate.

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# FW denies (204A) trouble in NP

Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday played down the ferment in the National Party.

CT 10/6/93  
The NP leader told Parliament that "nobody has been driven out of the party" and the NP had "no internal problems". He was responding to questions by Mr Robin Carlisle (DP Wynberg) about a power struggles in the NP after the resignation of Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Mr Johan Scheepers.

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Political Correspondent Esther Waugh  
on achievements at the negotiations

# Softly softly, Star 10/6/93 opponents agree

OF LATE, it has not been unusual for the Government and the ANC to find common ground on key issues in the transition process. Much more unusual are meetings of minds between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — and this is what was quietly achieved at the World Trade Centre last week.

The seeds of the compromises go to the heart of remaining obstacles in negotiations, and could begin to bridge the chasm between the two parties. The issues on which the progress was made were those of the future of the security forces, and the thorny question of future regional powers.

They embody the new spirit of "finding one another" and — significantly — they were thrashed out in smaller-technical-committees rather than in the more cumbersome negotiating structures.

It is important to note that although the reports of the technical committees on the security forces and regions have been tabled at the talks, the proposals have still to be discussed in the Negotiating Council. However, ANC and IFP negotiators have indicated that they are prepared to soften their positions on these vital issues in the cause of progress.

The report of the constitutional matters committee, widely commended at Thursday's Negotiating Council meeting, makes bold proposals which go much further than the ANC's existing regional proposals.

A new, direct link between extended regional powers and elections for a constitution-making body could ensure a "win-win" agreement, thus marrying the IFP's demand for strong regional government and the ANC's demand for an elected body to draft a new constitution.

The report proposes fiscal powers for the regions, interim regional governments, and each level of government having "concurrent and exclusive powers". These recommendations are not

part of the ANC's policy on regions.

In its submissions, the IFP said it would support a two-phased transition — which included elections for a constitution-making body — if the following conditions were met: an interim constitution; a set of constitutional principles which would be binding on a constitution-making body; final and entrenched boundaries and powers of regions; and the form of the State.

The second potential breakthrough is contained in the report of the technical committee on violence.

It proposes that police forces and armies be dealt with in terms of separate multiparty "agencies". This means that the KwaZulu Police and other homeland police forces would be handled along with the SAP in terms of one agency, while Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and the SADF would be dealt with in terms of another.

If this proposal is agreed to in the Negotiating Council, it will effectively end calls for the disbandment of the KwaZulu Police and MK by the two organisations, and sharply reduce a main source of tension between the IFP and ANC.

The IFP has consistently called for the disbandment of all armed formations while the ANC has proposed a phased progression, involving the South African security forces, KwaZulu Police, MK and other armed formations, towards a new defence force.

These compromise proposals on constitutional issues and violence were not discussed last week because of the delays caused by the debate on the police raids on the PAC. But they will certainly be discussed at next week's Negotiating Council sessions which will be meeting on an almost continuous basis for four days.

These deliberations will be the test of whether the quiet, less publicised achievements are keeping pace with the rhetoric. □



# July 4 looms large for new SA

SPAN 10/6/93

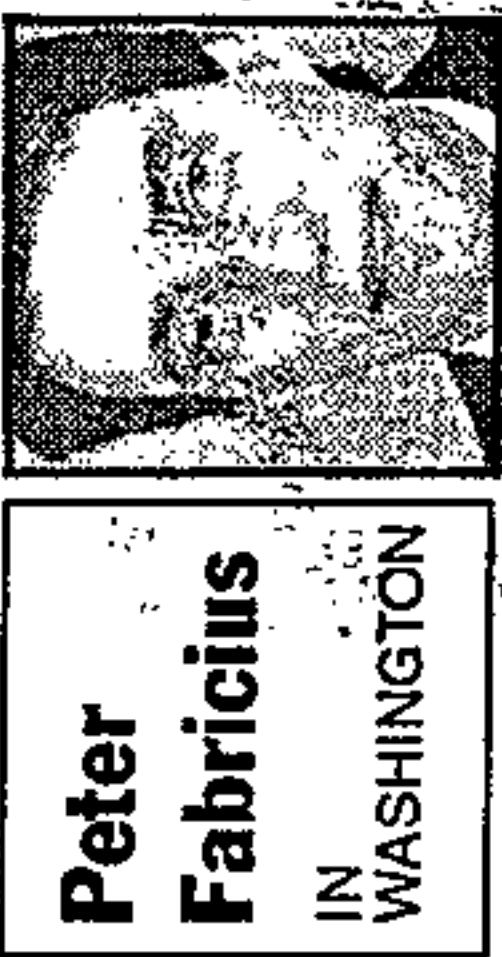
**T**HE fourth of July — America's Independence Day and biggest national holiday — is shaping up to be an important day in the calendar of South Africa's transition too.

That's the day President Bill Clinton is to present President de Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela jointly with the Philadelphia Medal of Liberty in the city of that name.

And it may well be the occasion Clinton chooses to throw some light on a question which many are anxiously asking: just what kind of economic support can South Africa in transition expect from America and when?

Senior administration officials have explained that the signal for any further aid or lifting of economic restrictions will be the firm announcements of an election date and a commitment to create a transitional executive council (TEC).

The key word, of course, is "firm". April 27 has already been diarised as the poll date but this



**Peter Fabricius**  
IN WASHINGTON

— and the TEC — depend upon reaching agreement on outstanding fundamental issues such as the degree to which a new government will be federal.

With a bit of luck — maybe a lot of luck — this could happen when the Negotiating Council meets on June 25.

If so, the American president will probably announce his South Africa policy at his meeting with De Klerk and Mandela a few days later on July 4.

What exactly that will entail is not clear and is probably still being decided.

Expectations are high and rising. This week Mandela called on the world for no less than a South African Marshall Plan.

Given the enormous pressure Clinton is now under to cut gov-

ernment spending, that seems a long shot.

Direct aid is unlikely to rise much above the present \$80 million (R240 million) a year.

Anything above that is likely to be limited, indirect, carefully targeted and conditional.

It will be of two kinds, according to a senior administration official: support for the electoral process; and more general economic support to underpin "democratisation" — a key element of the government's Africa policy.

The former category will include matters such as voter education.

America's economic support will be chiefly indirect, in the form of lifting political restrictions on South African access to international institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Clinton could also issue an appeal to the scores of state and city governments which still impose their own sanctions to lift them (to what effect is uncertain, considering that many of them still maintain sanctions against Namibia).

ernment spending, that seems a long shot.

Aid is likely to be phased in — largely because of the administration's concern not to give away all its cards at once and thus lose its leverage over later stages of the transition.

There will probably be three phases.

The first — from the announcement of a TEC until the elections — will be assistance for the electoral process and perhaps the lifting of restrictions on access to the IMF and World Bank facilities.

The call for the lifting of state and city sanctions could also happen then. This could be a preparatory phase, the lifting of restrictions will probably be done so as to allow project planning to go ahead — but to hold back actual implementation of projects until the elections, which will mark the start of phase two.

Some sanctions — such as the arms embargo — would remain in place until phase three — the installation of a final new government.

None of this exactly invites comparison with the grandness of

the Marshall Plan.

If anything is going to look like that, it will have to be in the joint G7 initiative on South Africa which US Secretary of State Warren Christopher announced last month he was seeking.

The G7 club will be holding its next summit early next month when it is expected to address the question of aid to South Africa.

What it will do remains uncertain and some South African officials are rather gloomy about the prospects of the whole aid effort amounting to much.

Not so SA's ambassador to the US, Harry Schwarz. He told the National Press Club here this week that he expected World Bank loans to South Africa to climb to \$1 billion a year and the G7 summit to offer "not just encouraging words" but a concrete economic package just as substantial — relatively — as the one it had provided to Russia.

Schwarz — not generally given to wishful thinking — says he is neither "euphoric" nor "pessimistic" but "moderately optimistic" about it all coming off. □



Clinton . . . will he have good news for SA?



# First step Star 10/6/93 to interim

## govt soon

(ZOLA)

By Chris Whitfield,  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Historic legislation paving the way for the creation of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) — effectively the first step towards transitional government — could go through Parliament within the next two weeks.

The early creation of the multiparty TEC and its sub-councils — charged with the responsibility of "levelling the playing fields" before an election — is critical to preparing the country for its first democratic election, pencilled in for April 27 next year.

Yesterday in Parliament Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told a mini-debate on the issue only that the legislation could be tabled as soon as a final report of the negotiators' technical committee on the TEC had been accepted by the Negotiating Council.

Negotiators will face a race against time to get final approval on the TEC — with at least the Conservative Party strongly opposed to the idea. However, Government sources said yesterday that it looks like enough time to get the TEC legislation through.



Star 10/6/93

# ANC walkout threat

By Jo-Anne Collinge

Carletonville ANC members have vowed to hand back their membership cards unless the organisation's head office disbands the executive committee of the Carletonville branch — whose members are allegedly responsible for murder, arson, assault and intimidation.

A group of ANC members from Khutsong township, near Carletonville, arrived at the liberation movement's Johannesburg headquarters yesterday to hand a memorandum to three representatives of the peace desk.

They charged that the ANC's Khutsong leadership had orchestrated violent crime in the township, "attacking and killing members of Cosas, members of the

ANC Youth League, members of the ANC Women's League and the entire membership of the ANC".

The deputation included local-level leaders of these ANC-linked structures, who said they had been forced into action by community pressure. At least eight people had been killed since the violence started, they said. The most recent victim, Abel Ngame Motswaesane (18), was buried at the weekend.

Residents alleged that members of the branch committee were also involved in:

- Night patrols which resulted in the burning of houses.
- Conducting a kangaroo court. According to statements collected by the Independent Board of Inquiry (IBI), numerous people have

● To Page 3

Star 10/6/93

# Slogan ban a PR stunt

CAPE TOWN — The National Party has dismissed as a public relations stunt efforts by the ANC to abandon the "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogan.

ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa said the ANC's national executive committee had instructed its members not to chant the slogan.

In response yesterday, NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said the NP welcomed the ANC's decision.

"It is, however, a decision without teeth. One cannot but have the impression that it is nothing more than a cynical public relations effort... a leadership decision without the will to enforce it." — Political Staff

(304A)

ANC reserves judgment

# Transitional council: govt B/Dav 11/6/93 airs new plan (BOLA) (B)

CAPE TOWN — Government yesterday proposed measures that would speed up the establishment of the transitional executive council — the only remaining trigger for the lifting of residual sanctions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the council, intended to assist in "levelling the playing fields" before elections, could be installed without legislation.

Speaking in Parliament, Meyer indicated that this would obviate the need to wait for another parliamentary session before the body and its proposed sub-councils could be established.

Legislation on the transitional executive council would have to be put to Parliament at some point, but Meyer said the passage of legislation should not delay the council's implementation.

Although parties to the negotiations process would have to agree to this measure, Meyer said there was no reason to believe that the body would lack credibility as all participants in the process would be party to its decisions.

Hence, there was no need for a special sitting of Parliament in July to handle legislation dealing with the council, he said.

A government spokesman said the suggestion that the council could be established without legislation was not the consequence of an agreement with the ANC.

The ANC's initial reaction to the proposal was suspicion, with a spokesman saying the organisation was concerned there would be no guarantee that the council would be vested with executive powers.

TIM COHEN and  
BILLY PADDOCK

The ANC, however, reserved judgment.

The ANC's fundamental demand on the transitional executive council is that it be vested with executive powers so that it can "effectively control" — at a political level — decision-making in five areas of government, namely local government, law and order, stability and security, defence, finance, and foreign affairs.

The rationale for its stand is that the ANC does not want to take responsibility for government's actions without having the authority to influence its decisions directly.

Last year government structured a special session of Parliament because it believed it would be able to put through legislation for the establishment of the council. When it became clear that this would not be possible, government went ahead with the session which dealt with minor as well as controversial legislation.

Meyer said a plethora of other laws connected with the transition would be put before Parliament over the next few months.

The legislation could not be debated during the current session because it had to be the product of consensus at negotiations.

The proposed legislation would include an interim constitution which would deal with fundamental human rights for this period and provisions regarding the electoral commission and media commission.

Provisions would also have to be made for the powers of central and regional government.

□ To Page 2

## Council

B/Dav 11/6/93

□ From Page 1

Meyer said the suggestion of an April 27 1994 election date, provisionally accepted last Thursday, had come from government and no one else. (BOLA)

A final decision on the proposed date was left until Tuesday's meeting of the negotiating council, after a number of parties had expressed reservations and the desire to consult their principals. (B)

A government spokesman said it was hoped that an agreement on the creation of a council could be achieved by the time the negotiation forum met on June 25.

If that was the case, and agreement was also reached on an election date, then the

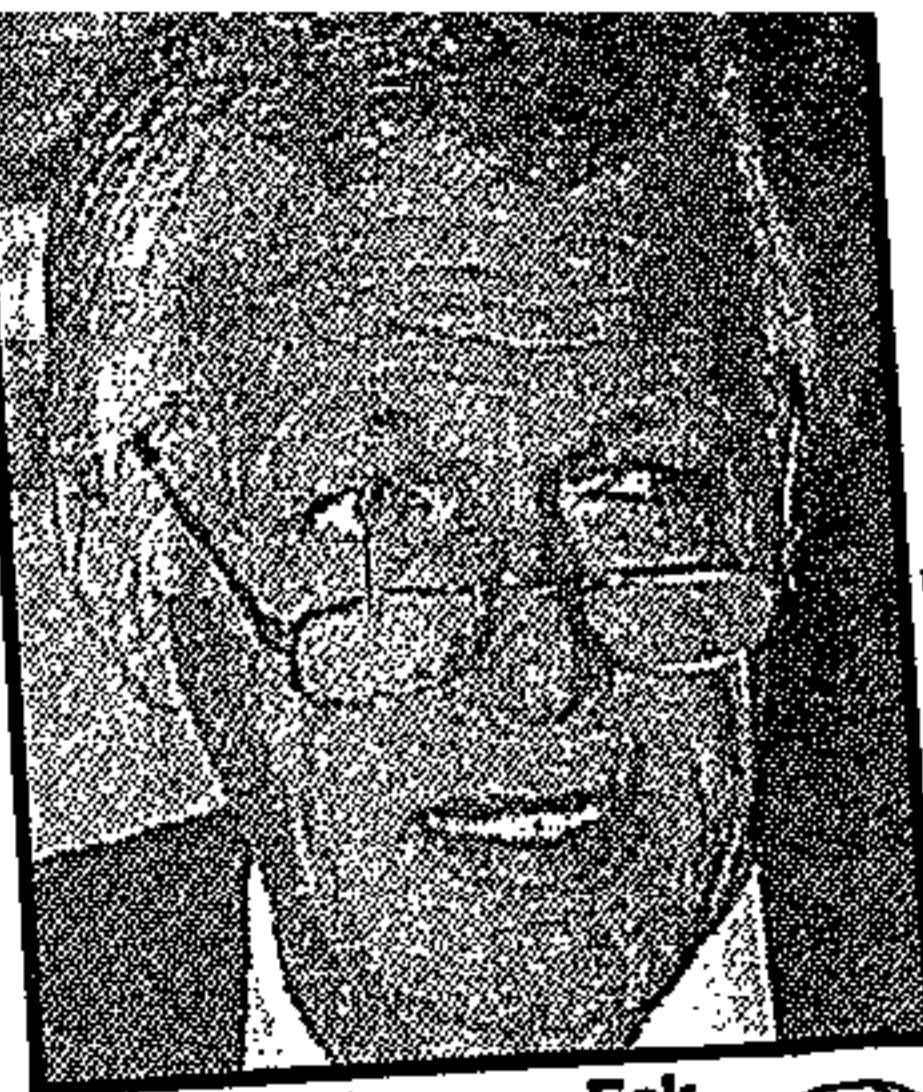
ANC's preconditions for the lifting of sanctions would be met.

□ ADRIAN HADLAND reports that Pretoria has been earmarked as the official city of residence for the transitional executive council. Government had already drawn up a short list of possible buildings — all privately owned — to be used by the council, and also an administrative blueprint, reports said.

A government spokesman said no leasing or property contracts would be signed for any building until the negotiating forum had agreed on the council's creation.

● See Page 6





Mr Jan van Eck

## Van Eck steps down

ARC 11/6/93

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN  
Political Staff (3049)

POLITICAL stress has forced independent member of parliament Mr Jan van Eck to resign from the African National Congress regional executive committee.

Mr Van Eck said today he had cut down his workload but would remain in politics and continue as MP for Claremont.

"I'm a casualty of the political stress rampant in public life in South Africa. It would probably be correct to say I'm suffering from burnout."

Mr Van Eck said his doctor had given him no choice but to decrease his workload.

"I was hospitalised for a week. Afterwards my doctor told me I had to slow down. I could not take a long break ... I had to resign."

He said his role as a regional ANC executive member had not been a passive one.

"The responsibilities were big, given the fact that we have South Africa's first general election on the cards."

## Delay in refund of matric fees

Staff Reporter

REFUNDING of matric exam fees will be delayed by administrative problems, says deputy director-general of education and training Dr Dirk Meiring.

Pupils who had paid exam fees should not expect to be reimbursed before August.

Dr Meiring said pupils could not claim money from principals, area managers or circuit inspectors because the fees were paid into the State Revenue fund.

Refunding could be arranged only through the Department of Education and Training head office, he said.



# Van der Velde Keegan have exco's support

CLIVE SAWYER  
Municipal Reporter

THE city council executive committee has expressed its "fullest confidence" in mayor Mr Frank van der Velde and deputy-mayor Mr Clive Keegan — and has acknowledged the changing role of the mayoral office.

Exco chairman Mr Leon Markovitz said this in a statement after Mr Keegan met the committee yesterday.

The item under discussion was council representation on groups dealing with constitutional and related matters.

The discussion followed exco recommendations to nominate town planning chairman Mr John Muir to the council constitutional forum, working group and the Cape Town Community Land Trust.

Mr Keegan, a former town planning chairman, chaired the District Six Steering Committee and is chairman of the constitutional affairs committee.

## Council workers 'may ignore vote

CLIVE SAWYER  
Municipal Reporter

REGIONAL or branch action independent of the outcome of the national ballot by the SA Municipal Workers Union (Samwu) cannot be ruled out, says branch chairman Mr Salie Manie.

The national ballot started this week and will continue until Monday. The result is expected on Wednesday.

Mr Manie said: "Although this is a national campaign, it does not limit the varying regions from deciding on their own action on wage demands." The mood in Cape Town was militant and arbitration had been rejected by the union. Further action would be decided after the outcome of the ballot.

Mr Manie said it was hoped that municipal workers, who are among those classed as rendering essential services, would be given the right to

# Mfuleni councillors agree to quit

EDWARD MOLOINYANE  
Staff Reporter

MFULENI town councillors, under pressure from the community of the tiny Kuit River township, agreed "in principle" to resign after a lengthy meeting behind closed doors in Bellville.

But their resignation will be subject to "clarity about their package" from the provincial administration and after consultation with "whoever".

## Slovo didn't pick poll date, insists Meyer

THE proposed election date of April 27 came from the government and no-one else, says Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Replying to the second reading debate on the Constitution Amendment Bill, he said

Benel MEP Mr Chris de Jager — who claimed Mr Joe Slovo proposed the date as it fell in the week after the anniversary of the assassination of Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani — should see how many "liberation days" there were on the calendar.

The government had said last November that the election should be held before the end of April.

The planning committee had proposed April 27, but as there had not been full consensus the government had agreed to wait until June 15 for a final decision. — Sapa.

But clarity will be sought on 'package' from provincial administration

dia as a "summary" of the meeting yesterday, which followed a three-week sit-in at the Mfuleni Town Council offices by residents protesting against the continued existence of the council.

The meeting, facilitated by the Regional Peace Committee after it was initially stalled because of differences over the venue, was attended by the Mfuleni Joint People's Committee representing political organisations in the township, the CPA, the Regional Peace

Committee and observers from the United Nations and the European Community.

The parties said in the "summary" that the six councillors had agreed to resign in principle. They added: "But they seek clarity about their packages from the CPA and want to solve their problems with that body as that had been what troubled them. They also want to be given a chance to consult with whoever."

Responding to a question, a member of the people's joint committee said the referendum proposed for this week in Mfuleni had been "deferred".

Asked if this meant the committee feared the councillors could change their minds if their problems with the CPA were not solved, the spokesman said the situation was "fragile".

One councillor said the "problems with the CPA" had nothing to do with golden handshakes.

## Legislation for TEC not needed

— Meyer

Political Staff

THE transition to democracy could begin without parliament's legislative sanction after an announcement yesterday by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer that the multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) could be installed without legislation.

The establishment of the TEC and the confirmation of an election date have been identified by the United Nations and the European Community as conditions for the lifting of most sanctions.

Mr Meyer said yesterday: "It is the government's conviction that as soon as there is agreement (in negotiations) we must go ahead with the installation of the TEC, without necessarily waiting for legislation."

The TEC will be a multiparty body charged with "leveling the playing field" before an election by ensuring that no party is unfairly favoured. Its specific powers have yet to be agreed.

Government sources suggest that the legislation could go through parliament before the scheduled end of the session on June 24.

Mr Meyer's announcement during debate in parliament on the Constitutional Amendment Bill appears designed to defuse tension over the pace of negotiations and to give breathing space to some participants.

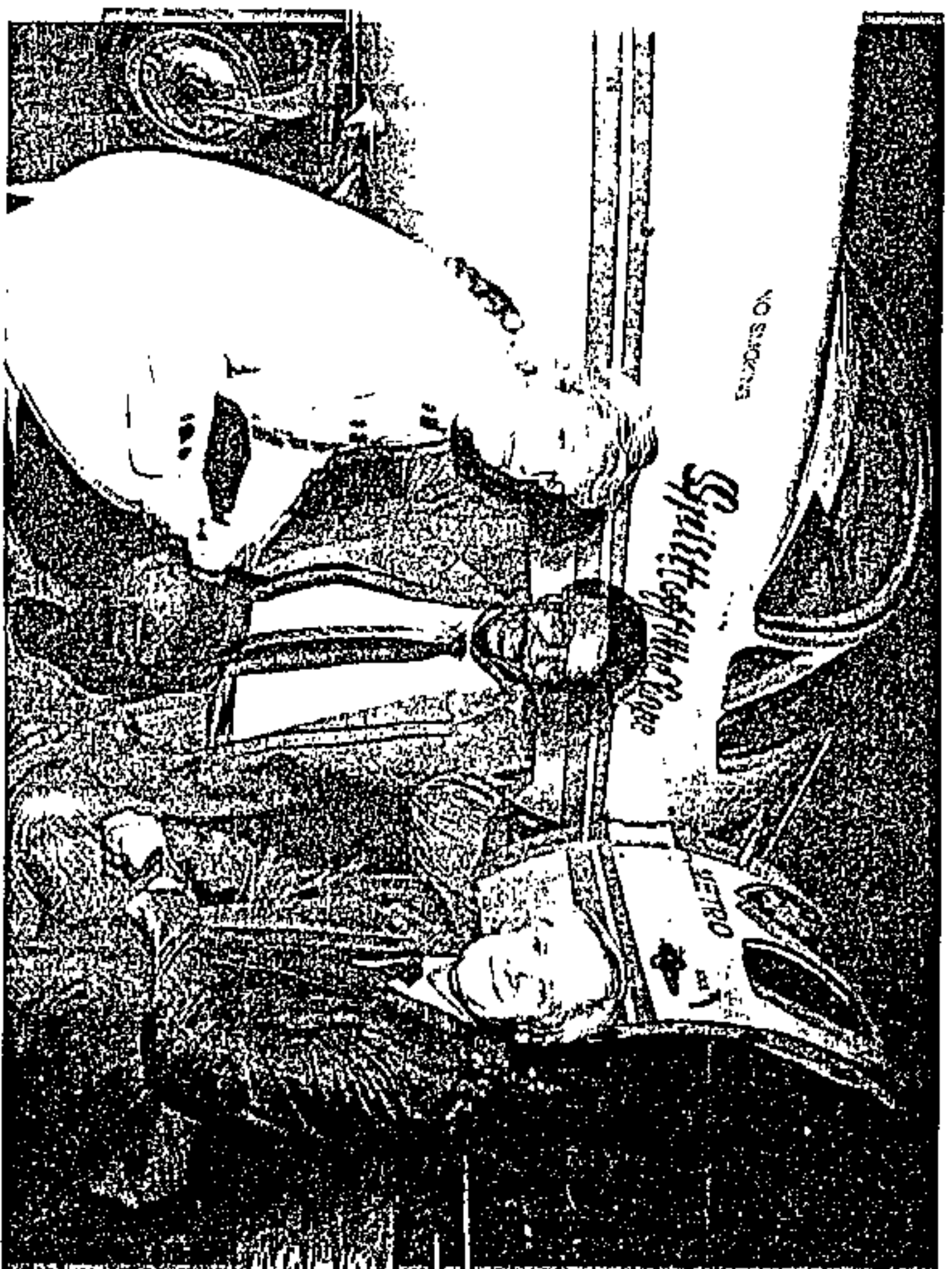
As things stand the negotiating council has six meetings before the proposed June 25 meeting of the larger negotiating forum, which ratifies agreements.

Mr Meyer said it was clear that if all parties took part in talks and reached consensus there would be no need for legislation on the TEC.

"The passage of legislation on the TEC should not have to delay its implementation," he said.

● The government has earmarked several buildings in Pretoria to house the TEC.

This has fuelled speculation that Parliament might eventually move to Pretoria. But it is widely believed in political circles that the first sittings of the new parliament will be in Cape Town.



**MERCY PLANE:** At a D.F. Malan Airport function the Red Cross Air Ambulance Service celebrates the fifth anniversary of the maiden flight of its Cessna Citation II jet ambulance. It is the only jet in southern Africa with a fully equipped intensive care interior. It is manned by volunteer doctors, pilots, nursing sisters and paramedics. At the function are, from left, Minister of Health Dr Rina Venter, vice-president of the SA Red Cross Society Mr Ray Kamwengana and chairman of the Air Ambulance Service Mr Alan Marshall. Picture: Doug Finney, The Argus.

## Lights and water payment date extended

CLIVE SAWYER  
Municipal Reporter

DUE dates for electricity and water accounts should be extended by a week, the executive committee has decided.

An amendment to the municipal ordinance is to be sought to extend due dates for rates bills as well.

City treasurer Mr Eddie Landsberg said there were many complaints about penalties charged for late payment

of accounts, particularly if they were only a day or two late.

"Many claim to have posted their cheques on time and insist the penalty be waived."

"To check, a comprehensive filing system is kept where all envelopes in which cheques are received are date-stamped and filed for a long time, which entails unnecessary work and is costly."

Further delays were caused by sorting cheques in due date order.

Electricity and water accounts are sent about 14 days after meters are read, and are due about 14 days later. If accounts are paid after due date, a 10 percent "grossing charge" is added.

Interest is charged on rates if they are unpaid for more than three months. Interest at current rates (now 17.25 percent) is payable for each month overdue.

Mr Landsberg said the 14-day deadline for electricity and water was unreasonable and

## R351 000 survey of civic issues

Municipal Reporter

COUNCILLORS, staff and residents of the municipality as well as Langa and Gugulethu should be included in survey of attitudes to civic issues, the executive committee of the Cape Town City Council has resolved.

Consultants are to charge R351 400 for the survey.

Questions to be asked in the survey would not be finalised until the SA Municipal Workers Union had been consulted.



# Afrikaner Volksfront plans mass resistance — general

□ Moves for poll date and TEC 'must be stopped at all costs'

PORT ELIZABETH. — The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) plans a passive resistance campaign — including strikes and mass action — later this month, one of the organisation's founding members, General Tienie Groenewald, has announced here.

Addressing a crowd of about 600 last night, the former Military Intelligence chief warned that moves towards setting a final election date and establishing a Transitional Executive Council had to be stopped at all costs.

"You should have no doubts that a TEC is an interim government which will replace parliament and will control your finances and the security forces — and may even become the next dictatorship."

General Groenewald said that on June 12 the AVF would begin implementing phase two of the organisation's strategy. Phase one involved mobilisation of the Afrikaner people.

Throughout phase two pressure would be put on the African National Congress and the government to change the process.

He made an urgent appeal to National Party MPs who, he believed, were opposed to government reform to stop the process.

He said once the AVF had demonstrated its power through passive resistance it could select any course it wanted.

The organisation would not stop until it achieved success and self-determination for the Afrikaner people. Violence would not be considered unless it was forced on them.

He emphasised that the organisation's decision to embark on its passive resistance campaign did not mean it would leave the negotiation forum. But it would not be part of a decision-making process which denied the Afrikaner freedom.

● Six members of the AVF executive council will meet four members of the cabinet in Pretoria today. — Sapa.

# Stop making the Afrikaner the whipping boy

B/S Bay 11/6/93

3044

## RED ALERT

JOE SLOVO

BASHING the Afrikaner is a popular pastime among certain English liberals, and it gets my goat.

It stems from a combination of English jingoism and an attempt to evade collective white guilt for our racist inheritance by piling it all onto the Afrikaners. It also creates a smokescreen over the real roots of racism by giving pride of place to the ethnic factor rather than to economic exploitation.

I am not arguing a brief for those who used post-1948 political office to muscle in on the spoils of colour domination which had previously been hogged by non-Afrikaner capitalists. But in doing this they did not, as we all know, invent a new system: they built on a past, the foundations of which were squarely laid by the forefathers of the Ken Owens, as well as those of the Anton Ruperts.

The myth of predominant Afrikaner responsibility was reinforced (I am sure unwittingly) by Van Zyl Slabbert when he stated in last week's Sunday Times that it was after 1948 that "racism became institutionalised and legalised". This is surely a false reading of history.

The truth is that virtually every pillar of racism had its starting point, both in law and in institutions, mainly in the practices of English, Jewish and other white sectors of the

immigrant upper crust. Apartheid merely refined and developed the devices which were in gestation for centuries and which became more firmly entrenched from the moment diamonds and gold became the religion of our economy.

The Englishman Cecil Rhodes is arguably more answerable to history for black deprivation than the "boer" Paul Kruger. I say a plague on both their houses.

Mealy-mouthed shedding of responsibility and blaming it all on the boers is, at best, ahistorical and, at worst, a form of racism. If any one group is to blame for the modern foundations of apartheid it is the non-Afrikaner upper strata which dominated the seat of power for more than 75 years before 1948.

I am not arguing for "one random bullet", but we must get our history straight.

Who legalised and institutionalised the reserve system? Who in this century created the mosaic of segregated group areas? Who put a stop to black freedom of movement through the pass laws? Who transformed the mines into police-controlled ghettos? Who, in our history, initiated and consolidated the vast land grabs from the indigenous majority? Which section of our community was the main pilot of the 1913

and 1936 Land Acts — the forerunners of the bantustan system?

These are all rhetorical questions precisely because the answers don't need further research: they are notorious fact. When Hendrik Verwoerd, the evil genius of apartheid, began to weave his "final solution" he did so with strands of yarn spun in an earlier period.

The specific features of apartheid do merit analysis, but it is not apartheid which fathered race domination; it is clearly the other way about.

Julian Ogilvie Thompson was less than accurate when he told Die Burger (April 12 1990) that "inequality is not a function of capitalism". He clearly has a blind spot about the policies and practices of his predecessors in high economic office, more particularly during the half-century before the word "apartheid" was heard.

If you want to remind yourself of the true origins of apartheid, you will

find Luit Callinco's book Gold and Workers most instructive. From the beginning of the century, the institutionalisation and legalisation of racism have been either initiated or shored up by the mining houses. Their submissions to government commissions were peppered by pleas to institutionalise everything we all find abhorrent in apartheid.

Rhodes pioneered the infamous Glen Grey Act in 1894 to force blacks off the land to cater for labour needs. The president of the Chamber of Mines in 1912 complained that "the native... cares nothing if industries pine for want of labour when his crops... are plentiful".

A mine manager told a government commission in 1904: "A large increase in wages will defeat its object, as the native will work for a shorter period." This explains why, by 1948, the real wage of a black miner was exactly the same as it was in 1911.

The editor of the SA Mining Journal wrote in 1892 that blacks needed to be put into compounds for their own sakes because the black worker could not be allowed to "roam unrestricted... at his own sweet will".

Long before this, it was the English administrator of Natal, Theophilus Shepstone, who pioneered what became the cornerstone of apartheid: the reserve system.

Mine owner S Jennings told a government commission in 1897: "We have a most excellent law, namely the pass law, which should enable us to obtain complete control over the kaffirs." Another mine owner, Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, said: "We cannot maintain the new (wage) rate unless the government helps us in carrying out the pass laws."

The saga is endless. The point is that you are unlikely to find many Afrikaans names among these early campaigners for the dehumanising treatment of blacks.

Apartheid was a not-too-distant cousin of segregation and all the other pre-1948 discriminatory devices. The latter were also designed to ensure that blacks remained, on the whole, "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to serve the economic moguls. So, apologies for racial crimes against humanity should be forthcoming not only from the Afrikaner politicians but also from their non-Afrikaner compatriots, most of whom were in any case quite happy to continue to be served by apartheid, post-1948.

As we enter the new dispensation, both the jingoes and some confused radicals should stop bashing the Afrikaner and the boer as the epitome of our racist ills.

LETTERS



# Interim rule plan gets a new twist

Star 11/16/93  
304A

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

CAPE TOWN — Transition to democracy could begin without the legislative sanction of Parliament.

In a surprise move yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the multiparty transitional executive council (TEC) could be installed without legislation.

The establishment of the TEC and the confirmation of an election date have been identified by both the United Nations and the European Community as conditions for the lifting of most remaining sanctions.

Last night the ANC said it was concerned over how the Government would implement decisions of the TEC without legislation. Spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The ANC did not envisage some consultative body but one with real powers."

Meyer said yesterday: "It is the Government's conviction that as soon as there is agreement (in negotiations) we must go ahead with the installation of the TEC, without necessarily waiting for legislation."

The TEC is intended as a multiparty body that will be charged with "levelling the playing fields" before an election — ensuring that no party is unfairly favoured.

The specific powers of the TEC and its sub-councils have still to be agreed in negotiations. Government sources have suggested in recent days that the legislation could go through Parliament within the next two weeks — before the scheduled June 24 closing of the session.

However, Meyer's announcement during debate in Parliament on the Constitutional Amendment Bill appears designed to defuse tension over the pace at which negotiations are moving.

There has been widespread speculation that the transitional constitution and other legislation for the interim period could be put before Parliament in a special session in September.

Meanwhile, the Government has already earmarked buildings in Pretoria as candidates to house the TEC.

## Blueprint

According to spokesman Marius Kleynhans an "administrative blueprint" has outlined the minimum number of personnel necessary for running the TEC.

These would be nominated by parties to the negotiations. The news has fuelled speculation that Parliament might eventually move to Pretoria. However, it is widely believed in political circles that the first sittings will be in Cape Town.

## Right threatens mass action

The Afrikaner Volksfront intends embarking on a passive resistance campaign including strikes and mass action later this month, one of the organisation's founding members, the former Military Intelligence chief General Tienie Groenewald, announced in Port Elizabeth last night. He was addressing a crowd of about 600 people at an AVF meeting. — Sapa.

(304A)



# Guidelines on TEC flawed

6/10/93 11/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK

of government, but giving the President the power to amend the proposed enabling legislation.

Should the NP concede, SA will ultimately be presided over during the period leading up to an election by a group of seven to 11 "eminent persons" of the independent electoral commission.

The establishing of the TEC is a foregone conclusion. Of the 26 parties, only two reject the structure, and the decision-making formula of "sufficient consensus" will prevail. The two parties are Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. Three other parties (Inkatha, the CP and the AVU) do not oppose it in principle but want the question of regionalism and the form of state finalised first. The KwaZulu government is ambivalent, expressing no opposition in principle but arguing that the TEC's powers must be exercised through established government structures and powers. However, it is understood that, should the ANC concede that regions

be allowed to draft their own constitutions within limitations imposed by a national constitution, all opposition will fall away. This debate takes place on Tuesday and the report on the TEC will be discussed in detail on Thursday.

According to the committee report, the major function of a TEC will be to facilitate, "in conjunction with existing legislative and executive structures", transition to a democratic order by creating a climate for free political participation; and promoting conditions conducive to free and fair elections.

It should seek to eliminate intimidation; ensure parties and organisations will be free to canvass support in all areas; and ensure government powers will not be used to favour or prejudice any party.

The report proposes the TEC operate alongside Cabinet with overriding powers in its areas of jurisdiction — local government, law and order, stability and security; defence; finance and foreign affairs — including in the TBVC and self-governing states. A sub-council of about six will be established for each.

The TEC will be composed of one representative from each negotiating party, and will also have the right to bring in representatives of other parties.

All TEC members will be appointed by De Klerk on recommendations from the negotiating forum.

The TEC will be entitled to examine all proposed legislation in all legislatures. It will be entitled to halt proposed Bills it believes will have an adverse effect on the election process by at least an 80% majority (21 of 26 members).

The TEC is also entitled to ask for and receive information on any proposed executive actions or actions

contemplated by any other TEC participants and force them to refrain. Should the government or any administration believe the importance of rejected legislation outweighs its adverse impact on elections, it can refer it to the independent electoral commission for adjudication. The commission's decision will be final and binding.

Commission members will be appointed by De Klerk on recommendation from the negotiating body. They will have to be impartial, respected, eligible voters who have not held political office for three years.

The appointment of TEC and commission members gives rise, potentially, to the same problems experienced by the panel of eminent persons selecting members of the SABC board.

The technical committee can be forgiven for taking a compromise path — its job is to facilitate and find areas of broad agreement and compromise between parties' positions. The negotiating council, however, has a duty to bring clarity and transparency to these arrangements.

If it fudges the issue in the interests of "showing progress and speed", it does so at its peril.

IF MULTIPARTY negotiators accept the technical committee's recommendations on establishing a transitional executive council (TEC) and independent electoral commission, they will be setting the scene for a repeat of the SABC board fiasco — because there is insufficient clarity on where ultimate power lies. Firstly, in its recommendations to the negotiating council, the technical committee gives President F W de Klerk the right and power to amend or repeal provisions of the enabling legislation establishing the TEC after "consultation with the TEC". Should he consult and then take a view contrary to the TEC's, there will be the same outcry that followed his SABC intervention. The committee introduced the special executive override for De Klerk because there is still a significant gap between government and the ANC on the exact powers the TEC should be vested with. The NP still believes the TEC should be effectively an advisory body, while the ANC wants it to have executive powers. The committee has fudged this difference by recommending that the TEC should have executive powers in certain spheres

## SOUTH AFRICANS WILL VOTE FOR THEIR FUTURE NEXT APRIL ...

# Education programmes will make biggest mark

By PAUL STOBER

**T**HE most important campaigning in South Africa's first democratic elections will not be done by political parties, but by those educating South Africans about what will happen at the ballot box.

"If these elections are going to make a difference between the old and the new South Africa, then people have to participate. If they are to have validity, then the turnout has to be as high as possible," says the communications officer of Matla Trust, Barry Gilder. Matla runs the Community and Citizen Education Programme, which provides education about the concepts of democracy to prepare people for the elections.

Along with 30 other organisations involved in voter education, Matla is part of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education (Ifee).

According to government estimates, 70 percent of the 22-million people eligible to vote in a non-racial election will be black. About 2.8-million do not have identity documents. The government insists identity documents will be a prerequisite for voting, though the issue is still a subject of negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

The government also accepts that "illiteracy will be a problem". Home Affairs director general Piet Colyn announced last week that the government would launch an education programme to familiarise voters with election procedures at least a month before election day.

But Ifee organisations are adamant the government should not have a direct role in election preparations. "And we say the same about the SABC, despite the new board," says Gilder. Ifee announced on Wednesday that it was suspending negotiations for SABC air time, after it had received information indicating that the SABC was trying to establish an "alternative free forum" to develop voter-education programming.

Ifee says research shows that voters are sceptical about whether the elections are going to be free and fair. Its organisations aim to work closely with the Independent Electoral Commission, which will be set up by the negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

"We don't want a 40 percent turnout, with the losing parties then challenging the validity of the election," says Gilder.

Voters need to be educated in the concepts of democracy as well as the practice of voting, he adds. Mock elections had produced large numbers of spoilt papers, even after voting procedures had been explained to the participants.

With a large section of the population illiterate, living in rural areas and isolated from the media, this education process becomes even more difficult, more expensive and more important, Gilder says.

Despite the fact that the election for a constituent assembly has been tentatively scheduled for April 27 1994 — less than 10 months away — Gilder is optimistic that voters will be ready to cast an informed vote. "A lot of preparatory work has been done and a fair amount of voter education has already taken place."

Many organisations have established structures to implement voter-education programmes. Workshops have been held, trainers have been coached and regional training centres have been set up. Radio programmes have been prepared, and posters and other media programmes have been planned.

Once the election date is finalised, and when the process and procedures of the poll are defined in an Election Act, the tempo of the education campaigns will be stepped up.

"There will never be enough time to prepare for an election like this," Gilder says, "and our feeling is that the longer it is postponed, the more chances there are of the election either not happening or not being very free or fair. We will just have to deal with the challenges that an early election poses."



# Scheepers 'not such a liberal' 304A

By CHRIS LOUW

11/6-17/6/93  
W/m oil  
JOHAN SCHEEPERS, the deputy minister who announced his resignation from the cabinet this week, was not as liberal as he is being presented in the media, says a senior African National Congress official who dealt with him.

Derek Hanekom, the ANC's co-ordinator on land and agricultural policies, who had extensive contact with Scheepers as deputy minister of land affairs, said this week that he could find no evidence of enlightenment.

On the contrary, he found Scheepers intransigent and insensitive while dealing with the highly contentious issue of land. "Throughout it was difficult to ascertain whether he was acting on cabinet instructions or whether it was his own interventions," Hanekom said.

Scheepers announced his resignation as a member of President FW de Klerk's cabinet as well as from parliament this week, amid strong rumours

that he was frustrated by verkrampte bureaucrats in his department. In a television interview on Wednesday evening he stressed that he had only been executing cabinet decisions.

Hanekom has worked closely with government ministers and officials in the past year to find a solution to the country's land problems. The ANC, however, refused to serve in the national land commission established by Scheepers.

They resented the fact that Scheepers had ignored the ANC's repeated calls for a moratorium on the transfer of all state land. "We did not feel it was appropriate to advise a highly discredited government on how to deal with an issue as sensitive as the land issue," said Hanekom.

However, now that the government's advisory forum, under the leadership of Professor Louise Tager, has recommended a moratorium, participation becomes possible — if the government endorses the forum's proposals.



Wheels come off ... Eugene Terre'Blanche is about to lose his wagon Photo: KEVIN CARTER

## AWB ox-wagon in legal battle

By JAN TALJAARD

*Wimark 11/6-17/6/93 (2048)*  
 "WAS owed, did not get paid, will take possession of ox-wagon." After months of legal wrangles a hand-crafted ox-wagon may yet become the centre of a legal battle between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and his former right-hand man.

"General" Con Stucki has successfully sued the AWB for a loan not fully repaid to him after he was forced to leave the AWB in October 1991. After a long legal battle, the court eventually ordered the amount of R20 000 be paid to him.

Stucki rose rapidly through the AWB ranks after donating, by his own admission, R50 000 and a fax machine to the organisation. A further R70 000 was advanced as a loan. With this backing, he became the blue-eyed confidant of Terre'Blanche and in charge of the structure, organisation and administration of the AWB's private army, the Wenkommando.

For reasons unknown, his substantial means suddenly withered away. To compound matters he was allegedly not receiving his salary too frequently. When he left the organisation, R30 000 was allegedly still outstanding.

In April this year, the court ruled in favour of Stucki on the unpaid loan. Payment was not forthcoming and Stucki's lawyer, a Marius de

Villiers of the Potchefstroom law firm William Miller, ordered that the Ventersdorp sheriff take possession of AWB assets in lieu of payment.

However, it seems that Ventersdorp is still very much Terre'Blanche's and the AWB's town. On Tuesday the local sheriff reported a nulla bona, denoting that there were no assets to be claimed. This did not sidetrack De Villiers for long. Armed with a list of known AWB assets he went to Ventersdorp on Wednesday to see for himself. Topping his list was an ox-wagon.

And an ordinary run-of-the-mill wagon it definitely is not. It was built on demand for the AWB as part of the Afrikaner Volkswag's Great Trek commemoration in 1988. It reportedly cost the AWB R12 000 to build.

So dear had the wagon become to Terre'Blanche that a special shed was built to house it at the Ventersdorp offices of the AWB. Later it was manhandled into an even more exalted position: inside the leader's office. On Wednesday evening the wagon was still safely ensconced inside the leader's office. Legal technicalities and counter-actions have reportedly won it another reprieve.

According to sources the reprieve may only be temporary. Stucki's lawyers are confident that the wagon will shortly embark on yet another journey — this time to the auctioneers.



# Minister dismisses need for law on TEC

CT1116/93 (304A)

Political Staff

A TRANSITIONAL Executive Council (TEC) could be installed without having to wait for legislation to be passed which might delay negotiation, the Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer, said in Parliament yesterday.

This would be possible if all parties at negotiations agreed, Mr Meyer said in debate on the Constitution Amendment Bill which provides for the abolition of the President's Council.

Mr Meyer told Parliament the TEC would function as soon as agreement was reached at negotiations, hopefully

by June 25, but the ANC later threw doubt on this idea.

A spokesman said the ANC was concerned as to how the government would be forced to implement decisions of the envisaged TEC if it was not bound by legislation.

Mr Meyer said a lot of legislation concerning transition would be tabled in Parliament in the next few months. The legislation could not be debated in the present session of parliament as it had to be the product of consensus at negotiations.

Mr Meyer said he believed a special Parliamentary session was not necessary to give legal effect to the TEC.

## Meyer 'was a top Broeder'

THE Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, was a senior member of the secret Broederbond, Mr Daan van der Merwe (CP Nom) said in Parliament on Wednesday (30/4/93).

He said Mr Meyer should think back to the time he took vows when entering the Broederbond and the Ruiterswag, and then think where he stood today. The self-determination of the Afrikaner was being eroded, and the stability of the state was disappearing.

— Sapa CT 11/6/93



# FW admits NP has lost support

CT 11/6/93

304A

THE National Party has lost a lot of support, President F W de Klerk has told the American news magazine Time, but says he will regain strong support after a constitutional agreement reduces violence.

Both Mr De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela were interviewed in the magazine's latest edition, which carries a photograph of Mr Mandela on the cover.

Both men expressed optimistic views

on the transition to democracy and the roles of their parties and supporters.

"I think the shock of the change away from the old to the new system has already been accommodated by most whites," Mr De Klerk said. He believed he would be part of the country's top management after an election, playing a leading role not just as a minister but as a major player.

Mr Mandela said he had no reason to doubt that Mr De Klerk's government was

negotiating in good faith. The ANC had weaned the NP from its concept of power-sharing to accept a government of national unity based on the principle of majority rule.

Mr De Klerk confirmed that he did not believe a permanent form of enforced coalition could be written into a final constitution, although he still believed it needed some form of power-sharing. — Sapa





# Despite hiccups, elections breathe life into democracy

w/mail 11/6-17/6/93.

304A

"We complain that we have only half the vehicles we need, or that we have run out of water, or that the military protection for a particular polling station is inadequate. Usually we are told that nothing more can be done. In turn, our polite response is always: 'No problem.' This is the 'no problem' election."

**W**HEN first driving through the chaotic streets of Phnom Penh, one could easily take at face value these words, uttered by one of the international polling site officers deployed by the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (Untac).

There are potential lessons for South Africa in Cambodia's election. First, despite a UN-brokered pre-electoral peace accord between the main Cambodian political and military groups, the agreed process of mutual disarmament never took place. Second, the election eventually took place despite the withdrawal and active opposition of one of the co-signatories — although the Khmer Rouge's threatened disruption of the elections largely failed to materialise. Third, the election went ahead despite instances of intimidation and the alleged assassination of political opponents by some of the 20 competing parties in the run-up to the elections.

According to an Untac Human Rights Component statement, the ruling Cambodian People's Party (CPP) was primarily responsible for these acts. The extent to which intimidation and disruption feature in the forthcoming South African elections will depend largely on the successes or otherwise of the current negotiation process.

Perhaps most striking in Cambodia was the extent of the UN's involvement in the electoral process. The Untac mandate, under UN Security Council resolutions, effectively established Untac as a quasi-government with theoretical control over the civil administration of the country. By design,

*South Africa can derive valuable insights from other countries' experiences at the polls.*

**GRAEME SIMPSON** observed the UN-run election in Cambodia this month and concluded that even if conditions are not perfect, the process can be of great value in building national reconciliation

Untac was to run the country and not merely the elections in Cambodia.

Nonetheless, people within and outside Untac complained that the CPP had outmanoeuvred the UN and not only retained control over much of the state infrastructure but also wielded this control to its advantage in the election process. As one local opposition party leader complained: "Every post office or police station is like a CPP office." In the context of an embryonic and highly undeveloped democratic political culture, such advantages arguably weighed heavily.

In South Africa it is unlikely that the UN's involvement will remotely approach the extent of that in Cambodia. For this reason, it is all the more important that the current negotiation process generates agreements which are binding and enforceable on the competing parties — especially with regard to "levelling the playing field" prior to an election.

Equal access to the state-run media will have to be settled in South Africa, whereas in Cambodia the UN could simply step in and set up an alternative radio station and distribute 350 000 second-hand radios in the rural areas, thereby ensuring that opposition parties could compete on the airwaves.

It would seem that multi-party control of the police is a critical dimension of the pre-election negotiations in South Africa, as neither South Africa nor the UN can afford the deployment of more than 16 000 troops from 41 countries, as in Cambodia.

The single most striking success was achieved by the Untac electoral component in registering voters, delivering voter education to the most remote parts of the country and ultimately in facilitating a countrywide voter turn-out of more than 90 percent.

The sheer magnitude of the enterprise in the year leading up to the election was staggering: 56 000 Cambodians were trained as poll workers to staff more than 1 400 polling sites for six days of fixed and mobile polling. Ultimately they overcame the damaging rumours of government satellites or "magic pencils", which it was feared would compromise voters in the secrecy of the ballot.

There were hiccups, some more damaging than others. Having spent approximately \$2-billion on the whole process, the UN opted for the use of cheap plastic overnight seals on the ballot boxes. Many of the seals broke while the boxes were being transported by the UN military from the polling sites to places of safekeeping overnight. In a slightly sinister fashion, one CPP provincial governor warned that this could be the undoing of the UN's credibility in the election. Much would clearly hang on how the results turned out.

On a slightly lighter note, voter education clearly failed in some minor respects. I witnessed several voters who, having confidently marked their ballots, were at a loss as to where to post them. Many of them jammed the ballots into holes in the cardboard voting booths — frequently to hoots of laughter from fellow voters and much hysteria on the part of the polling workers. The voting booths were then turned upside down, the valuable ballots recovered, and proud voters finally slotted them into the ballot box.

In the final analysis, Cambodian politics is as

unpredictable, as under-regulated and as potentially violent as is the traffic of Phnom-Penh. While Untac involvement in Cambodia may have secured the "minimum conditions necessary for a free and fair election", there is no lasting mandate through which the UN can guarantee the tenuous peace for Cambodia's people. This has subjected the UN's position that "any election is better than no election" to considerable criticism.

Yet, as one of the few Cambodian human rights workers stated: "The people of Cambodia need to vote." It is in the participation of nearly 90 percent of Cambodians in their first ever election that the hope of Cambodia resides. It is possible that the opportunity to exercise a vote — and the broad-based educative process which went with it — may just be the source of empowerment which breathes life into a democratic political culture in Kampuchea.

Herein, too, lies a major lesson for South Africa. Even if conditions are not perfect for an election, the process itself could be of great value in building national reconciliation.

But, in this respect, it is instructive to recall the warning of one Untac electoral official against excessive UN involvement beyond a supervisory role. He said: "If you can do it yourselves, it is better than anyone doing it for you. Ultimately this is the only way to build a lasting peace."

There is little prospect of a UN programme in South Africa which is comparable to that in Cambodia. But it is equally important that no one South African political interest group has exclusive administrative control over the electoral process.

While the government's civil service may offer the necessary infrastructure, it alone cannot offer either the credibility or the prospect of empowerment so crucial to lasting peace.

●Graeme Simpson was one of four South Africans included on an election study tour to Cambodia organised by the United States' National Democratic Institute and the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Development Studies.



**NEWS** TEC can be achieved through**We can't wait - Meyer**

Sowetan 11/6/93

**By Ismail Lagardien**  
Political Correspondent

THE creation of a Transitional Executive Council needed not to wait for legislation as it could be established through consensus at the multiparty negotiations forum. (304A)

This was said by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer during a Parliamentary debate yesterday. Meyer said legislation was necessary to give legal standing to the TEC, the Independent Media Commission, the

Electoral Commission, an interim constitution, a Bill of Rights and regional government.

Legislation for a TEC did not have to delay its creation, he said.

Because the Government was part of negotiations, there was no reason why a TEC could not be established once there was consensus, Meyer said.

During the same debate, the ANC-aligned Independent MP Mr Pierre Cronje said the council would only be remembered as being "part of the period of constitutional gerrymandering".

# Angry callers quiz black NP man

Sowetan & Radio Metro

## Talkback



with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

A SOWETO man last night defended his membership of the National Party when he said it was the only political party that had the capacity to deliver the goods.

Speaking during the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show, Mr David Chaunyane, an election co-ordinator for the NP in Johannesburg and Greater Soweto, denied that the party was a political wing of the Broderbond. He said, however, that he could not speak on behalf of individual NP members who were members of the Broderbond. Chaunyane, who spoke indistinctly and often did not elaborate, said he was once a member of the Pan Africanist Congress. He said he left the organisation

because its leadership had failed to give direction. "I felt that it would be better to change the National Party from inside than from outside," he said. He refused to answer a question from an angry caller on why State President F.W. de Klerk had dropped Professor Njabulo Ndebele from the chairmanship of the new SABC board.

It is widely believed that Ndebele was stripped of the chairmanship because he was black. Chaunyane failed to divulge how many black people had joined the NP, saying the figures ran into several thousands. He told studio host Tim Modise that he

"I would support apartheid if it was a workable system."

"How does he (Chaunyane) expect to change a monolith structure like the NP with its established interests? How does he reconcile the NP's opening of membership to blacks with its apartheid constitution?"

Hope, Berea

"It does not make sense. Why did he join NP?"

Mangaliso, Bellevue

"Is there something they dangled to entice you to join and woo blacks?"

Mandilell Yeki, Tsakane

"You are a black white like Gatsha Buthelezi. How can you join people who have been oppressing us for such a long time?"

Boysie, Turfloop

"You have been offered many things. It's all garbage you are telling us."

Lesiba, Moloto



# ANC'S new weapon: An AWB spy

W.M. 11/6-17/6/93

An Afrikaner antique dealer, who worked for the National Party and then the Democratic Party, spied for the African National Congress and is helping them run their election campaign. By PAUL STOEHR

**A** WARMBATHS Afrikaner this week described how he succeeded in infiltrating the ranks of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging as an African National Congress spy. Much of the information Johann du Preez gathered also found its way to the government at a time when it appeared helpless against increased rightwing militancy.

When he polishes his glasses, Du Preez looks like the successful antique dealer he is, but his straightforward manner of speaking and ruddy features confirm he is an Afrikaner brought up on a farm near Ficksburg in the Free State.

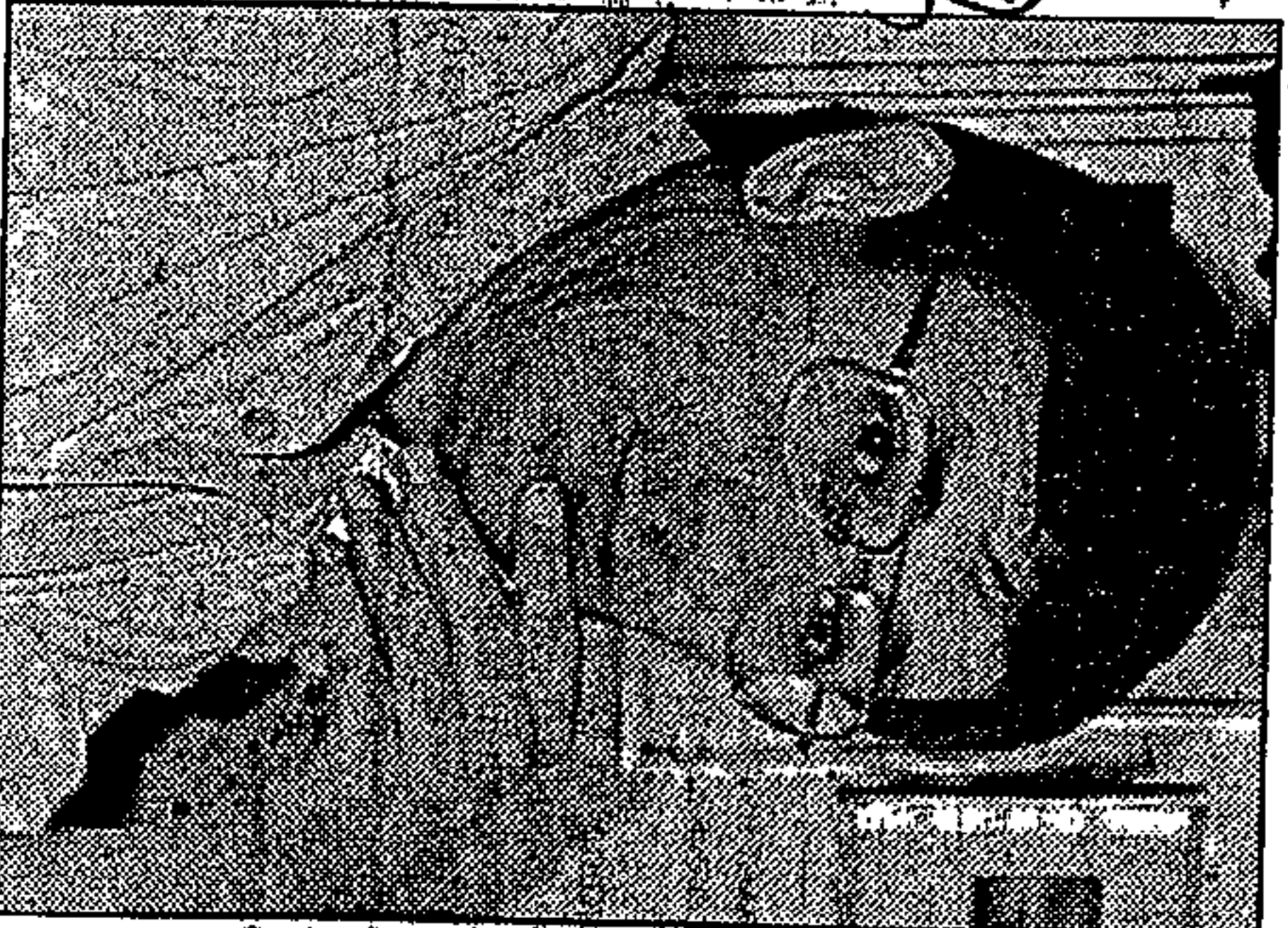
He now lives in Warmbaths, where he works with the ANC's election commission and is running the organisation's campaign in the town.

"I had narrow escapes from the AWB while I was working with ANC intelligence," he said without bravado, "but I don't get scared easily."

Du Preez, a former member of the National Party and the Democratic Party, was recruited by the ANC's intelligence department in December 1991. He had just moved from the DP to the ANC and was giving seminars on voter education to the ANC's constitutional department, when he was asked by the then head of the organisation's intelligence department, Patrick "Terror" Lekoto, to investigate reports that the AWB's Ystergarde had established military training camps on farms in the eastern Free State.

In early January 1992 Du Preez was sent to Ficksburg where inquiries among old friends revealed a training camp had been held on the farm of an AWB commandant in the district.

The commandant was an old school friend of Du Preez and he had no problem arranging to meet him on his farm. Equipped with a microphone hidden in his belt, Du Preez managed to get the commandant to confirm a training camp had been



Johann du Preez Photo: PAUL STOEHR

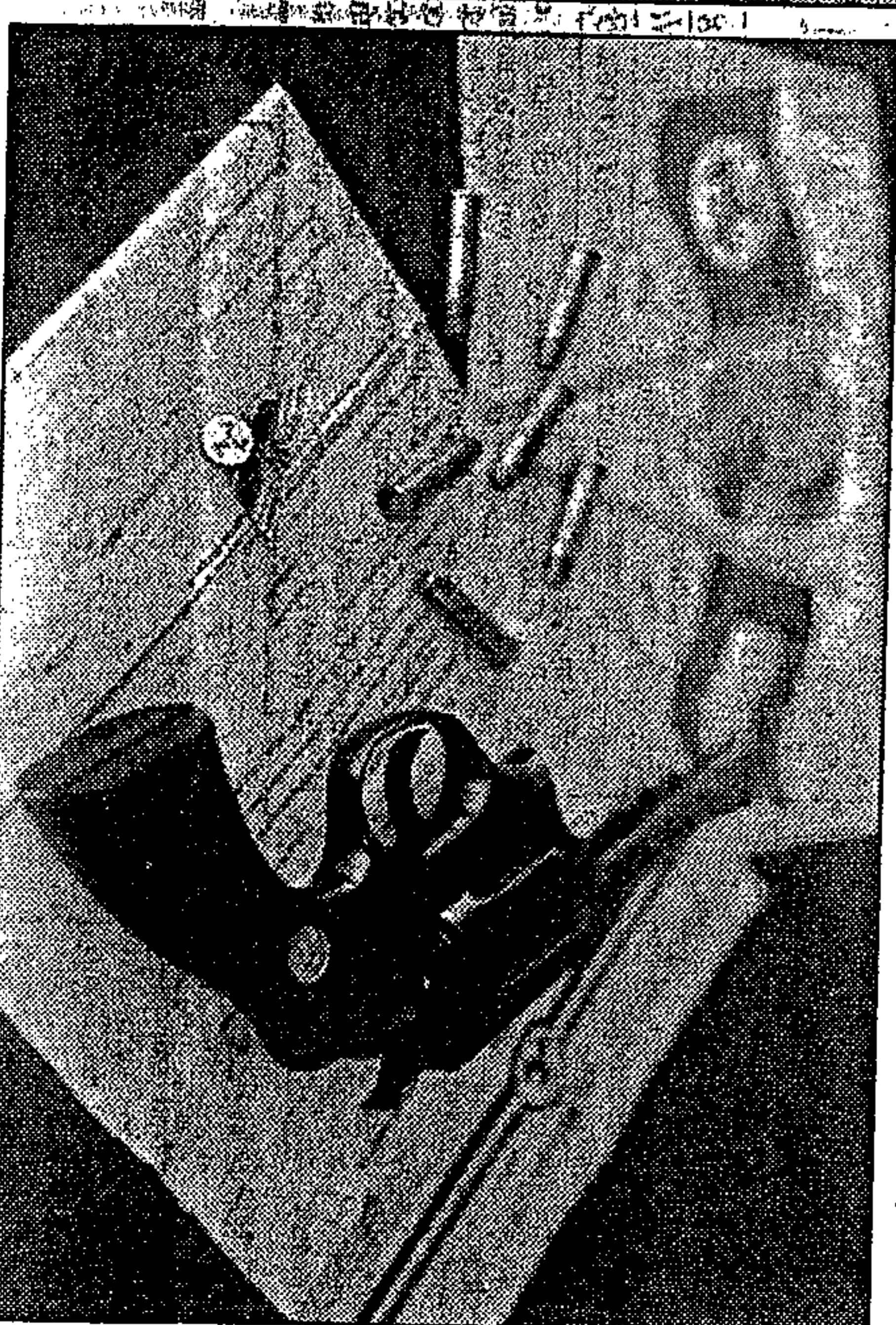
held on the farm although it had since moved. Later the two were joined by another AWB member, who bragged about buying AK-47s in Lesotho for R50, for the movement.

After the meeting, Du Preez went to a nearby farm, where he recruited somebody to regularly report to him on AWB activities in the district.

Two weeks later, after a series of rightwing bombings in the eastern and northern Transvaal, Du Preez was sent to Tzaneen to investigate reports that the AWB was mobilising farmers. He met an AWB member who said training camps were being held near Cravelotte, Louis Trichardt and Messina. The AWB member also boasted about "arms caches in the northern Transvaal".

Du Preez applied to become a member of the Randburg AWB branch and, although his membership card never arrived, he was often told of elaborate rightwing plans to attack targets in Johannesburg. None of the attacks ever happened.

An ex-colleague from the NP hierarchy discovered Du Preez was keeping his eye on the AWB for the ANC. He suggested Du Preez report his



Du Preez's membership forms and weapon supplied by the AWB Photo: GUY ADAMS

observations to him so he could hand them on to the government who was concerned about rightwing militancy. Du Preez agreed to do this.

Later that month, disguised in full AWB get-up, Du Preez interviewed AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche in his headquarters in Ventersdorp. The ANC was eager to know how Terre'Blanche was going to react to the defeat of the rightwing in the March 1992 referendum.

Du Preez became much less worried about Terre'Blanche's threat that the AWB would "start oiling their rifles" when investigations in Ventersdorp bars revealed that most of the locals regarded the rightwing leader as a bit of a joke.

Du Preez continued to monitor the rightwing for the ANC, but by June 1992 he began to wind up his operations. "At the time it was clear the AWB was the riff-raff of the Afrikaners on the east and west Rand."

Now, his assessment of the AWB is more cautious. The emergence of Constand Viljoen as a possible leader of the right worries him. "With a credible leader they can be dangerous."





**T**HE little green book is no longer a dompas, but a ticket to a democratic government. Most eligible voters in South Africa have identity documents which will enable them to vote in next April's first democratic election.

But the plight of TBVC-homeland voters hangs in the balance as politicians in the World Trade Centre decide whether or not they will be given IDs prior to elections.

"It is quite possible that people in the TBVC states will be entitled to use their homeland identity documents to vote," said Black Sash director Sheena Duncan.

In that event, some kind of safeguard would have to be built in to prevent people with both homeland and South African IDs from voting twice. A number of migrant workers were accustomed to using their South African IDs here and their homeland IDs in the TBVC states, she said.

Identity documents will take on mammoth importance in the run-up to elections. Instead of a voters' roll, voters will use their IDs as a ticket to the vote.

Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte estimates that this will save about R420-million in additional voter-registration costs.

In the absence of a voters' roll, ID documents are one way of ensuring that voters are eligible to vote and that South African citizens do not cast their vote more than once, said an electoral advisor to the multi-party negotiating process.

"The likelihood is that there won't be a voters' roll," he said this week.

According to the Department of Home Affairs, 91 percent of potential South African voters have been issued with identity books. More than 98 percent of whites over 18 years of age have IDs, while the figure for blacks is 81,1 percent. For coloureds, the figure is 89,1 percent and 94,2 percent for Indians.

According to Home Affairs, there are 18 672 307 eligible voters in South Africa. About four million other eligible voters live in the homelands, bringing the total voting population to just over 22-million people.

The department says about 42 000 ID documents are being issued every week, with as many as 60 000 being issued in some weeks. They are relatively cheap: the department has costed them out at about R1,14 per document.

"It is expected that the tempo will continue to increase as we near the coming election," Schutte said earlier this year.

Whereas, in the past, Home Affairs was intransigent on the issue of ID application forms being available at points other than departmental offices, it now readily supplies churches, non-governmental organisations and

political groupings with the necessary documents.

"Home Affairs' new openness and willingness to accommodate people is a consequence of how government has changed," said Duncan. "People are now willing to work with government departments, and the departments are also coming into the real world and realising they won't get anywhere unless there is co-operation."

She said the Johannesburg branch of the Black Sash had no reason to believe that Home Affairs was creating difficulties in the issuing of ID books, because it was not surfacing as a problem in the advice office. "We have not had an unusual increase in requests for help in that area," she said.

Duncan believes this is a sign that things are running pretty smoothly.

"Our experience of working with people is that they are very enthusiastic about this whole voting thing."

Although one generally needs a birth certificate to get an identity document, special arrangements are being made for the many people whose births have not been registered or who have lost their birth certificates. They may use a baptism certificate, a certificate from the institution where they were born, a school certificate from the first school attended, or any document on which birth particulars

have been recorded.

If none of these is available, a family member at least 10 years older than the applicant who can identify that person may make a sworn statement. And if all else fails, prescribed questions may be put to the applicant by officials at the Home Affairs office and an affidavit compiled.

Mobile units are available for communities who cannot reach the regional and district offices of Home Affairs. To accommodate rural applicants, the department may send out teams of officials to large groups of farmworkers.

The problem with this is that "many people in the rural areas don't know to go to Home Affairs and say: 'We need a mobile unit in our area'," said Duncan. "It's general information they need."

She said city dwellers and frequenters were much more likely to have identity documents than those in the rural areas and informal settlements.

"In a big city you need an ID for so many purposes other than voting — to open a bank account, to get a driver's licence," she said. "The first time you need an ID book in a rural area is when you need to get your old-age pension. Making sure that people in those areas are reached is the big problem."

## The dompas: From hated symbol to sought-after ticket

w/mail 11/6-17/6/93  
Identity books have finally gained

respectability in the run-up to  
South Africa's first democratic  
election. By ALEX DODD and

FERIAL HAFFAJEE



# Scrambling for air time

By BAFANA KHUMALO

WITH the first non-racial election looming in 10 months' time, none of the major players has as yet a firm policy on how equal access to the electronic media will be guaranteed to all contenders.

For the African National Congress, the responsibility of ensuring equal access lies with an independent transitional media commission. "Within the ANC this is an issue which is still under discussion. We are still deciding in what manner equal time is going to be distributed on television," ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said this week. "The main duty of the commission will be to ensure that there is free and fair coverage for all parties."

The Inkatha Freedom Party, in contrast, feels this responsibility lies with the newly appointed board of the SABC. "In terms of programming policy, it is imperative that the new SABC board ensures equal access to all political organisations," said IFP spokesman Ed Tillett, adding: "We do not see the board intervening in terms of political advertising."

Various parties still have to negotiate how equal access will be ensured. "There should be consensus over this; after all, the SABC is a public utility," Tillett said.

The Pan Africanist Congress has no specific policy related to electioneering. The organisation's publicity and information director, Waters Tomboti, said equal access should not be restricted to elections but should be guaranteed at all times. "The electronic media should realise that their services are not for the ruling party only," he said.

The Democratic Party is opposed to any political advertising on the electronic media, according to DP media spokesman Peter Soal, although "there should be political broadcasts, as is the case in the United Kingdom — particularly in this election".

According to National Party media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk, political advertising is currently not allowed on television. As the tentative date for elections has been set for April 27 next year, more and more parties will be clamouring for air time — and some may feel that they are not being given the crucial sound-bytes.

To avoid this, the NP proposes a formula according to which air time will be allocated. "It is not that easy to say all parties will get equal time," said Van Schalkwyk. "Should the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging get the same time as the ANC and the NP? The AWB might have less support than those two organisations."

This kind of arrangement would be similar to that in Germany, where, although there is no special legislation regarding access to the media, the government grants funds to political parties in proportion to the support they have. These funds can then be used to buy air time on private electronic media.

This funding is given only to those parties which get five percent of parliamentary seats. The cut-off, said the press attaché at the German embassy, Michael Schmunk, "is to avoid an inflation of parties, some of whom do not have a chance of winning, who might run for election just to make money out of it".

Funding is given to parties, said Schmunk, because of the recognition in the country's constitution that political parties "are doing something for the general good".

This liberal attitude in ensuring access to television for all parties is reflected in law in the United States, where the Federal Communications Act requires a broadcaster or cablecaster which sells time to a candidate to give equal opportunities to opposing candidates — including minor party and independent candidates. Broadcasters are exempted from the equal-opportunity rule only with regard to regularly scheduled newscasts, news interviews, news documentaries and on-the-spot coverage of news events.

A model of an equal-opportunity doctrine that local political parties might find agreeable would be one similar to that governing broadcasts in the United Kingdom.

Each year the British Broadcasting Corporation offers limited broadcasting time to political parties. This allocation is agreed upon annually by representatives of political parties, the BBC and private broadcasters.

The number of broadcasts each party gets is based on the number of votes cast for each party at the previous general election, but with the convention that the government and official opposition have the same number of broadcasts.



# Whites threaten Boer war

David Beresford  
in Johannesburg

**T**HE gradual outflanking of the white right in South Africa's constitutional negotiations was graphically illustrated last week when the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) issued an ultimatum to participants: Concede a sovereign "Boer state" or face "war".

About 100 armed and uniformed AWB members held a demonstration outside the Johannesburg venue of the multi-party talks, which smacked more of an exercise in buffoonery than a portent of war.

A delegation was admitted to deliver the ultimatum from their "leader", Eugene Terreblanche, giving the negotiators six months to concede Boer sovereignty — failing which, he said, the AWB would regard it as a "declaration of war".

Inside, an explanation for the sabre-rattling was apparent as the AWB's closest allies, the rightwing Conservative Party, fought what appeared to be an increasingly hopeless battle to stall the relentless, if slow progress towards a settlement.

The negotiators spent much of the day thrashing out compromises on a set of constitutional "principles" to guide the talks, the Conservatives doggedly objecting to almost every item, but earning little more than irritation among other delegates.

Although the slow pace of the proceedings is proving a headache, the multi-party planning committee made "sufficient progress" to propose holding the country's first non-racial general election on April 27, 1994. The 10-member committee presented a draft resolution proposing the date to the 104-member negotiating council which will debate the issue.

But setting the date is seen as little more than a palliative to public



All smiles: Winnie Mandela and her daughter Zinzi embrace on hearing that the South African appeal court had decided Mrs Mandela would not have to spend five years in jail for kidnapping. Her sentence was reduced to a fine of R15,000 (£3,200) and a two-year suspended sentence.

PHOTOGRAPH: WALTER DHLADHLA

perceptions that nothing is being achieved. Some respected commentators believe there is little chance of such an election being held before September 1994.

Meanwhile South African police said on Friday that they were investigating charges of murder, sabotage and terrorism against the Communist Party chairman, Joe Slovo, citing it as grounds for refusing him a gun to protect himself.

The row over lack of police co-operation in protecting Mr Slovo has arisen after a series of death threats

against him. Mr Slovo — a key figure in the current constitutional negotiations — is seen as one of the most likely targets for assassination following the murder of the Communist Party general secretary, Chris Hani.

The African National Congress has described the police refusal to grant Mr Slovo a gun licence as "extraordinary". But the police said that Mr Slovo was considered "unfit" to carry a gun because of criminal charges outstanding against him.



# 'Not ready for the elections'

"WHAT really worries me is that the ANC is over-confident. They don't seem to realise what is involved in a general election or what is at stake."

The concerns are those of Johann du Preez, a veteran of National Party and Democratic Party election campaigns who has been recruited by the ANC to help it fight the election for a constituent assembly. He is setting up the ANC's election campaign in Warmbaths.

Du Preez first ran an election campaign when he was asked by the NP to act as campaign manager for its candidate in Joubert Park during the October 1988 municipal election, Desiree Simpson. He believes Simpson's campaign went so well it was clear she was going to win before the end of the election. *W/ Mail 11/6-17/6/93*

The NP, under pressure in Hillbrow, where little campaigning had been done for their candidate, Rupert Korb, moved Du Preez to the area to boost Korb's campaign. In the short time left, the election race was swung around and Korb won his seat on the city council.

After the election, Du Preez attended a three-day NP *bosberaad*, where the future direction of the party was discussed, as chairman of the Hillbrow branch. "When I first heard official NP policy and what they wanted to do with the country, I decided this is not for me and I resigned," said Du Preez.

His decision to leave the NP set off a furious round of bidding for his services, with even the Conservative Party offering him a position. However, Du Preez signed-up with the DP and was elected the Johannesburg secretary of the party.

During the general election of November 1989 he was part of Lester Fuchs' election team when he contested the Hillbrow parliamentary seat. Fuchs won the seat.

After the general election, he approached the ANC to promote contact between the organisation and the DP. During these meetings, he was drawn to the organisation and especially ANC president Nelson Mandela.

When the ANC suggested to Du Preez that he give seminars on voter education in the organisation's constitutional department, he agreed. He later joined the ANC. "I just thought the ANC was the right organisation to back, I'm still on good terms with the DP," he said.

After a spell in the ANC's constitutional department, Du Preez moved to intelligence before settling in the organisation's elections commission.

Although he is certain the ANC will be the next government, Du Preez is cautious in his assessment of how the organisation will perform in the elections for a constituent assembly.

"The ANC has no clear policy or manifesto at the moment. To my mind, the party which comes with a credible economic policy addressing housing, education and unemployment, is the party people will vote for — even if that party is the NP," he warns.

Between registering voters and setting-up the ANC's election machinery, Du Preez is writing a booklet aimed at his new constituency. Its title: *The People's Guide to a New Constitution — The Book to Read Before You Vote.*



**O**n a typical Namaqualand day, with not a cloud in sight, one can see the Eskom powerlines 20km away from dominee Farao's house in Kuboes, one of the small settlements of the Richtersveld near the Orange River.

Many years have passed since the first time the Nama inhabitants of the town applied for electricity. But still they have to read their Bibles by candlelight at night or — for those who can afford it — switch on the petrol-driven power generators in their backyards.

The 300 families of Kuboes can only look on while tarred roads are built from one white village and mining town to another. And they can only wonder when an extension from the Eskom line will eventually reach their houses and *algemene handelaars* (general dealers).

While they follow news events on battery-powered TV sets, they are acutely aware of how isolated they are here in South Africa's remote north-west. "To make things worse, we don't even know who represents our interests at the negotiations in Kempton Park," says Kiewiet Cloete, Kuboes's self-proclaimed "one-man resistance movement".

To compound matters, the slightly more than 3 000 adults of the Richtersveld constitute less than 0,1 percent of the western Cape's electorate of more than three million, rendering them almost irrelevant as a voting force for a proportionally elected government.

But last week the new South Africa finally reached the Richtersveld, when a small Democratic Party convoy led by Green Point MP Hennie Bester trekked up the West Coast to spread the message that there is a third force between the African National Congress and the National Party.

It was from Farao's house that the call came for the DP in Cape Town "to please come and help us with our problems". The man who made the call was Petrus Alley, headmaster of the local school and originally from Steinkopf, a small village north of the mining town of Springbok.

**T**hat was in November last year. In February the DP's regional director for the western Cape, Stuart McLoughlin, drove the 1 000km from Cape Town and immediately signed up 308 new members for his party in Kuboes alone.

Not that it was easy. The MP for the area, Abraham Balie, recently defected from the Labour Party to join the NP. His management councils in the area are virulently opposed to political ideas that challenge their own — to the extent that five councillors locked themselves into the community hall and refused entrance to those gathered outside during McLoughlin's visit.

Alley, a smallish, wiry man in his mid-thirties, insists that the tricameral councils must make way for democratically elected bodies to represent the communities of Namaqualand.

"Up to now we have been cheated by the Nats," he says. "Bodies created for us, like the Coloured Representative Council and the tricameral parliament, were a joke. Now, for the first time, we will be able to vote for a party that will enjoy real power."

Bester, at 30 the youngest MP in parliament and because of his Afrikaans farming background well suited for the role, was given the task of explaining the DP's policies to the Namaqualanders. His first destination was Eksteensfontein, a small settlement close to Vioolsdrif on the Namibian border and just north of the town of Lekkering. Eksteensfontein today is home to an Afrikaans-speaking coloured community forcibly moved there in the 1960s.

The best rains of the past two decades have turned Namaqualand's moon landscapes into green hills and valleys. It has also turned the normally dangerous gravel road between Kuboes and Eksteensfontein into a nightmare.

On a full moon-lit night last weekend I was a passenger in the back of a four-wheel drive bakkie with six others, five of them chain-smoking, dignified Nama-speaking coloured people from Kuboes. The bumpy 80km drive through the stony hills of the Richtersveld was quickly turned into a political meeting of sorts, with all the passengers insisting on a *spreekbeurt* (turn to speak), their distinctive Namaqualand Afrikaans spiced with clicking yet sonorous Nama sounds.

Cloete, the most eloquent of the five, obvi-

# Eiland sonder 'n Heiland

*The people of the Richtersveld comprise only a tiny proportion of the voting population of the western Cape. Cut off from the cities, these hardy communities have been ignored or ill-treated by successive South African governments. CHRIS LOUW went along on a Democratic Party electioneering visit to the far north west of the country*



When we see, we will believe ... The people of the Richtersveld have lost faith in the government

Photo: PAUL GRENDON, Southlight

ously spoke on behalf of the others when he stated with conviction that he would never vote for the NP, which he sees as responsible for systematically robbing the Namas of their ancestral land.

"The little Union Jack in the national flag — that mark is for me," he says repeatedly. "Our land was given to us by Queen Victoria in 1854, and then the NP and the mines stole it."

Simon-Petrus Fredericks, clad in a red waistcoat and with a worn-out frontiers-hat on the head, agrees. Namaqualand with its minerals and diamonds, he says, is the richest area in the country, yet its people are among the poorest. "The mine bosses take all the money ... They've seen to it that we don't have mineral rights on land where we've lived for centuries."

Problems there are plenty, solutions few, and assistance none.

Some two years ago the Parks Board reached an agreement with the local communities that they would jointly manage an area which would be set aside for conservation. Now many people feel that the Namas on the committee have been co-opted by the board.

"Where are the advantages for us?" asks Cloete. "They said we'd get another stretch of land in return. Now they say we can't get it because the Department of Community Affairs hasn't yet transferred the land to the Parks Board."

The talk turns to party politics — and even this is seen in terms of the diamond industry: "The NP made us suffer for 45 years," says one of the faces in the dark. "We're looking for an alternative. We can't vote for the ANC, because where there is a black man, there you find smuggling."

"Yes," says Cloete, "and the DP is the alternative." Turning to McLoughlin, he adds: "Here in the Richtersveld you have a golden goose, but you must treat this goose with care."

The bakkie stops. The driver, Mr Joseph, opens the back flap, saying, "Dis tyd vir die manne om hulle se water weg te gooi (It's time for the men to throw their water out)." We duly throw our water out on the spooky landscape.

About 40 people turn up for the meeting in Eksteensfontein. Dirkie Uys, diamond prospector and community leader, is the chairman. The sound of the power generator makes it difficult

to hear people speak. An old man opens the meeting with prayer, asking God "dat ons almal sal verstaan wat vanaand hier aangaan (that we all understand what happens here tonight)".

After the prayer, Bester explains what the DP is, what it stands for, how it has opposed apartheid for decades. "More than anything else, we are the party for humanitarianism."

Question time, and soon it is clear that the people of Eksteensfontein, though interested in the DP's visions, actually want a party that can solve local problems. "Dis u wat die party maak, maar dis ons wat hom smaak (It is you who make the party, but it is us who taste/like it)," says Cloete, with the Namaqualander's expressiveness.

And on a more serious note: "Ons Namakwalanders is 'n eiland sonder 'n Heiland. Niemand sien om na ons nie. (We Namaqualanders are an island without a Saviour. Nobody looks after us)."

Others mention more specific problems: the lack of tarred roads, electricity, telephones, building material, jobs...

A teenage boy with a white complexion and a shock of yellow hair gets up. A woman lets slip a protracted "oe-oe" in expectation of trouble. His voice is shrill with anger.

"Why during all these years didn't the DP ever come to the platteland? Now you need our votes, now you are here. We made a mistake to trust the white man. We cannot make that mistake again. We cannot vote for the white man. It's time that we give the black man a chance. This time we have to vote for the ANC."

The normally placid Bester also gets angry. "The DP is not a white party. Don't ever come with that nonsense again. At our youth congress near Pretoria last year, 60 percent of delegates were black."

Uys agrees. "Joe Slovo is also a white man. And just look where he sits. We have to remove our colour glasses."

The recurring issue is land, which always used to be farmed communally. We hear the same arguments at the other meetings, in Sanddrift and in Steinkopf. In Steinkopf an oom of 81, wiping his eyes, tells Bester: "Sir, I don't mind about democracy, we only want our land back."

And like a refrain: "How will Law No 9 of 1987 affect us when there is a new government?"

In the Richtersveld, everyone knows about Law No 9. It is the law that determines that the government holds in trust all the land set aside for the Nama communities.

Bester — a lawyer by profession — scrupulously takes notes. He will help where he can. But he warns: "You, the people of the Richtersveld, are the DP. No-one else is going to help you. You must organise yourself. The party can only be a walking stick, but you will have to do the walking."

The next morning in Sanddrift, situated among man-made hills where the mining companies have tried to rehabilitate the results of its hungry search for riches, Alley acts as chairman. "You from the city," he says, "see the wonderful nature of our area when you are here. But we who live here are only aware of the harshness of our world."

At the meeting Alley is determined that the days of political apathy are over: "We have to change our attitude towards the institutions that serve us."

Again, Law No 9 of 1987 haunts the meeting. "We are worried," says Alley, "that if the law expires and the land are sold by public tender, we will not have the means to buy our own property. We have been neglected for years. We are afraid of being thrown aside again."

An old man gets up. "During the years, all political parties have come with beautiful promises. But I am still here with my tears. What makes the DP different?"

Alley explains: "All previous parties were babies conceived by the NP. The leaders we elected were all puppets. Now it is going to be completely different."

Another old man gets up. "I used to be a member of the management council. But then I saw that I couldn't work for my people. I just had to follow instructions. The government told me: 'Here is an axe for you, go and chop off the heads of your people.'"

**F**redericks is also present. He has prepared a speech: "I have to get all these things off my chest."

"Where is David Curry now?" he asks in his sonorous voice. It was Curry who introduced the notion of private property when he was still a LP minister in the House of Representatives. Now he has joined the DP.

"I have many questions that I want to ask him. If he were here today, I would have greeted him civilly, and then I would have confronted him directly, even though he belongs to our party."

Alley turns to Bester: "You will have to pardon us. We have been hurt too often. We here in the Richtersveld have become doubting Thomases. We believe in the religion of seeing: Once we see, we will start believing."

Only 12 people turn up for the meeting in Steinkopf, just north of Nababeep, close to Buletrap. They are mostly old men in suits, with hats and walking sticks.

One dignified gentleman tells the story of his people. "Our land that has been taken away from us, was given down from generation to generation. *Ons het dit ge-erf van ons grootjies*. (We inherited it from our forefathers.) We were already here in 1793. Our church was built in 1849."

Another octogenarian bends forward, his knotty hands resting on the equally knotty klerie. "I don't believe apartheid will ever go away," he says, his eyes watery. "I was born in apartheid and I will die in apartheid. I am sorry, but I don't believe anything anymore. All I ask, is: Give back my land. *Ek is so geverniel, ek weet nie meer nie* (I have been destroyed so much, I don't know anymore)."

It is quiet in the car on the N7 back to Cape Town, past Kammieskroon, Karkams, across the Spoorgrivier towards Garies. "We Namas are proud people," one of the men had said in the back of the bakkie on the road to Eksteensfontein.

And indeed they are. It shows in their bearing. It shows in the confidence with which they stand up and speak during meetings. It even shows in the way they drive their four-wheel drive bakkies, like people who possess the land.

But with the metropole, home to 80 percent of the western Cape's voters, drawing closer, one cannot help but remember that the people of the Richtersveld constitute only 0,1 percent of the total voting population of the region.

Not much, as far as political parties are concerned.



**N**ATIONAL PARTY plans to have an "inner cabinet" established in a government of national unity are revealed in an interview with President FW de Klerk which appears in the British *Financial Times* (FT) today.

Permanent power-sharing is also on the cards as a way to prevent majority domination.

De Klerk puts strong emphasis on the principle of consensus between the major role players in a future government. One of the possibilities he mentions is that of an executive committee, or inner cabinet, consisting of representatives of the major role-players, who will decide on policy principles on which co-operation within the government will be based.

"In terms of our proposal, the mem-

# NIP plan for an 'inner cabinet'

11/6 - 17/6/83

*FW de Klerk gives more details of how the Nats hope to hold on to power. By CHRIS LOUW*

bers of such an executive committee would on a rotating basis ... act as chairman of the cabinet."

Decisions, according to De Klerk, will be taken on consensus and not by a head count. He refuses to admit, however, that consensus government boils

down to a minority veto right.

On the question of whether consensus decision-making should be written into the constitution forever, De Klerk says: "We definitely believe that also in a second constitution or final constitution that the principal of power-sharing must be part of it. But it need not be in exactly the same way that it is achieved in a government of national unity. We are negotiating to have such a principle included in the constitutional principles by which a con-

sitution-writing body will be bound."

De Klerk's argument further corroborates a report in *The Weekly Mail* last week that the government is intent on entrenching power-sharing indefinitely. Extracts from the interview were published in the FT on May 26, but the full version only appears today as part of a survey of South Africa.

De Klerk said a "winner takes all" model is the "worst possible model which there can be for South Africa".

Proportional representation and strong regional government, De Klerk maintains, would not be enough. "There must be ... limitation of the power of any government, also when it comes to the executive, not to such an extent that it must be a lame duck government but to ensure, as the founders of the American constitution did, there won't be misuse of power."





THE NATIONAL PARTY

FM 11/6/93

304A

# The importance of power

**Old responses** die hard, but it is nevertheless surprising that the cracks and strains in the National Party are making such headlines. For what is happening was inevitable from the day that President F W de Klerk announced the end of apartheid.

Whereas the absolute monarchs of old could simply issue orders, a political system built on the common vote requires a formal structure. At the heart of this structure is the sovereign assembly — and the functioning of the assembly requires the formation of parties. Walter Bagehot summed it up in *The English Constitution*:

"The principle of Parliament is obedience to leaders. Change your leader if you will, take another if you will, but obey No 1 while you serve No 1, and obey No 2 when you have gone over to No 2. The penalty of not doing so, is the penalty of impotence. It is not that you will not be able to do anything good, but that you will not be able to do anything at all. If everybody does what he thinks right, there will be 657 amendments to every motion, and none of them will be carried or the motion either."

What is happening in the National Party is that some of its members are feeling an instinctive need to "change your leader." At the moment, the favourite alternative appears to be Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

It is not that ordinary Nat MPs feel that De Klerk is a bad or weak man; on the contrary, even those MPs who resign their Cabinet offices and their seats make it clear that their personal admiration for De Klerk remains undimmed. This is very different to what happens, for instance, in Britain, where disaffected MPs or sacked Ministers waste little time in turning (sometimes savagely) on their former leaders.

But a political party has one central rationale: the imperative of being in office. When in opposition, a party tries to gain power; when in office, simply to stay there. The National Party understands this very well — so well, in fact, that it was able to win 11 successive general elections over more than 40 years.

How did the main opposition parties remain motivated? The conservative United Party sustained itself by illusion and Smutsian reminiscence, pretending until well into the Seventies (when it finally broke up) that it could win an election. ("Time for a change!" was the UP's determinedly hopeful 1970 election slogan.)

The liberal Progressive Federal Party, inspired by remarkably capable and dedicated individuals, managed to become the professional public conscience of the nation, nourished not by the prospect of office but through the moral satisfaction of opposing a spectacularly monstrous ideology.

The National Party, however, grew fat and complacent in office. Generations of its

followers grew to adulthood without seeing another party in the Union Buildings. Its MPs benefited as of right from the considerable patronage that a governing party can command. They grew accustomed to the practice of authority and rule — with varying degrees of integrity and success. Those who were found wanting were packed off to obscure diplomatic postings (one memorable "promotion," for a Deputy Minister of Transport, was to the consulate-general in New Orleans). Some were forced to resign in disgrace; one or two went to jail. But the party sailed on, impervious to criticism and impregnable to electoral assault.

Now the Nat caucus is at last facing reality — and it does not like what it sees. Not only is it about to lose its grip on government for the first time since 1948, but many MPs cannot be sure of getting seats in the new legislature. The party is in the apparently absurd position of being in power, while in the process of negotiating that power away.

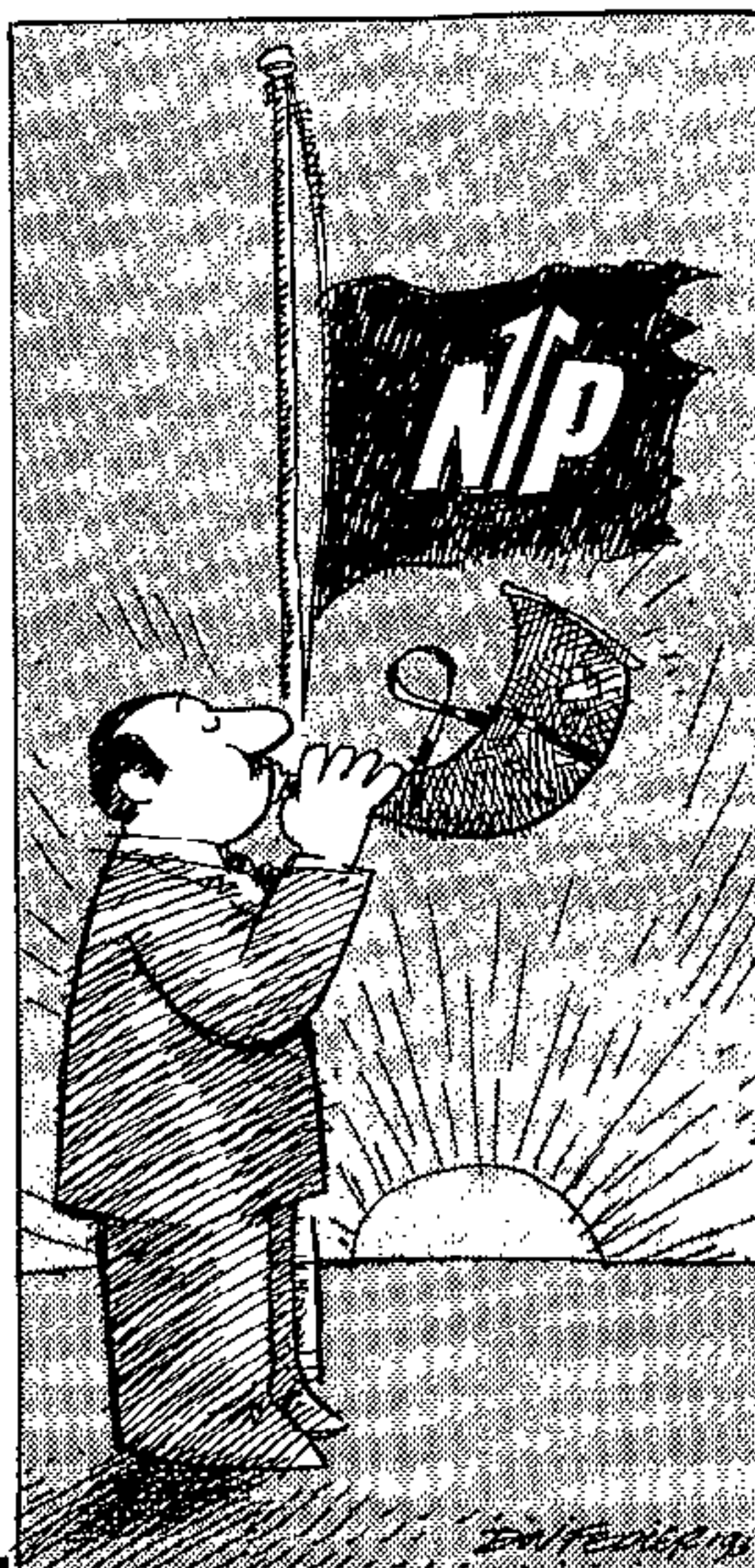
No wonder the Nats are confused. Some are staying put, like rabbits in the headlights; some are cautiously looking at alternatives like the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party; some are just giving up and getting out. Their party, the party of apartheid, is dead on its feet: there must be serious doubt about its fighting fitness.

This development may have been inevitable, but its obvious implications have not been addressed. If De Klerk's support crumbles under his feet — by lack of interest as much as desertion — he must replace it. He must look elsewhere, and this is where the DP may find its role. We could see the formation of a National Democratic Party: led by De Klerk (or Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert?), managed by the bright energies of the DP and the best of the Nats, supported by nearly all whites and most coloureds and Indians — and perhaps not a few Africans.

If such a party is not formed, the DP will probably disappear and De Klerk, presiding over a dispirited rump of a party, will not inspire confidence. Already many moderate whites, who by inclination are Nat or DP supporters, are planning to vote for Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP.

Their instincts are understandable, but it is by no means clear that the IFP is the best party to represent all those who reject the ANC.

Yet the signs are that the National Party, demoralised and resentful, will not be the great alternative to the ANC. What the election will produce is an assortment of small parties — Nat, IFP, DP — who will be unable to mount a coherent attack on the ANC. The National Democratic Party: it has a ring to it, and contains the potential to become a formidable alternative government. For that, we must remind our politicians, is what parties are there for — to gain power.





FM 11/6/93

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# Time is of the essence

The expertise is there — is it matched by political will?



Here's another great SA paradox: the legacy of undemocratic white minority rule will make it easier to hold free and fair elections when all adults have the vote.

While the old whites-only elections were obviously not democratic, they have left a considerable stock of expertise and precedent on which to build. And however venal some politicians may have been, and however bitter some of our election campaigns, there has never been any serious suggestion that the electoral process was corrupt. In political terms, this is a priceless tradition — one that is equalled only in the world's mature democracies. These encouraging signs are not enough though. There are many practical obstacles.

Wits University's Tom Lodge has identified three main problem areas:

□ Administration. A great deal of work needs to be done in terms of the mechanics of voter registration — in effect, the issuing of identity documents, which is the likely basis on which voter eligibility will be established. About 20% of potential black voters are thought to be without ID documents. But, with Home Affairs said to be issuing 60 000 a week, it is not an impossible goal.

Home Affairs has the potential to be efficient at this sort of thing, organising the necessary infrastructure and equipment — such as ballot boxes, folding booths and ultra-violet lights for detecting indelible ink marks on voters' hands. The experience of officials extends to running elections in places such as Lebowa. So the technical capacity is there: the building of ballot boxes and booths for the envisaged 7 000 polling stations is well in hand for April 1994.

Detailed arrangements have to await passage of a new electoral Act and, indispensably, the establishment of an Independent Electoral Commission — whose composition, powers and functions are still the subject of negotiation;

□ Voter education. A difficulty here is the relatively large illiteracy rate — some estimates put it as high as 40% — and many people being completely ignorant of elections and voting.

One thing in our favour is the communications network — especially radio — that is superior to anything in the rest of Africa. Another positive factor is the existence of a fairly vigorous civil society, with independent organisations concerned about fair processes and voter education.

A great deal of effort — preferably by a

neutral body, in addition to existing ones that have sprung up — is required for a massive drive to inform people about basic things such as: where to vote, making sure you have an ID document with you, what officials you will encounter, what a ballot paper looks like, how to cast your vote, secret booths, and — critically — overcoming voters' fears of victimisation.

Parts of SA simply have no free political activity. Parties such as the ANC and IFP must bear the blame for this. Happily, there are encouraging signs on this score, with various local peace initiatives in trouble spots.

It is essential that contending parties drive home the message that just because someone is from another party and believes in different policies, this is no reason to kill them or prevent them from campaigning. The ANC leadership, for example, will have to convince those in its ranks who earlier this year broke up DP meetings that such behaviour is anti-democratic and simply not acceptable;

□ Violence. This is perhaps the most crucial area. If it is not resolved, the election could be severely disrupted and rendered meaningless. Some senior Cabinet Ministers were once adamant that progress towards a nego-

At the multiparty talks, efforts to end violence have been alluded to (see *Current Affairs*). In addition, there is a need to enhance the credibility and moral standing of the police among all sections of the population. Some violence is still the result of bad policing. Better leadership and direction are needed, as well as support from communities previously suspicious of the police. The parties will have to make a concerted effort in this area but the task will be easier if, as seems likely, control of the police is vested in the multiparty Transitional Executive Council.

There needs to be complete consensus among parties that they will not use their private armies, which ideally should be disbanded before the election. Parties in the negotiations, including the PAC, fortunately seem to be moving in this direction, in terms of the "phased" approach agreed to last week for the creation of impartial and legitimate security forces.

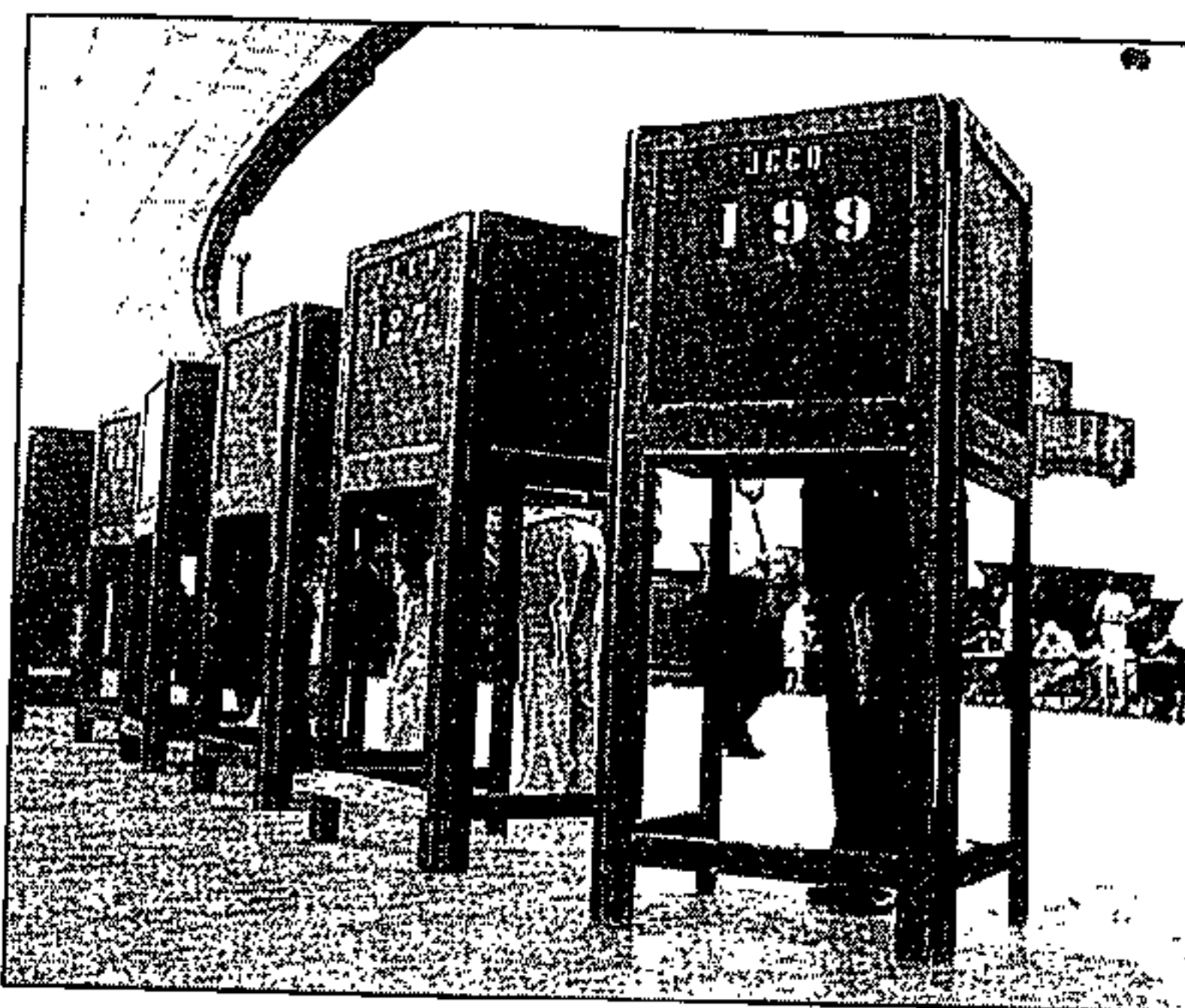
The Angolan election, says Tom Lodge, showed that to have an election with parties maintaining standing armies, and then expect the loser to abide by the results, is romantic. Bringing the SADF under joint, neutral multilateral control before the election is crucial, believes Lodge.

If the election is to be conducted in an atmosphere of reasonable trust, parties cannot look only to their own constituencies when making statements on violence. In other words, the campaign must not be seen as merely a pause in a civil war. The ANC, courageous as it has so far been, must do more to prevent events like the recent Thokoza march being hijacked by thugs seeking to provoke the opposition. And it must openly condemn language such as that used by its Youth League leader Peter Mokaba — and expel those who use it.

International monitors — the more the better — should undoubtedly play a role in SA's first

universal suffrage election. As in Namibia, which had Untag's blue berets to monitor its independence election, such monitors could have an incalculable calming effect and contribute to a free and fair atmosphere.

The proposed Independent Electoral Commission will clearly play the key role in trying to ensure free and fair campaigning and a legitimate poll. It seems this commission will have considerable powers to regulate political activity and determine the process. But its real test will be when it is challenged by individual leaders or political



Making a cross ... so much to do, so little time

tiated settlement could not be held hostage to violence but they have since changed their stance on this.

This month Law & Order Minister Her-nus Kriel said an election could not be held in the current climate. Speaking at a Cape Town Press Club function in April, Judge Richard Goldstone said a committee of the Goldstone Commission would start hearings next month on how to prevent election violence. He warned that SA would be in "big trouble" if the first election was not accepted as legitimate.



## LEADING ARTICLES

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parties.

In an interview with Idasa media director Sue Valentine, published in the latest issue of the organisation's journal *Democracy in Action*, Canada's assistant chief electoral officer, Ron Gould, says no-one he has spoken to in SA wants the election to degenerate into an Angola-type situation. "Everything points to a high motivation to do this thing right . . . I think that Angola may have been one of the best things that ever happened to SA."

Gould, who has served on electoral commissions and similar bodies in south and central America, Albania, Kenya and Cambodia, says the election should ideally be held in one day to avoid allegations of fraud. There has been talk that it will be held over three days.

Gould believes the security forces should be under the control of the electoral commission at least on polling day if not during the whole election campaign.

Gould also argues that an intensive education programme is needed to offset the temptation for losing parties to reject the election result. People must be made to understand the process and be shown its safeguards. Gould believes the situation in SA is "much more positive than in many countries at this stage of the game" because parties have been negotiating.

University of Cape Town political studies professor David Welsh is less bullish. He says the election will inevitably be "messy" and believes there will be irregularities, "quite a lot of violence" and concern that the ballot is not secret. "The best we can hope for is that the voting preference of the electorate will emerge in such a way that it is not easily open to challenge."

Welsh points out that a recent Human Sciences Research Council poll indicated that 40% of adults across the racial spectrum do not believe their votes will be secret. He says the traditional razzmatazz of polling

day in white elections must be disallowed; party representatives should not be allowed anywhere near poll stations. He is strongly in favour of a "huge" contingent of local and foreign monitors deployed throughout the country — at least 2 000.

Welsh believes education of voters is essential to at least move towards a culture of democracy. Radio is a key medium in this regard because 40% of potential voters are classified as rural or semi-rural dwellers with little access to other media.

The fundamental criteria for free and fair elections are universal, explains the British Electoral Reform Society which has already visited SA twice for consultations in anticipation of April's poll.

Wholly independent, the society dates back to 1884 — originally founded to promote proportional representation — and has developed into an organisation which runs elections and ballots for UK trade unions, professional bodies and other interest groups through the £3m annual turnover Electoral Reform Ballot Scrutineers.

But, over the past five years, the society has increasingly been involved as consultants/monitors in the newly democratised states of eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. It is now watching the referendum in Malawi.

Conduct of the electoral campaign is as important as the actual conduct of polling. "Technically speaking, the elections in Serbia were run to the letter of the law," notes the society's Simon Osborne. "But we stated they were not fair because of media access accorded to the different candidates. For three weeks before polling, 30 minutes of prime TV time was given over to what was in effect the Slobodan Milosevic chat show — there was little time for the others."

British practice is to allocate free broadcast time pro rata to the number of candidates fielded by each party. In SA "intimidation will clearly be in the forefront of

observers' minds," as is the case in other countries such as Jamaica or India.

Secrecy at the ballot box is often threatened by simple ignorance of procedure. In Malawi's referendum — where voters are being asked whether they want the current one-party system to continue or if they want multiparty elections — the society noticed that the authorities proposed to have separate ballot boxes for the differing votes.

Ensuring against double voting is another obvious problem when it is not possible to check voters' cards against a register. The most recent case monitored by the society was in Kurdish Iraq, where the ink stamped on voters' hands could be washed off with Coca-Cola. However, SA is already relatively sophisticated in this area.

Ease of access for voters is also closely watched. The society had to pull up one British trade union holding a ballot because the polling station was in the basement of an old cinema more than 6 km from the factory involved. "In Lilongwe, Malawi," says Osborne, "we were told that one polling booth had been provided for 6 000 voters. We had to point out that it would be almost physically impossible for it to handle that number in a day."

And there are the normal precautions to be taken to guard against ballot boxes disappearing, being "stuffed" or voting papers being torn up.

The society's experience suggests that the earlier independent monitors are involved in the election process, the greater the chance that it will be free and fair and that the results will be accepted. Even so, among unsophisticated electorates there remains the difficulty that voters for the losers will presume they have been cheated.

But we will have no excuse: there is a wealth of experience and knowledge that can be applied to SA's first democratic election. We had better get it right the first time, for there won't be another chance. ■



# There really are a lot of Chinese

**SOUTH** Africa is poised to recognise China, the world's next superpower, and top diplomatic relations with Taiwan. All that's missing is the timing. Before the April election? After sanctions have been dropped? Why not immediately?

Is diplomatic relations with our tip of the continent important to a country of nearly 1 200 million people which already enjoys full links with 156 countries?

The answer to the last question is a resounding 'yes'. China has targeted Brazil as the gateway to South America and South Africa as the engine of sub-Saharan Africa.

After some time in China, a realisation not very profound colours all thoughts: there are a lot of Chinese. When the country's government sets its mind to doing things, it can mobilise a great many people. In an interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Yang Juchang, his translator first put the country's population at 1.06 billion, then later corrected this to 1.16 billion. Just statistics, until you realise the difference is 100 000 000 people.

More people are born in China each year than live in

South Africa, including all children, our Mandelas, De Klerks, Gary Players, Chris Barnards, Buthelezis, Johnny Cleggs and Desmond Tutus.

Hard-working, the Chinese have achieved enormous economic growth, 12.8 percent last year and a — I use the word advisedly — staggering growth of 14.1 percent for the first quarter of this year.

"We wasted a lot of time arguing about what was socialist and what was capitalist, so we could not adopt the best of a market economy," Yang says, seated in the Foreign Ministry under three chandeliers in an impressive, high-ceilinged room.

He leans forward. "Now we regard as socialist everything which improves the quality of people's lives." And presumably as market economy anything which improves their wealth.

"Reform and opening up have changed the way of thinking of the people..."

"We welcome and appreciate recent developments in South Africa. We appreciate major policies of President de Klerk towards achievement of peaceful settlement.

We also appreciate the ANC in its continuing struggle

**PETER SULLIVAN, Editor of The Star, reports on his visit to China.**

against apartheid and in its successes in the peace process," he says.

"The establishment of a peaceful South Africa will give impetus to all the governments of Africa, but on the other hand South Africa also needs the co-operation of all the states of Africa."

A consummate diplomat, he sidesteps questions on China's pass laws and on Taiwan, saying his friend has reminded him that we have another appointment and that traffic in Beijing is unpredictable. This ends the interview.

Five journalists invited to visit China by its government, we next see the bureaucrat with the longest title in China: Deputy Director and Senior Economist for the Department of Comprehensive Programming and Experimenting Department and Economy of the State Commission for Restructuring the Economic System of the People's Republic of China. Meet

Lu Yonghua, whose aides serve us jasmine tea in beautiful blue porcelain cups.

Lu is an intense economist. He immediately sets about rubbing the idea that China's economy is overheated. Everybody we see takes a good deal of time refuting the IMF's new three-P (purchasing power parity) rating of China's economy as third in the world. The Chinese are unhappy for the new rating has loan implications. China's economy is huge, but when divided by the number of people, the official per capita gross national product is officially only 370 US dollars. Some estimates put the real size of the economy at around \$1.4 trillion.

Lu's colleague, Assistant Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Restructuring Tian Runzhi, says China moved from 16th in 1991 to 11th largest world trader in 1992. Next it hopes to beat Hong Kong's \$240 billion to get into the top ten.

One thing I do understand: the gap between rich and poor government employees is small. The lowest-paid gets 50 yuan, the prime minister earns 500 yuan. Depending how you exchange, your dol-

lars, that puts the premier on R150-R250 a month. He does get a free car and house, of course.

But there are many millionaires in Beijing, evidenced by the occasional Mercedes 500. Millionaires are part of the new market economy. Communism never looked like this. These are the "Chuppies", Chinese Upwardly Poised People in Easy Street.

South Africa's unofficial embassy in Beijing is called the South African Centre for Chinese studies. Director Leslie Labuschagne estimates two-way trade at \$1.3 billion, including indirect trade through Hong Kong. Lu doubts this, citing \$240 million in two-way trade, and \$150 million in imports to China, mostly in steel.

The huge power of China, its economy, growth, size, work ethic, obedient workforce, massive military and sheer ability to get big things done impress you as a visitor. Dining on bats, camel feet, snakes and scorpions (it stops clots, they say); corruption; their pass laws; public executions (1 900 last year, some in stadiums) and a general ruthlessness in inscrutable politics do not impress. Tiananmen Square was "an unfortunate incident" and everyone "was not in the country at that time". Officially, nobody died at Tiananmen except soldiers.

Why the delay in South Africa recognising China? The Chinese say Mandela is delaying it until an election. South Africans say De Klerk is waiting for a way to jettison Taiwan diplomatically. With South Africa the last major country recognising Taiwan, a patient China is starting gently to remind South Africa of what the future holds.

There really are a lot of Chinese. □



## Cut and thrust

There was really only one question in the mind of everyone at the negotiating council debate last Thursday: would it set a general election date?

This was the day, appointed four weeks earlier, by which the "exact date" for SA's historic one-man, one-vote election would be fixed, in terms of the council's declaration of intent. It didn't seem likely. There was a 50/50 chance, an ANC negotiator told an international news network that morning; but the network decided it couldn't rely on the system of nods and winks at Kempton Park, so it would wait for the official word.

A local journalist had earlier taken a bet with a government adviser that the council would fail to set a date because, he reckoned, the condition of sufficient progress having been made on constitutional matters would not possibly be met in time; if nothing else, those in the Cosag group would see to it that the ANC was denied this prize.

And for most of the day, which saw the equivalent of fine filibustering by members of the group with parliamentary experience, it looked as though the journalist might win his bottle of whisky — until at about 8.30 pm.

This was when the ever-smiling government adviser lifted his finger in the direction of the press box as if to say to the journalist: "You see!" For 17 of the 26 parties (65%) had indicated support for the compromise resolution put up by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, which "recommends to the negotiating forum of June 25 that the date of the election shall be April 27 1994." However, "with a view to maximising consensus" the council would "finalise this matter on June 15."

Apart from providing an idea of how things will go in an elected constitution-making body (to which less than half the

parties at Kempton Park are expected to be elected), the way in which those opposed to setting the date were outmanoeuvred and the date rammed through was fascinating in itself, a departure from the cosy lull that normally attends proceedings.

Everyone knew that the ANC simply had to emerge from that session clutching some kind of agreed date, despite the fact that the scheduled meeting of the negotiating forum — which officially has to announce it — had been put off until June 25. But valuable negotiating time had been lost in the wake of the swoop on the PAC. And there was still the week's brace of technical committee reports to get through before "election date" appeared on the agenda.

It was 4.45 pm when the council broke for tea, having reached sufficient consensus on binding constitutional principles. The role of traditional leaders had taken up most of the time, and the complex issue of collective self-determination was skipped over as suggested by the CP's Fanie Jacobs. On the day he bettered even the talent for interjection normally associated with Amichand Rajbansi (who had left by then, convinced that a date would not get passed).

When delegates returned, planning committee member Zam Titus (Transkei) put forward the committee's suggestion that consideration of the principles dealing with regional powers be deferred, and that outstanding issues be merely noted.

can if this council so decides," said the chairman, Llewellyn Landers of the Labour Party, which is solidly in the ANC camp.

"We've made wonderful progress on constitutional principles," said Ramaphosa, "I suggest we move on to other matters."

It was nearly 6 pm. Landers said the council clearly wouldn't finish its agenda that day and asked which items needed to be discussed in the time remaining. Titus's suggestion — violence, independent election commission and election date — was carried.

The important question of violence can't be skimmed over, warned Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, backed up by Inkatha's Walter Felgate. However, everyone was pleased with the report on violence (see next report) and adopted a resolution largely based on it.

"Time to adjourn," said Jacobs with a touch of glee at 6 pm, the normal time to wrap up. "We oppose that," said Ramaphosa, adding that there were other matters, including the election date, to be addressed before adjourning. Felgate felt that an election date was no more important than resolving the question of violence and if debate on it stopped the rest might stop as well.

On the contrary, said the NIC's Ela Gandhi (a granddaughter of the Mahatma), barely audible, the violence report states that an election date is important to stem the violence. An election, not the date, countered Felgate. Sharp as ever, Gandhi's colleague Praveen Gordhan pointed to the relevant section.

Meanwhile, a draft resolution naming the

day had already been circulated and the SACP's Joe Slovo was itching to move its adoption.

The AVU's Mrs J Gouws, however, just wanted to know from him whether or not the setting of a date was made subject to two conditions in the May 7 declaration. "The declaration is being incorrectly interpreted," Ramaphosa asserted. "It says we've got to set an exact date and that the election shall be subject to those conditions, and you, sir, (referring to the chairman) are bound to do so."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer, as though on cue, backed Ramaphosa, suggesting the council should note the outstanding matters to be discussed as a priority next time. More argument ensued. Gordhan said the agenda agreed to after tea must be stuck to and suggested relieving the technical committee "of the agony of witnessing this dogfight." It is not a dogfight, countered Felgate, the future of SA was being discussed. Gordhan withdrew the word dogfight.

Gordhan, gifted at crystallising things, formally proposed simply noting the other issues and moving on to the date. There was sufficient consensus to do so, said Landers. "We are not going to stand this manipulation," said the IFP's Ben Ngubane. Rosemary Mangope (Bophuthatswana) observed that this was a typical example of a draft resolution becoming available before being discussed in council. Slovo wanted to get on with it. Jacobs, indefatigable, proposed a commission to look into the leaking of the date.

7.20 pm. Seizing the historic moment Slovo duly moved the resolution saying there was no doubt things had moved significantly forward and the basis for a constitutional settlement had been laid. Failure to set an election date could trigger "unpredictable responses, even a feeling of betrayal."

"Ladies and gentlemen, it's decision time," said Landers rubbing his hands. "It's irregular for the chairman to ask delegates where they stand without having debated the matter," said Jacobs, backed up by Cronje. Slovo was precipitating the failure of these negotiations, warned Ngubane. "As far as we're concerned there's no agreement on binding principles, sufficient progress or anything else," he added. N J Mahlangu (Intando ye Sizwe) saw no point in postponing a decision on a date. Felgate warned that "the whole process is in jeopardy at this point ... we must find each other but it cannot happen tonight". Others, including the DP — and, interestingly, the IFP grudgingly, registered their support of the resolution.

KwaZulu's Dennis Madide said everyone already knew the election would be held by April, so why the fuss about pinpointing it? Roelf Meyer then said that in his "very considered opinion" the council should recommend setting the date to the forum and that his earlier compromise proposal was made in order "to accommodate people like Dr Madide."

Not to be outdone, the PAC's Benny Alexander said he had no problem in setting the date "here and now," except that the words "for a constituent assembly" should be inserted after "election" and that in view of the weather, perhaps the end of March would make a better date.

KwaZulu's Chief Gumede was not amused.



NATIONAL PARTY

FM 11/6/93.

# Trailing into the sunset

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Faced with the prospect of a long and bitter election campaign and inevitable defeat at the polls next year, the National Party appears to be crumbling. As the FM went to press, Nat MPs were preparing for what was expected to be a crucial caucus meeting on Thursday, at which President F W de Klerk would have to convince many that they had a future in politics.

The mood in the caucus is depressed. Some MPs believe they are being left far behind the negotiating process. Last week's agreement on a provisional general election date came as a surprise to many of them. There is growing concern that NP negotiators are rushing into agreements before securing safeguards such as protection for minorities and the strong regional government that the party has repeatedly promised its supporters.

De Klerk was questioned on these issues at last week's caucus meeting and apparently reassured MPs that party principles were not being compromised at the multi-party talks. But only hours later the provisional election date was announced in Johannesburg by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, without agreement having been reached on other key issues.

There was an immediate increase in despondency — and strong speculation that as many as 15 white Nat MPs were on the verge of quitting. Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz, who left the NP to join the Inkatha Freedom Party this year, says he expects about 10 of his former colleagues to cross to the IFP. The crisis worsened with the weekend announcement that Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers was quitting his post and parliament.

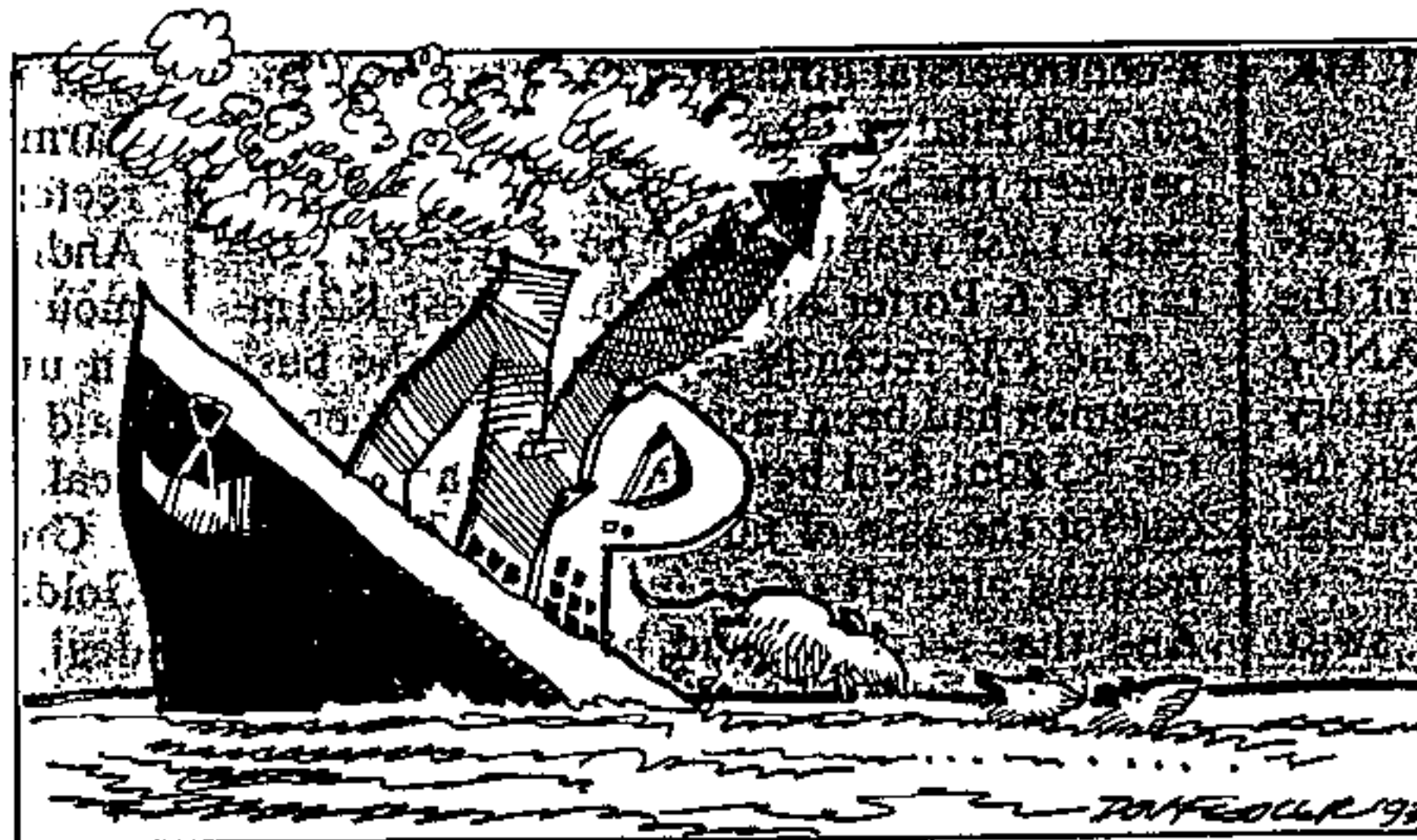
In addition there are frequent reports that the NP's much-vaunted election machine has become rusty. Last weekend the Afrikaans Sunday newspaper *Rapport* quoted an unnamed western Cape Nat MP as saying that more than 30% of the signed-up members of the NP in his constituency had resigned in the past six months.

Another MP said three branches in his area had ceased to function through lack of interest. The MP was quoted as saying that people had lost confidence in the party's management of issues such as violence, and that there is a perception that it continually buckles under pressure from blacks.

Scheepers, one of the most progressive thinkers in the NP, says he will not resign from the party. His decision to leave politics was not surprising. It has been well known for some time that he was not happy in

government. Earlier this year he was replaced as Deputy Minister of Law & Order after apparently trying to implement "user-friendly" policies that were regarded as too radical for the SA Police. He retained his Land Affairs portfolio but struggled to cope with stubborn bureaucrats on the one hand and demands for radical land-policy reform on the other.

The Cape Nat mouthpiece *Die Burger* commented that the resignation of someone as talented and promising as Scheepers should indicate to party leaders that "somewhere there is a big loose screw... Many voters and apparently some members of the (NP) caucus as well are deeply



concerned by what they regard as an absence of effective government." The newspaper said the party would have to embark on far-reaching remedial action to regain its stature.

Though the NP mounted a concerted crisis management effort to minimise the damage caused by the resignation, Scheepers' decision epitomises the dilemma facing well over half the Nat caucus. The party has 167 MPs of which 100 are white, 46 coloured and 21 Indian. At best the NP is likely to win about 100 seats in a 400-seat constituent assembly. A more realistic figure is about 80. This means that anyone beyond number 80 on the party's election list will feel uncertain about getting into the new parliament.

Even if only the current MPs are considered for the list, more than 80 will probably not be elected. But in reality the figure will be far higher. The NP hopes to win fairly substantial support among blacks, which means a number of black candidates will need to be high up on the list.

To draw sufficient support from coloureds and Indians, candidates from those communities will also need to be spread evenly among the higher places. This leaves relatively few safe slots for the 100 white MPs, let alone party officials and workers with

political aspirations.

This suggests that no more than 35 current white MPs can be placed above number 80 on the list if the party hopes to retain any semblance of nonracialism. The remaining 50 places would be split between coloured, Indian and black candidates possibly on the ratio 25:10:10.

Every member of the caucus is well aware of the arithmetic. Some, like Scheepers, Mentz and Jeppe MP Hennie Bekker, who also joined the IFP, have made their moves early. A considerable number of their former colleagues are now expected to follow.

Mentz and Bekker both hope to remain in politics and realised that it would be difficult to do so within the NP. While Mentz may have been one of the 35, Bekker would probably not have made the group. Both are almost assured of fairly secure places on the IFP list as part of the party's strategy to woo white voters.

It's quite feasible that 10 more Nats (as Mentz predicts) could be accommodated in the IFP in similar fashion, particularly if 50-70 seats is considered its likely haul in the election.

It seems unlikely that any Nat MPs will defect to either the Conservative Party or the Democratic Party. The gulf between the NP

and CP is extremely wide and, like the DP, it is not perceived as a party likely to win much support in the election.

The majority of Nat MPs who see no future for themselves in a new parliament will simply retire. Those who have served long enough to qualify for pensions (7½ years for half pension and 15 years for full benefits) will probably quit soon to avoid being dragged into the tough election campaign. Those MPs who need to bolster their pensionable service with a few months will probably stay on until the election.

At grassroots level the crumbling of the NP could benefit both the CP and DP in terms of support from white voters (and coloureds in the DP's case) looking for a new political home.

ANC/INKATHA

Making a date

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu has either played a diplomatic masterstroke or boomed in announcing that a Mandela/Buthlezi meeting is to take place within a fortnight.

Within hours of Sunday night's dramatic



ugby team, Mr De Klerk said. Montagu will only play his second match. Brian Strauss has recovered from

# FW meets his former boss 'without rancour'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said after a meeting yesterday with his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, that there was "no rancour or bitterness" between them.

However, he would not say if the man dubbed as the Groot Krokodil by Nationalists would support the NP in the coming elections.

The Tuynhuys meeting might reflect a further thaw in official relations between the ruling party and its former leader, who has often stayed at arms length from his erstwhile colleagues



NO RANCOUR ...  
FW De Klerk

after retiring under a cloud in 1989.

Questioned about the encounter at a press conference last night, Mr De Klerk said he had been



FORMER BOSS ...  
PW Botha

glad to receive his former boss and they had held a "relatively broad political discussion".

The talks, which took place "in a very good

spirit", had also dealt with "practical circumstances" surrounding Mr Botha's situation.

Asked whether, in the light of their talk, Mr Botha would be prepared to back the NP in the coming election, Mr De Klerk said: "I really don't want to speak on his behalf."

He added: "Our personal relationship is one of mutual acceptance of each other's integrity. It is an open relationship with no rancour or bitterness."

Mr De Klerk said he hoped to visit Mr Botha when he was in the George area again.

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# FW meets his former boss 'without rancour'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk said after a meeting yesterday with his predecessor, Mr P W Botha, that there was "no rancour or bitterness" between them.

However, he would not say if the man dubbed as the Groot Krokodil by Nationalists would support the NP in the coming elections.

The Tuynhuys meeting might reflect a further thaw in official relations between the ruling party and its former leader, who has often stayed at arms length from his erstwhile colleagues



NO RANCOUR ...

FW De Klerk

after retiring under a cloud in 1989.

Questioned about the encounter at a press conference last night, Mr De Klerk said he had been



FORMER BOSS

P W Botha

glad to receive his former boss and they had held a "relatively broad political discussion".

The talks, which took place "in a very good

spirit", had also dealt with "practical circumstances" surrounding Mr Botha's situation.

Asked whether, in the light of their talk, Mr Botha would be prepared to back the NP in the coming election, Mr De Klerk said: "I really don't want to speak on his behalf."

He added: "Our personal relationship is one of mutual acceptance of each other's integrity. It is an open relationship with no rancour or bitterness."

Mr De Klerk said he hoped to visit Mr Botha when he was in the George area again.



# Lion of North shows claws

**WHEREVER** the rightwing movement goes on the march to assert itself as a political force, young hardliners like Mr Schalk Pienaar are sure to be in the front ranks. He represents the new generation of rightwing politicians many of whom have emerged as a direct challenge to the militant young black radicals, who increasingly defy the discipline of their older leaders.

Some analysts have warned that a head-on collision between these two groupings could spark off a devastating racial conflict in South Africa.

The rightwingers, however, claim they have no aggressive intentions and are mobilising themselves for defence and security purposes only. So, too, black radicals claim they are not out to attack, but will strike back if attacked.

War-like noises have been heard from both sides. Who is going to be first to step over the line? Peacekeepers are hoping fervently that South Africa's rising tensions will be defused before such a flash-point is reached.

In the rightwing camp, Mr Pienaar, 39, Conservative Party MP for Potgietersrus, is a man to watch. He is on the side of the generals who have put a firm hand on the wilder elements of the rightwing movement. Like other CP and Afrikaner-Volk-sunie MPs, he is involved at a high level in the activities of the newly-launched Afrikaner-Volkfront (AVF).

The AVF is aiming not only to co-ordinate the many rightwing political forces, splinter groups and militant racist organisations, but also envisages for itself the role of a "liberation movement" for white Afrikaners and their allies.

There is even more to it than that. With its strong military element up to leadership level, defence and preparedness for physical combat becomes a new predominant feature of rightwing "liberation" politics. At the same time, the AVF is being moulded into a super-structure with the necessary components — like a shadow cabinet — to take over government if the need (or opportunity) should arise.

This is where Mr Pienaar — described by some as "the new Lion of the North" — was able to provide some insights during an interview in his office at parliament this week. He gave a clear indication of how the AVF was structured, what kind of support it was drawing and what role it envisaged for itself in a future South Africa.

■ What is the rumbling we hear from the rightwing movement as former generals take to political platforms? An inside glimpse of stirring forces is given by an up-coming rightwing politician.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent



**FRONT-RANKER:** Conservative Party MP Schalk Pienaar moving up in rightwing ranks.

Described also as "one of the most conservative Conservatives", Mr Pienaar has been highly critical not only of the De Klerk administration, but also of the P W Botha regime. In 1988, he accused the P W Botha government of taking the country "to the brink of revolution" by its "obsession for negotiating with radicals".

Mr Pienaar, like other Conservative Party MPs, serves on the *hoofraad* of the CP as well as on the 80-member top committee of the AVF, which is regarded in rightwing circles as a "parliament-in-the-making".

A lawyer and former civil servant, Mr Pienaar has been involved in what he and other rightwingers regard as the Afrikaaners' "third freedom struggle" ever since President F W de Klerk's watershed speech of February 2 1990, which heralded the beginning of the new era of reform and transition.

As a dedicated rightwinger, Mr Pienaar began supporting various resistance groups that emerged from the *Volksfront* of April 6 1990 and a subsequent meeting in Pretoria where strategies for the "third freedom struggle" were decided on. While these strategies would not necessarily be violent, they did not exclude violence, it was claimed.

Mr Pienaar also played a supporting role in the *Boere-Kristakste* (Boer Crisis Action) which organised a two-day occupation of Pretoria just before the opening of Parliament in 1991.

In May 1991, he was called on to deal with clashes between farmers and security forces at Goederovonden, outside Ventersdorp. He served as a member of the negotiating team acting for the farmers in talks with the then Minister of Law and Order. The farmers had objected to illegal squatting on state property close to privately-owned farms.

In his office at Parliament this week, Mr Pienaar told Weekend Argus that the CP was by far the largest role player in the new Afrikaner-Volkfront. The CP's success of establishing maximum unity (volksenhed) among rightwing Afrikaner groups and their allies.

In this process, the AVF had the role of an umbrella organisation. It also had a further role as the "head" of the mobilisation structures of the rightwing movement.

Mr Pienaar said people were being mobilised in every community of the country where the need arose. Structures were being formed and leaders were being chosen at local, regional and national level.

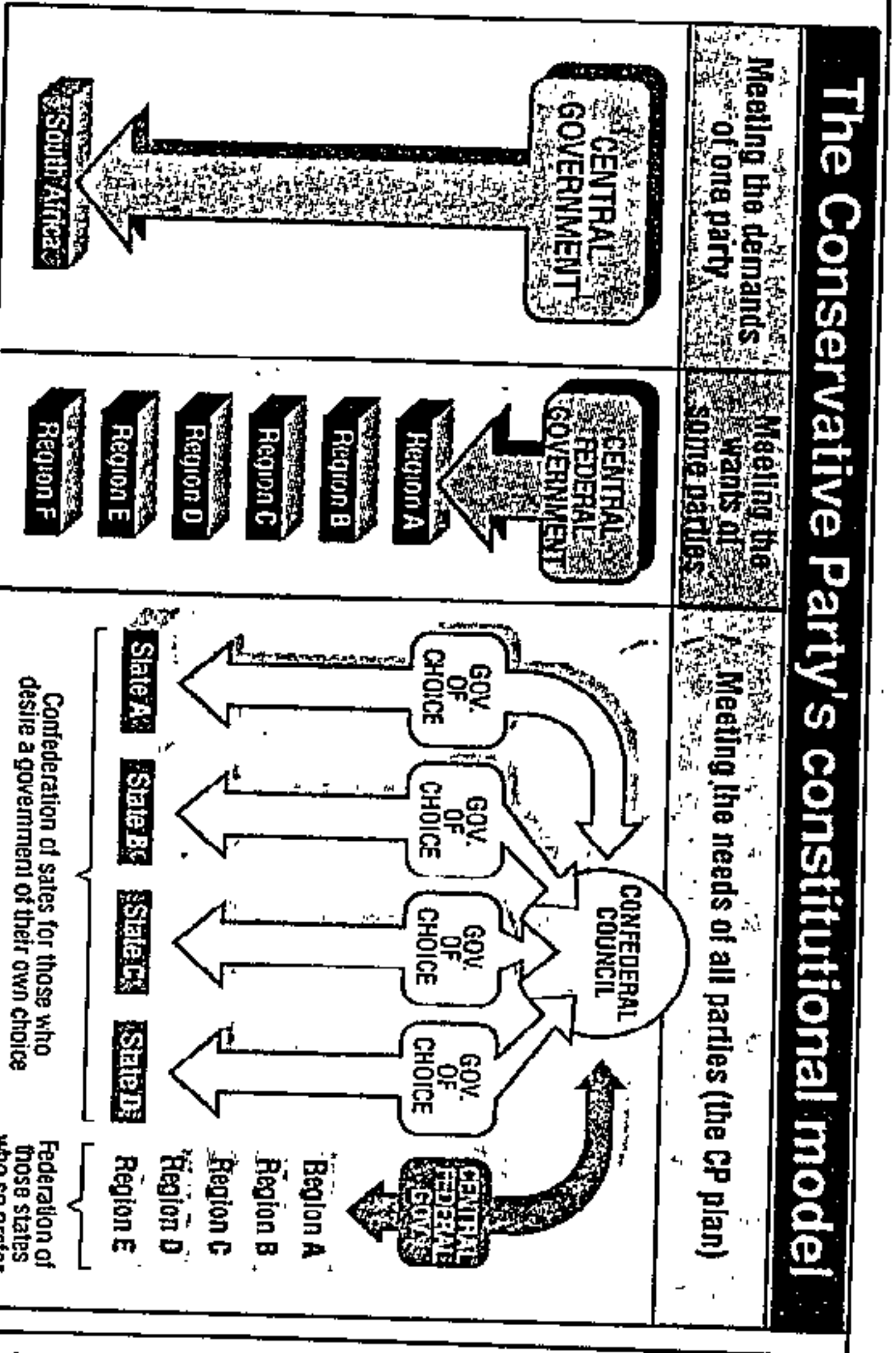
The leadership also included leaders of white trade unions, like those representing iron and steel workers and mine workers, the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions, and rightwing political groupings like the Afrikaner-Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) and the HNP.

The AVF council had a directorate which could be regarded as the "state security council" of the movement. The directorate included four generals already known to the public — General Constand Viljoen, General Koos Bisschoff, General Thienie Groenewald and former police General Kobus Visser.

The AVF structures included more generals and other former officers of the security forces whose identities had not been made known.

**The CP vision of an Afrikaner homeland is still little more than a pipedream, but the party's latest thinking is revealed in its constitutional proposals unveiled this week.**

□ **CP DREAM:** This is how the CP thinks about a confederal system of government embracing a series of undefined states and regions.



## CP's faceless vision of an Afrikaner homeland

FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

**ON** the delimitation of states, regions and provinces.

At a news conference at parliament this week, CP spokesmen declined to clarify the issues of boundaries and citizenship. On the issue of boundaries, the argument was that the party did not want to "prejudice" the proceedings and findings of the commission.

However, the CP's 37-page submission to the negotiating forum does show the party is still thinking of a form of partition as a solution to South Africa's problems.

It envisages the cutting up of the country into at least two states — possibly more.

If there are to be two states, they will be an Afrikaner one and "the New South Africa". In effect, this means the CP wants to reserve for the "Afrikaner" the right to opt out of a new South Africa.

The party defines "Afrikaner people" as "descendants of the Afrikanervolk and those partners of other language groups who share the destiny of the Afrikanervolk on the basis of a mutual acceptance of, and collective commitment to, the freedom ideal."

According to the CP's proposals, the number of states, their functions, powers, as well as their borders, should be negotiated by the interested parties and legislated by the existing South African parliament.

The party says it rejects "any dispensation which will force our people into a unitary state under a single central government".

The buzz word in the CP's whole plan and supporting argument is "self-determination". It warns that if the Afrikaner were to be left out of a negotiated settlement, "there will never be lasting peace in South Africa, because the negotiating process then will have created another 'Palestinian people', a people without a country."

Such a situation will sooner or later erupt into civil war, says the CP.

The party proposes that those qualifying for citizenship of an Afrikaner state will include:

- Afrikaners who, on the date of the inception of the Afrikaner state, live within the boundaries of the Afrikaner state or who, although they were born or lived outside that state, apply for citizenship; and
- Those who have reached the age of 18 years, provided they were born in the state and provided both their parents were citizens of the state.

Non-citizens will be treated "in accordance with accepted international standards".



# CROSSTALK

In the coming weeks Crosstalk will be debating what powers should be granted to regional government under a new constitution. This week, ANC officials kick off the debate:

## Regional govt yes, disintegration no

South 1216-1616193 (304A)

Regionally-based authorities are necessary to help democratic participation, but the post-apartheid reconstruction of South Africa will need to be co-ordinated by a strong government, argues ANC constitutional expert

**KADER ASMAL**

**W**HEN the Codesa 2 proceedings were aborted in May last year, one of the agreements which was ignored by the press was a consensus on regions.

Not only did the parties agree that government would be structured at national, regional and local levels as a principle of the new constitution, but there was also agreement that the powers of the regions should be "entrenched".

This was a far-reaching proposition. It meant that no future government would be able to abolish regions, as the apartheid regime so frivolously did in relation to the provincial councils in 1986.

The debate should then have moved on to a discussion about what powers the regions and the centre should have and what the purpose of devolution should be.

Instead, the language of debate degenerated, and coded words which obscured the real significance of the issues at stake began to be used. Lawyers and the newly-enraptured supporters of the most extreme forms of federalism became supporters of "local participation" and "local democracy".

But these buzz-words in the mouths of previous upholders of a highly centralised and bureaucratic state, whose concept of "self-determination" was the illicit homelands policy, left a bitter taste.

In a large country such as ours, there is a strong case for a multiplicity of authorities, exercising legislative and executive authority and ensuring that millions of people previously deprived of participation in government are able to participate in government at the level where they are affected most intimately.

But we must guard against proposals which will emasculate the centre of significant authority. This is not an abstract commitment to state power or worship of the centre.

The reality of South Africa is that the vast task of reconstruction and development will require national tasks to be carried out by a national parliament and a central executive.

The building of homes, schools, hospitals, the implementation of welfare policies, the reorganisation of the armed forces and the civil service and the implementation of positions and remedial policies in land redistribu-



**KADER ASMAL**

tion require that power and wealth are not locked into separate and discrete regions run by political warlords.

In South Africa, we need the principle of a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic governance to permeate all levels of our society.

There must therefore be equal provision of services and treatment of our citizens, regardless of whether they live in the impoverished regions of the Northern Cape, the Northern Transvaal or the Kei, or in the TBVC states.

Regionalism must not become an excuse for the maintenance of present structures bequeathed to us by apartheid.

The agreement by the multi-party negotiation process to set up a Council for Regions must therefore be seen in this context.

This Council will draw up the boundaries for the election to the Constituent Assembly and will also take evidence about the powers and functions of the regions.

If the Inkatha proposals are accepted, we shall have a confederation, a group of states where each "region" will effectively be independent.

The National Party has suddenly adopted the principle of "subsidiarity". They are very coy about what this means but they are clear that "each level of government shall have appropriate and adequate (sic) legislative executive and fiscal powers which should be entrenched in the constitution."

Their original proposals of August last

year would have denuded the centre of all power, leaving only defence, foreign affairs and constitutional affairs to the centre! Imagine having 10 regional police forces in South Africa.

The ANC's view is that the Constituent Assembly still remains the proper instrument for determining the ultimate form of government.

However, in order to ensure that progress takes place, it is necessary to discuss what kinds of powers regions should have.

This issue, ultimately, is not for experts to decide on but for all of us. Powers cannot be allocated in abstract, but must meet the needs of the society which has to live with a constitution.

There are many needs which can best be met locally; others require a national policy and a national implementation programme.

Many proposals on the table will create a paradise for lawyers who will have a field day deciding which organ of government should have jurisdiction. Battles of this kind will bring the constitution into disrepute.

The debate should therefore be about what powers should be allocated to the regions and what to the centre, and about the capacity of the centre to have ultimate authority in order to identify and implement national policies.

Kader Asmal is a member of the national executive committee of the African National Congress.

## SA needs to be unified — Van Eck

South 1216-1616193

**By Edwina Booysen**

MR JAN van Eck (right), ANC MP for Claremont, says the concepts of regionalism and federalism are being used by a South African minority to escape from "the reality of a future ANC government".



He says "reactionary forces" are trying to convince South Africans that a safe future lies in dividing the country and its people into powerful separate regions, federal or even confederal states.

At an ANC public meeting at Groot Brak River earlier this year, Van Eck said it should be clear to anybody that the country and its people need to be unified in order to overcome the deep divisions created by apartheid.

"Over all those years, our people were torn apart into white, coloured, African and Indian group areas while Xhosas, Zulus, Sothos, Vendas, Tswanas and others were dragged into separate ethnic homelands. All this was an attempt to divide those South Africans who were not white and so ensure a white minority rule."

Van Eck said those who agitate for dividing the country into strongly independent regions have nothing to do with a true belief in regionalism and federalism.

The enthusiasts include the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the Afrikaner-Volkunie (AVU) and "a legion of other conservative white and black political groupings".

Their enthusiasm is "a desperate attempt to ensure some kind of hold on power by the minority who have been in power for so long that they cannot accept that in the new South Africa they will be out of power."

"In view of our past experience, surely it should be clear by now that we cannot yet again adopt constitutional models that have nothing to do with the individual merits of these models, but are based on and motivated by nothing other than fear. Fear of the reality of South Africa."

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.

**SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.**



# 13 ministerial representatives get the chop

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night announced the scrapping of the 13 ministerial representatives, appointed seven new MECs and replaced a Solidarity MEC in Natal with a National Party MP.

He said another NP MP, Mr Aubrey Thompson of South Coast, would be retiring at the end of the present session of Parliament and

two other NP MPs were considering their positions.

Mr De Klerk said he was not aware of any other NP MPs considering retirement or joining other parties such as Inkatha.

However, the IFP yesterday said defections of NP MPs to Inkatha are on the cards.

Inkatha nominated MP Mr Fa-

rouk Cassim said not only NP members had expressed interest.

An Indian MP would announce his support for the IFP at a public meeting in the Durban City Hall on Monday evening and a House of

Representatives MP would join the IFP at a prestige dinner in Johannesburg on Tuesday night.

Mr De Klerk said two MPs, Mr Piet Coetzer of Springs and Mr Philip Saunders of Eastern Free State, who is also chairman of the House of Representatives, had been appointed MECs.

The other new MECs are Sowe-ton, businessman Mr David Chuenyane and the Transvaal's NP secretary Dr Lucas Nel, former

Grahamstown mayor Mrs Martha Olickers; a former NP candidate in elections in Natal, Mr Rudi Redinger, and the first black to join the NP, Mr Daniel Makhanya, also in Natal.

He added that Mr Sattie Naidoo, NP MP for Durban Bay, would replace Dr D Raja (Solidarity) as an MEC in Natal. — Political Staff



## FW and 'Groot Krokodil' meet

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ACCORDING to President De Klerk, no "rancour or bitterness" exists between himself and former president Mr P W Botha. ARG 12/6/93

Mr De Klerk was talking after meeting the "Groot Krokodil" in Cape Town yesterday.

He said the meeting took place at Mr Botha's request and that the two men had held a "general discussion" which touched on "practical aspects regarding his position".

The two "also used the opportunity to have a relatively broad political discussion" and the meeting went off in a "good spirit". (Boffa)

**CHRIS WHITFIELD**

(304A)

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12/6/93  
y, rocked by specula-

They are understood to be Langlaagte MP Dr Johan Vilonel and Durban Point's Mr Cliff Matthee.

with their provincial leaders. He said those planning to leave were not motivated by problems with the National Party and added: "Things are going well in the caucus."

Mr De Klerk also rewarded some of the first black South Africans to join the party with promotions to senior political offices.

They include David Chuenyane, a Soweto businessman, and Natal's Daniel Makhanya, a South Coast businessman, who both become members of their provincial executive committees.

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# Transitional body 'within 3 weeks'

CT 12/6/93

304A

## Political Staff

MOST of the decisions necessary to finalise the transition could be taken by the end of the month and lay the foundation for a new South Africa, the Cape leader of the National Party, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said last night.

This follows hard on the heels of a statement by Mr Roelf Meyer on Thursday night that a Transitional Executive Council could be installed by June 25.

If Dr De Villiers, a negotiator in the Negotiating Council, is correct in his assessment, South Africa could have the transitional executive council in place within three weeks — significantly before President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela travel to the US to receive the Philadelphia Freedom Bell Award.

Mr De Klerk said last night he would push for the lifting of the Gramm amendment during his visit so that South Africa could obtain IMF and

World Bank loans as soon as possible.

Agreement at the World Trade Centre talks in Johannesburg on transitional arrangements before his visit would be a major boost for his case.

Dr De Villiers said last night the negotiation process had dealt with fundamental differences between the parties, such as whether an election should be held before or after a constitution had been negotiated.

The business community had recognised overwhelmingly its conviction that there could not be any talk of economic recovery before a settlement had been reached at the negotiation tables.

"And they are right."

Dr De Villiers also said it was not possible that the high levels of violence would be reduced overnight by political action.

The police estimated that only 12% to 13% of the violence had political motives.

# Slabbert issues poll warning

MAGGIE ROWLEY

URGENT attention has to be given to curbing the political violence in South Africa if an election is to be held next year, SABC chairman Dr Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday. *BoHA*

He told the annual convention of the South African Property Owners' Association, whose members control more than R60 billion of property, that unless some kind of stability was attained and violence marginalised "I don't know how we can entertain an election". *CT 12/6/83*

But Dr Slabbert said great progress had been made in the negotiating process and that moderate forces in the country were stronger than militant forces.



# Govt to aid AVF in talks

CT 12/6/93 By ANTHONY JOHNSON (304A)  
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday agreed to help the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) in getting a proper hearing at the multi-party negotiations.

The two met in Pretoria yesterday in the wake of earlier AVF threats to launch a programme of mass action and strikes later this month.

But CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the AVF was not satisfied with the government's response to its request that the announcement of an election date for next year be withdrawn.

He said an election would lead to a unitary state, depriving Afrikaners of the right to self-determination.

Dr Hartzenberg said the AVF would formally react to the government's stance at a further meeting between the two planned for Wednesday.

A statement issued by the government said yesterday's meeting had primarily discussed the AVF's request that additional time in the negotiating process be allowed for it to prepare proposals.

The government said it would willingly assist the AVF in submitting these to the multi-party talks.

## NP 'has rich man's image'

Political Staff

A SECRET NP document detailing plans for the election campaign, states the NP has an image of a rich man's party and there are "problems" with corruption and keeping referendum promises. (304A)

The document, leaked to the press yesterday, states under the heading Repetition: "It is important to repeat your theme. Even if you repeat a lie enough, it will be accepted as the truth." CT 12/6/93

The document also lists "aids" to be used in an election campaign, including witchdoctors, traditional healers and magicians, as well as the conventional T-shirts, balloons, flags, pamphlets and placards.



# Van Eck quits ANC executive

South 1216-166193

By Quentin Wilson

MR JAN van Eck, MP for Claremont, has resigned from the ANC's regional executive committee for health reasons.

In a letter to ANC Western Cape chairperson Dr Allan Boesak, Van Eck said he was resigning after being warned by his doctor of an "extraordinarily high stress level".

Van Eck explained: "When I was elected onto the ANC's regional executive council (REC) last year, I was hit by an avalanche of work.

"I was already involved in countless other spheres of work which I could not walk away from.

"I have tried to cope with the extra workload, but there was just no way I could. The only thing for me to do was to leave the REC — my most stressful area of work."

Van Eck spent a week in hospital last month because of "burn-out".

He stressed his resignation from the REC was in no way connected to tensions or divisions on the REC and says his commitment to the ANC "remains unchanged".

"I have been active in politics for 22 years," said Van Eck. "In any political party or organisation there will always be tensions and divisions.

"Everyone knows that I have survived political in-fighting for years."

Van Eck said he would continue his parliamentary work until he "felt restored".

ANC spokesperson Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the organisation "was very sad that Van Eck had resigned".

The REC has yet to decide how to replace him.

# 14 Voter education

**G**UIDELINES for election monitors by the National Election Monitoring Unit (Nemu) in Kenya for their elections can be useful in South Africa.

Nemu established a network to observe and monitor the electoral process.

Nemu is an umbrella body comprising the National Ecumenical Civic Education Programme (Necep), the Joint Election Monitoring Unit of the International Federation of Women Lawyers, Kenya Chapter, the International Commission of Jurists Kenya Section (FIDA/ICJ), and the Professional Committee for Democratic Change (PCDC).

In the past there had been numerous electoral malpractices in Kenya which culminated in a massive rigging of the poll in 1988.

Last year was the first time independent local and international groups monitored an election in Kenya.

Nemu drafted a manual as a tool to train monitors for elections in Kenya and abroad. Some of the guidelines are:

- Upholding the principles of a democratic election, namely that any person meeting the minimum requirements (age or citizenship) must be allowed to run for office; any person meeting the minimum requirement of age, citizenship, and residence must be allowed to register and vote; votes must be accurately and fairly counted, and results announced promptly.

- On election day monitors should pay particular attention to the times for the opening and closing of polling stations as laid down by the Electoral Commission when announcing the date of the elections.

It is important for election monitors to establish whether polling stations are opened and closed at the specified times, not earlier and not later.

However, it should be noted that a presiding officer is authorised under law to postpone or adjourn



**FREE TO VOTE:** Monitors have to check that voters are not intimidated

## Kenya's useful guide for monitors

*Soutis 12/6 - 16/6/93*

*304A*

the proceedings at his polling station when they are interrupted by a riot, open violence, flood or other natural catastrophe or other cause.

In this event, the presiding officer is expected to re-start the proceedings at the earliest practical time.

In postponing or adjourning the proceedings under these circumstances, the presiding officer is empowered to transfer the proceedings to another polling station in the same constituency. If he does, he is expected to convey the change of venue to voters in that area by all available means.

- After the formalities of admission to the polling station, pollwatchers should pay attention to the atmo-

sphere outside the polling station. Are there signs of intimidation and inducement? Incidents of violence? Is campaigning going on? Are candidates' symbols and campaign materials within the precincts of the polling station? Are all supplies and equipment ready at the station — ballot papers, wax, ballot paper markers, ballot boxes and padlocks, lamps with fuel? Are the polling booths private?

- The presiding officer is authorised by law to regulate the number of registered voters admitted to the polling station at the same time and shall exclude all others except the candidates and their agents, election officers on duty, police officers on

duty, persons necessarily assisting blind or incapacitated voters and observers approved or accredited by the Electoral Commission.

The presiding officer shall admit to the polling station not more than two agents for each candidate but may refuse admission to a person claiming to be an agent for a candidate if that person does not produce a letter of appointment as an agent signed by that candidate.

- Every election will be by secret ballot.
- No person shall vote in a constituency other than where he/she is registered as a voter.
- No person shall cast more than one vote at any particular election.



# The battle for the Western Cape

South 1216 - 16/6/93

**P**OLITICAL parties and organisations all agree that the Western Cape will be among the most hotly contested regions in next year's elections. Three parties are already predicting they will win easily.

Polls show that more than 30 per cent of people in the Western Cape are still undecided about political affiliation, or completely apolitical. Several parties have set out to win them over.

"The Western Cape will be the toughest election in the country, because it is the only place the National Party (NP) has a realistic chance of winning," says Mr Willie Hofmeyr, assistant secretary of the ANC Western Cape region.

The NP is making no bones about its plans to capture the coloured vote, estimated at just over half of all voters in the region.

But indications are that the NP's growth, mostly based on FW de Klerk's popularity, is dwindling.

The Democratic Party (DP), which has made inroads in black areas, has become confident that it too can win the majority of Western Cape votes. "We are going for majority control," says Mr Robin Carlisle, DP MP for Wynberg.

Yet, recent unpublished surveys suggest the ANC has won significant support in the coloured community in the past three months.

"The ANC could win, because it has the largest organised membership amongst coloured people as a result of previous activist infrastructures," says Hofmeyr.

"Because we draw bigger support at our public meetings than other parties, we are also sure we can reach people."

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) feels that it too is making advances, especially in African areas. "A lot of water will pass under the bridge before the election and we are confident of a growing support base," says Ms Patricia de Lille of the Western Cape PAC.

The Labour Party (LP) is waiting to see if an election alliance with the ANC will be realised before embarking on a election drive.

## • Election issues

Most parties agree that the election issues here will differ from the rest of the country.

Many parties believe that the NP will push De Klerk as its major election strength in the area, and that they will to a large extent be campaigning against the man rather

than against the party. The NP itself seems set on making the issue of violence its main theme. "We are one of the parties which, if elected, could help to limit violence," says Olaus van Zyl, of the NP federal council.

On a national level the ANC will focus on liberation from apartheid, but in the Western Cape it will concentrate on local issues such as housing, education and unemployment.

The DP echoes this, while the PAC also talks of "local socio-economic issues".

National matters that will impact on Western Cape party prospects include identity documents, voter education, money and media.



Patricia de Lille

Dene Smuts



Willie Hofmeyr

Olaus van Zyl

## • Voter ID

The ANC is extremely concerned about the issuing of identity documents and especially the lack of co-operation from the independent homelands where at least two million people are still without IDs.

"We are eager for the independent elections commission to be established so it can take control," says Mr Khetso Gordan, national secretary of the ANC's election commission. "We will also be asking for voter cards to be accepted instead of proper IDs."

## • Voter education

The NP seems to be the most concerned about voter education. "We don't believe that all the voter edu-

cation going on is neutral," says Van Zyl. "The independent election commission would be asked to put up a neutral body managing voter education, ensuring that it is non-partisan."

The PAC supports this view, adding that voter education should be funded by the state as well as foreign countries.

The ANC and DP, on the other hand, believe it will inevitably be every party's own responsibility to conduct voter education and are concerned about the time constraints in which to do this.

## • Money

The ANC is set to have the biggest budget, anticipating that it will need up to R200 million. De Lille says the PAC needs at least R30 million.

Both parties feel that they are at a disadvantage as they do not have either the political or the election infrastructure of the NP and DP.

The DP contests this, saying its political infrastructure is limited in comparison to the NP's, while the ANC can secure major foreign and even local corporate funding.

"We are worried about the effect of buying votes which could impact on the process of pluralism and proportional representation," says Ms Dene Smuts, DP MP for Groote Schuur. "We would argue for direct public funding which occurs in many other countries."

The NP believes it will spend more than ever on this election as it is different from previous polls.

"Previously we campaigned through newspapers, TV, pamphlets and brochures," says Van Zyl. "Now we are dealing with a large number of illiterate people. Many are without access to television."

## • Media

All parties believe equal air-time on radio, as well as bought time, will be the major means of carrying over their message. In addition, most are planning extensive door-to-door campaigning and mass rallies.

In order to effect this, all of them are holding election management workshops, setting up new branches, discussing strategy and deploying as many fieldworkers as possible, both paid and voluntary.

Another concern voiced by all parties is that of intimidation and free access to voters. The NP and DP are worried about limits on their access in the townships, while the liberation movements are most concerned about their inability to get access to farmworkers.

## Counting down to April 27

D-DAY for the confirmation of the provisional election date is next Tuesday, when the Negotiating Council meets to ratify it.

The only real obstacle is the conservative Concerned South African Group (Cosag) parties including Inkatha, who are unhappy at the "haste" with which April 27 was set as a provisional election date. The Negotiating Forum will meet on June 25 to finally approve the date. The forum will also decide on the principles to be incorporated in the transitional constitution.

This constitution will lay down the rules for power-sharing in a government of national unity for five years after the election.

The next step will be to set up the transitional executive council (TEC) and the sub-councils which will attend to issues like the integration of the armed forces during the pre-election period.

The TEC's main function is to ensure the "levelling of the playing fields" for free and fair elections.

The most urgent task will be the setting up of an independent electoral commission before the end of July, to give the parties nine months to prepare for the elections.

The commission's main function will be to supervise all aspects of the election, including the issuing of identity documents to all South Africans.

Other outstanding issues include the report of the commission on regionalism's on how the country and the independent homelands should be divided for the purposes of federalism and regionalism. This report is due in July.

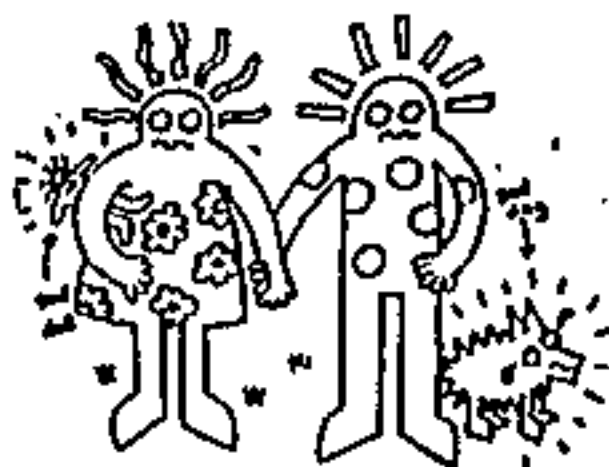
The possible non-co-operation of the four 'independent' bantustans is seen as a major stumbling block, along with the perception that violence can disrupt the process.

With these obstacles out of the way, parties will be able to start campaigning in full force.

They will probably produce their national and regional lists for proportional representation in parliament about two months before the election date.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE

## CHILDREN!

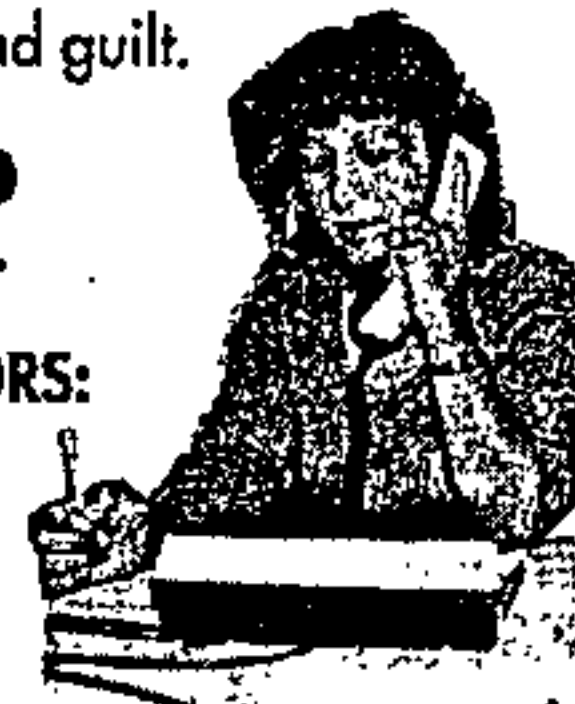
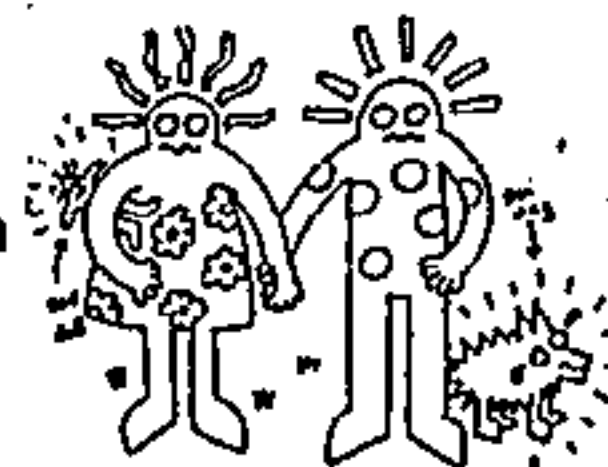


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# Radical who puts his trust in the generals

**S**CHALK Pienaar, 39, represents the new generation of right-wing politicians, many of whom have emerged as a direct challenge to the militant young black radicals who increasingly defy the discipline of their older leaders.

Some analysts have warned that a head-on collision between those two groupings could spark off a devastating racial conflict in South Africa.

In the right-wing camp Pienaar (39), Conservative Party MP for Potgietersrus, is a man to watch. He is on the side of the generals who have put a firm hand on the wilder elements of the right-wing movement. Like other CP and Afrikaner Volksunie MPs, he is involved at a high level in the activities of the newly launched Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

## FRANS ESTERHUYSE

The AVF is not only aiming to co-ordinate the many right-wing political forces, splinter groups and militant racist organisations, but also envisages for itself the role of a "liberation movement" for white Afrikaners and their allies.

Described as "one of the most conservative Conservatives", Pienaar

has been highly critical not only of the De Klerk administration but also of the P W Botha regime. In 1988 he accused the Botha government of taking the country "to the brink of revolution" by its "obsession with negotiating with radicals".

Pienaar, like other Conservative Party MPs, serves on the hoofraad of the CP as well as on the 80-member top council of the AVF.

A lawyer and former civil servant, he has been involved in what he and other rightwingers regard as the Afrikaners' "third freedom struggle" ever since President de Klerk's watershed speech of February 2 1990, which heralded the beginning of the new era of reform and transition.

Pienaar began supporting various resistance groups that emerged from the Volksberaad of April 6 1990 and a subsequent meeting in Pretoria where strategies of the "third freedom struggle" were decided on.

While these strategies would not necessarily be violent, they did not exclude violence, it was claimed.

In his office at Parliament this week, Pienaar said the CP was by far the largest role-player in the AVF. The CP was, in fact, acting as the broker in a process of establishing maximum unity among right-wing Afrikaner groups and their allies.

In this process the AVF had the role of an umbrella organisation. It also had a further role as the "head" of the mobilisation structures of the right-wing movement.

**H**E SAID people were being mobilised in every community of the country where the need arose. Structures were being formed and leaders were being chosen at local, regional and national level.



**SCHALK PIENAAR:** Represents the new generation of right-wing politicians.

The leadership also included leaders of white trade unions in steel, mining and agriculture as well as political groupings such as the AWB and HNP.

The AVF structures included more generals and other former officers of the security forces whose identities had not been made known.

The headquarters of the AVF are in Pretoria, but other offices are to be opened in other centres as the need arises, according to Pienaar, who once served as branch chairman of the NP's divisional council for Johannesburg West. When the CP was formed in 1982 he joined immediately.



FW silent

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk refused to disclose any details about the government's secret funds yesterday.

Mr Willem Botha (CP, Uitenhage) asked him to furnish information on secret funds spent since 1982/3. (2047)

Mr De Klerk said by virtue of the Secret Services Act of 1978 this information could not be made public. (219)



**FEDERALISM:** Recent events in former Yugoslavia demonstrate that such systems in deeply divided multi-ethnic societies are doomed

Ster 12/6/93

3044

# Take lesson from Bosnia

**T**HOSE charged with creating a new constitution for South Africa should take a long, hard look at the former Yugoslavia — not just glance at the few disjointed images flashed across television screens — and then put as much distance as possible between us and a federal constitution.

Close scrutiny of the tragedy in what was Yugoslavia discloses the strongest possible case against an ethnic federation, and could spare our children the awful consequences of such folly.

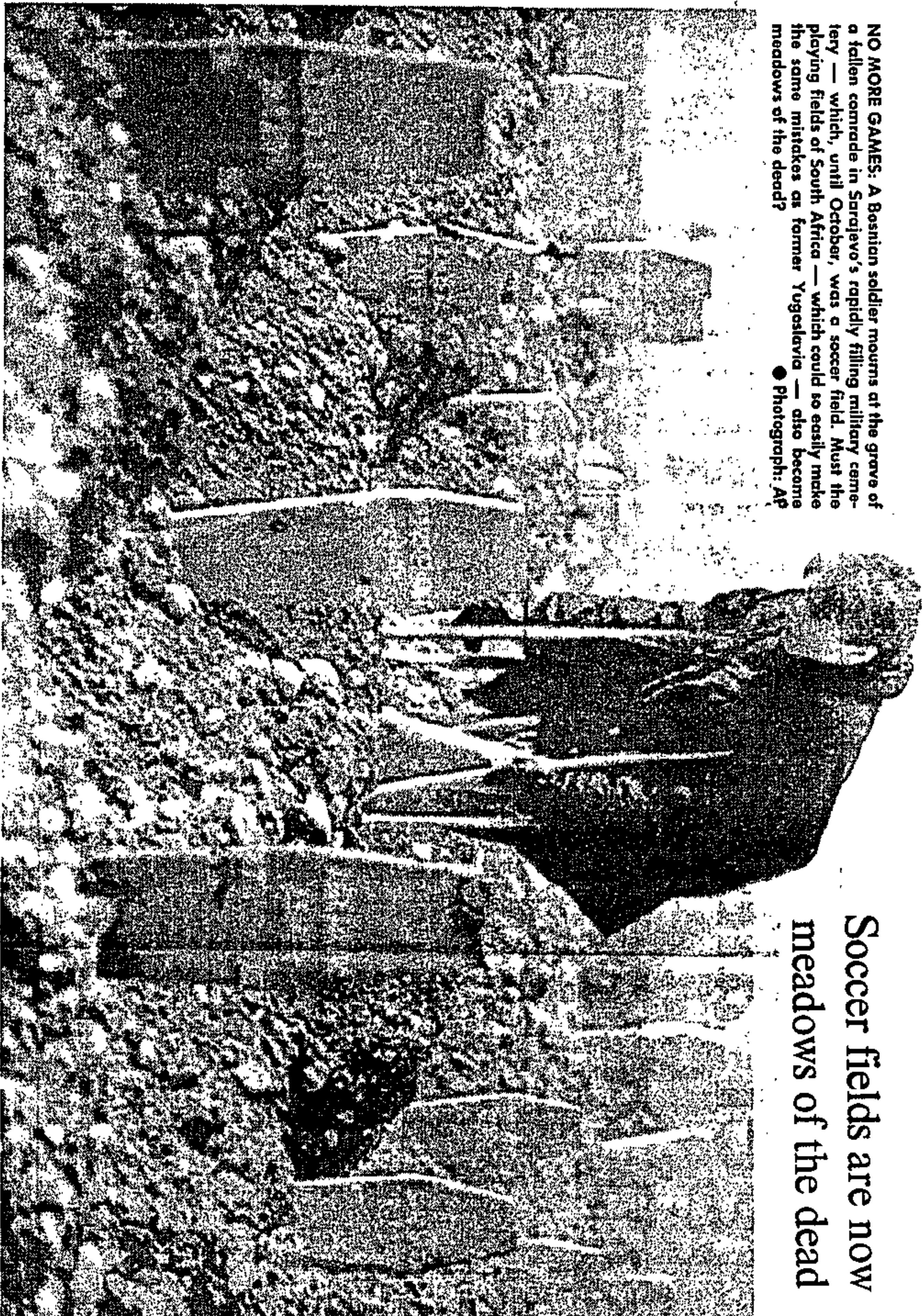
Despite the howls of protest from South African proponents of federalism, who say a federation would not be ethnic but geographical or historical, the blunt fact is that most of the designs on offer would create (by intention or accident) just such an ethnic federation. Recent events in former Yugoslavia demonstrate beyond doubt that federal systems in multi-ethnic societies with deep cleavages are doomed. The problems are compounded when the federation's economic power is regionally concentrated, as it is in South Africa, because class and ethnic affiliations tend to coincide.

Federations come about as a consequence of two forms of dynamic — evolution and creation. The United States, Australia and Switzerland, to mention a few of the more popular examples of federations, evolved over a number of years. Smaller state units agreed to give up sovereignty and political and other powers to a larger central unit which represented the interests of all with greater effectiveness and economy than the small units could manage alone. These federations tended to succeed because they rested on the collective will of the population.

Since, by definition, evolution cannot go backwards and since our 20th century planet has run out of uncharted land, the only evolutionary federation still possible is at the nation-state level, where governments and citizens agree to surrender part of their sovereignty and political and other powers to supra-

**NO MORE GAMES:** A Bosnian soldier mourns at the grave of a fallen comrade in Sarajevo's rapidly filling military cemetery — which, until October, was a soccer field. Must the playing fields of South Africa — which could so easily make the same mistakes as former Yugoslavia — also become meadows of the dead?

● Photograph: AP



Soccer fields are now meadows of the dead

**FAULT-LINES** identical to those which split the east European federation exist in South Africa. However, those who compare our instability are naive: we are still able to count our dead. That is no longer possible in Bosnia, writes GARY VAN STADEN.

Bosnia, writes GARY VAN STADEN.

of a disintegrating government resorting to ethnic nationalism to rebuild a political power base ... they are the same fault-lines as Yugoslavia's, and we ignore them at the peril of our children and grandchildren.

The overwhelming motivation of those pushing so hard for a federal system is short-term self-preservation. Lucas Mangope knows he does not have a hope in hell of winning a

**Self-preservation is the motivation**



The United States, Austria and Switzerland, to mention a few of the more popular examples of federations, evolved over a number of years. Smaller state units agreed to give up sovereignty and political and other powers to a larger central unit which represented the interests of all with greater effectiveness and economy than the small units could manage alone. These federations tended to succeed because they rested on the collective will of the population.

Since, by definition, evolution cannot go backwards and since our 20th century planet has run out of uncharted land, the only evolutionary federalism still possible is at nation-state level, where governments and citizens agree to surrender part of their sovereignty and political and other powers to supra-national organisations such as the European Community, and not within nation-states.

**S**OUTH Africa could have evolved into a federal state 300 years ago, but colonialism and imperialism prevented this.

If a federal state is to emerge here it will have to be created, and here history turns against the federalists. Consider the list of created federations: the Soviet Union, Lebanon, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Nigeria are a few examples seldom mentioned by the proponents of federalism.

Conditions in these failed federations have much in common with South Africa. All were multi-ethnic societies with deep historical cleavages (the only exception being Czechoslovakia, where it was no coincidence that the break-up of this federation was relatively peaceful) and all showed uneven economic development.

A closer examination of the disintegration of the old Yugoslavia discloses frightening parallels with South Africa. These become even more alarming if a federal constitution is added to the equation.

Central or federal institutions in Yugoslavia were always weak. In 1974 the unveiling of a new federal constitution providing unit republics with greater powers all but destroyed the central institutions. The one exception was the federal army, which fell increasingly under the control of one of the federal units — Serbia.

As the federal state weakened, the regional republics concentrated their power, and as the federal units tended (with the exception of

Bosnia-Herzegovina) to be ethnically based, the competition between them for collective resources took on an ethnic dimension.

This weak federal state with a concentration of political power in the regions is precisely what the federalists propose to impose on South Africa, where competition for resources will assume exactly the same ethnic dimensions, with the same consequences in the long run. About 340 years of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid have perpetuated the dangerous myths of ethnic nationalism and deepened ethnic cleavages in South Africa. As a consequence the competition for resources (including political power) is doomed to an ethnic dimension. Now the federalists want to exacerbate the problem by concentrating political power along ethnic lines.

If the federalists get their way South Africa will be stuck with central government structures and powers too weak to prevent the stronger units of the federation casting greedy eyes on weaker units, particularly those which are multi-ethnic, where minority populations provide ready launching pads for ethnic expansionism. Then we can enjoy our very own Bosnia.

South Africa is characterised by extreme, brutal political violence. However, those who insist on comparing our instability to that of the former Yugoslavia are misguided and naive: we are still able to count our dead. That is no longer possible in Bosnia. We have yet to see a squatter camp under artillery fire or a hostel sliced open by cannon fire from jet aircraft.

**Y**UGOSLAVIA disintegrated on a number of clear fault-lines. The most important, after ethnic factors, was economic concentration. "Rich" federal units began to resent subsidising the "poor" while the "poor" felt short-changed.

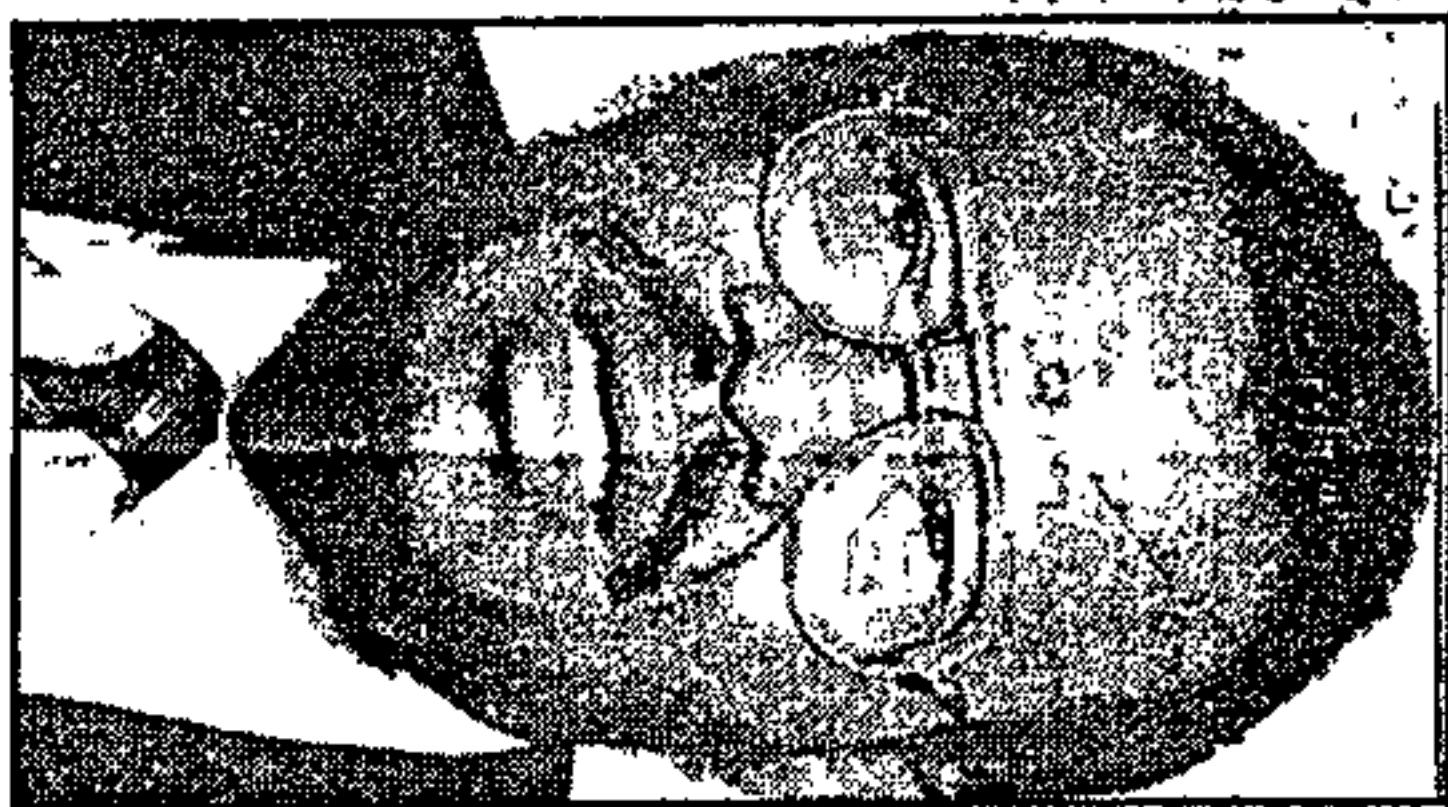
The next fault-line was a federal government ideology (communism) often at odds with those of the ruling elites in unit republics. Because the federal components tended to be largely uni-ethnic, opposi-

**FAULT-LINES identical to those which split the east European federation exist in South Africa. However, those who compare our instability are naive: we are still able to count our dead. That is no longer possible in Bosnia, writes GARY VAN STADEN.**



## Self-preservation is the motivation

LUCAS Mangope (left) knows he does not have a hope in hell of winning a free and fair election in Bophuthatswana, so he is looking for a deal that leaves him and his friends with something. KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi (right) knows Inkatha will get a drubbing at national level but thinks he could win in Natal — and that is his primary motivation for wanting Natal/KwaZulu an "independent" federal unit.



tion to the central ideology was mobilised on nationalistic lines.

Finally, in the wake of the collapse of this central ideology, displaced officials, political leaders and bureaucrats retreated to the only readily available power base to rebuild their political ambitions — ethnicity. Ethnicity replaced ideology as the dividing line in the competition for power.

The same fault-lines exist in South Africa. Economic power is concentrated in only one or two regions. The PWV, for example, provides most of South Africa's tax base and its wealth. The self-governing states have no economic base. Even Bophuthatswana, the "success" story of the "independent" bantustans, requires a direct capital transfer of R1.1 billion — almost 20 percent of its budget — every year from the central coffers to survive. This figure does not include the huge subsidy it receives from its membership of the Southern African Customs Union and

other hidden transfers. The other "independent" bantustans are the stuff of economic nightmares.

On top of this huge economic disparity the federalists intend to impose their ill-conceived system. The "rich" units will subsidise the "poor" and resentment will grow on both sides, mobilised in ethnic terms.

**I**T IS not beyond the bounds of possibility that the few well-off federal units will reintroduce some form of influx control even if this contravenes a federal Bill of Rights (which the central authority is too weak to enforce) to protect the scarce jobs their voters demand. This would be the first, almost subliminal step, on the road to "ethnic cleansing".

It is quite clear from federalists' behaviour that they accept that any federal state will eventually be

controlled by the ANC, hence the desire to weaken it. It is inevitable that opposition to an ANC-alliance central government will find expression in ethnic terms, particularly if those most opposed to the ANC also happen to be concentrated in a "poor" region, largely uni-ethnic and dependent on central authority handouts to survive.

The concerns of those charged with drafting a new constitution for South Africa need to consider the consequences of today's decisions 20 or 30 years down the road. By then a disintegrating ANC-type government might have fractured and retreated into the only viable base for rebuilding political power: strong ethnic-based regional or federal units. Of course, it is equally possible that none of this will happen, but it is not the role of constitutional architects to play Russian roulette with the country's future.

Economic disparity, ethnic mobilisation of opposition to central government policies, the possibility

of a disintegrating government resorting to ethnic nationalism to rebuild a political power base ... they are the same fault-lines as Yugoslavia's, and we ignore them at the peril of our children and grandchildren.

The overwhelming motivation of those pushing so hard for a federal system is short-term self-preservation. Lucas Mangope knows he does not have a hope in hell of winning a free and fair election in Bophuthatswana, so he is looking for a deal that leaves him and his friends with something. KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi knows Inkatha is on a hiding to nothing at national level but thinks he could win in Natal — and that is his primary motivation for wanting Natal/KwaZulu an "independent" federal unit.

There is little doubt that South Africa requires a regional dispensation as it is simply too big to be governed from one place. But any regional dispensation must break down the ethnic concentrations created by colonialism and apartheid, not entrench them further. It must grant autonomy to regions to take their own decisions as far as possible without weakening central government. This will be difficult to achieve but our constitution-makers must be up to the task.

**A**BOYE all it is not the task of constitution-makers to protect vested interests. They must take their chances with the electorate like anyone else in a democracy. Of course, not every federalist has a hidden agenda, but even the few well-intentioned are flying in the face of history. If we allow the federalists — whatever their agenda — to succeed, the horrific scenes reminiscent of a new Bosnia which flash across our TV screens in the future will not be shot in some far-off country but in our own.

The author is Kaplan & Stewart Inc Stockbrokers' political analyst. He is a PhD candidate in political studies at the University of Leicester in England.



# Who's in and Star 12/6/93 who's out, Nat MPs asked

**CHRIS WHITFIELD**  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The National Party, faced with widespread speculation about imminent defections, a week summoned its MPs to ask "Who's in and who's out?"

One Natal South Coast MP, A. Thompson, gave notice of his intention to retire after 10 years in politics, while two others — understood to be Langlaagte MP Dr Johan Vilonel and Durban Point's Cliff Matthee — signalled they were considering their options.

(304A)  
President de Klerk last night told a press conference he had asked the MPs who had personal reasons for wanting to retire before an election to discuss them with their provincial leaders.

He stressed that those who were leaving were not doing so because of any problem with the NP and said "things are going well in the caucus".

The developments follow the shock resignation of Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers, but De Klerk said his request had gone out before Scheepers's decision had been made public. Asked about Inkatha claims that Nat MPs could be poised to join the IFP, he said there was "no imminent problem" in the NP caucus.

But he thought there were elements within the IFP who "try their level best to wean away support from other parties". De Klerk also rewarded some of the first black South Africans to join the party with promotions to senior political positions.

## Increasing work load

They include Soweto businessman David Chuenyane and Natal's Daniel Makhanya, who both become members of their provincial executive committees. A further appointment of a Transvaal MEC "from the ranks of the black community" will be announced at an NP rally in Pietersburg on June 19.

The first House of Delegates MP to join the NP, Sathie Naidoo of Durban Bay, will also become an MEC in Natal, replacing Dr D S Rajah, who has opted to remain a member of Solidarity. New Transvaal MECs who will take up their posts on June 21 also include Springs MP and NP federal information officer Piet Coetzer, and NP Transvaal chief secretary Dr Lucas Nel.

Other new MECs are Rudi Redinger (from Natal), M Olckers (Cape) and House of Representatives MP for Eastern Free State Philip Sanders. De Klerk said the appointments were being made in the light of the increasing work load of the provincial councils.





ROELF MEYER: Remarks cause confusion.

# Meyer's remarks on TEC rattle politicos

CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and ESTHER WAUGH

THE ANC has welcomed Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's announcement that a multiparty Transitional Executive Council could be installed without legislation.

However, his comments in Parliament earlier this week have given rise to confusion and criticism.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew argued yesterday that the council "will have to be empowered by legislation if it is to function effectively. If Meyer is suggesting that the council

● See Editorial  
— Page 10

could function indefinitely without legislation, he is undermining the authority that the council will need and flying in the face of the letter and spirit of previous agreements." If the council was not established by statute, it can hardly be considered to be the first phase of interim government — something which is essential for the lifting of sanctions.

ANC legal adviser Matthew Goniwe said Parliament's sanction was unnecessary.

"Our position is that once there is agreement between parties (in the TEC and its sub-coun-

● TO PAGE 2.



m's arrival at Jan Smuts  
aph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

Saturday Star June 12 1993

## Star 12/6/93 Meyer

● FROM PAGE 1.

cils) there is no reason as to why this should not be implemented immediately," he said. Waiting for another session of Parliament to give effect to these agreements would be futile.

In Government ranks there was confusion on the issue.

Some sources believed Meyer meant that the council could function until its demise — at the time of an election — without empowering legislation being passed in Parliament. However, others said the Government believed that the council should function initially without the necessary legislation but that it would have to be passed at a later stage.

Andrew said: "There is no reason why Parliament should not be recalled to pass this legislation in July or early August."

The TEC was intend-

ed as a multiparty body that would be charged with ensuring that no party won unfair advantage in the run-up to elections.

Its powers would have to be negotiated.

There appears to be general consensus that its decisions should be binding on the Government in several areas.

In terms of timetables set by the Government and the ANC, the council should be established by next month. However, the timing of its installation depends on progress in Negotiating Council meetings during the next two weeks. The issue should come before the council during the next few days.

The debate likely to draw most interest in next week's negotiations will be that on an election date. The Negotiating Forum's meeting on Tuesday is expected to finalise a date — tentatively agreed as April 27 next year — to be ratified at the forum's June 25 meeting.





# Rambo rhetoric won't answer the questions

3048  
STimes  
13/6/93

**I**N THE days when the young Houghton MP, Mr Tony Leon, described himself as a "muscular liberal" — thereby earning himself such nicknames as Tarzan and Rambo — he was quite gung-ho for individual liberties.

It was he, indeed, who first drew my attention to the suppression of free speech on the campuses and while he preferred then to remain in the background, I came to regard him as an important source of support and encouragement in the battles that ensued.

He was thrown into a wobble, however, by the great U-turn on February 2 1990, and flirted with the idea of hitching his wagon to President de Klerk's star. The infatuation was brief: Mr Leon is too intelligent to overlook for long the narrowness of the passage into which Mr de Klerk has sailed, and since then he has drifted mildly leftward towards the flaccid end of the liberal spectrum.

Now he is gung-ho for equality, which cause he preaches with the zeal of a convert: "We cannot possibly hope for equality until we begin to undo inequality," he and co-author Etienne Mureinik wrote recently in defence of the DP's bill of rights. "Until then, the liberties we prize so much will remain luxuries to be enjoyed by the privileged."

The truth of this assertion, which has long been popular among the more soft-hearted of the privileged classes, is not self-evident: poverty does not necessarily prevent a person from voting, or speaking his mind, or following his conscience, and if he has difficulty in getting into the courts, it is because the cost of lawyers has become so exorbitant, and the procedures of the law so Byzantine, that even the middle classes are often precluded from claiming justice.

Nevertheless, they clearly do believe that equality must be achieved before there can be a meaningful enjoyment of liberty. "The truth," they say, "as anyone in touch with reality knows, is that the war against apartheid is far from won — and to win it we need to aspire to both liberty and equality."

Clearly, in this context, they mean something more than equal rights for all citizens, and indeed the DP's bill of rights confirms this conclusion. It sets out not simply to secure rights, but to undo the inequalities created by apartheid.

About this laudable aim there is no dispute. It is a matter of some pride to me that a new book by that neo-conservative iconoclast, Grantland Bray, contains among its acknowledgements this one: "(To) Ken Owen, for persuading me that some kind of reparation was indeed needed."

The question at issue is whether the elimination of gross economic injustice is best achieved by the bill of rights, or by entrenching it in the constitution. And that is quite another matter.

Personally, I am confident that the ANC, when it comes to power, will find ways to redistribute wealth through the fiscus so fast that rich and clever people like Mr Leon will soon be fighting the temptation to emigrate. If they succumb they will find ready buyers for their property among black people. The Swazi businessman who is buying up hotels in the Eastern Transvaal is but an early example of the rising breed of South African entrepreneurs.

Even the vexed question of land ownership, to which so much emotion attaches, is likely to prove less of a problem than it seems. Land will become abundantly (and cheaply!) available if the next government simply restricts all forms of state agricultural finance to owners of, say, less than 25ha, and puts a small tax on unproductive land.

**S**UCH examples of the emerging reality — a reality in which changes to basic government policies will spark immense shifts of social and economic advantage — can be multiplied indefinitely.

The question then arises whether it will help matters if the new government is specifically permitted, by the bill of rights, to embark on programmes of affirmative action in order to "undo existing inequalities", as the DP version puts it, or if the bill of rights

puts on the new government a constitutional obligation to provide to every citizen the food and water necessary to survival, the shelter from the elements, basic health care, a basic education, and a clean and healthy environment?

The questions which arise are obvious: what is basic health care? What is basic education? Does a site-and-service housing scheme provide adequate shelter? Lawyers rejoice!

The courts will have much to decide, including the vexed question of who can claim to have been a victim of apartheid? The explanatory notes that accompany the DP bill of rights confess that, "however unpalatable" it may be, the elimination of inequality will require "the same criteria for differentiation as those which brought about the inequality".

**T**HE exquisite delicacy of this language does not quite conceal its intent: reverse discrimination must be applied on the basis of Verwoerdian racial classifications. And what, I wonder, will Mr Leon do if I claim to have been a victim of apartheid (as indeed, in many small ways, I was): put a pencil through my hair? Brutal language, you see, can expose meaning quite as well as delicate language can hide it.

There is another question: if the ANC fails, as it surely will, to meet the demands of the people for the entitlements promised to them by the bill of rights, and is thrown out of office, will the PAC then be entitled to discriminate against those who have grown rich under the ANC? Or do only inequalities which derive from apartheid inhibit the full enjoyment of liberty?

Such questions drive Mr Leon into fits of muscularity, but constitutional questions are not answered by Rambo rhetoric. The decision to load a bill of rights, which is a guarantee of freedom, with racially defined social agendas is a radical departure from the views which Mr Leon and I once shared.

**KEN OWEN**



# Clamp on ballot bandits

Sitings 12/16/98

**CARMEL RICKARD reports on proposals for an electoral commission which will oversee our first non-racial elections**

**WOULD-BE** ballot bandits face stiff fines and jail sentences under a proposed new law setting up a commission to oversee elections.

Draft legislation circulated for comment to negotiators at the World Trade Centre suggests a R100 000 fine and five years in jail for anyone found guilty of trying to rig votes, intimidate voters or tamper with a ballot box.

The first draft Independent Electoral Commission Act gives the IEC wide duties and powers, including the right to override existing election-related legislation.

It would have responsibility for registering voters and parties; supervising and monitoring the electoral process; deciding the outcome of the elections and adjudicating on issues like the behaviour of political parties during the process.

The State President would appoint between seven and 11 members to the IEC on the "advice" of the Negotiating Forum, although the wording does not rule out public hearings to help select commission members.

The commissioners should be "respected and suitably qualified persons" broadly representative of society.

They should also be eligible voters, although some might be foreign observers seconded by international organisations or governments.

Party politicians would be barred from appointment: no one who had held political office during the three years before the elections would be eligible, while a member of the IEC could not accept political office for three years after leaving the commission.

This would ensure IEC members were seen as beyond political pressure, including possible future benefit.

During their term, members could not "accept nomination for any political or public office" whether paid or not, and could not help any group "involved" with the elections.

A commissioner's membership of the IEC would end by written resignation, or by order of a full Appellate Division Bench following an application brought by the State President, the transitional executive council, Parliament, any registered political party or by any 100 voters.

The IEC may set up sub-committees which include non-members of the commission, but they must be chaired by an IEC member.

Three sub-structures to deal with the commission's most important tasks are detailed in the draft.

The election administration directorate will have responsibility for, among other issues, voter education about the process of voting and about democratic principles; the procedure to identify voters; voting lists; the registration of parties and candidates, their symbols and campaign colours; setting up polling stations; printing ballot papers and ensuring that parties disclosed all campaign donations over R1 000.

The election monitoring directorate would appoint local and international monitors; establish procedures to investigate breaches of a code of conduct which parties must accept, and recommend steps to prevent intimidation.

The election adjudication directorate would certify the results and say whether the election was "substantially free and fair". The directorate would even have the power to organise new regional elections if its members believed this was necessary.

For six weeks before the election, all opinion polls would be outlawed — just one

of a number of offences created under the draft IEC law. The draft is obviously a working proposal, and important issues still need to be resolved, either by the Negotiating Forum or by the IEC once it is in place.

For example:

● The election code of conduct has not yet been drafted. Nor has it been decided whether the IEC can act against non-signatories or only parties and their members which have signed the code;

● Where should voters cast their ballots — in their home district, where they work or at either place?

● What will be the relationship between the proposed sub-committee on monitoring and the existing national peace structures?

● The draft says the commission's decisions are final. No appeal will be allowed although decisions may be reviewed by the Supreme Court or Appellate Division.

But what would prevent election filibustering through actions that clog the courts or hamper the election process? The IEC might consider a standing committee of judges able to hear an application within 24 hours, thus preventing delays.

## NEWS ROUND-UP

# Secrecy surrounds PW's visit to FW

*St. Times 12/6/93*

SPECULATION surrounds the secret visit paid by former State President PW Botha to his successor Mr FW de Klerk at his official Tuynhuys office on Friday.

All Mr de Klerk would say was that there was no "rancour or bitterness" between he and Mr Botha.

He said the meeting took place at Mr Botha's request and that they had held a "general discussion" which touched on "practical aspects regarding his position".

(304A)  
But speculation in parliamentary quarters yesterday was different: Mr de Klerk had attempted to harness the influence Mr Botha still wields over the recalcitrant ex-SADF generals who are in revolt against Mr de Klerk's reformist policies.

One of the committee of four generals who are co-ordinating the Afrikaner Volksfront, General Tienie Groenewald said Mr Botha had not joined the front.

"He does not want to get involved in politics, but does have enormous respect for General Constand Viljoen. He supports him, but has not said this openly."



**P**RESIDENT FW DE KLERK looks tired. He is impatient with the photographer and defensive about attacks, whether real or perceived, on him and his party.

Managing a government in transition and seeing through the reforms he embarked on three years ago have taken their toll.

But, behind the weariness, there is optimism and steady determination to deliver on his promises — particularly the declaration, made early in his presidency, that no one should in future be allowed to hold as much power as he did then.

The polls that show a decline in his party's support, the numerous crises that have dogged his government in the past two months and the resignation of a deputy minister in despair, have, it appears, neither phased nor deterred him.

The poll that showed white support for the National Party dropping to its lowest level, he said, was a limited one.

To him, it indicated not that whites are defecting to other parties, but that there is great uncertainty at grassroots level about the future.

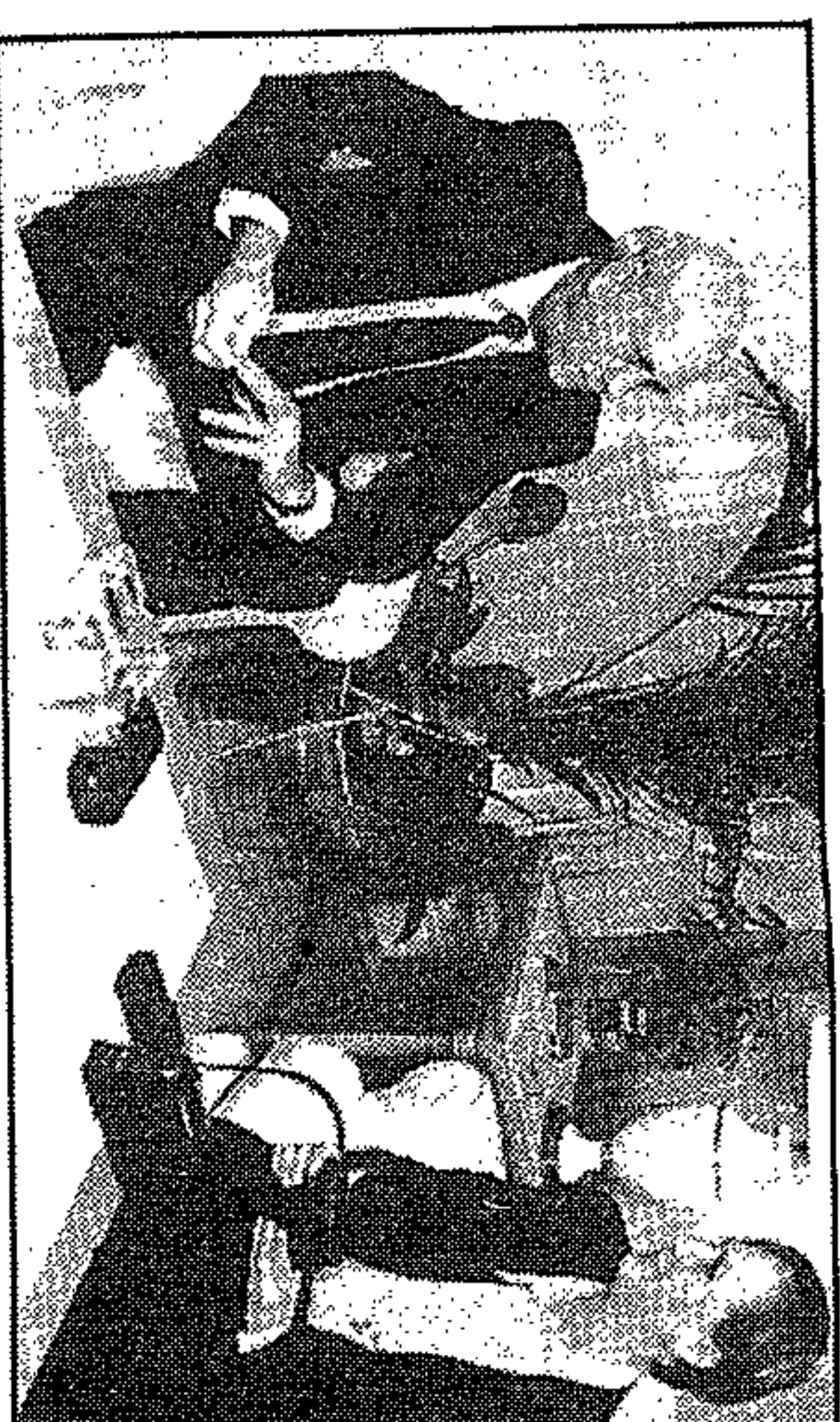
He is confident that, with real progress in negotiations and the establishment of the transitional executive council, violence will decline. This, combined with the realisation that there are agreements in place that have the capacity to ensure stability and prevent domination and abuse of power, means a "more normal picture" of party support will emerge.

Mr de Klerk was reluctant to be drawn on making gun-ho predictions of a victory for his party at the polls.

In the first election, he said, his party was confident of attaining at least 50 percent or more of white, Indian and coloured support and substantial black support.

"I am confident that we will be one of the major role players. We will be fighting to get the biggest slice of the cake. I think that we have a reasonable chance to come forth with a surprise in that regard. Everybody is writing our chances off. But watch us," he said.

**EDYTH BULBRING** says the strain of managing a government in transition has taken its toll on President FW de Klerk. But he remains optimistic and determined to complete the reform process he began three years ago.



CONFIDENT: FW de Klerk tells Edyth Bulbring 'things are going rather well'

# A TIRED but DETERMINED President

waits for a *STimes* 13/6/93 more

normal *(3044)* picture

OPTIMISTIC: State president FW de Klerk is confident that the National Party will be one of the major role players in South Africa's first non-racial election

strife. The uncertainties that exist at grassroots level obviously create concern among elected representatives and, as a democratic party, we discuss that concern with each other."

There are no deep differences in his party, he said. It is motivated, filled with

and Inkatha. He distinguishes the DP as an important party which, having a reasonable approach, will be part of a settlement. He believes there needs to be a constructive approach from parties in the TBVC states with regard to incorporation of a transitional constitution.

"So much groundwork has been done and there has been such a convergence of opinion on the issues you are mentioning that I think we can expect very real progress from now until more or less June 25."

Mr de Klerk is impatient with the question and does

time that everybody stopped thinking and writing and televising South Africa into a mood of despondency. I am not despondent. Things are going rather well."

The priority for his party, and many of the other parties at the multi-party talks forum is agreement, en-

tion, Mr de Klerk is reluctant to spell it out. What is clear, is that he does not have his sights set on the presidency.

"I believe that the major role players should, on the basis of consensus in a government of national unity, manage the Cabinet and the executive. As a major role

The executive committee would agree, on the basis of consensus, on government policy, which would then be accepted by the Cabinet.

For the first five years, a programme of action, a kind of Magna Carta, against which all other decisions would be tested, would be the framework for

meaningful powers. However, he should not have the final decision-making power with regard to fundamental issues. These should be decided with the executive committee.

**A** FUNDAMENTAL issue would be the Budget. An issue that is of average importance is what road to build first once the money has been allocated.

He is more reluctant to spell out how power will be shared after the second election. This is still being negotiated. However, he gave one scenario.

The executive of that new government would only be able to take decisions on identified fundamental issues with the concurrence of other identified leaders who did not serve on the executive.

An example is a decision that would negatively affect the interests of the regions without the concurrence of two-thirds of the elected leaders of all the regions.

It is similar to the principle where increased majorities are needed to make changes for the legislature, such as amending the constitution or the bill of rights, he said.

The government would promote a constitutional principle covering power-sharing for the final constitution in the multi-party talks.

**M**R DE KLERK is especially defensive about the impression created that the government is unwilling, incompetent or that its hands are tied in dealing with the crisis.

"I think it is high time that everybody should ask who caused the crisis. Isn't it high time that analysts and commentators try to get to the root of the crisis and ask who caused this particular crisis?"

Mr de Klerk has already done his analysis. It lies with mass action, intransigence, and lack of co-operation from the other parties. "When such a crisis is caused by circumstances beyond your control then it's the government's task to

**H**IS cards are firmly strapped up, his

level will be a

CP's objectives are attai-



imaginative campaign. All will be revealed at the right moment.

He is unconcerned by a right-wing threat to stability and a backlash against his party. Polarisation would be averted by securing a settlement that instilled confidence in the majority of South Africans.

He is impatient with reports of deep unhappiness and divisions in his parliamentary caucus. He does not expect major defections in the future and is confident that the majority of his MPs will be keen to return to parliament and will make themselves available in the next elections.

"Our opposition is wrong when it thinks the National Party is going through a period of deep internal

## Buy, buy, buy

WHO says South Africans are feeling the pinch? Cobbleigh attended a sale of South African artworks at Sotheby's.

Johannesburg, this week which fetched a record R3-million — with more than 60 percent of the sales going to anonymous private buyers.

Most of the paintings and furniture on offer were what you might call politically incorrect — as one leading art critic put it, "art for a benign white privileged class".

Yet many of the works, including Cape stinkwood furniture and paintings by artists such as Irma Stern, Maggie Laubser and Pieter Wenning, have increased in value over the last decade.

Two of Irma Stern's paintings, *Two Arabs and Still Life of Delphiniums* fetched R209 000 each — the highest price paid for a 20th century South African artist's work on auction to date.

In late 1991, Cape Town dealer Joseph Wolpe sold *Two Arabs* for R25 000. He attributes the difference of R184 000 only in part to inflation.

## New confidence

PIETER Wenning's *Malta Farm* was sold for R143 000, which is R61 000 more than it fetched nine years ago.

And a matched set of 10 Cape stinkwood dining-chairs went for R7 700 each, way above the reserve price of between R12 000 and R15 000 for the set.

"When people are apprehensive about the future, it is astonishing that they should invest with such confidence in the artefacts of a culture that is

Neither does he anticipate any challenge to his leadership from within the party before the election by those who want to ensure themselves a key place in a new government.

"There is not even a cloud on the horizon in that regard," he said.

In terms of realising his reform goals, Mr de Klerk does not believe the negotiations will be able to achieve absolute consensus among all the parties.

To make progress, sufficient consensus is necessary. This would include at least all the major parties with a national support base and, preferably, as many of the smaller parties as possible, he said.

He identifies the major parties as the NP, the ANC

non-racism and regionalism like the Afrikaner Volksunie, he said.

"I think there will remain a hard core to the right resisting acceptance of what they view as a compromise. But I think they will be, relatively speaking, a small minority.

In terms of the time frames that he set for achieving his reform goals last year, Mr de Klerk believes they are more or less on schedule.

This is despite the fact that multi-party talks have as yet failed to agree on a transitional executive council, constitutional principles, an electoral commis-

## TIMES DIARY

at present largely discredited," says Colin Cochrane of Sotheby's.

"But these works are scarce and scarcity is a commodity."

Sue Smith of Sotheby's believes the change in the political situation has given people new confidence to invest.

## Bed-bugged

STILL, on the subject of antiques, how's this for a sign of the devils times?

Johannesburg dealer Michael Liebenberg recently sold two attractive old single beds to a woman who paid him by cheque.

After Michael banked the cheque he was told it had been stopped. Concerned, he phoned the buyer asking if there was anything wrong with the furniture.

Oh no, she had guests for the weekend and needed two extra beds. You can come and take them back, he was told.

After a quick call to the police, the lady paid up!

## The nose knows

VILLAINS, politicians and other shady species will have to beware: nose is coming back.

For those who don't remember, nose was, in the early 80s, SA's answer to Private Eye and a delight to anyone who loves scandal.

From next Tuesday, former co-editor Martin Welz — who won many investigative reporting awards for the old

measures that would be necessary in the event of a breakdown in negotiations or deadlock over fundamental principles.

The fact that negotiations withstood the blow of SACP leader Chris Hani's death is proof that there is a real commitment to negotiations by the parties, he said.

"I really think we have moved beyond the point where negotiations will break down. There might be delays on fundamental mat-

ters where sufficient consensus cannot be reached. But, once again, I am confident that we will reach sufficient consensus on fundamental principles."

Neither does he expect any real stumbling blocks.

"I think we are going to succeed, and I think it's high

and probably Britain's best-known ad man, has apparently taken on a new customer: FW de Klerk.

My spies in London tell me Sir Tim has just returned from Johannesburg after meeting South Africa's president in Cape Town three weeks ago.

It is being assumed in London that, with the countdown to the 1994 elections virtually under way and the morale within the National Party reportedly low, Mr de Klerk has been seeking his advice.

Sir Tim guided Mrs Thatcher through three election victories, but whether Mr de Klerk would be impressed with some of his other clients is a moot point.

They include British former minister David Mellor — he of the too-sucking love affair — controversial BBC chairman John Birt, British Airways (after the dirty tricks affair) and the Salvation Army.

## Poor Germain

TO upmarket Rivonia, north of Johannesburg, where I find the normally amiable French restaurateur Germain Marguis downcast over the death of his horse Bentley — after whom he named his high-class eatery.

Germain, who likes to ride every morning, tells me Bentley collapsed under him one day and, alas, did not survive.

Does he not have a replacement? "I have been looking," he sighs, "but a good horse is like a good wife — very hard to find."

## Bell's ringer

SIR TIM BELL, once Iron Lady Margaret Thatcher's PR adviser

Thomas Cobbleigh

government with meaningful powers.

OTHER important issues are a bill of rights with effective protection of individual rights and powersharing in a government of national unity.

On the issue of his role in a government of national unity and how power will be shared after the first elec-

National Party should be one of those co-managers of the Cabinet.

"I further believe that other parties, although after an election they might not be defined in terms of voters' support as a major role player, should also be accommodated in the Cabinet."

After much pressing, Mr de Klerk makes his position clearer. An executive committee would manage the Cabinet.

However, it is more difficult being an effective government in transition, he said. A government in transition had to be sensitive to the fact that a new dispensation would be implemented quite soon. There is a greater need to interact with other parties on important issues.

"But that does not mean that we do not have the guts or the courage to act where circumstances indicate," he said.

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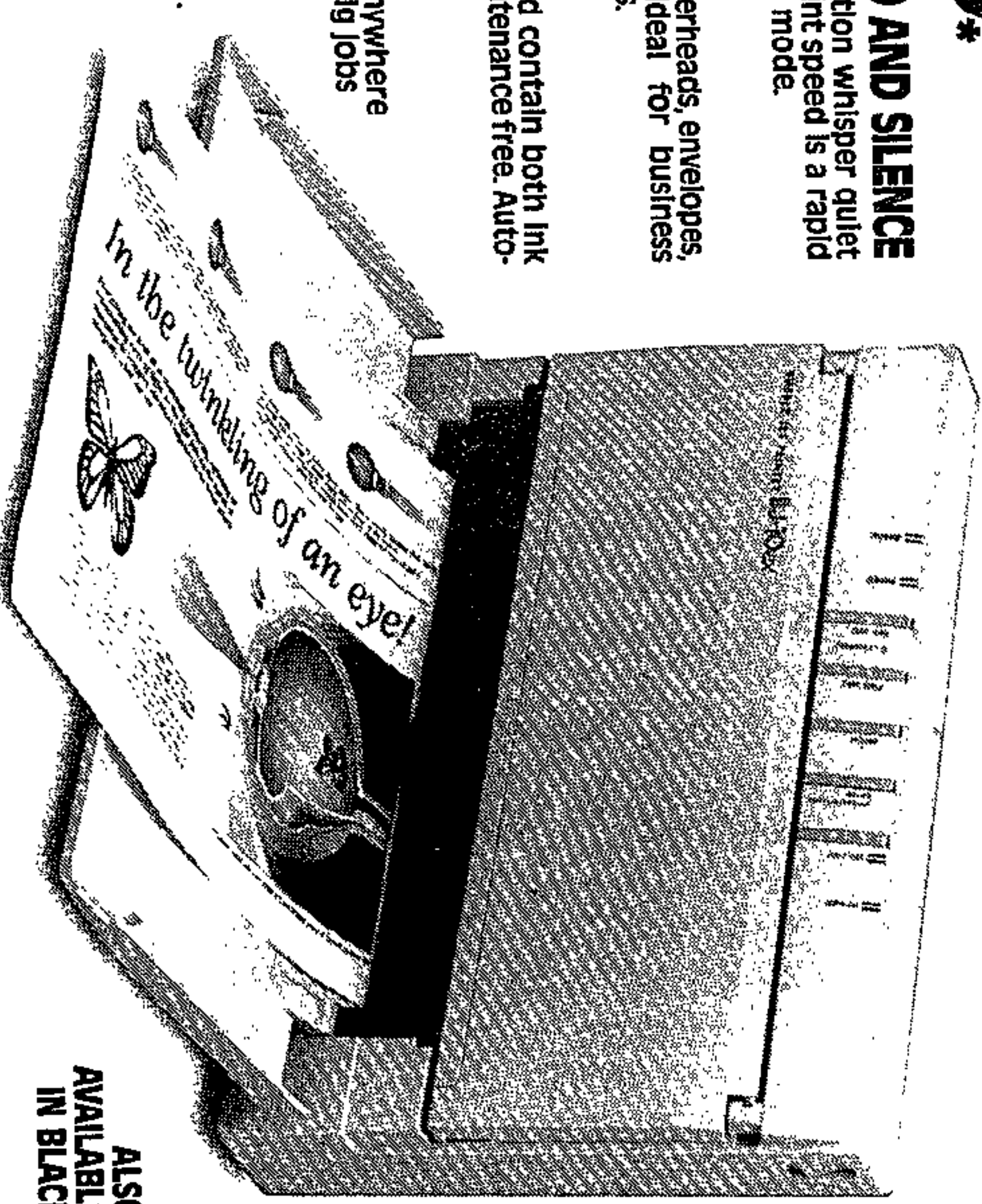
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# CP could abandon Negotiations Forum

CP Correspondent

(304A)

THERE are growing indications that the Conservative Party could suspend its participation in the multiparty negotiations process before the end of this month should April 27 1994 be officially confirmed as the date for SA's first democratic election.

It is expected that the Negotiations Forum will confirm this date when it meets again on June 25.

The Afrikaner Volksfront's phase of what it calls passive resistance could then be launched. This will entail demonstrations, strikes and civil disobedience by whites.

In recent days this passive resistance phase has been emphasised by Ferdi Hartzenberg, the leader of the CP and chairman

of the executive council of the AVF; Gen Constand Viljoen, former Chief of the SADF and executive member of the AVF's directorate; and Maj-Gen Tienie Groenewald, member of the directorate and the driving force behind the front.

The decision by the Negotiations Forum to meet again on June 25 to take a final decision on April 27 as the date for an election brought the issue of passive resistance by rightwing whites to a head.

It has been reliably learnt that the resistance actions could include the following:

■ Refusal to pay TV licences and the pooling of money in a trust for the founding of an own radio station;

■ The delay and disruption of the state machine by non-payment or late payment of taxes;

■ The extending of actions similar to the farmers' protest which took place in Pretoria and in other centres in January 1991;

■ Countrywide rallies similar to that of the AWB held recently in Pretoria; and

■ White civil servants and other key personnel who shall stay away from work on crisis days "due to illness".

The negotiators hope that the CP will remain in the Negotiations Forum at least until June 25, while efforts are being made to persuade the Negotiations Forum to postpone the announcement of an election date.

# Breaking in pool

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE government and the newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront could be headed for confrontation over Pretoria's announcement that a Transitional Executive Council may be introduced without going through parliament.

However, the ANC has welcomed this move, saying it is "extremely useful".

The government and the AVF, which is an umbrella body for several rightwing groupings, met on Friday to discuss several issues including the establishment of the TEC.

AVF spokesman and CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg told a media conference that the government did not react positively to their requests.

Among these requests was to postpone the announcement of an election date; that a white referendum or election be held; and that the implementation of a TEC be postponed because of the violence.

Hartzenberg said the AVF would formally react at their meeting with the government next Wednesday.

The government delegation that met the right was led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, assisted by minister Leon Wessels, deputy minister Fanus Schoeman, Dr Niel Barnard and Gen George Meiring.

Replying to debate on the Constitutional Amendment Bill, Meyer said a TEC and its sub-structures could be in place and working without legislation if all parties agreed to this at the negotiating forum.

If all the parties in the process participated, were co-decision makers, and gave effect to the decisions, there would be no need for legislation as the body

## Rightwings will react Press 13/6/93 to council 304A

would have credibility.

"In the coming months further legislation dealing with the transitional process will be put before parliament. It is clear that legislation will not be dealt with by this session of parliament, as it has to be produced by consensus at the negotiating table.

"Because consensus could not be reached in time, it is not possible to table it now," he said.

A new constitution for the transitional phase would deal with fundamental rights and cater for both central and regional government.

"The passage of legislation on the TEC should not have to delay its implementation."

The government felt a special parliamentary sitting was not needed in July to handle legislation dealing with the TEC.

"The TEC will function soon after agreement is reached at the negotiating forum."

It would be a temporary body, existing from the time of its inception to the coming election. It was a political, not a constitutional structure forming part of attempts to "level the playing fields" in view of an election.



# New Bill could end grave legal scandal

STimes 13/6/93  
(304A)

A NEW Bill before parliament — plus R60-million — could end one of the country's most serious legal scandals: that 100 000 people are jailed every year after trials in which they have no legal representation.

If the Bill is accepted, hundreds of candidate attorneys will be able to serve their "internships" as part of a planned country-wide network of Public Defender's offices, appearing for people unable to afford legal defence.

Once the law is passed, an estimated R55-million to R60-million will be needed to set up Public Defender's offices across the country, staffed by senior lawyers who will supervise and train candidate attorneys opting to do articles through the offices.

## Options

The draft legislation tabled in Parliament this week changes the requirements for entry to the attorney's profession. Until now the only path to the profession was through serving "articles of clerkship" with a legal firm.

For a number of reasons, including the poor economy, up to half the current crop of law graduates cannot find articles and are thus kept from qualifying.

The new proposals allow candidate attorneys a wider range of options to serve their "internship". If Parliament accepts this Bill, which has the backing of the organised legal

By CARMEL RICKARD

profession, it will enable many more graduates to enter the profession.

One of the options offered to candidate attorneys is to serve one or two years in "community service", with an institution accredited to the local law society.

The Director of the Legal Aid Board, Mr Nic Pretorius, said he believed so many law graduates would opt for "community service" the board would have no difficulty in employing the 600 candidate attorneys necessary to run a country-wide operation.

The board is still looking for funds to staff and run the offices. However, Mr Pretorius hopes the good work being done by the pilot project in Johannes-

burg will help convince donors the money would be well spent.

Government, overseas donors, local corporations and even the board's own resources are all being eyed by Mr Pretorius as possible sources for the R60-million needed to extend the scheme across the country.

Only about 12 percent of accused who appeared in the district and regional courts last year were represented.

There are not enough qualified lawyers to handle all these cases, and at the same time hundreds of would-be attorneys leaving university each year are unable to enter the profession.

The proposed new legislation seeks to solve both problems at the same time.



**EXCLUSIVE: For the first time, FW tells what will happen after April election**

# HOW THE NEW SA WILL RUN

Sunday Times 13/6/93

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

**PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has spelt out for the first time how the country will be governed after the first non-racial elections.**

In an exclusive interview with the Sunday Times, Mr de Klerk said that after the elections next year — provisionally planned for April 27 — the leaders of all major parties would agree on a "Magna Carta" laying down priorities.

This blueprint would guide all decisions by the government of national unity in the following five years.

An important element of the agreement would be a strict limitation on the powers of the president to act on

his own. Interviewed in his office at Tynhuys, Mr de Klerk also gave his views on his party's declining support, threats from the right-wing, his optimism for a swift negotiated settlement and how he saw his own role in a government of national unity.

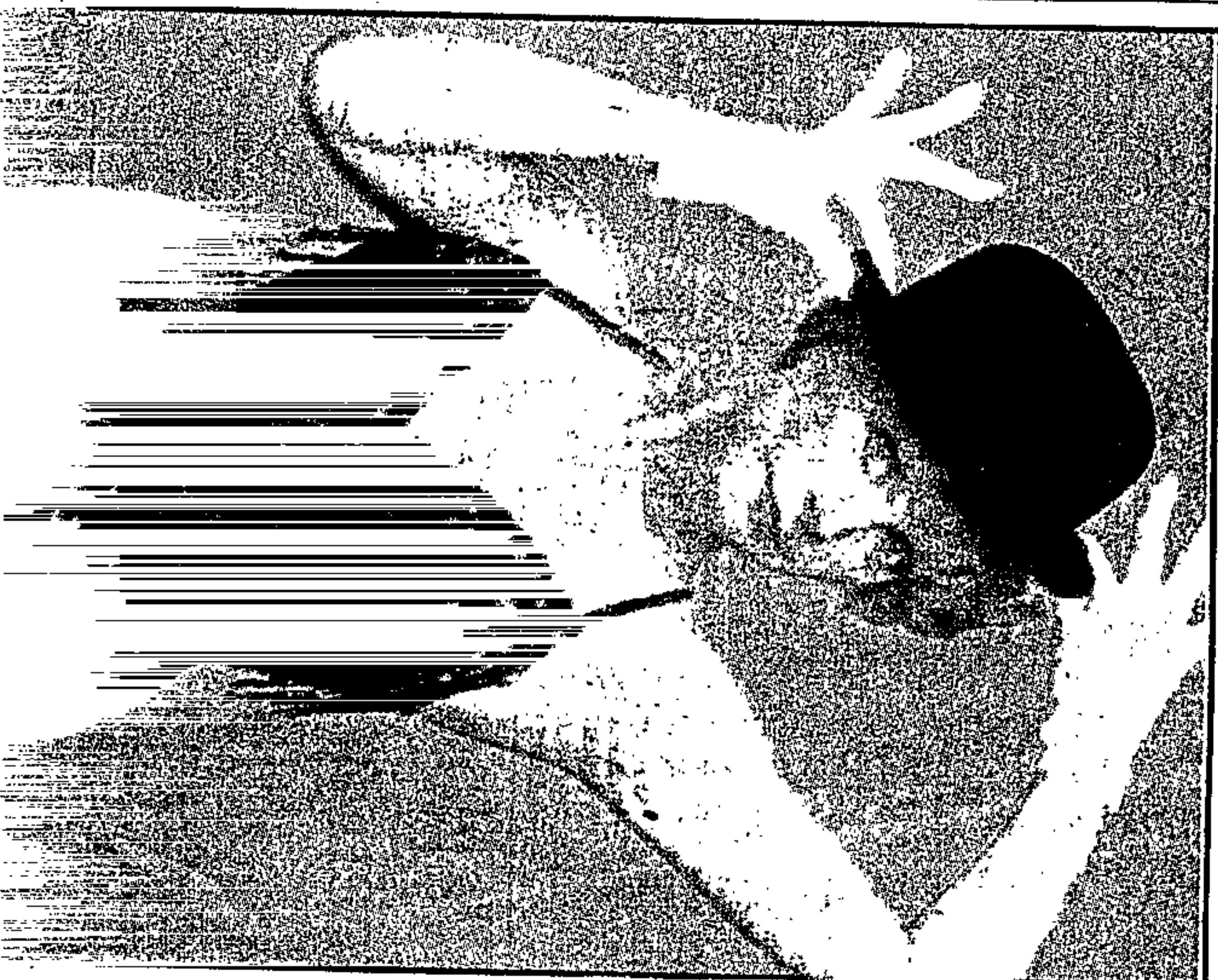
He was optimistic a settlement would be concluded in the next few weeks to bring about a new government that would satisfy all moderate South Africans. Crucial to the functioning of an elected unity government would be a consensus policy drawn up by the leaders of major parties serving on an executive committee, or "inner cabinet".

Mr de Klerk was confident the National Party

## Injury blow for French team

By P. N. RETIEF  
at Newlands

A DECISION will be taken later today whether French rugby captain Jean-François Jourd'heuil is out of the team's tour of South Africa.



## SA can make a song and dance about Shirley

Sunday Times Reporter  
ACTRESS and singer Shirley MacLaine will be the first international superstar to perform at Sun City in four years.

The performer — who gave new meaning to the word grumpy in the movie *Steel Dawn* — will make five appearances at the Superbowl as part of her world tour, which opened to rave reviews in Las Vegas a fortnight ago.

Sun International deputy managing director Peter Bacon said negotiations with Shirley — the only woman who made it into Frank Sinatra's "Rat

## ...AND HERE IS THE

By SHARON CHETTY

TEACHER Rosalie Swart has a million reasons to smile this morning.

The 51-year-old divorced mother of three from Uitenhage in the Eastern Cape is the winner of the Sunday Times Finders Keepers competition.

As she clutched the golden egg retrieved from the bottom of an underground lake in the Sterkfontein Caves, near Krugersdorp, lucky Rosalie said this week she'd "never been this happy before".

And the first items on her shopping list are a holiday in Cape Town to visit daughter Debbie, a new car and "the curtains I've always wanted".

Her winning entry was one of 60 she completed after "six weeks of hell" trying to solve the puzzle.

"I lost contact with my friends, neglected my son and dogs, and let my house go to ruin. I became a madwoman in the run-up to the closing date."

## Cautious

But even when she was contacted by the Sunday Times and flown to Johannesburg at short notice this





ties serving on an executive committee, or "inner cabinet".

Mr de Klerk was confident the National Party would get sufficient support to enable him to be one of those leaders.

## Consensus

The country's new president would not be able to make fundamental decisions without the agreement of the "inner cabinet".

One of the most important jobs of the executive committee would be to agree on a five-year policy plan for the country.

Mr de Klerk said: "An executive committee will manage the cabinet and will, on the basis of consensus, agree on the joint policies of the government of national unity which will then have to be accepted by the cabinet."

"They must agree on a programme of action for five years which will become a sort of Magna Carta of the government of national unity, and against which all other decisions will be tested."

The five-year plan would cover all fundamental issues, like the economy, health and education. The budget would also have to be decided by the "inner cabinet".

## Powerful

Mr de Klerk's proposal for power sharing by the major leaders runs contrary to ANC proposals discussed this week at a three-day national executive committee meeting.

One of the proposals discussed was offering the position of vice-president to the leader of the second biggest party. He would chair a senate of regional representatives.

Mr de Klerk said polls indicating the NP was losing white support reflected uncertainty about the future. This would be allayed once agreement had been reached in multi-party negotiations.

Despite discordant noises from the right-wing, Mr de Klerk said he was unconcerned by any threat to his party from this quarter.

He said the Conservative Party's policies were unattainable, and the CP would have to follow the example set by the Afrikaner Volksonie in accepting non-racialism and federalism.

While hardliners on the right might resist what

□ To Page 2

13/6/93.

3040

## How SA will be governed

### □ From Page 1

they saw as a compromise, they would be a relatively small minority.

Mr de Klerk dismissed speculation that his parliamentary caucus was unhappy and divided. He said the NP was united, motivated and filled with a sense of purpose.

Last week, Deputy Land Affairs Minister Johan Scheepers resigned from Parliament in despair.

Mr de Klerk also announced at the weekend that three other MPs would resign for personal reasons. *SI Times 13/6/93*

One who has already made his resignation known is South Coast MP Aubrey Thompson, and the others are believed to be Durban Point MP Cliff Matthee and Langlaagte MP Johan Vilonel.

Mr de Klerk said he was confident negotiations had passed the point of breakdown, and he believed

enormous progress would be made before June 25, when the Negotiating Forum is due to meet.

Soon after that, a transitional executive council — the first stage of joint rule — would be established.

While he did not think an agreement would be backed by all the parties, he was confident sufficient consensus would be carried by the major ones — the ANC, the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party, with others like the Democratic Party being part of reasonable agreements. *(304A)*

"I don't expect problems. I think we are going to stay more or less within our time schedule, and I think we are going to succeed," he said.

"I think it is high time that everybody stopped thinking, writing and televising South Africa into a mood of despondency. I am not despondent. Things are going rather well."

● See Page 21



# Parties move into gear for election

SI Times [C1 Metro] 13/6/93

304A

WITH a date for South Africa's first democratic elections all but finalised, political parties in the Western Cape are gearing up for a tough campaign.

The issues may still be unclear, but political parties across the spectrum are not wasting any time in preparing strategies for the run-up to the election.

And with regional support expected to take on more importance under the new dispensation, the Western Cape's 50 percent coloured population is expected to receive special attention during the coming months from several of the major political organisations.

Considered to have minimal support in coloured areas, the ANC is expected to advertise the position of campaigns officer shortly. It is understood the appointee will have as a priority the building of

By NAZEEM HOWA

support in coloured community.

The ANC has organised a general council meeting at the Manenberg Peoples' Centre for today at which electioneering is expected to dominate discussions. The issue of the "coloured" vote is also expected to generate heated debate.

The National Party, on the other hand, is presently involved in in-depth strategic planning exercises and is expected to implement its strategy from August, according to the MP for Ceres, Mr Melt Hamman, who heads the party's regional strategic planning committee.

"We are also in the process of recruiting organisers who will have the task of training canvassers," he said.

Mr Hamman was reluctant to release re-

gional membership figures as they are presently in the process of being updated.

However, he expects the NP's coloured membership in the rural areas to virtually equal its white membership.

"It may differ substantially in the urban areas," he said.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party claims to be gaining more than 500 new members each week.

While DP regulations forbid releasing to the media details of exact membership figures, Hennie Bester says the number of active branches has increased from 14 to 58.

"Some of our bigger branches in coloured areas are in Colorado Park, Mitchells Plain, Manenberg and Belhar. We expect branches at Steenberg, Heideveld and Atlantis to show tremendous growth in the coming months," he said.

## Resources

Mr Bester said a major problem facing the DP was its lack of resources.

"Unlike the National Party and the ANC we are not in a position to employ several organisers. Instead, we have to rely on volunteers who are working their butts off."

The present DP membership in the Western Cape totals 17 000.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, on the other hand, is finding a lot more support in white areas, ac-



HENNIE BESTER

cording to Mr Jurie Mentz.

"Most of our new members come from the ranks of the NP and the DP. There's been a tremendous response from Montagu, Stellenbosch,

Fish Hoek and several West Coast areas," he said.

The party's membership figures for the Western Cape stand at between 7 000 and 8 000.





# Lack of ballot trust looms

SI Times [C Metro] 13/6/93 (304A)

LACK of trust in the secrecy of the ballot may have serious consequences for democracy, according to the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

In its latest report on future voter trends and attitudes, released this week, it has identified intolerance of the right of other political parties and lack of trust in the secret ballot as the two most serious problems facing the democratic process.

It warns that unless voter education deepens and brings about a better understanding of multi-party competition, a new South African democracy "may not endure over time".

## Trends

The HSRC "Information Update" warns that voter education programmes must pay particular attention to intolerance with the right of parties to choose where they want to canvass and with the lack of faith in the secret ballot system if South Africa's first open election is to be "free and fair".

By NORMAN WEST

In a survey on recent trends in party support, the HSRC finds the ANC appears to be the clear leader, but it cautions it is too early to predict the outcome of the elections with any precision — noting that in politics six to twelve months is a long time.

The HSRC conducted a face-to-face survey with national samples of non-homeland potential voters among the African, coloured, Asian, and white population groups and considered the shifts that have occurred between July 1992 and February 1993.

It concludes that in an "estimate" of the outcome of an election — if held at the time the survey was taken, among all population groups — the winner would be an ANC alliance with 54 percent.

Trailing the ANC would be the NP with 26 percent, the IFP with eight percent, the CP with five percent, the DP with three percent, the PAC/Azapo three percent, and the AWB/HNP with one percent.

The council emphasises these results are tentative and they are also in a sense premature since many changes will take place between now and an election next year.

## Captured

"Information Update" editor, Ms Cynthia Marais said, yesterday the data on which the HSRC's latest report is based was captured during February.

"Many political events have taken place since then like the Chris Hani murder, the education crises, and activities surrounding the PAC which could have influenced people's opinions and changed their minds," Ms Marais said.

Compared with October 1992 the February 1993 percentage support for parties among all voters declined in the case of the NP from 23 percent to 21 percent, the ANC from 44 percent to 37 percent, the IFP from nine percent to eight percent, while the DP remained two percent and the CP four percent. The PAC's popularity remained pegged at one percent and Azapo slid from one to zero percent, while the AWB increased in popularity from zero to one percent.

The findings reflect — in so far as both choice of parties and choice of leaders are concerned — a number of trends:

- there appears to be an increase in the number of African voters who have no choice of party or leader and who are, therefore, less likely to vote in an election. This is accompanied by an apparent decrease in support for the ANC and its leaders;

- there is a decrease in support for the NP and its leaders among all population groups;

- there is an increase in support for the DP among non-African voters. However this increased support for the DP does not seem to be linked to significantly increased support for the DP leader and finally;

- there seems to be an increase in support for Inkatha among whites — however, says the report — the sample size is too small to make any conclusive statement in this regard.

## Bright future





# Poll shows increase in confused voters

Sundays 18/6/93

3044

**THE latest opinion poll conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council shows that support for almost all political parties has taken a dive.**

The poll, conducted in February amongst all races outside the independent homelands, found that since October last year support for the ANC had fallen from 44 percent to 37 percent; the NP from 23 to 21; and the IFP from nine to eight.

Support for the CP, DP and PAC remained stagnant at four, two and one percent, respectively.

The biggest gain was recorded amongst the "don't knows" and "won't votes" — up six percentage points to 23 percent, indicating an increasing degree of confusion and disillusionment amongst voters.

Since then, according to a second poll by Omnicheck in April, confusion amongst whites has increased further.

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

27 percent of men and 48 percent of women said they didn't know who to vote for or they would not vote.

The HSRC conducted a face-to-face survey with national samples of non-homeland potential voters among the African, coloured, Asian and white communities and calculated the shifts that have occurred between July 1992 and February 1993.

Despite the drop in support,

the report concludes that the ANC would still win non-racial elections.

The report says an "estimate" of the outcome of an election, if held at the time the survey was conducted (in February) among all population groups, would be an ANC alliance with 54 percent, NP 26 percent, IFP eight percent, CP five percent, DP three percent, PAC/Azapo three percent and AWB/HNP one percent.

The "estimates" are based on the assumption that those polled who said they would not

support any party would stay away from the polls and those who said they were undecided would distribute themselves in the same pattern as the decided support.

The estimates have also been "conservatively" weighted to reflect the support in the TBVC states by applying the South African results according to ethnic groups to the equivalent populations in the independent territories.

The council emphasises that these results are tentative and are, in a sense, premature since

many changes will take place between now and the election next year.

The findings of the HSRC poll conducted in February are supported by a recent poll in April by the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys among white men and white women.

Omnicheck found white support for the NP has shown a massive decline, bringing the party's popularity to the lowest level yet recorded.

The division which measures voting intentions on a regular basis polled 500 white males and 800 white females in the PVV area, Durban, Bloemfontein, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

The Omnicheck report shows that support for the NP had slid from about 40 percent of white voters in October 1992 to one in four in April this year — 26 percent among white men and 25 percent among white women.

## Hi-tech stops Webber's show

SIR Andrew Lloyd Webber has been forced to delay the opening of his £3-million London musical *Sunset Boulevard* by 13 days because his hi-tech stage machinery shifts the scenery each time somebody uses a mobile phone nearby.

The hydraulic valves power-

ing the sets of the long-awaited spectacular show — which was originally due to open on June 29 — must be replaced to prevent possible injury to the cast and audience.

"The sets developed a life of their own. They kept on moving when they should have stayed still," said Bill Taylor, finance director of the Really Useful Group.

The first preview, scheduled for June 21, will now take place on June 28 with opening night on July 12. — © The Telegraph, London



sign their organisations or jobs, that international funding and training assistance be sought, and that the force initially serve as an adjunct to the SAP, and not to replace SADF deployment.

Cilliers said his institute believed full implications of the creation of such a force had not been investigated adequately.

A force of 12 000 would be inadequate to deal with escalating violence in the absence of the SADF.

"There is little prospect of such a force

messy and time consuming. The implications in terms of service regulations boggles the mind.

"Since the peacekeeping force would have to have powers of arrest, etc, the force would have to be formally constituted through an Act of Parliament. The sum effect would be a drawn-out process lasting considerably longer than planned.

"We are convinced that even after all these efforts, the SADF will still be in the townships," Cilliers said.

## Warning on united SA army

LLOYD COUTTS

DEMobilisation of SADF, MK and TBVC armed forces personnel should take place once a transitional executive council is in place and before any planned integration of SA's armies, says the Independent Institute for Defence Policy.

In a written submission to the multi-party talks' technical committee on violence, institute co-director Jackie Cilliers said SA could not afford and did not need the sizable armed forces which would result from integration of armies.

"The situation that has to be avoided is simply to open the doors to the absorption into the military of the sum of all armed formations in the country and then try to demobilise some afterwards.

"This will not only be extremely complicated, expensive and messy but will require also constant special dispensations in terms of the public service regulations," Cilliers said.

"South Africans should be extremely circumspect about integrating persons into the military who will inevitably have to be demobilised," he said.

## Nonracial civic body mooted

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Civic associations and white ratepayer groups were discussing the creation of a nonracial organisation to represent all residents in the central Transvaal region, it was disclosed last week.

Central Transvaal Civic Association media officer Titus Mafolo said common ground was being sought with traditionally white ratepayer groups with the aim of forming a unified body.

The initiative was the result of a decision by the civic association's general council last month to investigate the possibilities of unity.

Civic and ratepayer representatives had already met in the Greater Pretoria Metropolitan Forum, Mafolo said, but extended contact was being sought.

Attempts in Johannesburg to create a similar body representing all residents, had failed in April after six months of talks.

Observers said the parties on the Johannesburg Forum had found little common ground.

Mafolo was optimistic similar difficulties could be overcome.

One of Pretoria's largest ratepayer organisations, Queenswood Park's chairman F Evans said discussions were under way.

"We have all got to get together and talk seriously," he said.

## FW to lobby for IMF aid

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk has signalled that gaining access to IMF funds would be high on his list of priorities for his meeting with US President Bill Clinton later this month.

De Klerk sounded an optimistic note at the weekend, stressing the importance of IMF funding for SA's economic development.

The ANC has indicated that it would call for the lifting of remaining sanctions once agreement has been reached on a transitional executive council and the April 27 election date is confirmed.

De Klerk leaves for the US shortly after the plenary session of negotiations is scheduled to take place.

He and ANC president Nelson Mandela will visit Philadelphia to

receive an award in recognition of their contributions to freedom and liberty.

De Klerk said it was vitally important that SA gained access to the IMF if the country was to achieve the development intended.

Gaining access to IMF funding had always been one of government's priorities and he would be addressing the issue in America.

However, De Klerk added a note of caution, saying that he hoped sufficient progress would be made in negotiations.

He suggested that should the ANC's relaxed criteria not have been met, access to IMF facilities would not be possible.

## Judgment on crash expected soon

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE case against two former Sanlam insurance agents charged with murder and fraud will be moved from the Middelburg Circuit Court to the Pretoria Supreme Court on June 22 and judgment is expected during the same week.

Isak Kruger and Lucas Loutscher are charged with five counts of murder, three of attempted murder and 13 of fraud related to a minibus smash near Witbank in January 1992.

Five of the eight occupants died when the vehicle plunged over an

embankment. The State closed its case last week after leading evidence from police engineers who said the vehicle would not have rolled without "considerable outside interference".

During the three-week trial, it emerged that Kruger and Loutscher recruited 13 men, who provided personal details for what they believed to be job applications. The two accused used the information to take out Sanlam life insurance policies.



Cracks appear in Cosag

# CP on verge

## of quitting

### negotiations

Blay 14/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK and  
DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE CP could soon walk out of the negotiating process without the backing of its allies in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), political observers said at the weekend. (30/4/93)

Strains within the loose alliance of parties opposed to government and ANC transition proposals are surfacing, with the CP increasingly standing on its own in demanding a confederation of states.

There is also pressure from within the Volksfront — of which the CP is a key member — for the party to adopt a stronger stance against the way multiparty talks are going and what is seen as a consequent breakdown in law and order.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday his executive was reassessing its position at the multiparty talks on a daily basis. But the party would remain in the talks as long as there was the possibility of attaining the goal of a separate Afrikaner homeland.

Hartzenberg warned that if the negotiating forum, which meets on June 25, fixed an election date the CP might find it impossible to continue in the talks.

"The setting of an election date is not just an election date. It is elections for a constituent assembly in a unitary state and if it is phrased in such a way as to exclude the possibility of self-determination then we will have to walk out," he said.

Hartzenberg was part of a Volksfront delegation which met government's chief negotiator Koel Meyer on Friday to voice objections to an election date being set before a final form of state had been agreed upon.

After the discussions, Volksfront leader

Constand Viljoen said little purpose would be served by right-wing representatives staying in negotiations if the polling date was set in June 25.

Hartzenberg added that an election announcement this month would mean government and the ANC had made a final, bilateral decision on a unitary state — which would lead to an ANC-communist government and loss of any possibility of Afrikaner self-determination. (4/4/93)

"We cannot stay at negotiations if by doing so we legitimise a plan to bring a communist government to power," said Hartzenberg.

He added that the groundswell of support for the Volksfront had brought home the message that people on the ground were "fed up" with violence and crime, which were being seen as a result of the way negotiations were being handled.

A Volksfront statement issued after the Meyer talks said the brutal intimidation of various sectors of the population had brought the country to a state of anarchy, which contrasted with propagandist slogans such as "democratisation" and "breakthroughs" dominating media coverage of negotiations.

The Volksfront is due to launch a programme of mass action from June 26 to emphasise its demands on self-determination and a security crackdown. Right-wing sources have said this could include a refusal to pay taxes.

Yesterday, Hartzenberg said this comm-

☐ To Page 2

## Negotiations

Blay 14/6/93

☐ From Page 1

ing week would be a difficult one for negotiations as the parties were discussing issues like the form of state, constitutional principles and violence. (30/4/93)

The negotiating council meets tomorrow to debate the date of an election, provisionally set for April 27 1994. The council will also concentrate on constitutional principles and the powers, functions and structures of regions. (30/4/93)

Hartzenberg said he did not want to close the door on talks — and there is speculation that the other Cosag members are trying to convince the CP that a federal option with strong original powers can grant the party essentially what it wants.

A Cosag source said that if the CP walked out at this point it would have to go on its own. He said the majority of the Cosag parties were in favour of a federal-type option and would not support the CP's demand for a

separate Afrikaner homeland, which was in essence a racist notion.

Natal Indian Congress negotiator Pravin Gordhan said that it would be regrettable if the CP quit the talks because it was important that the process be as inclusive as possible.

It is also understood that the ANC, at its strategy planning meeting last week, discussed the possibility of regions being able to draft their own constitutions within strong limits posed by a national constitution.

This would have the effect of allowing constitutional asymmetry, a key demand from Inkatha, KwaZulu and Bophutha-leswana.

Other negotiators said this would be a concession that would effectively remove all opposition to agreement on establishing a transitional executive council — the first phase of multiparty rule in SA.



## FW accused of threatening talks

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was threatening the negotiating process by voicing his view of how the transitional process would be conducted, ANC sources said yesterday.

ANC alliance negotiator Pravin Gordhan said De Klerk was "abusing his position in government and trying to dictate the process."

And another ANC negotiator said it was time De Klerk realised he was just the leader of another party and not the person controlling the negotiations process.

They were responding to an interview with De Klerk in the Sunday Times, in which he was reported to have said that the next head of state would have limited powers and would be able to operate only on consensus with the leaders of the major parties serving in an "inner Cabinet".

"After the elections next year, the leaders of all major parties would agree on a Magna Carta laying down priorities," the report quoted De Klerk as saying.

In reaction, a senior ANC member said yesterday his organisation had been "very flexible" with regard to a government of national unity, taking the concerns and fears of minorities into account.

"De Klerk must not now try to swindle a minority veto into our broad understanding. It just will not fly," he said.

Gordhan said all the major parties in a multiparty government, just like any government, would have to work out some

□ To Page 2

FW

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□ From Page 1

form of policy. But to assume this would then be carried out with the minor parties in the government exercising any form of brake or veto was fallacious.

"De Klerk is once again operating out of line. Instead of putting his proposals on the negotiating table he tries to act as player and referee at the same time. While he has a right to express his concerns and those of his party it is dangerous to couch these so that a perception develops that these are ultimatums," said Gordhan.

De Klerk's proposals were merely another form of introducing a minority veto and if he was insisting on this it could also threaten the process.

The other ANC source said the organisation had made major concessions in discussions with government on the establishment of a government of national unity for five years, and also on a government of national unity and reconstruction after that period.

He said the ANC had taken into account the need to keep minority groups feeling safe and involved in government, stabilise the public service and show the organisation's willingness to put SA's interests first.

"To insist on consensus within an 'inner

cabinet' and emasculate the president is tantamount to demanding a white minority veto right," he said.

DP negotiator and constitutional expert Colin Eglin said it was obvious that the major parties had to reach broad agreement on policy for the government of national unity otherwise "multiparty government becomes impossible".

"They have to reach agreement on areas like socio-economic reconstruction and other development priorities, including the efficiency of the public service, otherwise there will be constant dispute within the highest level of government, making it unworkable," he said.

He said government and the ANC had to clarify their agreement on a unity government. "De Klerk wants a majority government with minority groups exercising restraint and a near veto over the majority, while ANC president Nelson Mandela wants majority rule with consultation of minorities."

An effective multiparty system could only evolve out of good faith and could not be a contractual arrangement. Once there was joint responsibility there could be broad agreement on goals and policy.

# No veto

CT 14/6/93 (3049)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE ANC has flatly rejected President F W de Klerk's proposal that his successor in a government of national unity be bound by an effective minority veto on all fundamental policy issues.**

Top ANC negotiator and SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday that Mr Klerk's notion of power-sharing after next year's first non-racial election was "unacceptable because it would see the new president tied hand and foot by the minority parties".

However, Mr Slovo emphasised the ANC-led alliance was not moving away from the idea that minority parties should be given "a major and meaningful place" in the executive in a new dispensation.

The ANC national executive committee, which for much of last week undertook an exhaustive review of the alliance's position on the road ahead, was "tossing about" a proposal that the leader of the second-placed party in the election be made vice-president.

In a surprise move, Mr De Klerk said in an interview with a Sunday newspaper that he foresaw, after the April elections, the country being run by consensus by an "inner cabinet" of the leaders of all the major parties.

He proposed that a government of national unity follow for five years a blueprint or "Magna Carta" that would be drawn up by party leaders on the inner cabinet or executive committee.

In terms of this plan, the new president would not be able to make fundamental decisions on issues like the economy, the budget, education or health without the agreement of the multi-party committee of leaders.

The ANC's department of information and propaganda said last night that the organisation's negotiations

## But put minorities in cabinet, says Slovo

commission would meet today to examine Mr De Klerk's remarks before issuing a formal and "considered" response.

ANC sources said Mr De Klerk was threatening the negotiating process by articulating his view of how the transitional process should be conducted.

One ANC alliance negotiator, Mr Pravin Gordhan, said he was "abusing his position in government and trying to dictate the process", while another said it was time Mr De Klerk realised he was just the leader of another party and not the person controlling the negotiations process.

A senior ANC member said his organisation had been "very flexible" with regard to a government of national unity, taking the concerns and fears of minorities into account. "De Klerk must not now try and swindle a minority veto into our broad understanding. It just will not fly."

Mr Slovo, who has been on the ANC's negotiating team since the beginning of the constitutional talks with the government, said Mr De Klerk's latest plan "is the kind of proposal that has come up in earlier bilaterals and has been rejected".

At one point the government had put forward the notion of rotating the

presidency and farming out the chairmanship of the cabinet to the leaders of the three or five most successful parties in the elections.

This proposal was rejected out of hand by the ANC on the grounds that it would rob the leader of the victorious party of the power to implement much-needed programmes in a new order.

There is, however, a widespread appreciation in top ANC circles that Mr De Klerk should be offered a position of real status in a government of unity to help him sell to his nervous constituency what effectively would be black majority rule.

"In a government of national unity there will have to be a meaningful place in the executive for minority parties, but not on a basis that gives minority parties a veto over executive decisions," Mr Slovo said.

Asked if the leader of the majority party should have the power to rule and call the shots, he said: "Absolutely."

However, Mr Slovo said negotiators still had to find a way to accommodate "meaningfully" in the executive the parties that did not get the most votes.

DP negotiator and constitutional expert Mr Colin Eglin said it was obvious the major parties had to reach broad agreement on policy for the government of national unity, otherwise "multi-party government becomes impossible".

● Another issue that could put pressure on the delicately-poised negotiations at the World Trade Centre is the government's decision to push ahead with a debate in Parliament this week on whether to lift the moratorium on hanging.

The Deputy Minister of Law and Order, Mr Gert Myburgh, said at the weekend that if, as is widely expected, the majority of MPs vote to lift the moratorium, executions would resume. There are 285 people on death row.

The move would be opposed strenuously by the ANC, which regards the parliamentary debate as an election gimmick.



# IFP, Bop to remain at talks

**Sowetan Correspondent**

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in the occupation of the World Trade Centre on Friday, the CP has been told.

## IFP assurance

This assurance, made by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and

Bophuthatswana Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronjé, was given to the CP yesterday.

## Conciliatory mood

In a meeting with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg which the IFP said had been planned before rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre on Friday — in Ulundi on Monday, Buthelezi reportedly said the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, who is a member of the

party's negotiating team, was among those roughed up by rightwingers on Friday. Although an IFP source said the CP had apologised "for what happened on Friday", CP chief negotiator Mr Tom Langley on Monday night denied this and said Buthelezi had accepted the CP was not involved in the fracas. "After the meeting Cosag is now stronger than ever," Langley said.

Cronjé said yesterday he also accepted the CP had not been part of the violent invasion of the World Trade Centre and that Bophuthatswana would remain part of Cosag.

# CP could quit talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party could soon walk out of the multi-party talks without the backing of its allies, political observers said at the weekend.

Strains within the alliance opposed to government and ANC proposals are surfacing, with the CP increasingly standing on its own in demanding a confederation.

There is also pressure from within the Volksfront, of which the CP is a

key member, for the party to adopt a stronger stance.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday his executive was reassessing its position at the talks daily but that the party would remain in the talks as long as there was the possibility of attaining a separate Afrikaner homeland.

If the negotiating forum, which was to meet on June 25, fixed an election date the CP might find it impossible to continue.

CT 14/5/93



# Fear, ignorance two key factors in nonracial poll

□ Report details three major obstacles

SHARON SOROUR (304A)  
Labour Reporter ARG 14/6/93  
POLITICAL negotiations may not be able to resolve key factors which will affect the country's first nonracial election, says the latest edition of People Dynamics.

According to a report in the official publication of the Institute of Personnel Management, research has identified three key areas of electoral significance which will be difficult to resolve at a national negotiations table.

"One is the fear factor, the second is ignorance and the third is apathy or cynicism of politicians," says the report.

Although South Africa was one of the "big spenders" worldwide in education, about 60 percent of black voters were functionally illiterate.

"That, alone, has enormous implications for the country's first nonracial election, expected next year," the report said.

Interfaced with a range of factors "rooted in apartheid", the issue of voter education took on "quite a different magnitude ... the bottom line in a fair and free election is how people see it being organised and run.

"If the old structures remain intact ... then, no matter how much voter education there is, it won't work".

Political agreements between contending parties to sanction open campaigning were crucial and political parties needed to demonstrate their commitment by giving substance to political tolerance on the ground.

The report said: "But, the levers of fear are many. There need be no violence to invoke intimidation. For example, a voter need only have doubts about the secrecy of the ballot to be susceptible to intimidation.

"Therefore, worries about people,

particularly in the rural outback, being cajoled into voting against the party of their choice are by no means unfounded. But, if people can be informed, they are less likely to be swayed in the wrong directions."

Ms Jill de Vlieg of the Black Sash said the greatest fear expressed in their workshops concerned the guarantee of secrecy. The right of women in voting for a party of their choice also needed to be tackled.

One nonprofit organisation focused on voter education picked up a problem around the "X" to denote one's choice, because a cross in school education denotes something wrong and there was a real danger that people would put an "X" against parties not of their liking.

Organisation spokesman Mr Barry Gilder said: "Voter education is not just how to put an "X". It includes discussions about the concept of democracy and its constituted parts."

The newly-formed Independent Forum for Electoral Education brought together 15 major national organisations, as well as a range of regional groups.

Mr Gilder said that, while he believed the bulk of voter education had to be carried out by civil society groups, many of these groups were identified with the African National Congress or other anti-apartheid groups.

"Therefore, many of these groups cannot assume broad acceptance, but will need to establish it, instead, through the manner in which they handle voter education."

Big business could play an important role in the education drive, but the manner in which it took part would need sensitive handling because many black voters perceived business as being on the side of the authorities.

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# Time to quit, says Nat MP

## Political Staff

THERE is a time to arrive in politics and a time to go, says Mr Aubrey Thompson, the retiring National Party MP for South Coast.

Mr Thompson's retirement was announced by President De Klerk on Friday night.

In a statement, Mr Thompson said: "As I will not be making myself available for the next general election, it is my intention to retire at the end of July. This will make it possible for my successor to become involved in the election from the beginning of the campaign."

"I entered public life in September 1963, served 17 years on local government, almost four years on the the Natal Provincial Council, and came to parliament in April 1981."

Mr Thompson said he left the political scene "with optimism, having experienced the inside track of the NP under the leadership of President De Klerk, who stands head and shoulders above any other political leader in Africa".

"In my opinion, the NP is the only party that knows where it is going and what it wants for our future — a stable, democratic South Africa based on acceptable Western ideals and standards," Mr Thompson said.

Natal leader of the NP Mr George Bartlett said he, Mr Thompson and Mr Ron Miller had left the New Republic Party together in 1984 to join the NP.

"Aubrey has been an excellent constituency man. He has also been a very hard campaigner. I believe Aubrey and his wife Shirley deserve a good retirement," Mr Bartlett said.



# Hayek can guide us to life of prosperity

**By Ron Schurink**  
Guest economics writer

EACH one of us hopes South Africa is on its way to big change so that we can all have a full proper place in the community. Democracy and equal education are two of the institutions needed for a properly functioning society here.

A man who has sketched how such institutions — and also private property and the family — help economic advance is an economist-philosopher who died last year.

Unfortunately, the name of Friedrich August Hayek is, for many people, linked to hardline Margaret Thatcher, who took a leaf from his anti-socialist book, *The Road to Serfdom*.

But there is much, much more to the man than that. I have been lucky enough to come across a 1988 edition of the American academic *Journal on the Unity of the Sciences*, containing one of his last essays.

Many mineworkers in particular — having one foot in a simple, tribal environment and another in the sophisticated business of supplying gold and other metals to the outside world — will appreciate parts of it.

"On the one hand, people have attitudes and emotions appropriate to behaviour in the small groups where mankind lived together for over a hundred thousands years, where we learned to serve our known fellows and where the whole group pursued the same aims. On the other hand, we have the more recent development in cultural evolution wherein we no longer chiefly serve known fellows, where we no longer pursue common ends, but where institutions, moral



**Margaret Thatcher - hardline economic action.**

systems and traditions have evolved — such as private property and the family — that keep alive many hundred times more people than existed before civilisation began, and where these people are engaged in the pursuit of thousands of different ends of their own choosing in collaboration with thousands of persons whom they will never know".

If one rereads and savours those words, they give an extra dimension to a vision of that canny old Scot of the 18th century, Adam Smith.

## **Seek wealth**

He, of course, was the person who saw that as people seek wealth for themselves, through and setting up businesses, they also enrich their community and nation. The mineworkers and their families are better off thanks to foreign revenue the mines earn (and the Num works to make them still better off)!

Hayek is really saying that modern social institutions are fundamentally aimed at keeping more people alive — at a constantly better standard.

If one thinks of things that way, then mankind's greatest achievements

are the American and Japanese economies, because they keep such large numbers of people living well.

To have a similar sort of economy here must be our ultimate aim. Hayek's thinking thoroughly discredits the Verwoerdism of the past and the Terre'Blancheism and communism of the present — because all that thinking inhibits a life-improving economy for all.

If we are not all prepared to be guided by a foremost thinker of our times, there isn't much hope for us.

Adopt his thinking, on the other hand, and we shall tell the world that we're on a track that South-East Asia is taking so successfully while much of Africa struggles to find it.

The reviving gold price will then really work through to become economic advance for all. Instead of being nullified by actions of gun-happies, which fall into Hayek's definition of "those things that irreparably break down the conditions that make an extended order" (or modern economy), and thus civilisation, possible".

Viva Hayek!

# Alexander will attend talks

Sowetan 14/6/93

■ **'MALICIOUS REPORTS'** PAC denies he has been dismissed from negotiating team:

By Themba Molefe  
Political Reporter

**P**AN AFRICANIST CONGRESS secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander will be in his seat when multiparty negotiations resume at the World Trade Centre today, the organisation said yesterday.

Reacting to weekend reports that it had dismissed Alexander as leader of the PAC's negotiating team, the organisation yesterday expressed "grave concern about the malicious reporting of the media...which has consistently misrepresented and under-reported the PAC".

The PAC said Alexander would attend the multiparty negotiations planning committee of 10 meeting today and also of the 26-party negotiating council throughout the week.

The organisation's legal and constitutional

affairs secretary, Mr Willie Seriti, said the PAC denied "in the strongest terms possible the alleged axing of Alexander".

Press reports said Alexander was dismissed because of "blustering statements" in support of the Azanian People's Liberation Army and armed struggle.

The PAC statement said that Seriti was the leader of the negotiating team - not Alexander. This team operated collectively and leadership at the negotiating table was on a rotating basis.

"Those alleged fraud charges which are pending and which the illegitimate regime has preferred against our secretary-general will not have in any way influenced us against him," the PAC said.

Seriti confirmed Alexander had asked for leave to attend to personal matters and would be relieved of his tasks temporarily at the end of the meeting of the negotiating council on Friday.



'We cannot have a president without teeth'

# ANC rejects FW's plan

By Kalzer Nyatsumba  
Political Correspondent

The ANC will reject President de Klerk's proposals that severe restrictions be placed on the powers of the president after South Africa's first all-inclusive election next year, sources in the organisation said yesterday.

The sources said the proposals, made by De Klerk in an interview with the Sunday Times, were another version of the National Party's earlier proposals of a rotating presidency, and warned that they would reduce the new president to a mere ceremonial figure.

The ANC yesterday officially said it had taken note of De Klerk's remarks, and would give "a considered response" today.

According to the Report De Klerk said:

● After the country's watershed election — tentatively scheduled for April 27 — an "inner Cabinet" of leaders of all major parties would agree on a "Magna Carta" to lay down principles which would guide all decisions to be taken by the government of national unity during its five-year rule.

● The "inner Cabinet" would have to agree on a five-year policy plan for the country.

● The policy plan would have to cover all fundamental issues such as the economy, health and education, and the "inner Cabinet" — which would manage the multiparty Cabinet — would have to agree on the Budget.

Commenting on the proposals, ANC national executive member and SACP chairman Joe Slovo bluntly said it was not for De Klerk to decide how the country was going to be run for the first five years.

"The suggestion is that he (De Klerk) wants a majority president to be without teeth or, at best, to have false teeth. While we accept that for a period there will be a government of national unity, we cannot accept De Klerk's new version of a rotating presidency.

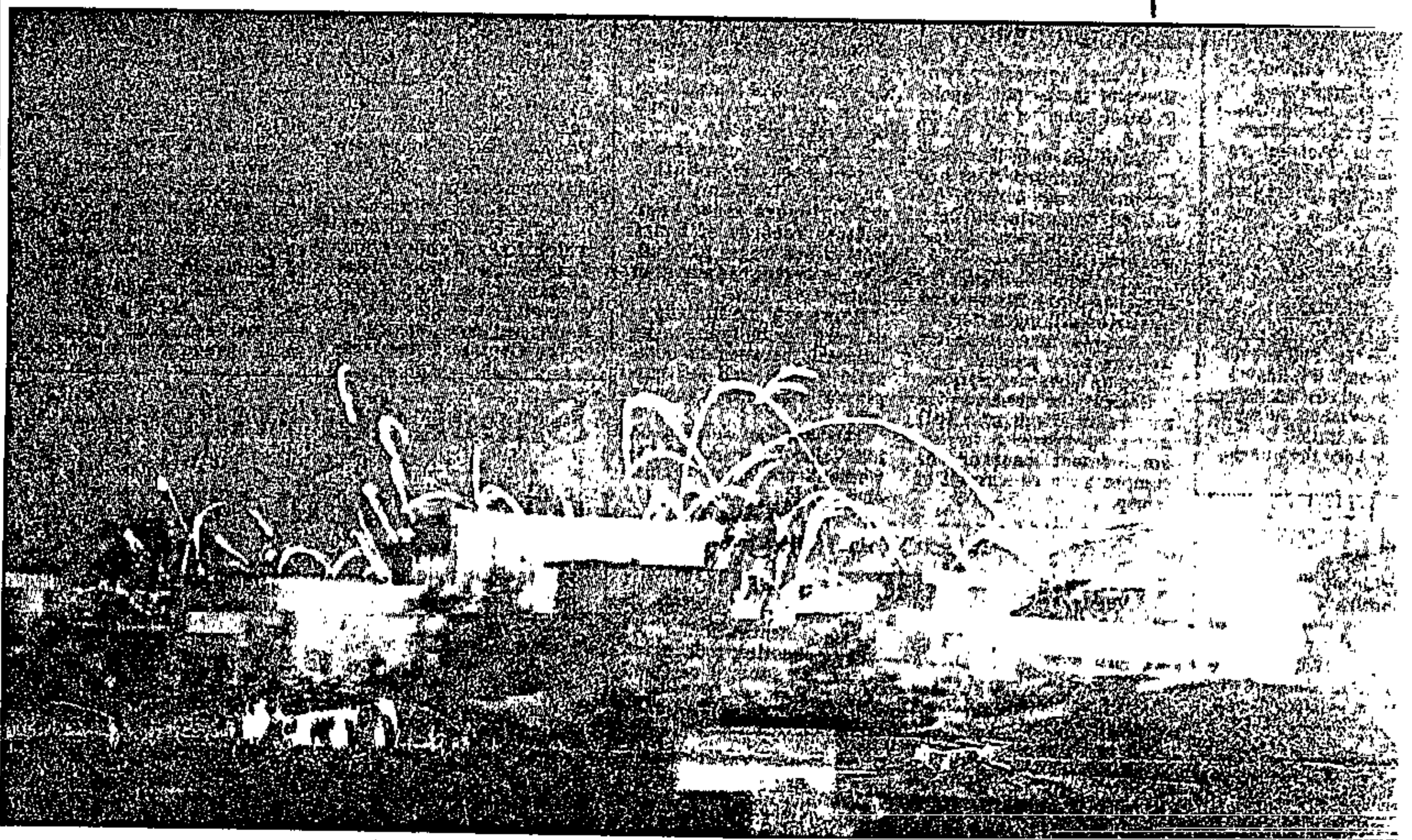
"To suggest that a new government should be hamstrung by the need for consensus is expecting too much, and the movement cannot agree to that."

Slovo said the majority party after the election would have to be "at the helm of the State".

However, Slovo admitted that at its three-day meeting last week, the ANC NEC had discussed the possibility of giving the country's vice-presidency to the leader of the second biggest party.

Slovo also expressed optimism that tomorrow's Negotiating Council meeting will see the formal adoption of April 27 as the election date.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he had "considerable sympathy" with De Klerk's proposals.



Hitting back... United States gunship rained rockets and cannon fire on targets in southern Mogadishu early today, in the third night of gun rule in the Somali capital. Most of the fire appeared concentrated on an area controlled by Somalia's main warlord, Mohamed F

## Six die in E Rand crash

By Anna Louw  
East Rand Bureau

Six people, including a three-year-old boy and a fireman, died when a rescue vehicle and a car were involved in a smash between Devon and Nigel late yesterday.

A Nigel fire department spokesman said five occupants including the child died in a Volkswagen Golf.

The driver of the rescue vehicle died on impact and two other firemen were taken to 1 Military Hospital

with injuries.

The firemen were returning to Devon after fighting a grass fire when the accident happened at an intersection at 5 pm.

Bystanders told paramedics they heard the occupants in the car screaming for help but were unable to reach them because of the mangled wreckage.

Rescue workers used hydraulic jaws to extricate the victims. "It's frightening to think a fireman is sent out to fight a grass fire and he

doesn't come back," said one rescue worker.

The police have not yet released the names of the victims and are investigating.

● A truck caught fire on the Geldenhuys interchange on the N3 causing a traffic snarl-up during peak hour this morning.

A Bedfordview traffic spokesman said no injuries were reported but traffic officers had their hands full trying to cope with the congestion.

## Police seize SAM-7 missiles

Crime Reporter

Police confiscated four SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles and four stick grenades early yesterday when they intercepted a group of Mozambicans who entered the Transvaal through the Lebombo border post near Komati-poort.

Eastern Transvaal S.A.P. spokesman Warrant-Officer Izak van Zyl said two Frelimo security force members and one former Frelimo member were arrested in connection with the haul.

The arrests came before today's meeting in Cape Town between Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Mozambican Internal Affairs Minister Manuel Jose Antonio to discuss the

smuggling of weapons into South Africa.

Van Zyl said the men were arrested at a roadblock and that most of the arms confiscated in the eastern Transvaal were smuggled through the Mozambican and Swaziland borders.

A Law and Order Ministry spokesman said talks between Kriel and Antonio would focus on the smuggling of arms, especially AK-47 rifles, into the country.

The spokesman said Kriel would urge Antonio to implement stricter controls on weapons — like the AK-47 which sold for about R500 in South Africa — in the Mozambican army.

Van Zyl said the arrested men were expected to appear in court tomorrow.



Kriel... likely to urge stricter weapons controls.

ALSO IN 30'S

**NOW!**

**THE LIGHT**

TASTE THE LIGHTEST  
OF THEM ALL



# April 27 is target day for election

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

South Africa has a tentative date for its first democratic elections — April 27 1994.

But negotiators are still some way from agreeing that the nation will go to the polls on that day.

A dramatic 2½-hour debate on the issue in the Negotiating Council last night ended with the majority acceptance of a compromise resolution. It said the council would discuss the issue on June 15 and recommend to the negotiating forum meeting on June 25 that the date of an election should be April 27 next year.

However, the resolution left the final decision to the Negotiating Council meeting "with a view to maximise consensus".

And it left room for an even earlier date if a final settlement in talks allowed for it.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo had tabled a resolution calling for the fixing of the April 27 date after fierce debate on whether it should even come before the council.

He argued that sufficient progress had been made in talks to warrant the setting of a date. He also warned of growing expectations across the country and "unpredictable consequences" if setting a date was delayed.

Star 4/6/93  
IFP and  
CP not  
happy,  
but 17  
give nod  
(304A)

After extended debate and objections from most delegates of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa proposed the compromise.

Most Cosag members continued to express opposition and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje explained later that while he had no opposition to determining the date, he felt several fundamental issues should be resolved first.

The KwaZulu government flatly rejected the resolution due to what it called "manipulation of the process".

The Conservative Party reserved its position and must now be perilously close to walking out.

CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs told The Star he would have to report back to the party leadership, but warned that "the Afrikaner

people" could not go along indefinitely with a process that continually adopted positions it could not agree with.

In sharp contrast, the Government, the ANC, and 15 other parties were upbeat about the progress. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it had been a long struggle but thought "the resolution is enough progress for now".

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate, who reserved his position because he did not have a mandate to accept a specific date, said the end of April target date should not have been adjusted.

The IFP had no objection to any election date, but felt this should be set only once "we can properly do so and be sure it is attainable".

Both the Democratic Party and the PAC suggested March 31 as their preference but did not get any other support.

They felt important issues had been deliberately skipped in an attempt to settle an election date. Earlier debate on constitutional principles that would be entrenched in a future constitution had been cut short, and debate on a technical committee report on violence would also have to be continued at the next meeting.

Other issues not addressed were the independent media commission and independent electoral commission.

● The talks — Page 3



# Fighting apartheid with ink

Spencer 14/6/93

3044

**A**s South Africa heads for its exciting future, many will lose sight of the forces that helped craft the changes.

There were numerous factors, most notably the marathon struggle of the liberation movements, the battle of blood.

Another was the battle of print-er's ink. It was fought by newspaper professionals, some hailed internationally and some unknown, in a long struggle against nationalist power.

They did it in 48-point capitals and Times Bold. They employed courage and skill mixed with just enough forelock-tugging and the proffering of bones to pacify the growing white lions temporarily in power.

Harvey Tyson was uniquely positioned, as a professional observer for more than 40 years of eccentric Nationalist rule, to tell the story. His career covered the whole span: the crazy debut of apartheid, the defiance campaign, Sharpeville, detentions, Angola, Soweto, Muldergate, states of emergency, death squads, De Klerk, Mandela, and the rest.

Tyson was editor-in-chief of The Star for 16 years, and can look back on a career which kept faith with the central tenets of his profession world-wide. His clear, fervent wish is to have the role of the press in that era recognised for what it was.

His book is a large (428-page)

and meticulously marshalled view of a country that broke itself, and nearly its press, on the anvil of apartheid. An editor's obsessive preoccupation with fact-checking comes through as he fortifies reminiscence with hitherto-unpublished memos.

The result is a rare, compelling look inside the conclave of South African newspapering.

Only a fraction of the news that reaches a newspaper has a chance of publication. The rest hovers in limbo, in hold, spike or overset etc. Countless fascinating internal office memos languish in filing cabinets. Using these, and more, Tyson tells a fine story, giving chapter and verse, with a puckish, disarming humour.

His appetite for writing the book was probably whetted by critical remarks about the mainstream press from people like Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. Such strictures can have the merit of spurring working journalists to do more. And criticism was certainly warranted when applied to certain newspapers which wallowed in Fleet Street's pop trinity of crime, cricket and crumpet. The mainstream press had its fair share of creeps and carpetbaggers.

Yet generalisations against the mainstream press are difficult to sustain — and Tyson sets about giving credit where it is due, in a fuller mosaic of information than has been seen before.

**BOOK OF THE WEEK**  
**Editors Under Fire** by Harvey Tyson (Random House R84.99)  
**Reviewed by TONY HEARD**

The value of Tyson's account is that, more than any other, it delves deeper into the morass that was apartheid, and exposes its tawdry innards and contradictions, and charts the impressive and consistent role played by mainstream newspapers in defending freedom.

Of necessity, his sources tend to come from his own newspaper, The Star, but he is not ungenerous in his treatment of other titles, including the courageous alternatives — and, indeed, waves of black journalists who lived special kinds of hell at the hands of security forces and radical activists.

The list of mainstream achievements, when considered together, can only be described as massive. One need but mention the role of the Sunday Express and the Rand Daily Mail in bringing down a prime minister and his ambitious, arrogant henchmen — if not their pet newspaper — during the Information scandal. The irony is that those two superb newspapers were put to death "for financial reasons" a few years later by their opulent owners.

The Star had its successes too. There were titanic battles against the early resolve of the National-

ist government to curb the press, the late Kitz Katzin's disclosures on CCB spying and the newspaper's disregard of official threats during the emergency of publishing advertisements of the Detainees' Parents Support Committee and numerous other dicey advertisements, pictures and reports (including names of detainees thought until then to be unpub-lishable).

Perhaps of more long-term significance for freedom was The Star's gruelling day-to-day running battles with bureaucratic authority, such as police and later defence, to prise open, and hold open, the ramparts of the public's right to know. Yes, reader, The Star and others in the mainstream fought long and hard for your freedom — and there was little sales or commercial benefit in this either.

The traditionally more staid Argus company flagship moved in to fill some of the liberal void when the Rand Daily Mail's disappearance impoverished the streets of Johannesburg in 1985 — just when the Mail could play a role in the turning fortunes of a nation.

Someone other than Tyson (with his record of professionalism, innate liberalism, attention to detail

and instinctive rapport with all-rounder Rex Gibson, last editor of the Mail, whom he hired as his deputy) might not have done this with the same gusto and canny success.

Tyson had his brushes with friends too. As editor of the Cape Times, I had differences with him over the Allan Boesak bugging case which highlighted an age-old dilemma for editors: how to reconcile personal privacy with legitimate public interest. The book gives a very fair account of the clash.

Tyson has thoughtful remarks on editors' relations with proprietors, monopolies, newspaper chains, and so on. Something that comes through powerfully is the team-work of managers, editors and lawyers under pressure, which did much to hold the line for freedom particularly in the states of emergency.

Layton Slater, Argus chairman, emerges — with D P de Villiers, ex-MD of Nasionale Pers — as a champion in dealing deftly but firmly with naked power.

While one can concur that the ultimate owners, notably Anglo American, scrupulously did not interfere with editors once appointed, and that managements generally kept their distance, Tyson might have discussed in greater detail the broader context of business and government. Many saw significance in the unhealthy business/government coalition that

developed particularly in the Botha years; as it happens, just when the mainstream media were given rich pickings in pay-TV, and the Mail was closed to the applause of P W Botha.

Cautiously, Tyson concedes that the owners, Anglo American, were "perhaps" not attacked often enough by newspapers they owned in controversial areas such as mi-

grant labour and factory pollution. The case for high-profile conglomerates' unbundling of newspapers is reinforced by such remarks.

It is also legitimate to ask why the mainstream newspapers, while fighting the freedom battle, were so slow to advance blacks (not to mention women) to the

highest, non-token positions in newspapers, even having regard to the modest progress noted by Tyson recently at the Argus company, of which he is a director.

The book has some excellent contributed essays and insights, with a classic and brilliant depiction of the old Sophiatown by Aggrey Klaaste. Internationally known figures Nelson Mandela,

Helen Suzman, Anthony Lewis and Lord McGregor of Durris offer useful thoughts to round off a rich read.

*Editors Under Fire* is a major addition to the history of an era which we can all hope is over, but should not forget. □

● Tony Heard was editor of the Cape Times from 1971 to 1987.



# Talks move into new gear

By Esther Waugh

Constitutional talks move into a new gear this week when the 26-party Negotiating Council meets almost continuously.

Key agreements, including on a transitional executive council (TEC) and an election date, need to be reached within the next five days for the Government and ANC to keep to their timetables for the transition.

Decisions reached at the Negotiating Council will be passed on as recommendations to the Negotiating Forum which meets on June 25.

The Government, ANC and their allies — which constitute the majority of parties in negotiations — want a TEC to be installed by next month and elections for an interim government to be held by April next year.

The process moved into an invisible phase last week with

seven negotiations technical committees preparing reports for consideration by the Negotiating Council this week.

These reports will first be discussed today by the 10-member planning committee. These discussions are expected to focus on how these reports can structure debate in the Negotiating Council.

Vital issues expected to feature this week are a TEC, the constitutional principles, which will be binding on a new constitution, the scenario for the transition, violence and regionalism.

Compromises seem likely on two major obstacles — regionalism and violence. (304A)

The last report of the technical committee on constitutional matters recommended far-reaching proposals on regionalism, including fiscal powers for the regions and interim regional governments.

ANC negotiators have indicated that they are willing to accept these recommendations should the IFP agree to a two-phased transition which means agreement on elections for an interim government.

IFP negotiators, on the other hand, have said they will agree to elections for an interim government, but only under certain conditions.

The last report by the technical committee on violence contained another major compromise between the ANC and IFP. The report recommended that armed formations such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), and police forces, including the KwaZulu Police, be dealt with in terms of separate multiparty "agencies".

The IFP has until now demanded the disbandment of MK.



# Qualified franchise rejected — survey

B1 Day 14/6/93  
(304A) (128)

EVERYBODY over the age of 18 should have an equal vote irrespective of education, income or age, a Markinor survey released at the weekend has found.

Most South Africans of all races rejected voting restrictions or qualifications of any kind, said Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner.

The survey was conducted in urban areas last year to find out what people thought of qualified franchise.

More Afrikaners rejected qualification than English speakers, Woessner said. More than 73% rejected restrictions, compared to the 65% of English whites. However, it had to be kept in mind that this only reflected urban opinion, she said.

More than 67% of blacks and 68% of whites rejected adding weight to the vote of people paying a higher income tax. Only 31% of blacks and 32% of whites fully or partly agreed with the suggestion.

Not surprisingly, said Woessner, respondents with a higher income agreed more with this statement than those with lower household incomes. Nearly half the whites with a monthly income of R8 000 per household

GAVIN DU VENAGE

were in favour of this qualification.

Age-related voting qualifications were also strongly rejected by both race groups, but with greater disagreement by whites. Three-quarters of whites rejected making the vote of older people count more, and just more than half of blacks disagreed. However, half the black respondents older than 50 thought their vote should be given more sway.

There was also a "high resentment" among people older than 35 at the suggestion that younger people be given a stronger vote, particularly among whites, said Woessner.

"The greatest contention seemed to come with the suggestion that voting should be qualified by education," Woessner said. Blacks and whites are divided on this issue with nearly half of each group for and against the idea.

"The issue of educational qualification seems to evoke the strongest feeling, among whites and blacks, that it should perhaps be introduced. But even here feelings are split," Woessner said.

## Farmers 'accept war declaration'

B1 Day 14/6/93

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Attacks on farmers following calls for such action by ANC and PAC members had resulted in a situation where farmers accepted that the organisations had declared war on them and the Afrikaner, Free State Agricultural Union president Piet Gouws said at the weekend.

Gouws was speaking after an urgent meeting of the union's executive committee in Kroonstad.

Gouws said because of the increasing intensity of attacks, farmers were compelled to give the highest priority to security. He urged all farmers to join commando units in their districts.

Gouws repeated farmers were convinced a war against them had been declared by the ANC and PAC. "Consequently we must, with all the power at our disposal, defend ourselves as if we were in a war situation."

He said the tactics and timing of any action would be determined by the farming community. Discussions were planned between the union's security committee, the police and the SADF to consider future action.



**O**N THE assumption that a firm election date and the formation of transitional executive councils are announced on June 25, President Bill Clinton will have comfortable words for SA on July 4 when he travels to Philadelphia to hang medals around the necks of President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

After congratulating the sanctioners for having made this moment possible, he will call for the removal of remaining state and local boycotts and the resumption of lending by the World Bank and IMF. He will pledge to urge his G-7 partners, whom he will meet in Tokyo three days later, to ante up for a multilateral assistance package. He will encourage investors to re-engage.

The immediate goal of US policy, he will probably suggest, is to ensure the success of the elections. To which end, he may announce that he hopes to set aside \$10m in "democracy money" for voter education and similar projects. For the longer term, he may proffer loan guarantees for housing construction. It is by now well understood that what happens after the elections is as important as the voting itself and that no settlement will last unless it is accompanied by tangible economic and social benefits.

**T**here is one idea circulating which Clinton will hopefully eschew: the replacement of ambassador Princeton Lyman by some notable African-American. Former UN ambassador Andrew Young is among those mentioned. Some wits have even suggested sending *Fast Forward*, whose writings on the need for minority vetoes over "own affairs" cost her her nomination as the justice department's civil rights czar.

Because of his handling of the Guinier affair, and other perceived slights to the black political establishment, Clinton is in the market for an appeasing gesture, preferably a cheap one. The SA job looks tempting, but Lyman has powerful supporters — including Secretary of State Warren Christopher — strongly opposed to his premature recall, and his performance is getting rave reviews. More to the point, it would seem strange, even by Clinton's demanding standards, to mark SA's transition to nonracial democracy

# Clinton has awards and rewards in mind for new SA

SIMON BARBER in Washington



□ YOUNG

by an overtly racist act. Clinton's problems with groups like the Congressional Black Caucus may cause other hassles for his SA policy. As bizarre as it may sound, Clinton's decision to call for the lifting of remaining sanctions and to promote investment may be opposed by the caucus and others regardless of the fact that he will be doing Mandela's bidding.

A number of black legislators, at the federal and local levels, are already saying that it will take more than a joint declaration by Clinton and Mandela to get them to shift their stance. Part of this may be sheer political bloody-mindedness,

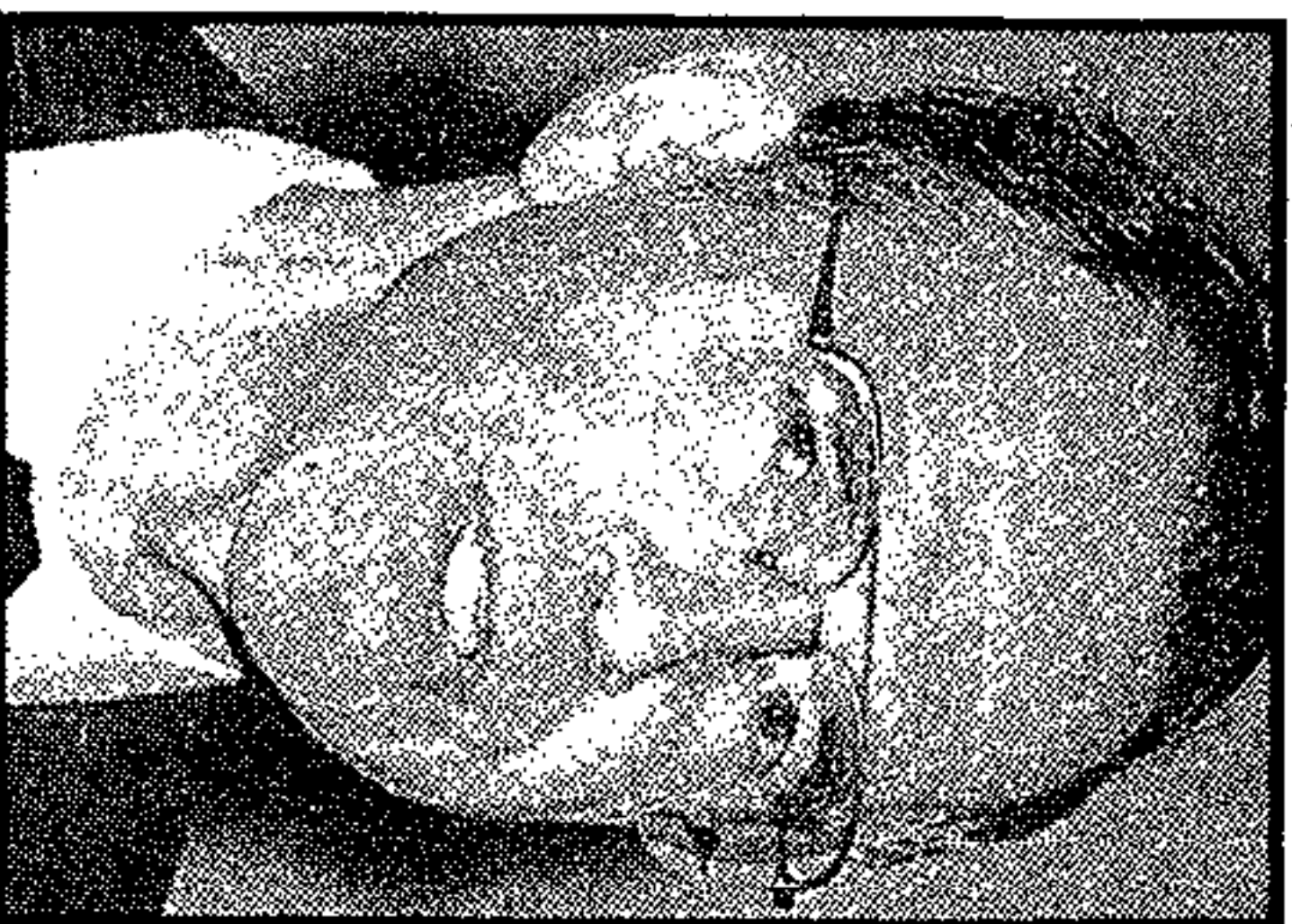
(3044) (3044) a reluctance to say goodbye to a cause that has been driven as much by domestic concerns as by apartheid. But that is not the whole of it.

Some caucus members seem to believe their own historical experience with whites has made them wiser than the ANC. "Unless you hold something over the heads of these people," House Africa subcommittee member, Congressman Don Payne, said recently, "you may not get there. You have to constantly have some external force."

Such notions, combined with an aggressive and insular ignorance, underlie attempts even now to impose or strengthen state boycotts despite repeated calls from the ANC to desist. Just last week, a Pennsylvania state legislator introduced no less than eight Bills requiring the divestment of state funds for companies doing business with SA and, yes, Namibia. The same legislator has bitterly criticised De Klerk's invitation to next month's award ceremony, and appears to think Mandela a fool for agreeing to share both podium and honour.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, there is little evidence that outfits like TransAfrica, the Africa Fund and the Interfaith Centre on Corporate Responsibility, which spearheaded the sanctions campaign, are moving to correct such zealotry. Fortunately, SA still has enough going for it that US business is moving to fill the gap.

Last week saw the launch of the US-SA Business Council, a Washington-based lobbying group founded by



□ LYMAN

major US corporations to ensure state and local boycotts are repealed when Mandela gives the word. The council will also assist companies wishing to return, or make first-time investments, and prod federal entities like the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Export-Import Bank and the Trade and Development Agency to co-operate.

The operation is being run by Dan O'Flaherty, director of the National Foreign Trade Council (NFTC). He has been under serious consideration for an Africa post in the State Department and has been closely involved with the SA issue for years. In his view, a major difficulty in

removing state and local boycotts is inertia. Local politicians and bureaucrats have scores of other matters on their agendas and, in most cases, changing laws and regulations is as cumbersome a process as getting them adopted in the first place.

And while companies have regional lobbyists to deal with such questions, focusing the troops' attention is itself a chore. Most are trying to bring home the bacon for their companies on issues that count like taxes and environmental regulations, and are reluctant to spend lobbying capital on side-shows. O'Flaherty is pleased that at a recent meeting of NFTC members in New York, 23 corporations agreed to order their local representatives to give SA a high priority.

The formation of the Business Council has ruffled some feathers. John Chettle, a former Washington director of the SA Foundation, had a similar idea and teamed up with Wayne Fredericks, a former Ford executive, to launch a group calling itself the SA-America Chamber of Commerce.

Fredericks, who has cultivated close ties with the ANC, obtained a letter of blessing from Mandela and used his long association with the Kennedys to arrange a meeting with Kennedy family guru Theodore Sorenson. A decorous board was assembled, including appellate judge Leon Higginbotham, until his retirement one of the most senior African-Americans on the federal Bench.

**T**he venture relied on raising corporate funding. Alas for the chamber, the corporations chose to go with O'Flaherty who had already been serving them through the NFTC, and who offered a readymade vehicle (though not a Mandela letter). This has led to a degree of ill-feeling, with the chamber believing it has been stabbed in the back by the Business Council. One can only hope that any ensuing rivalry will not defeat the larger purpose.

A final observation: there are altogether too many letters of support signed by Mandela and other senior ANC officials floating around out there. Almost no one, it seems, feels free to do anything that might help the SA economy unless he has a bit of paper from Shell House. This is becoming a joke. It's as if the ANC were handing out indulgences like medieval popes.



## SA to play a key role, says Dutch minister

CAPE TOWN — SA could become the economic gateway to the rest of Africa, Netherlands Economic Affairs Minister Koos Andriessen said after talks with President F W de Klerk yesterday.

Andriessen, the highest-ranking Dutch government minister to visit SA, said he had approached his fact-finding mission with caution, but had been encouraged by the sense of purpose he had encountered.

"Politically, there is much still to be settled ... but I have noticed, particularly in the talks this afternoon, that there is great confidence on the part of government that you will succeed," he said.

Andriessen said he would

also meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"If it emerges that everyone says the time and the circumstances force us to come to agreement, then I can see no reason why Dutch businessmen will not want to come to SA."

"Many things are in place and that makes SA interesting," he said.

After his meeting with Andriessen, De Klerk told a news conference that industrial action by right-wingers would harm only themselves and entrepreneurs.

"I do not think industrial action by right-wingers is a serious threat at all." Unemployment was the greatest problem. — Sapa-Reuters.

## FW's proposal 'bid to ensure white power'

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC's chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday rejected President F W de Klerk's "inner cabinet" plan as "a transparent attempt by the NP to have a veto power in any new dispensation".

He said the President's ideas were the antithesis of democracy and an attempt to ensure white power because the majority party would be outnumbered by the minority parties. *B/Dav 15/6/92*

The ANC believed a government of national unity was desirable for a smooth transition to democracy and it should have the following characteristics:

- ☐ Each party with more than 5% of the national vote should be represented in the cabinet. *(30/4/92)*
- ☐ The representation of each party should be in proportion to the number of seats it occupied in the constituent assembly;
- ☐ The composition of the government of national unity should be decided at the polls and no party should be assured of a place before elections;
- ☐ Minority parties should not be able to paralyse the functioning of government; and
- ☐ The government had to be able to embark upon a programme of national reconstruction and transformation.

"The government of national unity is not a device to be used by those who want to cling to power, nor is it to be used to undermine the majority," he said. There would be no point in democratic elections if the result made no difference to the status of the majority and minority parties in the government.

"President de Klerk would be well advised to refrain from putting forward unworkable and unacceptable proposals which he may be forced to retract," Ramaphosa said.

He was supported by DP negotiator Colin Eglin, who said De Klerk was "way out of court" if he was suggesting a subtle form of minority veto. There would have to be broad agreement on policy objectives between the members of the multiparty government of national unity. But this should

☐ To Page 2

## FW's proposal *B/Dav 15/6/92*

☐ From Page 1

not be confused with a minority veto. Meanwhile, negotiators get down to a hard day of discussions today as they tackle the controversial issue of finalising an election date. Ten days ago the ANC and its allies bulldozed the negotiating council into provisionally setting April 27 1994 as the date for the first nonracial elections for an interim government. It is understood that the Concerned South Africans Group is set to contest that decision on the grounds that it was not carried with sufficient consensus. *(30/4/92)*

The council will also be debating constitutional principles, a resolution on violence, including armed formations to be brought under multiparty control by the time the interim government is established. Government yesterday gave notice that it wanted the negotiating council to act against the PAC if the resolution on violence was passed. Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said that in terms of the council's resolution, the PAC could not be permitted to continue its armed struggle and negotiations at the same time.



Alexander to take  
three weeks' leave

**Political Staff**

PAN Africanist Congress general-secretary Benny Alexander will attend this week's negotiating council meetings — but he will take a three-week holiday starting at the weekend.

Mr Alexander said yesterday he had not had any leave for the past four years.

He denied suggestions that he was forced to take leave because of his support for Apla.

# Boesak leads ID drive

**Political Staff**

WESTERN Cape African National Congress chairman Dr Allan Boesak and his regional executive committee colleagues will be out on Cape Town's streets tonight distributing pamphlets urging people to get identity documents so they can vote.

The "blitz" is part of an ANC national voter awareness campaign beginning today in Cape Town at 5.30pm on the Grand Parade, in the Mitchell's Plain town centre and at Site C,

**Khayelitsha**

Meanwhile, ANC sports spokesman Mr Steve Tswete will be speaking at a Soweto Day rally in Guguletu tomorrow, while Mr Benny Alexander of the Pan Africanist Congress will address a similar rally in Khayelitsha.

Western Cape Traders' Association chairman Mr Sharief Hassan called on the association's 2 500 members and other businesses to close between midday and 2pm tomorrow in memory of those who died on June 16, 1976.

# Afrikaans 'trek' to Paarl urged

Political Correspondent

MINISTER of Population Development Mr Jac Rabie has challenged the Federasie of Afrikaanse Kultuurvereniginge to lead a non-racial Afrikaans "groottrek" to the language monument at Paarl.

*ARC 15/6/93*  
In parliament yesterday Mr Rabie reminded MPs of the discriminatory way in which coloured Afrikaans-speakers had been treated under apartheid. *(SOLA) (207)*

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# Kwazulu

## warning on talks

107 307A  
ARL 15/1/93  
JOHANNESBURG. — The Kwazulu government threatened today to pull out of multi-party negotiations unless the issues of violence and a future form of State were addressed satisfactorily.

The Kwazulu government leader Dr Ben Ngubane told this to the 26-party negotiating council, which is meeting at the World Trade Centre near Johannesburg.

He said: "We feel obliged to warn all participants that the Kwazulu government has reached the end of its road in tolerating the manipulation of this process which is steamrolling through the real issues of our society, preventing full awareness and full debate on the possible alternatives."

He and Mr Joe Matthews of the Inkatha Freedom Party moved resolutions calling for an immediate re-evaluation of the negotiation process and consideration of a clear federal structure for a future South Africa.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the resolutions were "a clear attempt to blackmail the negotiating process".

The KZG's motion proposed that the technical committee on constitutional issues go back to the drawing board and, within a week, submit a new report which reflects accurately the federalist position supported broadly by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The two motions were seconded by Mr Tom Langley of the Conservative Party after which the chairman agreed to demands from the floor that the council adjourn for tea.

# Huddleston fears military coup in SA

GARNER THOMSON  
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, above right, has expressed fear that a military coup could be imminent in South Africa.

His warning comes on the eve of his 80th birthday, and at the opening in London of an Anti-Apartheid Movement conference called *Making Hope a Reality*.

The conference aims to forge a new form of international solidarity on South Africa.

But his prognosis for the future is gloomy, unless change is rapid.

In a lengthy interview with The Guardian yesterday, he said: "They've got to come up with something, otherwise the younger generation is going to say 'enough is enough' — as they said after the Boipatong massacre."

# Chikane 'vigilance' plea in SA transition

LONDON. — Southern African political and religious leaders have urged the international community to be vigilant and ready to assist South Africa in its transformation to a stable, non-racial democracy.

Dr Frank Chikane, above right, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, told an international conference on Southern Africa yesterday that South Africa was at a critical time.

Vigilance was needed "to en-

sure that nothing negates the task of the new non-racial participatory democracy we struggled for ... to be ready for the reconstruction of the country, which will impact on the whole Southern African region," he said.

Dr Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's first president and a leader of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, said apartheid was still alive in South Africa and would only end when power had changed hands. — Sapa-Reuter.



could swing public opinion



Russian-South African relations will be mutually profitable, writes Vladimir

Shubin

# Rocky road will get smooth-

Star 15/6/93,



3044



er

**R**ECENT developments in Russia pose a lot of questions. Why did the self-proclaimed democrats soon start looking for dictatorial powers? What is the basis of the coalition between the supposedly "hard-line communists" and liberal nationalists? Why do so-called reforms cooked according to International Monetary Fund (IMF) recipes fail so miserably?

All these questions have direct relevance to South Africa as another country in transition. But today we shall look into a different matter: relations between Russia and South Africa.

History put Russia in a unique position vis a vis this country. The participation of Russian volunteers and medical personnel in the Anglo-Boer War is still in the memory of the Afrikaners. Later Russia and South Africa fought against the common enemy in the two world wars.

In the previous three decades, the USSR developed strong and versatile ties with the ANC and its allies. Hundreds of South Africans received their degrees in the Soviet Union and thousands — Chris Hani and Thabo Mbeki among them — passed shorter courses. These factors, important as

they are, are just the tip of the iceberg. Its solid base is the favourable conditions for the co-operation of two countries which are leading world producers and exporters of many minerals, from diamonds to rare metals, and which at the same time had limited access — though for different reasons and to a different degree — to international technology.

Is this potential being realised? On the surface, the relations between the two countries are quite good. Their intensive development in the last couple of years brought about the establishment of diplomatic relations and culminated in the official visit of President de Klerk to Moscow.

But let us look a bit deeper. Boris Yeltsin and his entourage are conducting relations with South Africa as if the present National Party Government will stay in power forever, or at least for decades.

In spite of talk of an equal attitude towards the Union Building in Pretoria and the ANC head office in Johannesburg, the relationship with the ANC has suffered.

Not only has financing of the ANC offices in Moscow been stopped and many ANC activists

sent back — the MK cadres were in the vanguard — but the Russian position on South African issues in the United Nations has changed dramatically.

Yeltsin himself added insult to injury when he stated at his meeting with De Klerk that Nelson Mandela "would not be received as the ANC president, but would be visiting the Russian capital as an international figure and fighter for human rights". So no one should be surprised that Mandela is not in a rush to visit Moscow.

The same mistake is made by Pretoria, which also behaves as if the present Russian government is stable and viable.

Pik Botha wished Yeltsin "every success" when he tried in March to introduce rule by presidential decree — although he soon had to retreat when the move was declared unconstitutional in court.

The results of the April 24 referendum in Russia have apparently encouraged Yeltsin's friends in South Africa. But, in fact, nobody emerged victorious.

True, Yeltsin's right to remain president was confirmed, but his subsequent attempt to declare himself "the only legitimate authority in Russia" and to change the constitution to bypass parlia-

ment will no doubt result in further confrontation.

Rushing to make friends with Pretoria, Yeltsin — like Gorbachev in the last months of his rule — has looked for credits and loans. Such false expectations were encouraged by the South African Government through such actions as the visit of then-Minister of Trade Kent Durr to Moscow and promises (never fulfilled) to build three townships for Chernobyl disaster victims under very favourable conditions.

The same mood prevailed during De Klerk's visit when agreement on a R100 million revolving credit scheme was signed, only to remain on bureaucrats' desks for many months.

The hopes of South African businessmen to quickly penetrate a vast Russian market have been largely in vain, as well.

Sad as all these developments are, it would be very wrong to adopt a pessimistic attitude. First of all, political changes in both countries are imminent and the destroyed political bridges will be rebuilt. But the tendency to portray Russia as a backward beggar should be discouraged.

One of my colleagues recently wrote that the Soviet Union had

been able to compete with the West only with three items: the Lada car, AK-47s and the Mir space station. That is a gross, uninformed under-estimation.

Just one example: the Moscow Research Institute of Radio Physics offers for export a variety of top-quality products of space technology — ranging from bone-setting instruments for crush victims to solar cookers, from various antennae to ultra-thin and highly efficient heaters.

The prospect of co-operation between Russia and South Africa in high technology already worries some — as seen by the reaction to the projected launching of South African-made satellites by Russian rockets.

Such a project would be premature while the Security Council embargo is still in force, but the whole matter was blown out of proportion. There was clear purpose not just to postpone it, but to sabotage it for good.

There are other fields of co-operation as well. Facing the urgent need for upgrading black universities, particularly in science, South Africa can attract professors and lecturers from the Moscow State and other Russian universities, many of whom have broad inter-

national experience.

A lot can be done also beyond the present Russian borders, in the so-called newly independent states.

For example, the world's biggest producer of manganese ore is the Ukraine and stable marketing of South African ore is impossible

without mutual understanding between the two countries.

When, in December, I visited Turkmenistan — a potentially very rich country in Central Asia, often called "a gas Kuwait", — high officials and academics expressed their interest in co-operation with South Africa in such

fields as solar energy, arid-land agriculture, karakul sheep breeding and mining.

To paraphrase the words of a prominent, though highly controversial political figure of the past: "The rulers come and go but the peoples remain." The peoples of our two countries can and should

co-operate to their mutual benefit. □

● Dr Shubin is senior research Fellow at the Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape. He was formerly head of the Africa section of the Soviet Union's Communist Party.



# Zach speaks on DP's poll chances



Zach de Beer . . . DP could be very influential.

CAPE TOWN — Intimidation and a lack of resources were the greatest disadvantages preventing the Democratic Party winning up to 15 percent of votes, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Addressing the DP's annual meeting, he said the DP was the only party which had never been accused of complicity in violence. (SAPA)

"But, of course, that means that all the others may beat up our supporters."

Much of the outcome depended on whether the new SABC board would give adequate air-

time to all parties, and if the election process was effectively monitored and policed.

The country seemed to be going through its worst troubles. Things would improve once negotiations moved towards a settlement, the world economy improved and violence started to decline.

The DP, standing at the political centre, had a strategic importance it had always deserved but could not achieve.

With a proportional election, the DP could be very influential if it took between 10 and 15 percent of the vote. — Sapa.



# Pretoria may be part of 'Afrikaner region'

(30414)

ARC 15/6/93

□ 'Legitimate basis for self-determination quest'

**DALE LAUTENBACH**  
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Government proposals for a region in which Afrikaans-speaking citizens would form the majority could well put a city such as Pretoria in a "volkstaat" where self-determination could be practised in fact if not in law.

The government will make its submission on regions to the recently established delimitation commission within a week and senior sources have confirmed that they have in mind the geography of an area where Afrikaans-speaking South Africans would be the dominant group.

They refused to comment on the size or exact place of the de facto volkstaat but it might be speculated that Pretoria,

with its large concentration of Afrikaners, could be a likely target.

The Conservative Party, which rejects regionalism in favour of an independent white state within a confederation, reacted coolly to the proposals today saying it would first have to study the details. "If they think they are going to satisfy us with a postage-size district in a remote area they can forget it," said CP chief negotiator Mr Tom Langley.

This reflected the bullish mood of the CP which, in association with the Volksfront, has been claiming increased support, even from within National Party ranks.

Government sources emphasised that their regional proposal had still to be finalised but that it sought to provide a legitimate basis for the quest

for self-determination within the greater framework of a democratic unitary state.

The proposal was not just a sop to the right wing but had to fit within the government's thinking, which was that all regions should be democratic and that there should be equal rights for all citizens and no discrimination. As a result it was not envisaged that there would be a white homeland as such but an area in which white Afrikaans-speaking citizens might practise de facto self-determination.

"It is not a trick to go beyond or against the criteria laid out for the delimitation of regions," said a senior source. "It has to fit in with the government's democratic model."

The source believed, however, that the proposal "will provide an avenue for those who look to self-determination".

## NEWS President's speech draws sharp criticism • Sowetan-Pick'n Pay workshop held

### News in brief

#### Sowetan 15/6/93 Benny takes leave

THE controversy surrounding Pan Africanist Congress secretary general Mr Benny Alexander took another turn yesterday when he renewed his commitment to Apla and announced he would take three weeks' leave.

His announcement of leave follows reports that he had been axed from the organisation's negotiating team because of his support for the PAC's military wing. ~~(SAPA)~~ Alexander, however, said he would represent the PAC in the negotiating council until Friday and then return to his seat after his vacation. - *Sapa*.

#### White homeland

THE Government is to propose a separate geographical region within a single South African state where self-determination can be addressed.

A senior Government source last night said the proposal still had to be fleshed out, but he expected it would be tabled at multiparty negotiations in about a week's time. ~~(SAPA)~~ (3044)

The Government was planning several steps to address the image of legitimacy of the negotiations process.

#### Sowetan 15/6/93

ess, particularly in the eyes of the white rightwingers, the source said.

In the first instance the Government planned to propose that inputs to the 26-party negotiating council could be made even after next Friday's meeting. ~~(SAPA)~~ (3044)

#### Great show tonight

A Sowetan/Catex Massed Choir Festival rehearsal for participating Pretoria choirs will be held at the St Albans Cathedral tonight at 6pm.

Some of the choirs, to be led during the rehearsal by Professor Mzilikazi Khumalo and Mr Richard Cock, are the Garankuwa Community Choir, Mabopane Adult Choir, Pretoria Adult Choir and the Bernard Mizeki Martyr.

#### Le Grange apology

IN yesterday's *Sowetan* on page 8 a picture was incorrectly captioned. The man identified as Mr Gus Warwick was in fact Mr André le Grange, chief executive of the Development Bank of South Africa. We apologise for any inconvenience caused Mr Le Grange.

# FW clings to power

Sowetan 15/6/93

THE African National Congress portrayed State President Mr FW de Klerk yesterday as a desperate man trying to cling to power as his party collapses around him.

The ANC was commenting on a weekend proposal by De Klerk to limit the power of the country's next president, widely expected to be ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus described De Klerk as a "desperate man trying to cling to power as his (ruling National) party is falling apart".

De Klerk said in an interview at the weekend that he was optimistic democracy negotiators would soon agree on guidelines for governing the country after the first nonracial elections provisionally planned for April 27 next year.

■ **ANC DISTURBED** De Klerk's remarks on presidency evoke response:

He said one of the most important proposals was that the new president should not be able to make fundamental decisions without the agreement of the "inner cabinet".

"An executive committee will manage the cabinet and will on the basis of consensus, agree on the joint policies of the government of national unity which will then be accepted by the cabinet," De Klerk said.

"They must agree on a programme of action for five years which will become a sort of Magna Carta of the government

of national unity, and against which all other decisions will be tested."

Niehaus said: "These are the actions of a desperate person whose party is losing support and who is trying to cling to power at all costs."

"He will be an executive president, not a ceremonial president. Exactly how decisions are going to be taken is still a to be debated. But the ANC abides by the democratic principle that decisions will be taken by a two-thirds majority. Proposals of an inner cabinet are out of this world," he said. — *Sapa-Reuters*.

## Natal 'won't be ruled by Umtata'

Sowetan 15/6/93

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party intends winning elections in the Natal/KwaZulu region and will demand autonomy in certain areas of government in a future federal state. ~~(SAPA)~~

Durban City Hall last night, the IFP president also predicted that his party would become the single largest party in South Africa. ~~(SAPA)~~ (3044)

"When the election comes, you must know that, as far as this region is concerned, we intend being the next government. We already govern and do so very successfully... Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretoria, not by Umtata," he said.

He said the IFP was on the road to becoming the "single largest political force in the country". - *Sapa*.



# ANC rejects NP's post-election plans

Star 15/6/93  
(304A) (14)

Political Correspondent

The ANC has rejected President F W de Klerk's view of how the country will be run after next year's nonracial election, with secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa advising De Klerk to refrain from making proposals he "may be forced to retract".

Ramaphosa said a government of national unity (GNU) was not "a device to be used by those who want to cling to power or undermine the will of the majority".

"President de Klerk would be well advised to refrain from putting forward unacceptable proposals which he may be forced to retract, as has happened so often in recent times," Ramaphosa said.

De Klerk was quoted in the Sunday Times as saying that an "inner Cabinet" of leaders of all major parties would have to agree on a "Magna Carta" laying down principles which would guide all decisions of the GNU, and agree on a five-year policy plan for the country.

He said the policy plan would have to cover fundamental issues such as the economy, health and education, and that



Ramaphosa . . . put SA above ambitions of politicians.

the "inner Cabinet" — which would manage the multiparty Cabinet — would have to agree on the Budget.

The proposals have been roundly condemned by organisations aligned to the ANC, with SACP chairman Joe Slovo labelling them "a new version of the NP's proposals of a rotating presidency".

Yesterday Ramaphosa called on all parties to approach the question of a GNU "in a constructive manner that puts South Africa and its people above the narrow ambitions of incumbent politicians".

The ANC's view, he said, was

that a GNU established as a product of the first democratic election was desirable in the interests of national unity and a smooth transition.

Ramaphosa said for the GNU to achieve its objectives, it would have to have the following characteristics:

- Each party with more than 5 percent of the vote should be represented in the Cabinet in proportion to the number of seats it occupies in the constituent assembly.

- The composition of the GNU would have to be decided at the polls and no party could be assured a place in the GNU before the election.

- The role of minority parties should not be such that these parties could paralyse the functioning of the government.

In other developments, the ANC yesterday accused the NP of using taxpayers' money for its own purposes following De Klerk's appointment of Chris Fischmer as his political assistant.

The ANC said Fischmer would be actively promoting the NP's interests in the run-up to the election, and said a code of conduct had to be determined for all political parties.

New Govt

Star 15/6/93

plan to

placate

(304A)

the Right

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

The Government is poised to propose a region within a single new South Africa where "self-determination" can be practised — a move that, according to Government sources, is among plans to allay right-wing fears and prevent a walkout from negotiations.

While sources stressed that the Government was not proposing a white homeland, the proposal may go some way towards meeting right-wing demands for self-determination.

The Government move comes amid right-wing claims of increased support since the founding of the Afrikaner Volksfront. There is concern in some National Party circles that the party will be unable to hold its constituency if the trend continues.

Government sources said yesterday the criteria for identifying a self-determination region would be in accordance with democratic principles. Such a region would fall within a single state, and the right to self-determination would not lead to discrimination.

The Government is planning to make the proposals in the next 10 days. They must still be discussed with the ANC and other parties.

Yesterday President de Klerk denied he was in danger of becoming a minority leader, saying "the whites and the coloureds and the Indians and the blacks who support my party stand firmly together in their rejection of radicalism from whatever source".

CP negotiator Dr Pieter Mulder told The Star disaffected NP members were "finding it easier to join the Volksfront than the CP".

He believed that if the CP walked out of negotiations it would mean that a minority of whites were represented in the forum. The ANC would then "have to make a decision about who they are making deals with".

ctor  
hale



# The class of '76

Still locked in

## the grip of crisis

IN November 1976, the Minister of the then Bantu Administration and Bantu Education, M C Botha, made an announcement with such impact that it would lead to a profound change in South Africa's politics.

Botha decreed that black pupils should be taught certain major subjects in Afrikaans.

The announcement sent shock waves through the classrooms and the black community at large because Afrikaans was considered the "language of the oppressor" and few blacks had any interest in it.

### Disaster

Suddenly pupils, many of them not proficient in Afrikaans, were expected to drop history for *geskiedenis* and geography for *geografie*. Physical science would become *wetenskap* and mathematics *wiskunde*, and so on.

Textbooks had to be translated into Afrikaans and thousands of teachers, the bulk of whom had themselves studied in English, were suddenly confronted with a serious problem.

Bantu Education Deputy Minister, the late Dr Andries Treurnich, insisted that the Government had the right to determine policy and curriculum because it paid for the education of black pupils.

This plunged the country into a crisis when students took to the streets on June 16 1976 to protest against Bantu Education as a whole — rejected as "inferior" and "de-

signed to perpetuate black oppression".

That the students' subsequent actions across the country contributed in a large part to the collapse of apartheid is beyond question. Labour laws affecting Afrikaans changed and, for the first time, the Government recognised black workers' right to collective bargaining and union membership.

The Government, hitherto preoccupied with developing bantustans, started to pay attention to the upgrading of township services and living conditions.

Massive electrification and sewerage schemes were undertaken by the Government and the private sector to improve conditions in black urban areas.

Today, 17 years after the student revolt, the country is about to witness the dawn of a new South Africa.

Student politics has undergone a metamorphosis since 1976.

The demands of the "class of 1976" were largely confined to educational matters.

Major political changes have taken place in South Africa as a result of struggles which have been waged by students since June 16 1976. But, ironically, the crisis gripping black education continues. PHIL MOLEFE looks at how student politics has developed since '76.

mainly the scrapping of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction and free and compulsory education.

But this approach changed significantly in the years following 1976, largely because students realised they had the capacity to force the Government to make social and political changes.

Pupils' demands moved away from the classroom and focused on social, economic and political conditions. Dan Sechaba Mosisisi, one of the leaders of the "class of

"76" and now a co-ordinator of Matla Trust, the voter education group, says it became clear that students' problems were not confined to Afrikaans and Bantu Education but had more to do with the system of apartheid.

At the time, large sections of Soweto were still without electricity and sewerage, and students began to address such basic living conditions.

"We identified the Urban Bantu Council (UBC) as an extension of apartheid, responsible for the appalling conditions in our townships — hence one of our first campaigns was to call for the dissolution of the council," Mosisisi recalls.

Dubbed the Useless Boys' Club, the UBC subsequently collapsed under pupil pressure.

In the eyes of the black community, the pupils had scored their first major political victory, and more followed.

In 1979 the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) was formed. This resulted in a crystallisation of

the pupils' role in the broader political struggle. Cosas was one of the first modern organisations to adopt the Freedom Charter as its guiding document.

The ideals embodied in the document were recited in the streets and classrooms by a growing number of black pupils who were disillusioned with the literature prescribed at school.

From free and compulsory education, pupils began to blend their education demands with calls for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, the unbanning of political organisations and the establishment of a democratic, nonracial and unitary state.

The mid-80s saw the emergence of structures of people's power such as parent-teacher-student associations and civic groups.

### Crushed

"In essence, the people began to govern themselves and for the first time started to get a feeling of what freedom looked like," Mosisisi explains.

But, he says, this victory was crushed when the Government started to unleash violence on the democratic forces.

"The Government was fierce on students, and testimony to this was the banning of Cosas in 1985.

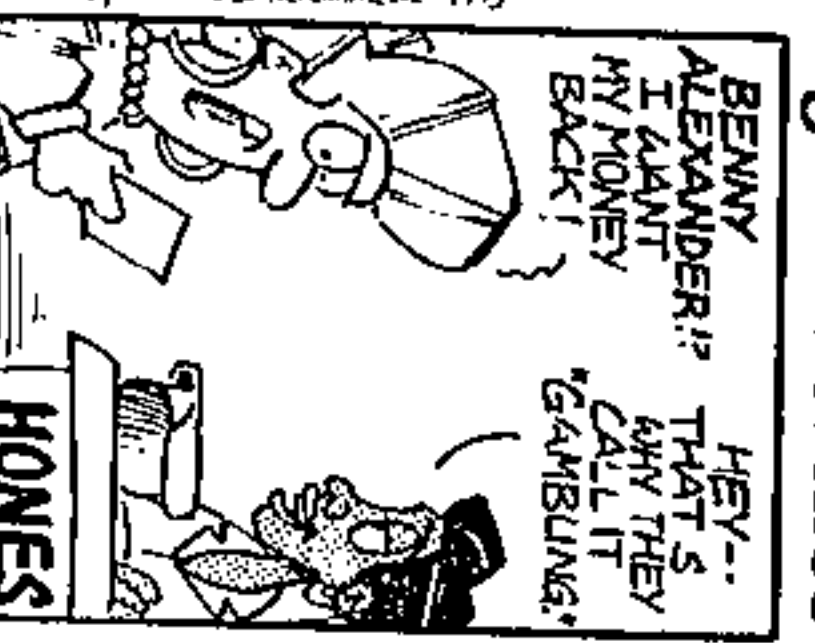
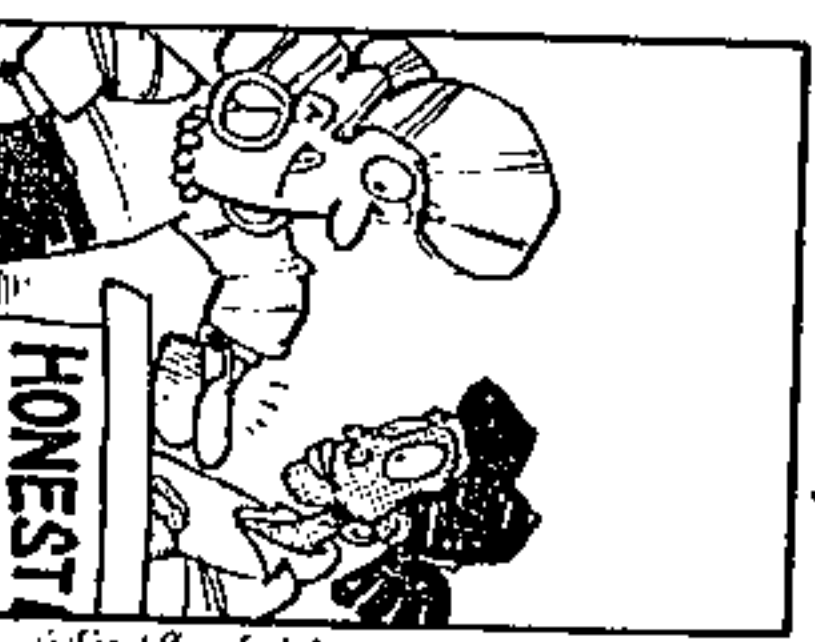
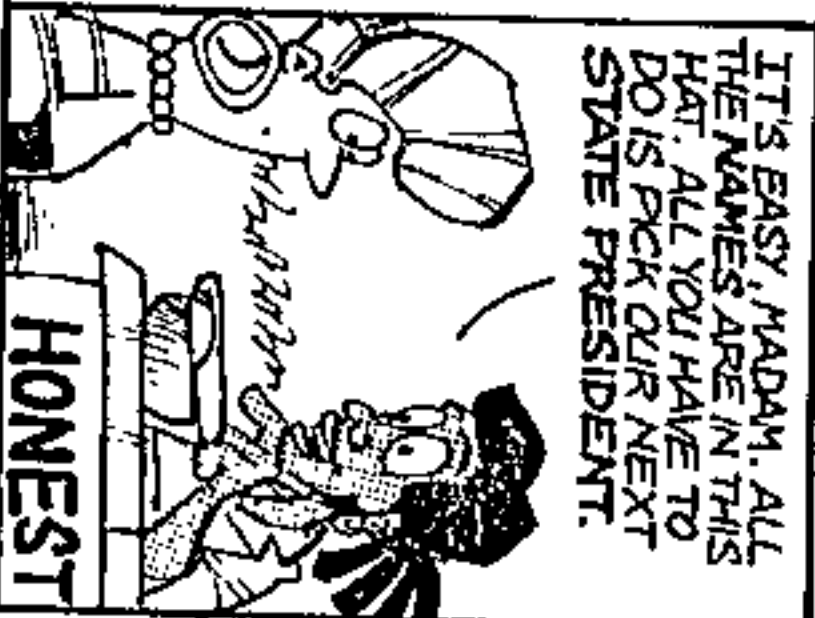
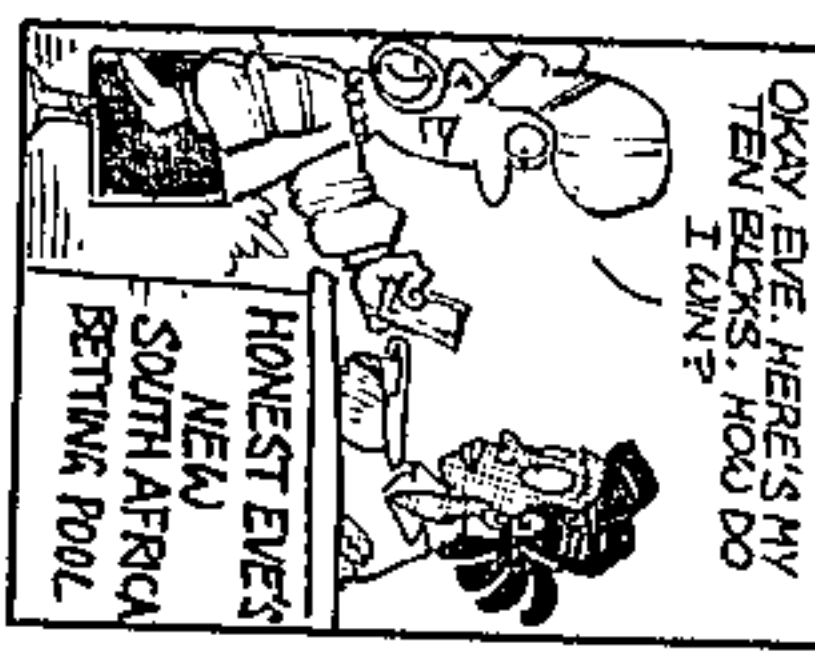
"Student leaders were detained and many were forced to flee the country in what was a clear campaign by the Government to destroy organisations," Mosisisi says.

"The entire student leadership was wiped out and ordinary students with no political guidance and even thugs jumped on the bandwagon. The Government, through its own networks, started to infiltrate schools and student structures.

"The whole plan was to destabilise schools and students' organisations, hence the deepening crisis in education."

As the country braces itself for the first nonracial elections, the new government of national unity has a lot of work to do before black education can get back on track. □

### MADAM & EVE



By S Francis, H Dugmore & Rico

K

# Inkatha will be biggest party, says Buthelezi

Star 15/6/83 304A

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says his party intends winning elections in the Natal/KwaZulu region and will demand autonomy in certain areas of government in a future federal state.

Addressing a public meeting in the Durban City Hall last night, the IFP president also predicted that his party would become the single largest party in South Africa.

"When the election comes, you must know that as far as this region is concerned (Natal/KwaZulu), we intend being the next government. We already govern and do so very successfully. Natal is going to be ruled by Natalians, not by Pretoria, not by Umtata."

He said the people of the

Natal/KwaZulu region rejected centralised power or a unitary state.

"We reject anything but federalism. We will no longer be told what we can or cannot do. In those areas of government that can be exercised by us, we are demanding autonomy," Buthelezi said.

He told the multiracial audience of about 1 000 that the IFP was on the road to becoming the "single largest political force" in the country.

His party could not cope with the demand for new branches across the country, Buthelezi said.

His address followed the inauguration of nine IFP branches in predominantly white and Indian residential areas around Durban.



# Huddleston fearful of coup in SA

By Garner Thomson  
Star Bureau

LONDON — Veteran anti-apartheid campaigner Archbishop Trevor Huddleston has expressed fear that a military coup could be imminent in South Africa.

His warning comes on the eve of his 80th birthday, and at the opening in London of an Anti-Apartheid Movement conference titled "Making Hope a Reality".

The conference aims to forge a new form of international solidarity on South Africa, and Huddleston himself hopes that organisations such as the United Nations and Organisation for African Unity will mount a major monitoring exercise for the election.

But his prognosis for the fu-

ture is gloomy, unless change is rapid.

In a lengthy interview with The Guardian, he says: "They've got to come up with something, otherwise the younger generation is going to say enough is enough, as they said after the Boipatong massacre."

"Mandela has to be patient if he's to sustain his position as a great international figure. He's got to be a diplomat. But he's leading a revolution. It's a very difficult combination."

"And it's shown itself with the younger generation, saying: 'Look, it's now three-and-a-half years since De Klerk declared apartheid dead and buried, and we still haven't got the vote and we're not going to get the vote — on our terms — unless we take it'."

"They've simply said if you can't deliver, give us guns."

Huddleston speaks of a loss of hope since his visit for the first ANC meeting.

"Three years later, umpteen massacres later and Inkatha and all the rest of it, and De Klerk with his endlessly delaying policies, trying to hold together his own extreme right wing".

He adds: "It's the crunch point. I wouldn't be a bit surprised to wake up tomorrow to see there's been a military coup d'etat."

Huddleston still entertains the hope that apartheid will die out before he does, but says now: "I don't expect to see the consequences of apartheid dead before I am."



Huddleston . . . sees a gloomy future for SA.

# I'm not after Dawie's post — Kriel

By Chris Whitfield

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel says it is "utter nonsense" to suggest that he intends challenging Dr Dawie de Villiers for leadership of the National Party in the Cape.

In an exclusive interview with The Star he also vigorously defended his handling of the May 25 police swoop on PAC members, saying that subsequent developments had vindicated his and the police's actions.

Responding to speculation on his personal ambitions, he said: "Please put it on record: I have no further aspirations. I am not interested in

challenging Dawie de Villiers for the leadership in the Cape." (304A)

He had been a friend of De Villiers, the Minister of Public Enterprises, since they were students together: "It would be a hell of a dirty

ferently.

"I am satisfied especially with the results we have achieved subsequently," he said in reference to a foiled attack allegedly planned on a Bellevue, Johannesburg, club and the arrest of Apla

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**Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel speaks to The Star's Editor-in-Chief Richard Steyn and Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield — Page 15**

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trick to play on Dawie to do such a thing," he said.

In the interview Kriel said that if he could go back to the week of the PAC swoop he would not handle it dif-

members.

He said these police successes were the result of information obtained from PAC members arrested in the May 25 swoop.

Kriel also defended his image, saying he was seen as a hawk only because of his commitment to law and order.

He charged that political rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC, as well as uncontrolled arms caches, were major contributors to violence in the country.

He warned that the right wing could make left-wing extremists look like a "Sunday school picnic" and said that, in terms of the Government's vision, the police forces in the self-governing territories and the TBVC states would be integrated into "State police forces" in a three-tier policing system.



# PAC cannot fight and talk, charges Minister

Star 15/6/93

CAPE TOWN — The multiparty Negotiating Council would have to act against the PAC for flaunting the council's resolution on violence, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman yesterday told a media briefing. (304A)

In terms of the council's resolution the PAC could not be permitted to continue its armed struggle and negotiations at the same time, he said. (14)

The council would today have

to debate a motion about this by Government chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers.

Since the police raid on the PAC, the Government had met the council's demands that the Minister of Law and Order explain his actions, that those detained be charged or released, and that the Government meet the PAC to discuss and resolve their differences.

The PAC now had to fulfil its part in terms of the resolution.

Coleman said the proposals "contain certain

to create June 10 as a de facto paid public holiday, Coleman said.

## New way to gauge social progress

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — A set of indicators to measure SA's progress in improving the lot of all its citizens has been devised by the President's Council's social affairs committee.

Committee chairman Ben Piek said the proposals, released yesterday, constituted a major point of departure from existing methods of measuring the well-being of the population.

"The indicators are human-centred and are designed to be used by government in the shaping and allocation of resources," Piek said.

"The capacity of the government at various levels and of development agencies to recognise, by means of a 'red light' or 'warning light', indicators of instances where the state of well-being is of such a nature that it threatens to destabilise society in general or in specific areas, has been an important objective in developing this model."

The committee's report on the indicators stressed that individuals had two fundamental requirements — "self-actualisation" and survival. Both were essential for their well-being.

To survive, people needed protection, shelter and food. They also needed to experience self-actualisation, which required understanding, a sense of belonging and opportunities, all of which could be satisfied by education and training, communication and socialisation.

The committee said social mobility was an essential element of self-actualisation, which would be influenced by factors such as the availability of jobs, disposable income, freedom of association and the amount of leisure time available — all of which could be measured in terms of set criteria.

Education and training could be measured, for example, by the percentage of the population that could read, write, and do arithmetic. Communication could be measured by investigating the percentage of the population that read newspapers and magazines, listened to the radio, watched television, frequented a library, were multilingual and had telephones.

## Council 'to act against PAC violations'

15/6/93

CAPE TOWN — The multiparty negotiating council would have to act against the PAC which had flouted the council resolution on violence, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said yesterday.

He told a media briefing that in terms of the council's resolution, the PAC could not continue its armed struggle and negotiations at the same time. The council would have to debate a motion about this today (15/6/93).

Since the police swoop on the PAC, government had met the council's demands that the Law and Order Minister explain his actions, to charge or release those detained, and meet the PAC to discuss and resolve their differences.

"The PAC has supported all the resolutions of the council and has a responsibility to fulfil its part... The council must now put pressure on the only party which persists in this dual strategy of violence and negotiations." — Sapa.

## Call to promote economic literacy

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The President's Council has recommended a national campaign for the promotion of economic literacy which would inculcate a sense of national reconciliation and economic development.

In one of the body's final reports, the council's committee on economic affairs recommended that an "inspiring, widely accepted vision" was necessary to promote nation-building in a divided society.

Sensitive to the emerging new constitutional dispensation, it recommended that the whole planning process and its execution be conducted by a fully representative umbrella body.

The broad objectives of the co-ordinating body should be first to strive for a general convergence towards the notion that the economic efficiency of a nation was the route to long-term prosperity.

It said a fundamental work ethic was essential for such economic efficiency.

The body should also seek to instill a deep sense of understanding within individuals of their rights, responsibilities and rewards within the country's economic dispensation.

The programme should take into account the enormous disparities in SA society, encourage economic growth and development and foster a spirit of entrepreneurial expertise and enterprise.

Aspects of the forum's structure, such as its size, composition, functions, powers, funding and accountability, should be the result of consensus within the co-ordinating body.



# Govt still proposes some minority veto

CAPE TOWN — Government has proposed the constitution should provide for a democratic Parliament, a co-operative executive and a minority veto on aspects of the security forces.

This version of the constitutional proposals for an interim government, submitted to the multiparty negotiations technical committee, was officially released yesterday. The 44-page proposal, which was the subject of Press reports suggesting government aimed at permanently entrenching its power, is incomplete on crucial aspects such as the functioning of the government of national unity.

But the proposals underline government's often-stated commitment to a broadly democratic system, proposing that ordinary legislation be passed by a simple majority in a 400-seat Parliament elected in a proportional representation system.

The proposal would effectively abolish the present executive presidency and reintroduce a ceremonial head of state. All the State President's major powers would be exercised "on the advice" of members of the government of national unity.

The security forces are placed in a different category. Provision is made for an SA Defence Force advisory council made up of one member from each political party in the Assembly.

The rotating chairman would advise the President, as the supreme authority, on any matter affecting the SADF. The President would be excluded from making any

decision except in accordance with the council's advice on:

- The promotion or appointment of anyone as SADF chief or as head of the army, navy or air force, or to the rank of brigadier or higher; and

- The institution or financing from State funds of a military unit or force outside the Defence Force.

The proposal suggests a bicameral legislature, consisting of the National Assembly and a Senate.

Constitutional legislation would be passed by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the total number of members of the Assembly.

If a "final" constitution was not adopted within two years, the President would refer the draft constitution which had majority support — but not the two-thirds required — to a national referendum.

For acceptance, 60% approval in a referendum would be required, failing which new elections would be held.

The raising of loans for current account expenditure would be banned.

The NP's constitutional proposals include providing for two national anthems, new design and colours for a national flag and coat of arms, and the retention of English and Afrikaans as official languages, our political staff reports.

The proposals suggest Die Stem and Nkosi Sikelel 'Afrika should be the dual anthems.

## 'ANC refugees' spurn offer to return to SA

LUSAKA — About 700 ANC members living as refugees in Zambia have refused to return to SA in spite of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees' (UNHCR's) efforts to accommodate their homecoming.

"Despite giving the ANC cadres the facility to leave Zambia, only one person so far has registered," the UNHCR representative in Zambia Abou Moussa said in Lusaka yesterday.

But a reliable source at the ANC office

in Lusaka said the alleged ANC members were criminals. "Most of those refusing to go are criminals who ran away from SA and are posing as former freedom fighters so that they are allowed to stay in Zambia as refugees," he said.

Zambian Home Affairs Minister Newstead Zimba warned last month that people living illegally in the country, on the pretext of being refugees, would be punished. — Sapa.

The negotiating council provisionally adopted April 27 after a heated meeting held on June 3.



# Mandela, Buthelezi meeting delayed

HOPES that ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet soon dimmed yesterday when it was disclosed that their organisations had not made enough progress on the ANC's demand for free political activity.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said a preparatory committee, consisting of representatives from his organisation and Inkatha, had made good progress towards reaching agreement on most items for the agenda for the two leaders' meeting.

These included the public display of dangerous weapons, the fencing of hostels and the disbanding of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The committee had, however, not made substantial progress on the ANC's insistence that the leaders' meeting should discuss free political activity throughout SA, including KwaZulu.

Mamoepa attributed this to the fact that KwaZulu

negotiator Ben Ngubane, a key figure in the discussions, was tied up in multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Hopes for an early meeting between the leaders ran high last week when Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said it would be held within a couple of weeks.

However, the organisers, who include Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba, said the date for the meeting would be set only after the two organisations had agreed on the agenda.

Tutu is currently in London for anti-apartheid campaigner Trevor Huddleston's 88th birthday celebrations. Anglican Bishop Michael Nuttall is standing in for Tutu in the organising of the talks.

Buthelezi reaffirmed his willingness yesterday to meet Mandela.

Mamoepa said it was the ANC's view that the meeting should be a product of work done by the preparatory committee. But there was no indication on when a meeting might take place.

WILSON ZWANE

Election date debate proceeds

# Inkatha-led walkout jolts talks off track

B/Day 16/6/93

MULTIPARTY talks were thrown off track yesterday by a walkout by members of the Concerned South Africans Group "to consult their principals" shortly before closure of proceedings and just before scheduled discussion on an election date. (115) (115)

Signs of the impending temporary crisis, which followed a KwaZulu threat to filibuster proceedings, emerged in the morning with an Inkatha/KwaZulu initiative, backed by Cosag, insisting that negotiations be halted until their demands were met.

The debate also became a serious test of the concept of "sufficient consensus" in terms of which decisions are taken. (115)

Inkatha introduced a resolution which ruled out progress according to the agreed agenda. It proposed that negotiations on constitutional principles not proceed until parties were "provided with a clear alternative" concerning unitary versus federal state principles, as well as the processes which would lead to attaining each goal. It said any final determination of an election date would have to wait "until the negotiation council has adopted a final decision on the form of state and on the process on constitutional development which would lead to elections". (304A)

In a statement to the council, KwaZulu government representative Ben Ngubane warned that if other parties failed to agree they would be "politically responsible for the withdrawal from negotiations by KwaZulu". His group would adopt a "constructive form of filibustering" to get its way.

After a three-hour meeting, the planning committee proposed referring the matter to a technical committee, which failed to

BILLY PADDOCK  
and ALAN FINE

satisfy the Inkatha/KwaZulu delegations.

During debate on the Inkatha motion, DP representative Colin Eglin pointed out that precisely the issues of concern to Inkatha would have been debated had the day's agenda not been thrown off course. The only way to get to discussing the form of state would be through a thorough debate on the constitutional principles.

When the proposal came to a vote, it was supported by eight parties, mostly Cosag members, and opposed by 16, including government and ANC blocs and the PAC.

When the chair ruled that the proposal had failed because it had not attained "sufficient consensus", the ruling was challenged by Inkatha/KwaZulu. When appeals by Cosag representatives for an early adjournment (which would have precluded discussion on an election date) were refused, they staged their walkout.

The discussion on an election date proceeded without the six Cosag delegations — Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

All parties present apart from the PAC agreed to put the April 27 election date resolution to the negotiating forum in 10 days' time for debate and finalisation.

□ Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose said last night he hoped the walkout was "a hiccup" but added that no firm date for Inkatha's return could be given until a full discussion of the crisis had taken place in the organisation. Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha would be "the last people to delay talks".



# Call for local govt to be entrenched

3/Day 16/6/93

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Provision for a strong, autonomous third tier of government combining primary local authorities and services councils in metropolitan or rural areas should be entrenched in the constitution, the President's Council's constitutional affairs committee has recommended. To ensure a greater degree of participatory democracy, even smaller units, such as ward committees or civic associations, should be constituted.

In the council's last report before its dissolution tomorrow, the committee said the nonracial, democratic third tier of government should be structured on the principle of one town, one tax base, with all citizens having an equal call on available resources and services.

The committee investigated a voting system for local government in a new constitutional dispensation and presented guidelines for franchise qualifications and the delimitation of wards.

"An important principle in the proposal is that rural services councils (district councils) and metropolitan councils should not be seen as an additional level of local government or as an intermediate level between local and regional government, but as a combination to ensure greater effectiveness," the report said.

Rural services councils and metropolitan councils would exist to deliver cost-effective services so that development projects and funds were used equitably. The report proposed that some neigh-

bouring rural areas could be incorporated into municipal areas.

It stressed that the delimitation of local authorities would have to take into account that their existing sources of income could not accommodate greater demands and they would have to depend for additional funds on grants from first- and second-tier government.

It proposed the appointment of regional delimitation commissions to determine the boundaries of primary local authorities, or municipalities. (304A)

The report suggested that half the councillors elected onto a primary local authority be chosen on a ward basis according to the relative majority system and the other half in terms of a list system based on proportional representation of the entire municipal area.

It recommended that 50% of the members of the metropolitan councils be chosen on a proportional basis using a fixed party list system and the other 50% be nominated by the primary local authorities.

The report looked at the views on local government held by political parties across the spectrum and concluded that compromise and trade-offs would be essential. While there was agreement on the need for strong local government, there were differences on the degree of autonomy, the powers to be delegated, the inclusion in the constitution of these powers and the subsidising of local services.

# NP lashes out at Inkatha

Political Staff

RELATIONS between the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party are heading for a new low, with the NP lashing out at IFP president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, for his attack on the NP at a public meeting in Durban on Monday.

NP media director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the NP was amazed at the attack in the

light of on-going discussions between the NP and IFP.

The chief minister said the government should remember that the black majority, which made up two-thirds of the potential voters in the country, was the same black majority that for decades was suppressed and brutalised by the National Party. "The NP had overstayed its welcome," he said.

"All surveys show that the IFP is continually losing black support and that they may no longer represent even the majority of Zulus," said Mr. Van Schalkwyk. **CT 16/6/93**

"This has apparently convinced Chief Buthelezi that he must turn his attention to the NP support base to neutralise the IFP's loss of Zulu support. We believe this is counter-productive." **(304A) (115)**



# New lease of life for own affairs

CT 16/6/93

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE own affairs system has been given an extended lease of life following a rearguard action by disgruntled members of the Public Servants' League.

The cabinet has decided that the remaining own affairs departments will not longer be scrapped on July 1, as first intended, but will be phased out in stages to reach completion by March 31 next year.

In addition, there will be a revaluation of the own affairs functions that have already been transferred to general affairs, to ensure that the interests of officials and Public Service League (PSL) members in the House of Representatives (HoR) have not suffered in the process.

The decision to push back the demise of the own affairs system was announced in a joint statement yesterday by the chairman of the Ministers' Council in the HoR, Mr Jac Rabie, and the PSL general manager, Mr B Wentzel.

The statement noted that the PSL

## Pressure from public servants

had objected to the manner and procedure in which the phasing out of own affairs was being implemented, which had paid scant attention to the interests of officials affected.

The PSL called for a moratorium on the process and the re-opening of negotiations.

The Ministers' Council and the PSL subsequently agreed to the formation of a series of technical committees to co-ordinate the phasing out of remaining own affairs departments in conjunction with the HoR administration.

The cabinet also decided that the transfer of remaining own affairs departments to general affairs would have to be conducted in "a well co-ordinated manner" once all aspects regarding the transfer had been negotiated through the technical committees.

The departments that have not yet been rationalised are education, budgetary services, and housing and welfare.

The departments whose transfer would be revaluated are those of local government, agriculture and health.

## CP denies rumours on backing federal option

THE Conservative Party yesterday denied suggestions that it might be prepared to settle for a federal option.

CT 16/6/93  
The leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie, Mr Andries Beyers, yesterday told Parliament that the CP had seconded a KwaZulu resolution at the multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre which called for a federation in South Africa.

But CP leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg said in a statement last night that "rumours doing the rounds" that the CP had altered its policy calling for a confederation in favour of a federation were devoid of all truth.



# WAZULU

APR 11 1993

CT1616193 (3047)

Own Correspondents  
JOHANNESBURG.

— Multi-party talks were thrown off track yesterday by a walk-out by members of the Concerned South Africans Group "to consult their principals" shortly before proceedings closed and just before a scheduled discussion on an election date.

Signs of the impending temporary crisis, which followed a KwaZulu threat to filibuster proceedings, emerged in the morning with an Inkatha/KwaZulu initiative, backed by Cosag, insisting that negotiations be halted until their demands were met.

The debate also became a serious test of the concept of "sufficient consensus" by which decisions are taken at the talks.

Inkatha introduced a resolution that ruled out progress according to the agreed agenda. It proposed that

## Cosag sets talks back

negotiations on constitutional principles should not proceed until parties were "provided with a clear alternative" on unitary versus federal state principles, as well as the different processes that would lead to attaining each goal.

It said any final determination of an election date would have to wait "until the negotiation council has adopted a final decision on the form of state and on the process on constitutional development which would lead to elections".

In a statement to the negotiating council, KwaZulu government representative Mr Ben Ngubane warned that if other parties failed to agree

they would be "politically responsible for the withdrawal from negotiations by KwaZulu".

He said his group would adopt a "constructive form of filibustering" to get its way.

After a three-hour meeting, the planning committee proposed that the matter be referred to a technical committee. This failed to satisfy the Inkatha/KwaZulu delegations.

When the proposal came to a vote it was supported by eight parties, mostly Cosag members, and opposed by 16, including the government and ANC blocs and the PAC.

When the chair ruled that the proposal had failed because it had not attained "sufficient consensus" the ruling was challenged by Inkatha/KwaZulu.

The discussion on an election date proceeded without the six Cosag delegations — Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

All parties present except the PAC supported the April 27 election date resolution being put to the negotiating forum in 10 days' time for debate and finalisation.





# Language policy: SA's own Tower of Babel?

Cliffes 6/6/93

2044

**MAGINE** this: uka, my broer! Nou is die time for jolling met jou cherrie, vat die skorokoro en trek. Sengiz-wile y/Goli. Ga re nyake niks, strek's God, ke miete atate. Kna vhasimbile. Thixo!

You'd probably scratch your head over this incomprehensible piece, but then, you'll not be the only one. This could be the new language format in SA.

It can be SA's own version for a super Tower of Babel as the country is grappling with a single and acceptable "unifying" official language to be used in a post-apartheid SA.

Several submissions have already been made in this regard. The ANC for one, wants all languages spoken in SA recognised as "official".

At a recent National Language Workshop, the ANC concluded that both English and Afrikaans were hegemonic languages currently given a high profile at the expense of other South African languages.

It is therefore necessary to embark on an aggressive affirmative action programme to empower those languages which have been downgraded, especially the African languages.

The ANC, and everybody else for that matter, agrees that the major languages indigenous to or mostly in use in SA are (in alphabetic order): Afrikaans, English, SiNdebele, SePedi, Sotho, SiSwati, Xitsonga,

SeTswana, TshiVenda, SiXhosa and SiZulu. Other languages spoken here are Portuguese, Tamil, Hindi, Gujarati, Telugu, Urdu, Hebrew and Arabic. A submission has also been made that all these be recognised and protected.

Then there's Spanish, Greek, German, Chinese, French, Japanese - and all the others.

At a language workshop held in February the ANC concluded that SA's multilingual reality must be wholeheartedly embraced; must be perceived as a springboard for development and growth, and not as a threat.

## All languages

It submitted that ANC policy would recognise, protect and develop all South African languages and ensure that all citizens will have access to all spheres of the nation's life. Languages which have hitherto been marginalised will be promoted to ensure regional and national impact.

This recognition of languages must engender respect for different languages and prevent the use of any language for domination or division. The ANC language policy will serve to generate a new culture in which linguistic commonality and linguistic diversity are understood without prejudice, and in which the enrichment of languages is promoted through contact among their speakers.

The ANC language policy will be based on incentives rather than prescriptive measures. The government will have the power to designate a single common language for record purposes or for other special use, either at the national level or in the regions, provided this does not conflict with the right of South Africans to use any South African language in their dealings with the state.

That's the ANC's bit on the language policy.

But then (again!), at the ANC's Culture and Development Conference held early last month, researchers came to the conclusion that most South Africans preferred English as an official language.

ANC researcher Qedusizi Buthelezi even stressed that English be used as the medium of instruction at schools.

Another speaker, Mewa Ramgobin, submitted: "Parents were concerned whether the language taught at schools would empower their children for future careers. Most preferred their children to study in English."

An Indian government delegate at the conference, M Varadarajan, sketched his country's own experience, saying that before India had developed it's indigenous languages fully, English had been used as the medium of instruction. "After our independence in

The history of this country indicates that over the centuries language has mostly been used not to enhance national unity but actually to divide and rule. This dates back to 1652 when the Dutch settled in this country. Subtle legislative measures have been promulgated over the years to ensure that the people of SA remain divided not only along racial and cultural lines, but also through linguistic barriers - ANC paper "Towards a Democratic Language Policy for SA". Features Editor LEN KALANE looks at the arguments forwarded for a single, unifying language policy in the new SA.

1947, Hindi and English were used as official languages. But the language had to serve as a unifying rather than a divisive factor," he warned. "There was no need to reject any language on the basis of its association with an oppressive past."

Which brings us to Afrikaans and it's role in the new SA. Writing a news article recently, Dr FJ Kok, executive director of Die Afrikaanse Taal en Kultuurvereniging, argued that to state that Afrikaans was a dividing factor in SA today because it carried apartheid baggage was simplistic.

He reasoned that a language was used, or not used, due to the measure whereby it could communicate successfully - not by its history.

If history was the deciding factor, then English and French - two languages used in colonising Africa - would never have survived on the continent. To further imply that Afrikaans

had no part in the freedom struggle ignored the realities. In fact, says Kok, one of the ANC branches in the Cape was called "Samsaan".

Kok then gives his breakdown: "According to the 1991 census, Afrikaans was spoken as a home language by just under six million people, making it one of the largest home languages in SA today."

In the past 10 years, the use of Afrikaans had grown by more than 14 percent.

According to HSRC figures, Afrikaans was spoken and understood by more people in SA than English and, according to the Language Atlas of SA (1990), it was most widely spoken in all districts of SA.

Scientific studies showed over 90 percent of black matriculants chose Afrikaans as one of their main subjects. "Afrikaans also played an important role in the overall communication process of the entire southern African sub-continent. It was the lingua franca of Namibia, one of the three official languages of Bophuthatswana and the Transkei had also reinstated the teaching of Afrikaans in its schools."

In the future, Kok concluded, the question of what official language or languages should be used should not be decided on political grounds, but on the basis of which languages were the most effective in communication among people.

Of course, he said, in the new dispensation, room should be given for the development, usage and the rights of all the indigenous languages.

Azapo's Dr Gomolomo Mokoae agrees. He said that if we were to make a complete break with the apartheid mould of the past, we should rid this country of all forms of ethnocentrism. "The point of departure should be that all languages are equal and are equally deserving of avenues to develop them. In this respect, state apparatuses like the SABC should be completely anti-ethnic. Thus Azapo finds SABC-TV reluctance to open the TV airwaves to indigenous black languages like Xitsonga, TshiVenda, IsiNdebele and so on condemnable."

Mokoae added that in so far as the lingua franca - the official language of an envisaged "free Azania" - was concerned,

Azapo felt that English, simply because of its broader, universal dimension, had, unquestionably, to be the official language. The only other official languages being regional languages to complement English depending on their extent of use within each region.

"The point to be made is that Afrikaans is not the monopoly of the white oppressive class, as a component of the black community not only speaks the language as mother-tongue, but contributed immensely to its development."

Inkatha's language policy has been modelled around the proposed KwaZulu/Natal region where they say, the official languages would be English, Zulu and Afrikaans. But then the state shall protect and encourage the use of languages other than the official languages.

## KwaZulu/Natal

The KwaZulu/Natal constitution will not prohibit the use of any other language as a medium of instruction in private schools or in schools financed by the state or the regions.

In units of local government where considerable portions of the population speak a language other than English, Zulu and Afrikaans, a different language may be used as an additional official language under conditions and in a manner to be

determined by law. On the other hand, The English Academy of southern Africa proposed in March last year that English be made the main language of wider communication in SA "with the other 10 important languages of the country having varying kinds of secondary status".

Explaining the proposal which was submitted to Codesa earlier, academy president Prof Elwyn Jenkins said the only practical solution was to make one language the language of wider communication.

"The other languages should all have official status at various levels of public life, in various circumstances and possibly on a geographical basis," he said.

As the language debate rages on, maybe this 1991 census on languages should serve as a barometer.

It showed that 95 percent of the Asian population had English as their home language, compared with 39 percent of whites, 15 percent of coloureds and 0.2 percent of blacks.

Afrikaans was the home language of 57.6 percent of whites and 83 percent of coloureds. Most blacks spoke Zulu (38.7 percent). Next among blacks was northern Sotho (SePedi 15.1 percent) and Xhosa (12.7 percent).



Star 1616193  
**Voting proposal**

Half the councillors in future local authorities should be elected on a proportional basis and the rest on a ward system, the Committee for Constitutional Affairs of the President's Council has recommended.

Sapa (304A)

Star 16/6/93

### Constand warns

Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen yesterday warned that if Afrikaners were "pushed to the wall" they would take up arms. He said that if the political and religious freedoms of Afrikaners were threatened, "they will go for their guns". — Political Correspondent. (304A)



## Regional plan a trick — Volksfront

8 Day 16/6/93  
DIRK VAN EEDEN

GOVERNMENT's idea of recognising Afrikaner self-determination within a specific geographical region of a federation of states was a contradiction in terms, a trick and unacceptable, Volksfront director Gen Tienie Groenewald said yesterday. Senior government sources said on Monday government would propose such a plan next week to accommodate right-wing aspirations. (BOKA)

Groenewald said there could be no talk of self-determination as long as the central government of a unitary state, or a federation of states, could delegate powers to and retract them

from regional governments.

No constitution could guarantee this would not happen.

The Volksfront, like the CP, wanted Afrikaner sovereignty within a confederal system, where regional governments decided about the power of a central body.

If government's proposal meant it recognised ethnicity, it was a step in the right direction. If, however, the plan was merely to set aside a geographical region with a higher degree of autonomy, it meant nothing.

# 'Broedertwis' eased, MPs told

Star 16/6/93  
(304A)

By Chris Whittfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The "broedertwis" between Afrikaners may have been cooled by two significant developments in recent days, Parliament heard yesterday.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers told the second reading debate on the Budget that the National Party's intended proposal of a geographical area within a federal state in which Afrikaners could exercise self-determination was vindication of stating a reasonable case in a peaceful manner.

He also pointed to the Conservative Party's secondment in negotiations of a KwaZulu government resolution calling for a federation in South Africa — immediately interpreted as a CP shift on its demand for a confederal system.

Former CP MP Koos van der Merwe, now an independent, said the developments had eased the Afrikaner "broedertwis". If CP negotiator Tom Langley's secondment of the KwaZulu resolution was wrong, he had to be repudiated, he said.



Andries Beyers . . . Afrikaner Volksunie leader.

Beyers said the NP's self-determination proposal could satisfy the reasonable aspirations of most Afrikaners. He did not believe that Langley's secondment would have been made without the approval of the party leadership.

However, CP MPs in the debate did not join the spirit.

Brits MP Andrew Gerber said it was simply not true that the CP wanted a federal system for the whole country. It wanted a confederation which could include federal elements.



# Call to keep world's eye on new SA

CT 16/6/93 (304A)

LONDON. — With change imminent in South Africa, leaders of the international anti-apartheid movement are campaigning to keep the world's attention on the country's racial problems.

Like a flashback to the grimmest days of apartheid, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, former Tanzanian president Mr Julius Nyerere and other major figures met here this week to call for "international solidarity" in the dying days of apartheid.

A document published by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, organisers of the two-day conference on the "new South Africa", highlighted the need to keep South Africa as a major priority for the international community — and for this to be reflected in aid budgets.

## 'Africa needs you'

"The policies adopted by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the European Community, for example, will play a key role in determining whether the people of Southern Africa can realise their aspirations," the document said.

"You still have a great task to perform. — South Africa needs you, Africa needs you," ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu told 400 delegates who attended the closing session at Church House, headquarters of the General Synod of the Church of England yesterday.

Speakers included Mrs Graca Machel, widow of Angolan President Samora Machel who was killed in a 1986 plane crash; the Rev Frank Chikane, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, and Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku. — Sapa-AP

**"All of this will be done while he draws a substantial salary as a senior 'civil servant'."**

## ЗАДАЧА

133



# US poised to inject cash into SA

PETER FABRICIUS  
The Argus Foreign Service

## □ Aid pledged for election, military integration

WASHINGTON. — The United States is likely to give South Africa an extra \$10 million (R32 m) a year in direct aid to promote elections and stands ready to help integrate armed forces once a transitional executive council (TEC) is established.

US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Mr. George Moose told the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace yesterday that direct employment in South African

townships made it imperative that Washington and American investors should engage in SA "sooner rather than later".

The State Department's strong recommendation to the White House would be that once a TEC was installed and a firm date for elections set, legislative restrictions such as the Gramm Amendment — which denies South Africa access to International Monetary Fund facilities — should be removed.

The State Department would also recommend strongly that once these conditions were met, the US should change its policy of denying aid to any South African bodies that receive government funding.

This would enable it to give aid to the TEC and its sub-councils, including the one concerned with the security forces. Mr. Moose suggested that because of its own experiences with integration in the military, the US could help to facilitate integration of South African armed forces.

He acknowledged that lifting the myriad of US state, county and city sanctions against South Africa would require a "massive" publicity drive, even after the federal government had given the go-ahead.

He confirmed that three jurisdictions in the US still maintained sanctions against Namibia despite the fact that it had been independent for years.

The US administration was ready to play a leadership role in this publicity effort but it would be credible only if supported by South Africans and in particular the African National Congress, he said.

The extra \$10 million in US aid for the elections would go into areas such as voter education.

There was growing consensus that a significant international presence would be desirable during the elections.

Mr. Moose was asked whether the administration favoured unconditional US investment in South Africa or investment restricted by codes of conduct in order to empower blacks.

He agreed that investment should contribute to empower blacks but said no black empowerment would occur if there was not a significant growth in the economy.

# Viljoen pours cold water on elections

CT 16/6/93 (304A)

Staff Reporter

GENERAL Constand Viljoen, chairman of the Committee of Generals and a leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront, yesterday rejected the forthcoming election as "there was no chance that it would be free and fair".

He said that whereas the security situation was positive before 1990, with terrorists contained on the borders, they were now inside the country with arms and even SAM-7 missiles at their disposal.

They could kill "hundreds of whites" with little effort and as a result the Volksfront was encouraging farmers and others to join self-defence units.

Addressing the Cape Town Press Club at a city hotel luncheon, the former Chief of the SADF said he was moved from retirement on his farm near Lydenburg by the "second biggest mistake of the century", namely allowing the ANC/SACP to implement its strategy of negotiation coupled with revolutionary violence.

The first mistake had been apartheid, he said.

The ANC used negotiations to assist their revolutionary strategy and vice versa. The government was so enamoured with negotiations and the world's praise that they failed to re-



**LIGHT OF THE RIGHT...** General Constand Viljoen rejected next year's polls when he addressed the Press Club yesterday. Picture: STEWART COLMAN

cognise this strategy, he said.

The Volksfront had been born from the ANC's failure to accept "the hand of friendship" extended in 1990.

He said the Front was trying to avoid the kind of "Bosnian entanglement" which the world powers were now trying to solve.

Wherever the generals had addressed meetings they found great anger and fear among Afrikaners, he said.

General Viljoen denied the Volksfront was inherently racist, although his mandate was given by the white Afrikaner "volk" and "it is the right of the volk to decide on assimilation".

Racism was "unacceptable", he said.



# DP MP: NP will waste away

(3049)  
C 7 16/6/93

THE National Party was wasting away and would not be much bigger than the Democratic Party after an election, the DP MP for Groote Schuur, Ms Dene Smuts, predicted yesterday.

The NP was likely to attract about 17% of the vote in an election compared with the DP's 15%, she said during the second reading of the budget.

"The NP is wasting away before our eyes, a shadow of its former self, its cabinet becoming a shadow of the transitional executive council," she said. Ms Smuts said the DP had warned that the NP would "come unstuck" once the glue of patronage had dried up.

"The patronage goes when the TEC is installed, which will be very soon."

# We'll still talk: Cosag members

ANC, Nats to continue negotiations in spite of walkout

Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS on a new constitutional system will continue in spite of the walkout by some of the parties.

It seemed likely today that most of them would return when talks resumed tomorrow.

Some said they had walked out merely to consult their leaders. Dr Frank Mdlalose, general secretary of Inkatha, said the party's central committee and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly had to be consulted.

This could be done today, in which case Inkatha would be back

at the talks tomorrow. The movement wanted to clarify at this stage whether there would be a unitary or federal state in a new system.

Key negotiators signalled that the negotiating council meeting tomorrow would continue with or without the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), which walked out of the talks last night.

Representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government, the Conservative Party, the Bophuthatswana government, the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and the Ciskei government made the dramatic exit, they said, to "consult their principals."

The AVU and Bophuthatswana confirmed they would attend the council's next round of talks tomorrow after consultations, and CP negotiator Mr Thomas Langley said his party would decide on its position.

Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, leader of the CP, said the matter would be considered today. The party would consult Cosag.

At this stage the decision would have to be on whether the party returned to the present round of talks tomorrow, but the whole issue of participation was also arising.

A decision had been taken on an election date without clarity on the issues of violence, and the form of a future state.

The ANC, the government and the National Party will be lobbying the defectors today in a bid to maintain the negotiation process with all parties present.

At a Press conference after the meeting — which confirmed the recommendation to the negotiating forum that April 27 be the date on which a non-racial election would take place — Cosag members denied having staged a walkout and said they had merely asked for an adjournment to consult their leaders after an IFP draft resolution, which was supported by all Cosag members, was not carried.

The resolution called for the suspension of debate on constitutional issues until the form of state to be followed in the new South Africa had been decided.

After the meeting, IFP adviser Mr Marinus Wiechers said he was "seriously considering" his position because of what he termed an "intolerable situation". He was "rather embarrassed by the unconstitutional proposals (of the IFP)" and would be discussing the matter with Chief Buthelezi.



# No compromise on federalism, says chief

By Brendan Templeton

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last night warned, just hours after IFP negotiators walked out of multiparty talks, that his party would not compromise on its federalism demand.

He would not discuss the walkout. At a press conference in Johannesburg, saying he had not been briefed on it.

Speaking later at a fund-raising dinner, Buthelezi said regionalism was "quite unsuited to the disparate nature of the cultural traditions making up our society".

People should be free to decide if their regional leaders should have powers autonomous

of a central government.

He also doubted the ability of opposing parties to co-operate in a constituent assembly.

Instead, he called for an election to be held next year according to guidelines led by grassroots opinion.

But he emphasised that the garnering of that opinion should take place on a regional basis.

The constitution-making body should have mechanisms which would compel it to implement federalism in a region if its inhabitants opted for it.

Transitional executive councils were needed to act as watchdogs to ensure that the playing fields were levelled fairly, he added.

# Blacks set to vote for perceived winner

Star 16/6/93  
(304A)

**DONALD SIMPSON**, an independent political analyst, looks at the latest Markinor opinion poll and tries to predict how the parties will fare in an all-in election.

**A** PATTERN of cautious ANC hegemony in the electorate, with a strong National Party presence dominating the tricameral voters, established over the last three years, is breaking up.

Six months ago, the National Party domination of the tricameral Parliament was reflected in its electorate, with the black electorate going for the ANC — with some reservations.

Now, in various contradictory ways, the tricameral

electorate is fracturing, but the black electorate is uniting strongly around the ANC.

The ANC would dominate the first democratic parliament, having just more than half the MPs.

Trends where leaders led their parties in the polls have vanished. Both major leaders (Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk) now trail their parties in some important sections of the electorate.

De Klerk's authority is under attack and voting intentions for the NP are at a new low, but his trimming of the number of ANC members on the new SABC board and the raids on PAC leaders will raise his approval rating among potential constituents.

The ANC is consolidating its hold on non-white voters, but perceptions about Mande-

## Number of MPs likely to be elected by latest opinion poll

(Parliament is assumed to have 400 MPs)

VOTES:	ANC	NP	IFP	PAC/Az	CP	DP	Volks
White	3	29	3	-	19	5	4
Coloured	8	22	-	2	-	4	2
Indian	2	6	1	1	-	2	-
Black	207	26*	29	21	-	4	-
TOTAL	220	83	33	24	19	15	6

Source: Markinor

\*Includes NP's regional allies and Bophuthatswana

la have fallen in the wake of, among other things, his call for the voting age to be lowered to 14.

The recent Lesotho election gave credibility to the theory that black voters will not divide their votes among many

liberation movements, but will vote only for the party most likely to win, which is the ANC.

This is bad news for the PAC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the IFP. In previous elections, the

CP scored higher than predicted by opinion polls, and the IFP may be in the same position now.

IFP supporters, like the CP voters, are more racially based than other voters; the IFP share of the vote could surprise many on election day.

With Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg (the new CP leader) having sidelined the party's pragmatists, the extreme Right seems "un-unifiable" and unable to maximise its appeal to an increasingly frightened white electorate, amounting to at least 40 percent of white voters.

Electoral support for the Volksfont is still tiny.

The ANC-National Party bloc still commands the support of 75 percent of the electorate and, under proportional representation, the same percentage of seats.

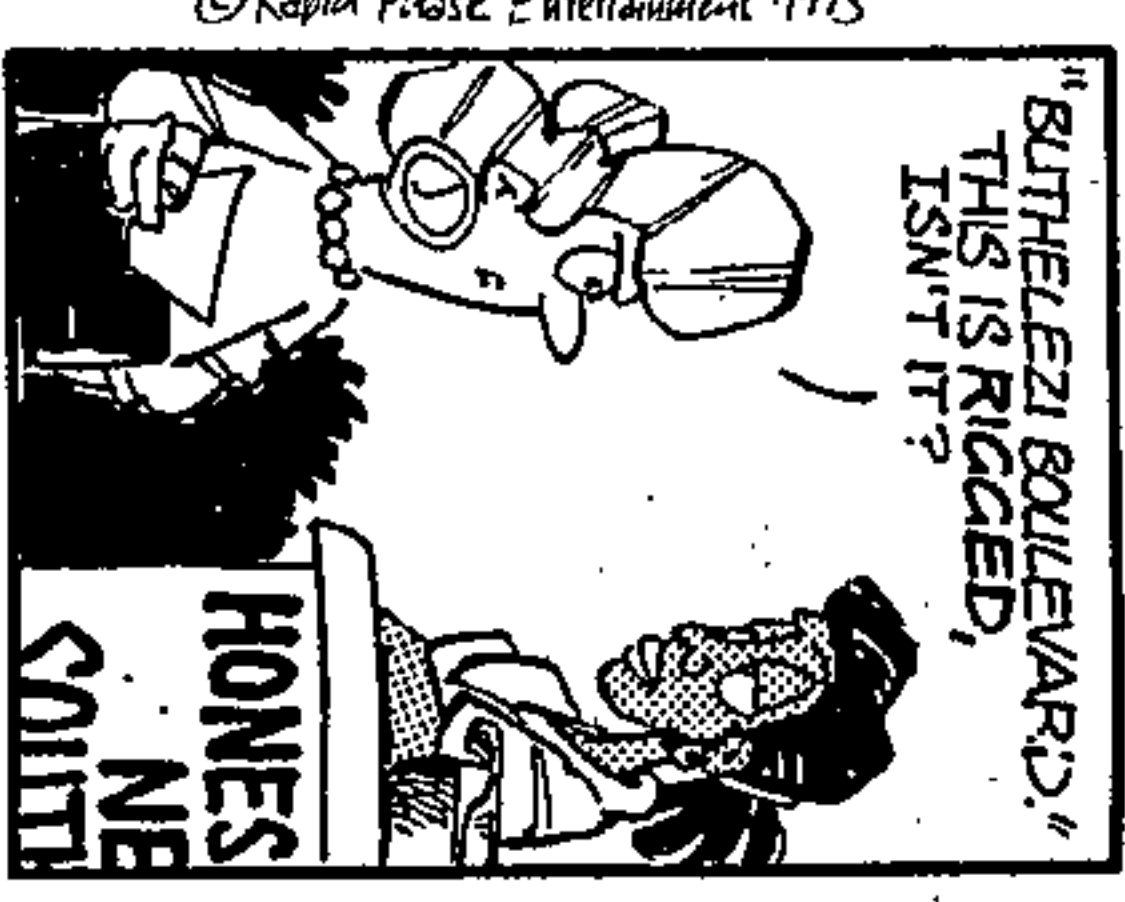
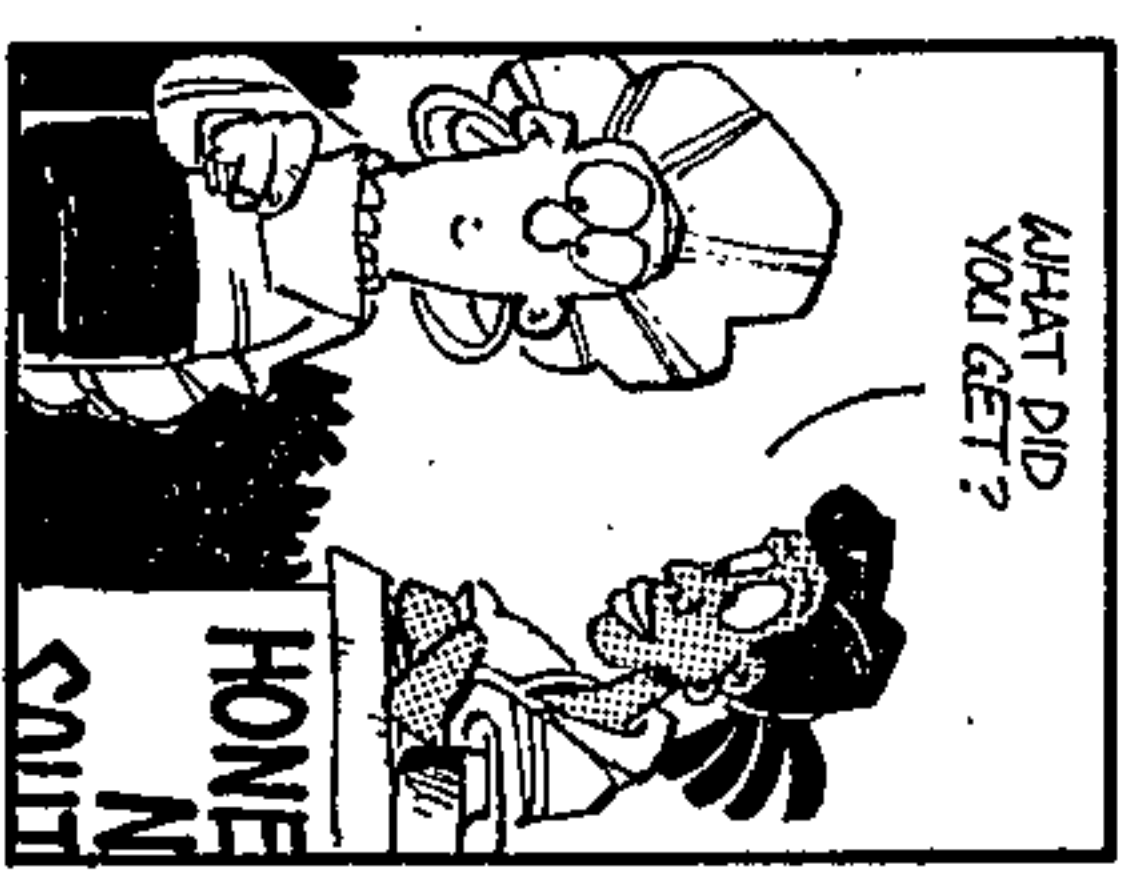
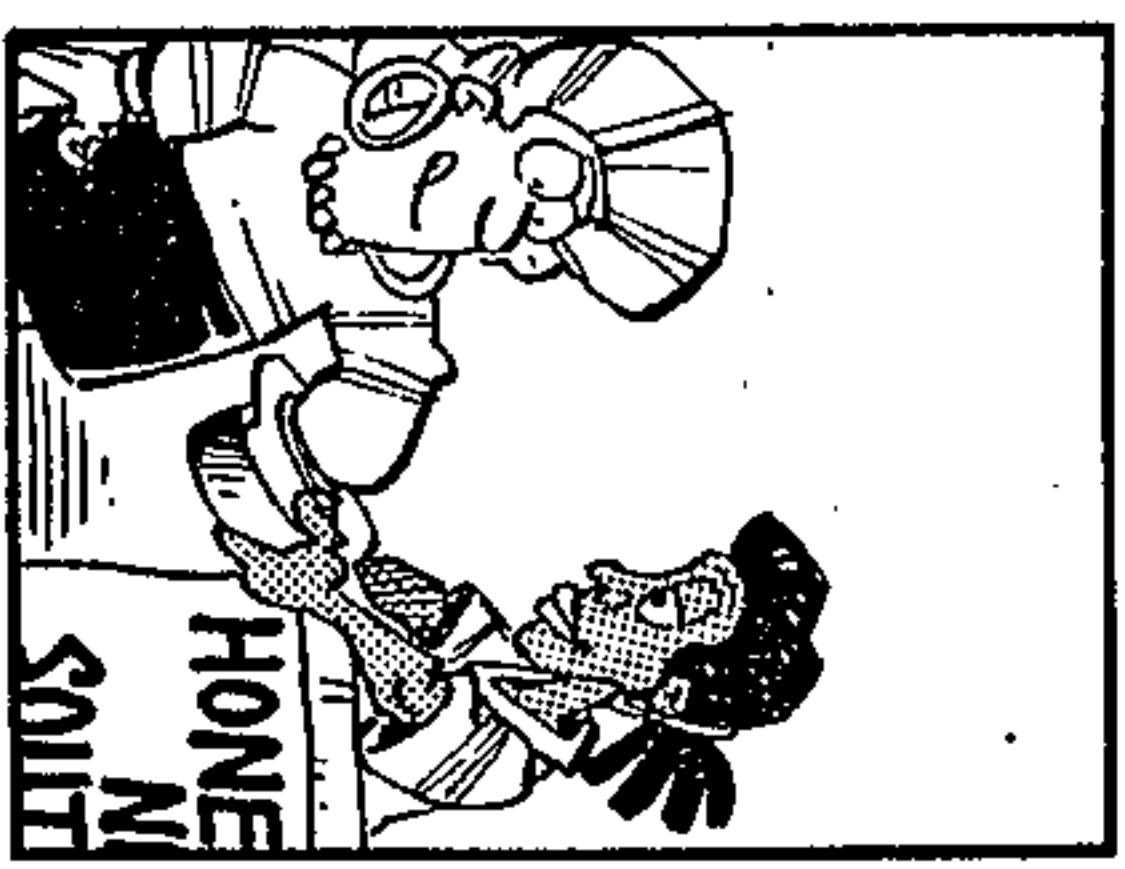
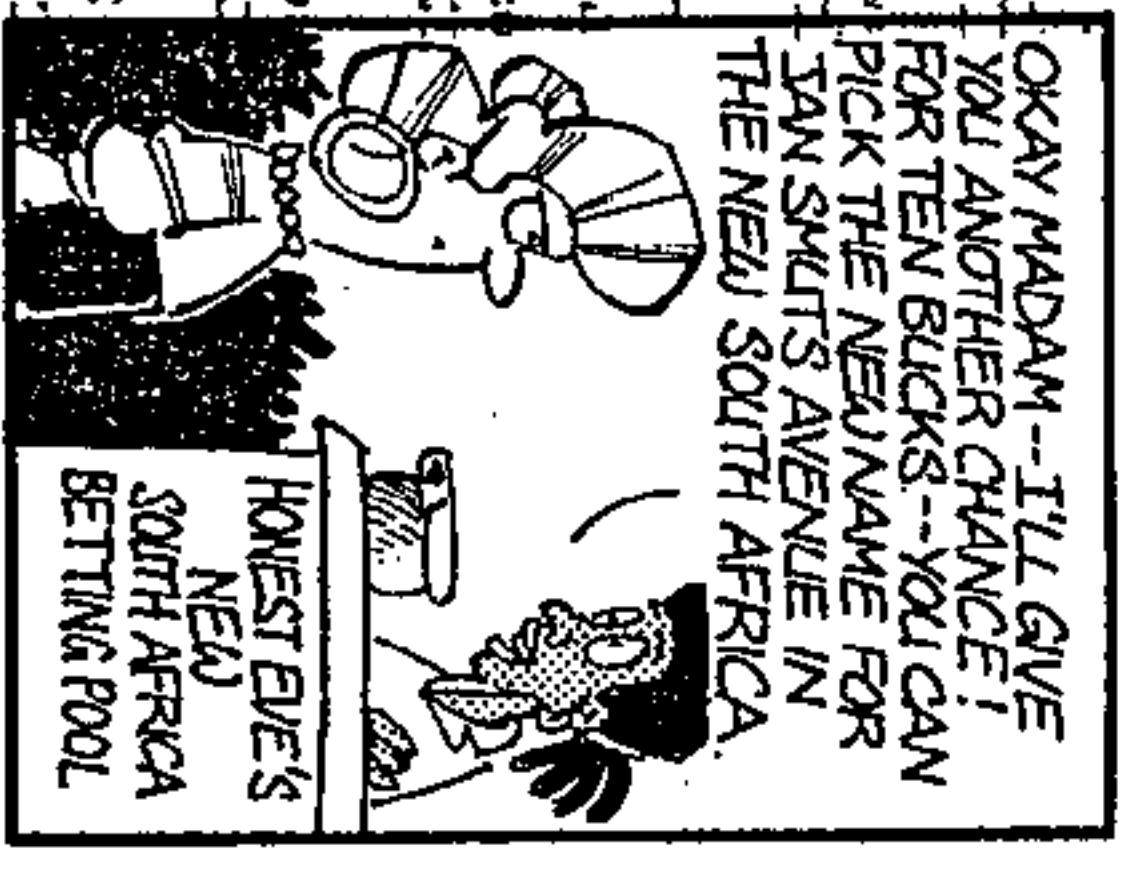
But the NP now looks more like a weak junior partner than its previous projected role as a powerful and essential part of the new order.

Alone of all parties, the DP has a broad appeal across the spectrum, but its numbers will remain insignificant unless the ANC and NP fight a bruising election campaign battle against each other.

If they do, moderate voters may look to the DP for leadership.

A 3 percent threshold could see the DP and Azapo being eliminated, but not the PAC. □

## MADAM & EVE



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# Talks walkout drama

Star 16/6/93

By Esther Waugh  
and Kaizer Nyatumba

## Negotiators to press on with or without Cosag

Key negotiators have signalled that the Negotiating Council meeting to-morrow will continue with or without the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), which walked out of the talks last night.

Representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Kwazulu government, Conservative Party, Bophuthatswana government, the Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and Ciskei government made the dramatic exit to "consult their principals".

The AVU and Bophuthatswana have already confirmed they will attend the

council's next round of talks tomorrow following consultations, and CP negotiator Thomas Langley said his party would still decide.

It was expected last night that the ANC, the Government and the National Party will be lobbying the defectors today in a bid to maintain the negotiation process with all parties present.

At a press conference after the Negotiating Council meeting in Kempton Park — which confirmed the recommendation to the Negotiating Forum that April 27 be the date for the first non-racial election — Cosag members denied having

staged a walkout. They said they had merely asked for an adjournment to consult their leaders after an IFP draft resolution supported by all Cosag members was not carried.

The resolution had called for the suspension of debate on constitutional issues until the form of state in the new SA had been decided upon.

After the meeting, IFP adviser Martinus Wiechers said he was "seriously considering" his position because of an "intolerable situation". He was "rather embarrassed by the unconstitutional proposals (of the IFP)" and would be discussing the matter with IFP leader Chief

Mangosuthu Butheya. Key negotiators accused Cosag of walking out over a procedural matter.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer said a compromise proposal — suggested by him in the 10-member planning committee — would have addressed the IFP concerns. There was no reason for the IFP to have requested an adjournment.

The only deduction to be made from the IFP's resolution was that it was only prepared to discuss "a firm decision on a particular form of a federal state". Should this attempt fail, the IFP did not want any progress in the council, he said.

It is understood that the IFP did not canvass support for the draft resolution before moving it in the council.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa stressed that Cosag had walked out over a procedural issue and not a substantive matter. From the start of the meeting, Cosag had embarked on a "disruptive and unconstructive" path, he said.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo described Cosag's move as "the most unseemly display of filibustering". Government and ANC negotiators said efforts would be made to ensure Cosag's continued participation. "If Ramaphosa added: 'If

they are not here tomorrow, the process must move on."

Earlier in the day, most negotiators had fought off an attempt by the IFP and its Cosag allies to stall negotiations, despite threats from the IFP and the Kwazulu government that they might have to withdraw.

Towards the end of a frustrating day, an IFP resolution calling for the suspension of debate on constitutional issues until the form of state had been dealt with was defeated. Of the 26 organisations represented in the negotiations, 16 voted against the proposed resolution, eight — mostly Cosag members — supported the resolution and two abstained.

No compromise on federalism — Page 3

## 'Talks will not be held to ransom'

JOHANNESBURG. — As the Concerned South Africans Group, which walked out of constitutional negotiations on Tuesday, held a series of meetings yesterday to work out a strategy for today's talks, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the talks would not be held to ransom. CT 17/6/93

In a speech at a Soweto rally to commemorate the 1976 Soweto student uprising, Mr Mandela claimed Cosag had tried to wreck the negotiations through its walkout and said talks would continue with or without Cosag.

"It must be made clear. No party will be allowed to hold the multi-party negotiations to ransom. Our country is crying for peace," he boomed across the capacity-filled Orlando Stadium in the heart of the sprawling township.

He called on the group to return to the negotiation forum, "as there is no other way forward".

Cosag met last night after the IFP executive met yesterday afternoon. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also summoned the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a special meeting last night to discuss the negotiating process. — Sapa, Own Correspondents



T HAD its comic moments — such as Amichand Rajbans's interventions — and was clumsily handled all round. But the initiative by Inkatha and its Concerned South Africans Group allies at the World Trade Centre on Tuesday signals a crucial — and possibly decisive — test of strength between the right and the ad hoc ANC/NP partnership.

Inkatha and the rest of Cosag, who orchestrated the exercise between themselves, can be thankful that finesse and slick presentation is not a prerequisite for success.

As DP MP Colin Eglin rather bruntally pointed out, the Inkatha resolution to the multiparty talks effectively demanded that the negotiating council halt debate on constitutional principles and procedures until those procedures and principles have been satisfactorily dealt with. Inkatha's proposal interrupted debate on those very issues — it was the next item on the agenda.

But the conundrum goes even deeper, for the ANC has made substantial concessions to the Inkatha position. These emerged publicly last month in the party's submission to the constitutional technical committee at the talks. The ANC accepted that regional governments should have "original powers" — the essence of federalism.

In addition, the ANC accepted that the multiparty conference rather than an elected constituent assembly should have the task of determining the powers, functions and boundaries of regions. And various technical committees have been for the past few weeks devising details for the negotiators to debate.

The significance of the ANC concession was illustrated by the response of Inkatha strategist Walter Felgate. "Inkatha should have very little problem in accepting this position," he told Business Day at the time. His only reservation was that Inkatha was unwilling to take it on faith. He said it had to be "written in stone" to prevent the ANC changing its mind at a later stage — not an unexpected reservation, given the depths of distrust between the two

parties, and Inkatha would be entitled to ask for guarantees.

But this is hardly sufficient to justify Tuesday's events. And while the ANC position leaves much room for debate on detail, that debate has hardly begun. None of which is sufficient to explain Tuesday's events.

One possibility is that not all Inkatha strategists — including Joe Matthews who has partly usurped Felgate's central role and was a prominent participant in Tuesday's debate — take Felgate's view, though it appears logical and clear.

The Inkatha resolution also mentions the need for a constitutional process which would permit "ground-up democracy building". This is a bit rich coming from a party where even the most minor tactical decisions have to be okayed by the chief minister's office in Umlund. What it appears to refer to specifically, though, is the right of regions to adopt different regional constitutions to suit their own needs — such as the KwaZulu/Natal proposal. The constitution-makers call this concept "asymmetry". While Inkatha's main negotiating partners have not explicitly agreed to this, indications are that it would not be ruled out provided those regional constitutions were in line with centrally determined norms on democracy and human rights.

# Cosag filibuster sets the scene for a battle of wills

ALAN FINE

Bldg 17/6/93



Inkatha negotiators Joe Matthews and Frank Mdlalose.

All this leaves the impression that, whatever the motives of Inkatha and its Cosag allies, Tuesday's pretext was a fairly flimsy and clumsily devised one. Nevertheless, unless one assumes it was done out of sheer bloodmindedness, there must be some explanation behind the orchestrated confrontation.

The explanation lies, perhaps, in certain passages from the KwaZulu position statement delivered by Ben Ngubane at Kempton Park on Tuesday, and Mangosuthu Buthe's follow-up statement yesterday.

The KwaZulu government, said Ngubane, "has reached the end of the road in tolerating the manipulation of this process". Added Buthelezi: "The IFP and the KwaZulu government drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process."

complaints. The ANC/NP dominance of the process is symbolised by the election date issue, and that is why the Cosag group has linked it to the filibustering campaign Ngubane warned was about to begin.

There is logic in the Cosag position that an election cannot be held until the process leading up to it, and a post-election constitution, have been finalised.

Pressure for the firm setting of an election date arose because of the ANC's own constituency problems: disenchantment at the slow pace of negotiations which was exacerbated by Chris Han's assassination. While there may have been a point in setting an informal target date, the ANC has made a fetish of it — inviting Cosag to make it a target of a filibuster. The election date issue could itself delay the election.

In judging the likely outcome of this test of strength, it can be argued that Cosag parties, while important, to a settlement, are ultimately dispensable, even though the costs would be huge in some cases.

The test of this at the talks is the "sufficient consensus" definition. That is why Cosag attempted to put it to the test on Tuesday. It wants to know whether it has the clout to push through an issue or, failing that, to block one. In reality, "sufficient consensus" has no technical definition. It is determined by the prevailing balance of power.

In weeks to come, the smooth negotiators will become the key figures: the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and government's Roelf Meyer on the one hand, and Inkatha's Matthews and Frank Mdlalose, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje and the Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager on the other. To them, the future must already be fairly clear — multiparty technical committees have already caught its essence.

They will have to flesh out the detail and then sell it to their less accommodating leaders and/or supporters. This is crucial because the one factor that could put the process in jeopardy is a misreading on the part of those leaders and supporters of their negotiating strength and how far they can push their opponents.



# Report on local govt 'ignores business role'

B1 Day 11/6/93

SACOB said yesterday it was "gravely concerned" that the President's Council report on a new local government dispensation failed to recognise that business was a major contributor to local coffers, and would be affected most by revenue collection and expenditure decisions.

The council released the report yesterday, before its dissolution today.

It called for strong autonomous third-tier government combining primary local authorities and services councils in metropolitan and rural areas.

In a statement released yesterday Sacob said that while the council recommended formal participation for ratepayers' associations and civics, no mention of regular consultation with business was made.

Business could provide valuable information on how best to use scarce funds and other resources, the organisation said.

Sacob questioned the advisability of a dual ward and proportional representa-

GAVIN DU VENAGE

tion system in respect of primary local authorities.

Proportional representation at the local level would "unduly encourage party politics", Sacob said.

"We believe that a ward system, in which constituency representatives are directly accountable to the people who elect them, is fundamental to the success of local government," the statement said.

However, Sacob welcomed the council's endorsement of a wide range of options to be arrived at through negotiations, and its call for equal participation for all.

Sacob also supported the council's recommendations for a maximum devolution of authority, with the proviso that additional funds come from second and third tier government, for administrative rationalisation and a fair distribution of the tax burden.

## Nonracial SA 'a top priority'

B1 Day 11/6/93

THE goal of a democratic, nonracial and united SA "is and must remain one of the highest priorities of the international community", UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said yesterday.

In a June 16 message to commemorate the UN's International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling People of SA, he urged all parties to make every effort to reach agreement on remaining issues, and called on them to do everything possible to facilitate the establishment of a broad-based government.

"One of the most immediate challenges which South Africans now face is the task of putting an end to the present widespread violence and disorder. Achieving this objective will re-

quire goodwill and courage as well as a strong determination by all parties.

"The creation of a peaceful political climate is essential if democracy is to take root and grow, and it is a vital precondition for meaningful progress in addressing the serious socioeconomic problems which SA now faces."

Boutros-Ghali said while the UN had confidence in the ability of South Africans to create a democratic and nonracial future, "we do realise the complexity of the situation in the country and we understand that the people of SA need the support and assistance of the international community".

He added the UN would continue to provide such support.

Sketching the already ex-

tensive involvement of the UN in SA, Boutros-Ghali said it was widely agreed the measures had had a salutary effect on the political situation in the country and had helped to advance the peace process.

He said the UN was committed to continuing such assistance until a democratic, nonracial and united SA was established.

"In a world full of conflicts and crises, recent developments in SA have been most encouraging. The peaceful resolution of the conflict... would be an encouraging example for others and an important lesson to all.

"Its benefits would be felt not only by the people of SA but also by millions of people far beyond SA's borders." — Sapa.



# De Klerk's salary up 4,6%

CT 17/6/93  
Political Staff

PARLIAMENT yesterday approved a modest 4,62% increase in the salary package enjoyed by President FW de Klerk.

He will now be paid a salary of R202 734 a year and his allowances will be R63 000, a total annual package of R265 734.

The only parliamentary opposition to the increase came in the House of Representatives where the Labour Party opposed the move.

But the LP refused to participate in yesterday's proceedings in protest at

Parliament's refusal to observe the 17th anniversary of Soweto Day and it was unavailable to explain its opposition to the increase.

Earlier this month, however, the LP said it would oppose any hike in the State President's salary package because of the government's handling of the education crisis and its decision to retrench teachers.

Mr De Klerk's salary and allowances, although well above those earned by the average South African, is below packages on offer to senior executives in the private sector.

# CP rejects poll

57/16/73

(3047)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE Conservative Party last night vowed to reject the outcome of South Africa's first one-person one-vote elections in April next year.**

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told Parliament on the eve of the resumption of multi-party negotiations today that his party would flatly refuse to recognise a government of national unity established in the country's first non-racial poll.

Speaking shortly after a meeting with the government as part of an Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) delegation in Cape Town, the CP firebrand said: "We are not interested in second prize — either you have freedom or you don't."

"We will not settle for anything less than a confederation."

However, the government expressed

## We won't recognise new govt — Hartzenberg

its relief after its meeting with an AVF delegation led by General Constand Viljoen that the right-wing coalition was still prepared to put its case for self-determination to the multi-party negotiations.

And senior government sources said last night they expected virtually all 26 parties to take their seats when multi-party negotiations resume at the World Trade Centre today.

This cautious optimism was cemented by yesterday's commitment by the AVF not to break off future dealings with the multi-party talks despite

Monday night's walk-out from negotiations by eight parties.

In Parliament last night Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer insisted that the contentious issue of an election date had to be finalised as soon as possible and challenged the CP to test the support for their cause by saying: "Let's see what happens in an election."

He said the only way open for the CP and the AVF was to table their proposals for self-determination at the negotiations, which had to be concluded as a matter of urgency.

Mr Meyer said yesterday's talks with the AVF had taken place in a constructive atmosphere and he was heartened that the AVF was at least prepared to put its case in a calm spirit behind closed doors.

Sources close to the talks said last night that despite the public grandstanding by the CP the party seemed anxious at least to keep "a foot in the door" if it backed out of the crucial negotiations forum meeting on June 25, which is intended to finalise an election date.

Mr Meyer said after yesterday's

meeting with the AVF that he was "delighted" that the coalition was prepared to submit its proposals for self-determination to the Regional Delimitation Commission of the negotiating council.

Significantly, the AVF said yesterday that it was prepared to make its submissions to the multi-party negotiations even after June 25 — the tentative kick-off date for "Boere mass action".

The government saw this as a hopeful sign that the AVF might place on hold its plans to paralyse strategic sectors of the economy pending developments at multi-party negotiations, even though it did not obtain a firm commitment from the AVF to do this.

Mr Meyer noted after yesterday's talks that issues close to the heart of right-wing parties — including the form of state, self-determination, the boundaries and functions of states/provinces/regions — were already on the agenda at the multi-party talks.



## Bill to abolish council passed

CAPE TOWN — The Constitution Amendment Bill, which abolishes the President's Council, was passed by a majority in each of the three Houses of Parliament yesterday. *Bill 176/48*

In the House of Assembly, only the CP voted against the Bill, which was approved by 116 to 19. *(304A)*

Fifty-two members of the House of Representatives and 26 members of the House of Delegates voted in favour of the Bill.

During debate, Jan Hoon (CP Kuruman) said government should have delayed the abolition of the Council until next year.

Denis Worrall (DP Berea) said the council had become irrelevant to the process of reform, which was largely taking part outside Parliament. — Sapa.

ESTHER WAUGH  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD  
Political Staff

THE Concerned South Africans Group returned to the negotiating council today.

As most members registered at the World Trade Centre, by 8.45am only the Conservative Party had not yet arrived except for a member of its support staff, Mr Corné Mulder.

Indications last night were that Cosag would return to the negotiating table after it staged a walkout on Tuesday 10 minutes before the meeting of the negotiating council was due to finish.

The Afrikaner Volksunie, the Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Kwazulu governments, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the CP confirmed yesterday that they would be at Kempton Park today after consulting their principals.

They left the negotiating council on Tuesday after a resolution was rejected demanding that a federal state and a single-phased transition be placed on the agenda.

Today's meeting was scheduled to start at 8.30 but by 9am the 10-member planning committee was still meeting.

It is expected that Cosag will reject the election date decision taken by the council after they had walked out.

The council recommended April 27 next year as an election date to the negotiating forum, which meets next Friday.

### Violence debate

Today's agenda includes a debate on violence and on constitutional principles which would be binding on a final constitution.

In another development, which could encourage right-wing participation in the process, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night confirmed in parliament the government's intention to propose a federal state in which Afrikaans-speakers could exercise self-determination.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said last night the party and the Kwazulu government were "going in" to talks today but their next move would depend on proceedings.

The IFP would insist that the form of state and violence top the agenda, the demand that led to Cosag's walkout.

CP negotiator Tom Langley said the CP was "going back" but the ball was now in the court of the government and ANC negotiators.

AVU leader Andries Beyers said it would also be participating in negotiations.

In parliament yesterday CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said his party would not recognise the result of a one person, one vote election, but there was a breakthrough which could help defuse rightwing anger.

The Afrikaner Volksfront, represented by Mr Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen, agreed after a meeting with the government to submit proposals to the negotiating council and the Commission for Delimitation of Regions.

The government agreed that these inputs could be made after the June 25 negotiating forum meeting, but balked at talks being delayed for three months.

# All parties back in talks

□ Cosag  
members  
return

(304A) A126 17/6/93



# 12 years of controversy

TOS WENTZEL of The Political Staff sifts through the record of the President's Council which closes its doors this month.

Ar2G 17/6/93 (3044)

**T**HE President's Council which is being abolished this month after 12 years has had a chequered history.

Attempts by the government to build it up as a prestige body which played a key role in the planning of the present tricameral system and then as adviser to the government on other key issues largely failed.

Often little was heard subsequently of its recommendations on many issues.

Controversy often arose about one of its most important functions in the second of three stages it went through. This was the power it had to arbitrate and to push through controversial legislation when some of the houses of parliament had declined to do so.

Those opposed to the council regarded it as largely a waste of taxpayers' money and were especially critical of the fact that an unelected body could negate the wishes of parliament.

One of the other criticisms was that, although it had coloured and Indian members in addition to whites, blacks were excluded. Nothing came of the plans to include blacks.

The bill providing for the new council was passed in 1980.

To give prestige to the new council its chairman was to be the vice president of the country and members would have the same pay and status as MPs.

The new 61-member council, all appointed by the government, started operating early in 1981 with Mr Alwyn Schlebusch, former Minister of Justice, as vice-president and its first chairman.

There were four committees: economic affairs, planning, constitutional affairs and community relations.

Mr Schlebusch said the council amounted to South Africa's most important commission of inquiry in permanent session.

It was in May 1982 that the council drew up constitutional proposals which formed the basis of the present tricameral system which is now also near its end. In November 1983 the government won approval for the new system in a referendum of whites.

The council's report firmly ruled out the one-man, one-vote system which will now be introduced in South Africa next year. Having first occupied premises in

the Cape Town Centre it was announced in May 1983 that the council would move to the historic Goede Hoop Theatre next to Tuynhuys on Stalplein.

The cost of the council has lately amounted to R10.5 million a year.

In August 1983 it was decided to change the composition of the council to provide for representation of opposition parties through 10 members and to have majority parties in the houses of parliament nominate 35 members with the President nominating 15.

It was this new President's Council that in 1984 was given more muscle. It was given the power to adjudicate on legislative differences between the two chambers of parliament.

If one or more of them had decided not to pass legislation the bill could be forwarded to the council and, after it had passed it, it could be forwarded to the President for his signature.

This new council was launched in September 1984.

The first bill to be referred to the council because it could not get to parliament was the SA Police Special Act Bill. This provided for a special account for the Police. In June 1985 it was pushed through the council by 48 votes to four and it then became law.

In June 1986 two tough and controversial security measures, the Public Safety Amendment Bill and the Internal Security Amendment Bill were pushed through the council.

The two bills had caused a constitutional crisis after two Houses of Parliament, the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, had refused to pass them.

In November 1988 the council was again called upon to pass legislation tinkering with the Group Areas Act and providing for open areas and tightening up squatter control after the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates had refused to pass the measures.

The council recommended some modifications.

In this case a recommendation of the council did have an effect because the government announced early in 1989 that the legislation with its hard provisions would be scrapped.

In an unprecedented move the main budget had to be passed by

the council in May 1989 after part of it had been rejected by the House of Representatives.

Although he was said to be reluctant about it, Mr De Klerk also used the council to ram through legislation after it had been defeated in parliament. He did so in the case of the controversial Further Indemnity Bill in November 1992.

In all the council used its arbitration function 16 times to put on to the Statute Book legislation the government could not get through parliament.

In September 1989 the functions and composition of the council were changed. There would be only four full-time councillors and the other 54 were reduced to part-timers. Salaries were slashed.

It was in this council, in November 1989, that Mr De Klerk announced the first major reform step on the way to the complete dismantling of apartheid. This was that the Separate Amenities Act would be repealed and that all beaches would be open to all race groups.

There were on occasions indications of the government trying to meddle with reports of the council before they were released. An example of this was a decision of the council to hold back a report on the Group Areas Act in 1986.

One of the council's first recommendations in 1981 was that District Six should be returned to the coloured people. Little came of this suggestions and later there was a plan to have it as an open residential area.

In 1982 two committees of the council decided not to recommend the abolition of the Group Areas Act but to press instead for amendments. The feeling was that the Act could be applied with more fairness and understanding.

Later on it recommended that all race restrictions on businessmen should be abolished.

One of the recommendations of the council which did lead to government action was that the pass and influx control laws should be scrapped. The council's constitutional committee found that the system gave rise to bitterness among black people towards whites and legislation was introduced to abolish it.

The council covered a vast range of subjects in its reports, from environmental issues to political and economic ones as well as well as

group areas and squatting problems and the problems of the youth.

In one of its last reports in October 1992 its committee on constitutional affairs came out in favour of proportional representation in a new system.

In all the council produced 35 reports.

It was in January this year that Mr De Klerk announced that the council would disappear by mid-year.

The resolution of disputes over legislation will now be undertaken by parliament itself at joint sittings of the three houses.

In the debate on this new arrangement there were some uncompromising remarks about the council.

Dr Zac de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said the council had been a gimmick and an integral part of a larger gimmick, the tricameral parliament.

He said the council had been "the belt and braces of the tricameral".

Mr Poonsamy Naidoo, member of the House of Delegates, said the council had been a refuge for failed politicians and party lackeys and on occasion had even doubled as a penitentiary camp for wayward politicians. Its chairman, Dr Willie van Niekerk, defended the council.

He said the council's arbitration function had been only a small part of its work. In the time the council had had this function, parliament had passed 992 measures of which only 16 had been referred to the council.

Some of the recommendations of the council had led to important actions by the government.

A study on demographic trends which had focused attention on the fact that the high birthrate was one of the country's greatest problems had led to the Department of Population Development.

There had also been important reports on economic and environmental problems and constitutional issues.

The constitutional affairs reports were being used at the multiparty conference.

The council had dealt with topical matters and he was happy with the way in which its reports had been implemented.

Above all, the council had pioneered consensus politics in a multiracial body.

17/6/93

3044



# Govt defends aide to FW

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

ET 17/6/93 (304A)  
THE government yesterday dismissed the ANC's criticism of the appointment of National Party MP Mr Chris Fisser as parliamentary and political assistant to President F W de Klerk.

The ANC said the NP clearly felt justified in appropriating taxpayers' money for electioneering purposes.

It was "safe to say Mr Fisser will be actively promoting NP policy in the run-up to the elections, and will primarily serve Mr De Kerk in his capacity as NP leader.

"All of this will be done while he

draws a substantial salary as a senior civil servant," the organisation said.

The ANC had "misinterpreted" the nature of Mr Fisser's appointment as he would not fill the role of "senior civil servant" but rather that of a political officer bearer in the government, a government spokesman said.

"His main function will not be to 'actively promote NP policy' ... but to assist the State President in the implementation of the mandate which he received from the present electorate and with parliamentary and political matters of a government nature."



## Parliamentary walkout by LP

THE Labour Party staged a Soweto Day protest yesterday by walking out of Parliament.

LP MP Mr Michael Hendrickse said June 16 "must not be allowed to be forgotten or be regarded as just an ordinary day".

He said "it must be declared a day of national remembrance and must serve to remind us constantly of the evil nature of apartheid and must serve to prevent us from reverting to the same kind of atrocity". — Sapa

ST 17/6/93

(3047)

# ANC already part of govt — Lekota

(3044)

ANC 17/6/93

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The ANC has already begun to assume power, as the government had to obtain the ANC's approval every time it took a decision, ANC official Mr Patrick Lekota said. Addressing more than 10 000 people at a Soweto Day rally he warned the ANC would "stand firm against any activities" which threatened a democratic government. "We have begun to form part of the government," he said.

## New mindset

Even those who criticised the ANC for participating in talks, such as the PAC, were grateful when it used its influence, for instance when it helped get detained PAC leaders released. The ANC had a new mindset and its supporters "must not think of protesting, but about how to rebuild", he said. The ANC wanted a victory at the polls next year that would live on. If whites felt threatened they would be drawn to the right, making it difficult for the government to survive. Peace initiatives in the violence-torn Natal Midlands were boosted yesterday by calls at rallies from the IFP and the ANC to hold joint talks. IFP Mpumalanga leader Mr Sipho Mlaba called on the youth to work together to promote peace and hold joint gatherings.

## Unforgiving

These sentiments were echoed by ANC Natal Midlands Youth League leader Mr Stutch Ngubane. "We in the Natal Midlands have been hardest hit by the violence and it is here the peace process should be launched. Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokoena was unforgiving, saying there could never be justice till white people paid for their sins.



# CP will not recognise an election or government'

□ Hartzenberg: 'A sign of surrender ideal for communists'

THE Conservative Party will not recognise the result of a one-man one-vote election, nor the government that it brings to power, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said yesterday.

Speaking in debate on the second reading of the Budget, he said the National Party aimed to have the SADF, Apia, Umkhonto we Sizwe and the homeland armies integrated in one defence force by the time of the election next year.

After the election there would be one constituent assembly, which would also function as a parliament.

There was no greater sign of surrender than this, and it created an ideal situation for the communists.

"You are handing them the defence force on a plate so they can pursue violence," he said.

"We say we will not recognise the result of that election or that government."

He said there had been no consensus at the negotiating council on Tuesday on the deci-

sion to refer the April 27 election date to the negotiating forum for confirmation.

Sixteen of the 26 parties represented there had voted against it.

"You are moving in the direction of majority decisions at the negotiating table, and that is totally and utterly unacceptable," he said. "If you do this, you will be playing with fire along with the ANC and SACP, and you are looking for big problems in South Africa."



Dr Johan Vilonel

The fact was that so far there had been no negotiations in the negotiating process.

There had been no decision on violence or on constitutional principles, and no discussion on the shape of a future state or on self-determination.

If the NP and its ANC/SACP allies got their way in the definition of the regions, central government in the future South Africa would be controlled by the SACP, and most of the regions would be controlled by

the ANC/SACP alliance.

Most South Africans would therefore fall under two communist governments, and the rest under one communist and one alien government.

Because whites would have to make the greatest sacrifice in the establishment of final, enduring boundaries, it was of cardinal importance that they be consulted on ground level. The NP owed them a referendum. — Sapa.

## 'Fat cat' MP's R130 000 overdraft

REVEALING that his "fat cat" MP's R130 000 overdraft, a senior National Party MP said he objected to politicians being made out to be fat cats.

"I'm fat but I'm not a cat," said the sturdily proportioned Dr Johan Vilonel (NP Langlaagte) during debate on the second reading of the Budget.

"I'm a Nat but I'm not a rat. If anything I'm a very poor church mouse."

Dr Vilonel, who has indicated he is considering resigning

De Klerk to get 4,5 percent

pay increase

Political Staff PARLIAMENT has voted President De Klerk a 4,5 percent increase in his salary, and a five percent increase in his domestic allowance.

A motion allowing for this was passed by all three Houses of parliament yesterday. Only the Labour Party voted against the motion.

President De Klerk's new salary is expected to come into effect on July 1, when MPs get their five percent pay rise.

His salary rises from R194 000 a year to R202 734. His domestic allowance moves up from R60 000 a year to R63 000.

R1 million gratuity, he would not come anywhere near what his former colleagues in medicine had made and spent over the same period.

Some of them paid more in tax than he earned as an MP.

Dr Vilonel also criticised those who engaged in "political bashing," and said that heart surgeon Professor Chris Barnard had done so.

He said that Professor Barnard "had more mouth than sense". — Sapa.

## **I'm poor as churchmouse, says 'fat cat'**

PARLIAMENT — Revealing that his "fortune" consisted of a R130 000 bank overdraft, a senior National Party MP said yesterday he objected to politicians being made out to be fat cats.

"I'm fat, but I'm not a cat," said the sturdily proportioned Dr Johan Vilonel (NP Langlaagte) during debate on the second reading of the Budget.

"I'm a Nat but I'm not a rat. If anything I'm a very poor churchmouse."

Vilonel, who has indicated he is considering resigning his seat to devote his time to a medical post with the SA Amateur Boxing Organisation, said he would strongly deserve the gratuity he was in line for.

"And if it were quadrupled I would still deserve it."

Although he had not been forced into politics, one did not get rich by staying in Parliament.

He had given up his medical practice after becoming an MP,

and had lost a "beautiful home" opposite the Paardekraal monument as well as a little farm.

Even if he were to receive a R1 million gratuity, he would not come anywhere near what his former colleagues in medicine had made and spent over the same period.

Some of them paid more in tax than he earned as an MP, he said.

Vilonel also criticised those who engaged in "politician bashing". — Sapa.



# Day of decision

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

**M**EMBERS of Parliament will today debate and vote on lifting the moratorium on the execution of people on death row activated by President FW de Klerk in 1990.

De Klerk has however asked Parliament to decide on lifting the moratorium in the wake of swirling crime and violence in the country.

Political parties and human rights organisations have petitioned Government not to proceed with the vote. They feel it would not contribute to the peace process in the country.

Lawyers for Human Rights have said that it was "appalled, but not surprised, at the political insensitivity and disregard for elementary justice

**CRIME RATE** De Klerk slated for

leaving decision with Parliament:

displayed by President De Klerk in the matter.

"It is astounding that the Government is demonstrating its contempt for the multiparty negotiating process so soon after the SABC board debacle and the raid on the Pan Africanist Congress. "It was as a direct result of a near-unanimous decision taken at Codesa in April 1992 that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced a moratorium on executions pending the negotiation on a Bill of Rights.

"We question the political and moral authority of an unrepresentative and discredited body such as Parliament to overturn decisions of

multiparty negotiating forums such as Codesa unilaterally," the LHR said.

The Technical Committee on Fundamental Rights during Transition, established by the present negotiations forum, has, in its draft Bill of Rights, proposed that the moratorium be extended.

The LHR points out that it was ironic that De Klerk proffered the swirling violence in the country as reason for the lifting of the moratorium as it would be prisoners who committed crimes up to seven years ago who could be executed first. There are presently 296 people on death row and there are 308 MPs in Parliament.

**NEWS** Eight killed on C

# Cosag back in Sowetan 17/6/93 negotiations

■ Talks go on at World Trade Centre:

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

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#15

THE Cosag alliance will return to negotiations at the World Trade Centre today after walking out in protest on Tuesday, Mr Walter Fellgate of the Inkatha Freedom Party confirmed yesterday.

Cosag — made up of the IFP, the governments of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, the Conservative Party, and the Afrikaner Volksunie — walked out after they failed to push through their proposal that the form of state be agreed upon before an election date is set. Fellgate said yesterday that the form of state was primary and that the IFP and KwaZulu government, as do the other Cosag affiliates, felt that until this was determined it would be futile to continue with talks.

He said Cosag would today propose that the technical committee dealing with constitutional principles should attend expeditiously to the question of federalism and the form of state before talks could proceed.

Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa of the ANC yesterday said it was unfair for a single party "to negotiate on the basis that unless its particular proposals are accepted by everybody else it would not continue with further negotiations".

C



# Inkatha and allies to return to talks

*B1 Day 17/6/93*  
THE Concerned South Africans Group, which staged a walkout of constitutional negotiations on Tuesday, held a series of meetings yesterday to devise a strategy for today's talks.

All six parties that walked out 10 minutes before the end of Tuesday's session have said they would be back at the talks today. But it "would not be plain sailing for the ANC/NP alliance", one Inkatha source said. *(304A)*

A senior government source said its negotiators would not meet Inkatha or KwaZulu delegates in bilateral meetings unless their leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was present. This was because assurances that federal principles were still firmly on the table had not reached "the Inkatha strategist and decision-maker". *(304A)*

At Tuesday's talks it was evident that the Inkatha negotiators were under regular and direct instructions from Ulundi.

**BILLY PADDOCK**

The Cosag group met last night after an earlier Inkatha executive meeting. Buthelezi also summoned the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to a special meeting.

In a statement Buthelezi said the Inkatha and KwaZulu delegations "drew a line against the arrogance of those who have been attempting to manipulate the process of constitutional development". Millions of South Africans did not want to see the negotiations going on for another six years.

He claimed that the constitutional principles under consideration at the talks "will be incompatible with a true federation", with all technical committee reports centred on an interim constitution and a constituent assembly. This process of establishing a final constitution would be

☐ To Page 2

## Talks

*B1 Day 17/6/93*  
completed only by 1999. *(304A)*

The ANC and government countered this, saying they had informally agreed that the interim phase would last only until April 1996 at the outside. *(304A)*

Buthelezi claimed the future form of state and a federal option had been sidelined by the negotiating council; Inkatha wanted this addressed immediately. Inkatha also wanted the council to consider a single phase transition where the final con-

stitution was negotiated in the current forum and not finalised by an elected body. He said the Inkatha alternative would finalise the constitutional process by 1994.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and DP negotiator Colin Eglin said there was no reason for Cosag members to walk out. It was impractical to negotiate a form of state if they would not discuss constitutional principles.

☐ From Page 1  
● See Page 6

Time is running out for a concerted effort to lift the remaining American sanctions

Steve Miller

# Forces must unite on US front

**W**HILE the principal parties in Kempton Park labour to forge a settlement, disturbing signs are emerging that the lack of an equivalent degree of co-operation here may be undermining their efforts to launch a prosperous new South Africa.

**Peter Fabricius**  
IN WASHINGTON



When the negotiators agree on the fundamentals of the transition — perhaps within weeks — they, and especially ANC leader Nelson Mandela, are expected to issue a call to America and the rest of the world to lift remaining sanctions and to invest in South Africa.

That may happen here when President Clinton hangs the Philadelphia Liberty Medal on F W de Klerk and Mandela.

Clinton is expected to respond to the South African appeal by pledging some R320 million in extra aid, calling for the abolition of the remaining 166 sanctions measures at city, state and national level and urging American businessmen to invest.

For a moment, South Africa will hold a bit of the international stage. It will be a brief moment. America does not have a long attention span for obscure corners of the universe. Nor — especially now — has it money to spare.

Like a 30-second TV ad, the impact of that moment will have to be great if it is to grab the attention of the hundreds of corpo-

rate executives and portfolio managers responsible for investment and the hundreds of legislators at all levels of government who have the power to repeal sanction measures still in place.

At that critical point, South Africa will have to speak with one clear, unambiguous and unified voice if it wishes to be heard.

Among lower-level legislators there is enormous inertia, indifference and just plain ignorance to be overcome.

After Namibia became independent in March 1990, it took years for many to lift their sanctions. To this day, a few have still not done so and in Pennsylvania last week a state legislator proposed new legislation to impose sanctions on South Africa and Namibia.

Although these measures often remain in place only through inertia, they are nonetheless real. They have the power to hurt South Africa, barring governments at all levels from investing in any companies and banks which do business with South Africa.

Those seeking a speedy end to sanctions and a quick injection of

funds to give transitional South Africa a jump start are very aware of the difficulties they face.

They are planning major campaigns to exploit the moment and reach out to everyone with the power to invest and lift sanctions.

Yet it seems — with perhaps just weeks to go — that divisions and confusion that could squander the big moment are setting in.

The South African embassy here has announced that it will launch a major drive across America to inform legislators at all levels that the all-clear has been given to re-invest in South Africa.

Other groups with the same purpose are beginning to emerge but there is no sign of co-ordination of effort.

In Washington, the SA-America Chamber of Commerce was recently formed by former SA Foundation representative John Chetle and former Ford executive Wayne Fredericks.

Almost immediately, Dan O'Riherthy of the National Foreign Trade Council established the US-SA Business Council with the same goal.

Now the two bodies are sniping at each other, each claiming sole rights to lead the charge for the lifting of sanctions.

The Chamber of Commerce claims to be the more authentic institution because it has a letter

from Mandela giving his blessing to the enterprise and has the backing of other credible groups.

Members of the two bodies are also taking swipes at the SA embassy, accusing it of failing to take sides to settle the squabble.

Meanwhile, anti-apartheid groups dismiss all three efforts as lacking credibility because they are being undertaken by those who opposed sanctions even in the days of full-blown apartheid.

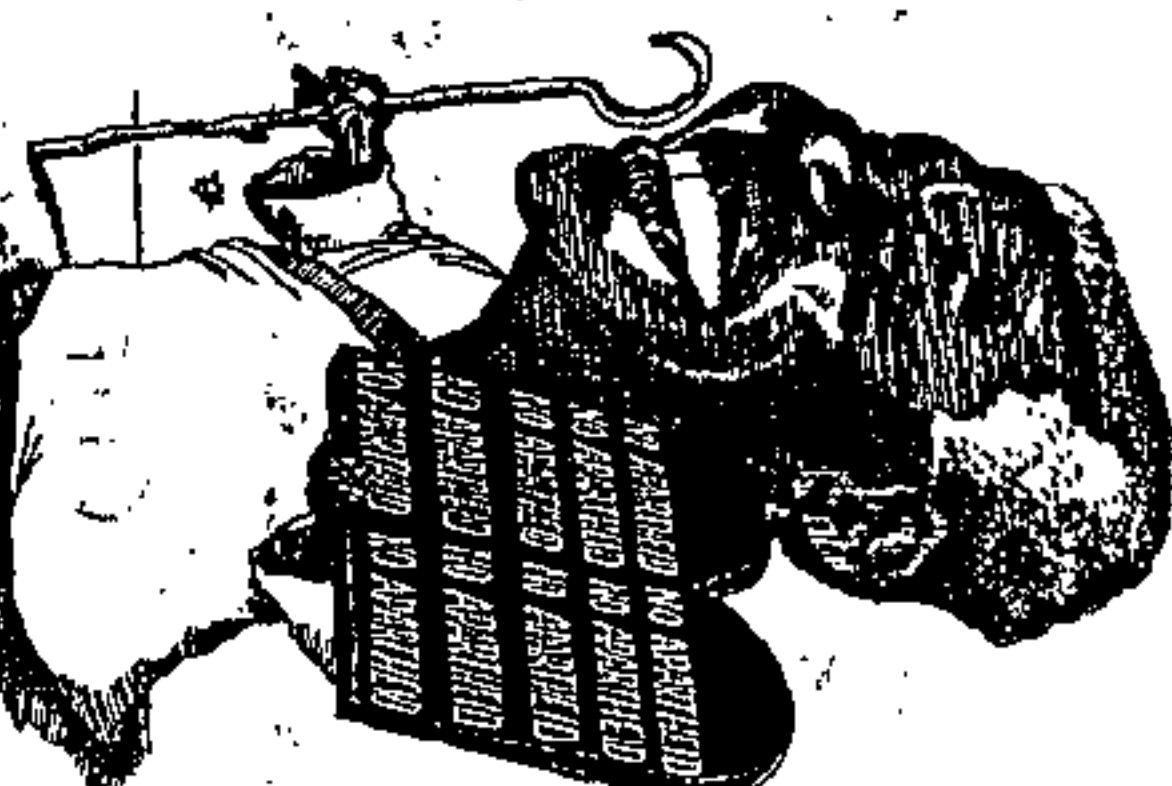
Other similar, business-oriented groups are popping up on the west coast and the midwest.

The SA embassy is trying to co-ordinate the efforts but there is no evidence it is succeeding.

In the anti-apartheid camp, there is also some division and confusion. For one thing, some of its members accuse Mandela of being too free with his letters of endorsement to bodies like the SA-America Chamber of Commerce.

Some members of the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington and black state legislators elsewhere seem reluctant to take their cue from the ANC and are threatening to maintain sanctions until they feel satisfied that change in South Africa is truly irreversible.

Some may have been influenced by the PAC, which is queering the pitch by demanding that sanctions remain until a constituent assem-



Testing time... Nelson Mandela has a brief moment to make a big impact.

Anti-apartheid groups also blame the ANC for adding to the confusion by failing to project a consistent line on what it wants to happen when the transitional executive council is up and running.

They point out that last November the ANC drafted "guiding principles" which stipulated that foreign investors would have to fulfil certain conditions, such as implementing affirmative action.

Since then, some ANC spokesmen have suggested that this policy may have changed and that the organisation would now welcome any investment.

Certainly that is the approach which influential voices here are pushing.

This week, at a Carnegie Endowment for Peace discussion, former assistant secretary of state for Africa Herman Cohen urged his successor George Moose to resist any "zealous" attempts to make investment conditional.

"That is the way to get no investment at all," he warned.

Time is running out for the organisation of a clear and concerted effort to banish the vestiges of sanctions and inspire life-giving investment.

"This is going to be a big moment. You would think that the South African parties involved would take the trouble to rehearse it before they go on stage," remarked one South Africa-watcher.

What is required now is a quick "Codesa" to be called here — either by local South Africans or, if they cannot agree, by their principals back home.

This conference must agree on what exactly is to happen and who is to do it when the call for an end to sanctions is made.

If South Africans can agree to transform an apartheid state into a democracy, they can surely agree on a strategy to sell the idea abroad.

They will have to stand together if they hope to make headway in an indifferent world. □



Star 1716193

## US honour for Gastrow

DP MP Peter Gastrow has been awarded a major American fellowship at the Washington-based US Institute of Peace in recognition of his contribution to peace work. — Political Staff.

(201A)

# Exiles' body 'missing less than R1-m'

By Michael Sparks

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees said that up to R1 million may be missing from the organisation that helped to repatriate South African exiles.

UNHCR head Kallu Kalumiya denied press reports that up to R10 million was missing from the National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of Exiles (NCCR).

He said that the UNHCR had ordered an audit of the books in October last year when it became apparent that some funds were missing.

## Report

He said this week that he would soon receive a preliminary report from the auditors. Indications from the audit were that between R200 000 and R300 000 was unaccounted for, Kalumiya said.

He added that the figure would "almost certainly be less than R1 million", which included R300 000 missing from the NCCR in the middle of last year, of which R200 000 had been recovered.

The audit had so far shown that 87 percent of the R55 million budget the UN had given to the NCCR had gone to returnees in the form of grants, Kalumiya said, with the

rest being used for administration.

The Special Fraud Unit head in the Witwatersrand Attorney-General's office, Flip Stander, confirmed that the attorney-general was investigating an amount "less than R300 000".

The investigation was continuing and the figure could increase.

About 10 people were under investigation, Stander said.

Kalumiya denied allegations that up to 800 people who were not South Africans had been brought back to this country and given the financial grants due to all returning exiles.

"That would have cost the organisation more than R3 million in repatriation grants alone, as well as the distrust that would have come from the Government if the UN had been involved in such activities," Kalumiya said.

He estimated that no more than 20 people had been repatriated who were not entitled to grants. That included two people from Sierra Leone and four from Zimbabwe, all of whom had subsequently been sent back to these countries.

Home Affairs spokesman Michael Tilsley said: "The UNHCR is very strict and really clear the people properly. They have been involved in repatriating exiles for a long time and somebody would have to be very clever to pull the wool over their eyes."

# President's Council bites dust today

By Chris Whitfield  
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The sun dips a little further over apartheid today when the President's Council closes its doors — forever — after nine years.

The council, a cornerstone of former president P W Botha's now crumbling tricameral system, will be officially closed in a special sitting today. President's Councillors will, however, officially take leave of their jobs at the end of June.

## Rubber stamp

The council was used as a deadlock-breaking mechanism when one of the three Houses of Parliament blocked legislation. With its NP majority it inevitably rubber-stamped such legislation.

Councillor James Selfe, speaking during a motion on the dissolution of the council yesterday, said the council sealed the fate of residential segregation by not recommending the passage of the Group Areas Amendment Bill in 1989.

He added: "Like all the structures created in terms of this constitution, the President's Council was fatally flawed because, while it was accepted that whites, coloureds and Indians shared a common future, it was assumed that blacks did not."

The Constitutional Amendment Bill, making provision for the scrapping of the council, was passed by a joint sitting of all three Houses of Parliament with only the Conservative Party voting against it.





Message of peace . . . Nelson Mandela greets supporters in Orlando yesterday at the ANC's main June 16 rally, a gathering of its youth league. He told the crowd that negotiations were the only way forward. Picture: Joao Silva

# Cosag Star 17/6/93 going back to talks

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

Amid indications that the Concerned South Africans Group was returning to the Negotiating Council today, the majority of its members registered at the World Trade Centre early today.

At 8.45 am only the Conservative Party had not arrived, except for a member of its support staff, Corne Mulder. (304A)

Indications last night were that Cosag would return after it staged a walkout on Tuesday. (15P)

The Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu governments, Inkatha Freedom Party, and the CP confirmed yesterday that Cosag would arrive at Kempton Park today.

They left the Negotiating Council on Tuesday after a resolution that a federal state be placed on the agenda — was not carried.

Today's meeting was scheduled to start at 8.30 but by 9 am the 10-member planning committee was still meeting. (15P)

Cosag is likely to reject the election date decision taken by the council after it walked out.

And in another development, which could encourage right-wing participation in the process, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer in Parliament last night confirmed the Government's intention to propose a federal state in which Afrikaans-speakers could exercise self-determination.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said last night the party and the KwaZulu government were in talks today but move would depend on proceedings. The IFP insist that the form of state and violence top the agenda the demand that led to Monday's Cosag walkout.

## ranskei

Willard in the chest, killing him instantly.

The attackers then entered the house and demand-

# Pick n' Pay

Southern Transvaal Discount Supermarkets



# ANC/govt move helps to avert crisis in talks — for the moment

Day 18/6/93

A CRISIS in constitutional talks was averted yesterday when government and the ANC acceded to a degree to Inkatha's demands that alternative federal options be examined.

However, negotiators believe the crunch will still come — possibly next week when the negotiating forum debates an election date and issues pertaining to the establishment of a transitional executive council.

Sources in the Concerned South Africans Group indicated that they were planning either to ensure that the forum did not meet or to walk out of the forum.

A government source said the first indication he would have of the forum's likely success would be on Tuesday. The main aim was to make as much progress as possible before the forum met to defuse any "legitimate" opposition to setting the election date.

Yesterday morning the opposing sides were bogged down during the fray, but by the lunch break they were trying to re-establish trust as they "tested each other's positions" on constitutional principles.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer put forward a compromise

BILLY PADDOCK

proposal effectively allowing government and the ANC to continue with their agenda of discussing constitutional principles, which Inkatha wanted to prevent, while directing Inkatha's concerns to a committee.

The ANC/government move entailed the negotiating council instructing the technical committee to examine the need for regions to draft their own constitutions and the options for such constitutions.

A senior government source said negotiations had won the day. "Our aim is to move forward, make space and create time to find possible solutions," he said. He warned against overoptimism, saying the next few days would be crucial.

Real progress was, however, made in the area of controlling violence. This came in the form of a declaration which the council will debate today.

In tabling the declaration, chairman Colin Eglin said the planning committee had drafted it after "dramatic" progress in face-to-face discussions between government and the PAC "in the last week".

The declaration on cessation/suspension

of hostilities, armed struggle and violence states that the country urgently requires stability and peace in order to progress to a democratic and harmonious future.

It states that as from today (June 18) "we, the parties subscribing to this declaration, commit/recommit ourselves to cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

It is understood that the PAC would be prepared to sign the declaration.



# ANC boss looks at new govt's problems

B/Day 18/6/93

A NEW SA government would face massive pressure to deliver as a result of black anger, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale told a business breakfast in Johannesburg yesterday.

But he questioned what a new government would have to deliver, and how it would go about doing it.

"By the time a new government is inaugurated the bulk of the family silver will have been stolen, defrauded or embezzled as the gravy wagon of corruption accelerates the nearer we move towards a new government," Sexwale said.

Delivery, he said, should be born out of economic growth and development where the objective would be to return the country to the growth rates experienced in the '60s — and more.

Overlooking the fear of the whites and the anger and anguish of the black majority, or to address one at the cost or neglect of the other, would be to court disaster, Sexwale said.

"But herein also lies the dialectical twists of the dilemma: no serious minded leader would treat the two equally as of the same weight."

Sexwale called on the business community to take part in efforts to change the economic situation which saw blacks represented only in areas of the commercial sector as shopkeepers, filling station owners and in services such as the taxi industry and hawking.

"It is a serious indictment of the past policies of white supremacy and a future time-bomb to note that the majority are unrepresented in mining, banking, finance and in the industrialised sectors."

A new government, he said, would not be able to distribute wealth "merely by the stroke of a pen or a show of hands".

"Wealth distribution necessitates wealth creation, and that demands a fairly substantial increase in gross domestic investment," he said.

This implied gearing SA to a "tough and pretty rough" struggle to transform the economy into a truly manufacturing and industrial based power in the sub-continent "instead of the current contortion of being imprisoned in a mineral-based economy, which makes SA uncompetitive on the world market". — Sapa.

## Outcry over FW's award

B/Day 18/6/93

PHILADELPHIA — A coalition of community and religious groups opposed to President F W de Klerk's past involvement with apartheid say the leader does not deserve to share the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The coalition, which in-

cludes black clergy and a Quaker peace organisation, wants to either have De Klerk's invitation to the July 4 ceremony withdrawn or to persuade President Bill Clinton not to attend the event.

Episcopal Church of the Advocate's Rev Isaac Miller said the decision made a mockery of an award for defending liberty.

Past recipients of the award include the late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall.

International Selection Commission head Martin Meyerson has defended his organisation's decision, saying progress in SA has depended on both men. — Sapa-AP.

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# Hangings unlikely in spite of vote to scrap three-year moratorium

□ Talks hope for 285 waiting on Death Row

MICHAEL MORRIS  
Political Correspondent

PARLIAMENT has voted to lift the moratorium on the death penalty by 125 votes to 35.

But little was expected to come of its support for scrapping the moratorium, which is more than three years old, because of the risk of imperilling the delicately poised negotiation process.

And Nationalist Party hopes of a resounding vote in all three Houses were dashed by an 8-15 defeat in the House of Delegates, where the NP has a majority of 21.

In the House of Assembly, 97 MPs supported lifting the moratorium, while 24 were against. The vote in the House of Representatives was 20 to 16.

In all, 129 of the full complement of 308 MPs were either absent — some are at the negotiations — or did not vote.

Rounding off debate last night, Justice Minister Mr Koobie Coetsee acknowledged that the vote was no more than part of a process of consultation that would continue with extra-parliamentary parties at the multi-party negotiations at Kempton Park.

Support for the government's motion would send a signal but would not lead to immediate executions, he said.

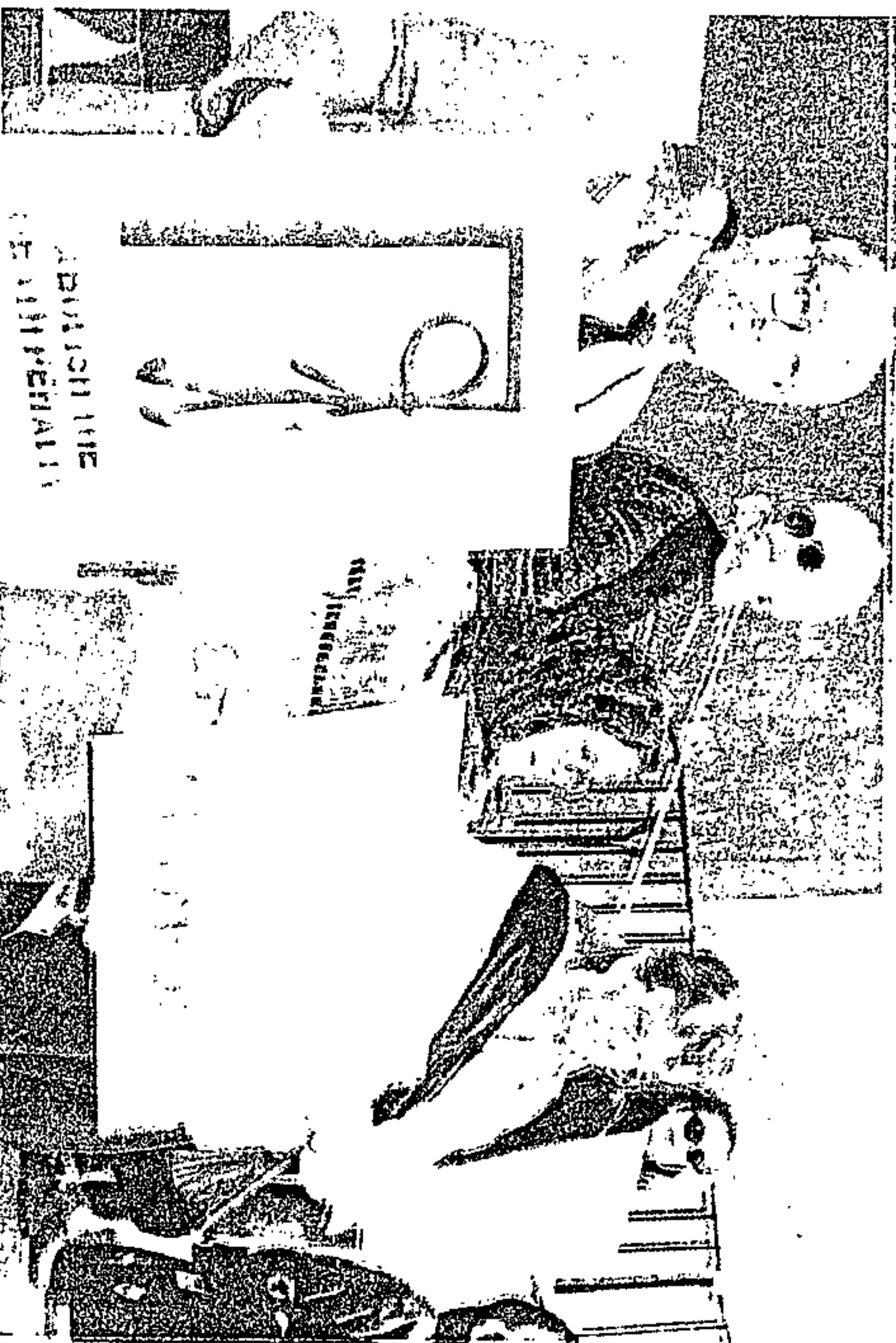
Nevertheless, there was a realisation that the violent situation in the country demanded severe measures.

Deputy Justice Minister Mrs Sheila Camerer described hanging as "barbaric" but added: "I can live with it while we battle to control the abnormal levels of crime and violence in our country."

Ideally, she would favour life imprisonment over the death penalty.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zae de Beer dismissed the debate as an "election stunt".

And DP justice spokesman Mr Tony Leon said the government was merely trying to



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM. The Argus.

**NOPE TO THE ROPE:** Campaigner Mr Reggie September and Black Sash members demonstrate at St Mary's Cathedral.

"I ride the tiger of public opinion by throwing a few chunks of red meat at it."

The government had no intention of enacting the motion because it knew just one execution would probably derail negotiations, lead to mass insurrection and international retaliation.

## Rape labelled a 'sport of Olympic standards'

CRIMINALS seemed to regard rape as an international sport of Olympic standards, Mr Benito Phillips (NP Border) said in the special debate on hanging.

He said it was estimated that by the end of June there would have been 7 895 murders, 42 927 robberies and 14 454 rapes this year.

He supported lifting the moratorium on executions. The death penalty was justified in the Mosaic and natural law. The question of whether it should be retained or abolished was not ethical, but theological.

Mr Wynand van Wyk (CP Witbank) said a government had to wield a sword in its hand as a servant of God.

"We can't say to murderers, go on, do what you want," he said. "Murderers who are dis- atorium on executions. The death penalty was justified in the Mosaic and natural law. The question of whether it should be retained or abolished was not ethical, but theological."

"We are indulging in a form of mass therapy for MPs which has everything to do with the need to look tough and nothing to do with solving the problems of violence, lawlessness and anarchy."

ANC MP Mr Dave Dalling said: "This whole, ill-tempered debate is no more than a desperate attempt of the National Party to shore up its crumbling support among whites."

The ANC regarded this "politicising with the lives of condemned people... with disgust and contempt".

He said the issue should be left to a democratically elected constituent assembly.

Conservative Party MP Mr Andrew Gerber accused the government of deliberately delaying a debate on the moratorium in the knowledge that the president would not have to bear the responsibility for executions.

Parliament has been ridiculed by the government. The imminent Transitional Executive Council will not allow the president to execute a single person," he said.

He said the moratorium made a mockery of punishment handed down by the courts and was tantamount to a frustration of justice.

Mr S K Louw (Ind) proposed leaving a decision to a democratically elected, fully representative constituent assembly.

— Sapa.

## Debate only of academic significance, says lawyer

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The parliamentary debate which voted to lift the moratorium on hangings was of no more than academic significance, according to Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Curran.

According to Mr Curran, the moratorium, although initially announced by President F W de Klerk, was later an agreement in multi-party negotiations which Mr De Klerk could not overturn.

"If the government were to try and go ahead with any executions, we consider them unconstitutional and would take the government to court to stop them," Mr Curran said.

According to Department of Correctional Services spokesman Brigadier Chris Olckers, there are currently 284 men on death row, and two women.

Of those 229 are black, 32 Coloured, 20 white and three Indian. The two women are black.

Almond Nofomela is the longest inmate on death row, having been there for nearly six years. The shortest is Wontsi Mthi, who arrived on Tuesday.

Chairman of the Society for the Abolition of the Death Penalty David Unterhalter said he regarded the vote as an election play by the government to show they were taking a tough stand on crime.

The vote exploited a parliament that was not in a position to make such decisions, Mr Unterhalter said. He added that the vote was "a gratuitous form of super-added cruelty to what is already a very cruel form of punishment."

Democratic Party law and order spokesman Tony Leon agreed with Mr Unterhalter, but said when the National Party was fighting for its political life, people's lives become less important.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamea said: "It is only a few months before a legitimate government will be able to discuss and debate these issues."

"The government has neither the legitimacy nor the moral right to decide this issue on its own."

He added that the ANC would oppose capital punishment in the future.



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM. The Argus.

**THANK YOU AND GOODNIGHT:** President De Klerk, with President's Council chairman Dr Willie van Niekerk, greets Professor J Clifters at the council's last ceremonial session.

## Democratic centre is emerging, says FW

TOS WENZEL  
Political Staff

A BROAD democratic centre was emerging and like-minded parties should stop fighting each other, President F W de Klerk said at the last meeting of the President's Council.

He also said too much energy was being wasted by parties in supporting each other instead of using this energy to build a democratic centre.

Such parties should rather address those which did not subscribe to the same democratic principles, Mr De Klerk said.

He welcomed the concept of the phasing-in of a new system through a Transitional Executive Council and a government national unity.

He was confident that efforts to achieve democratic stability would succeed.

There would never be peace if the privileges and rights of the white children to be educated.

## Call to discipline Mokaba

Political Correspondent

The National Party and the Democratic Party have called on the African National Congress to discipline its youth league leader Mr Peter Mokaba for chanting "kill the farmer, kill the boer" in Johannesburg this week at Soweto.

This slogan has been identified by government sources as one of the inputs into a potentially dangerous white backlash against negotiations.

There have been mixed signals from the ANC recently on whether the slogan has been officially dropped or not.

NP media director Mr Martinus van Schalkwyk said the NP would lay a charge with the National Peace Commission against Mr Mokaba, asking that appropriate steps be taken against him.

He said Mr Mokaba had decided to defy the ANC leadership. The ANC had to now show it could discipline its members.



# Empton Park

# Compromise Sowetan 18/6/93 wins the day

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

COMPROMISE won the day at the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday. (304A)

Although negotiations got off to a halting start following a walkout by eight parties aligned to the Concerned South Africans Group, the negotiating council adopted a resolution on constitutional principles relating to regions.

The resolution, proposed by the Government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, directly addressed the problem which caused the walkout.

Cosag had demanded that the issue of federalism as a constitutional option be discussed before an election date was agreed on.

Cosag, however, failed to reach consensus on the issue as an election date, April 27 1994, had already been sealed and struck off the agenda yesterday.

This resolution proposes that the technical committee of experts on constitutional issues investigate alternative views regarding the need for state, provincial and regional constitutions and different options "for such constitutions".

# President's Council adjourns for good

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

"I now declare that the President's Council has been adjourned permanently."

With these words from the council's chairman Dr Willie van Niekerk, the life of the 12-year-old body was abruptly ended, and its 60 members filed out of the ornate,

domed chamber at 1pm for the last time.

Earlier, President F W de Klerk said in his farewell address to the council that the body's single biggest contribution was that it had established a culture of negotiation as the true basis for bringing peace and democracy to South Africa.

He said he would "jealously guard" the key to the council building to ensure that any future occupants "will not impair the dignity which you have bestowed on this building".

Speakers from other parties who addressed the final ceremonial sitting were prepared to acknowledge that the council had a controversial

CT 8/6/93

204/1

does not slide into barbarism and

history. But even the Democratic Party's Mr David Gant noted that while his party welcomed the dissolution of the council, it nevertheless did so "with a deep sense of nostalgia".

The Conservative Party's Mr S Latsky pleaded with Mr De Klerk "to use the little influence you still have to ensure that this country

But most parties at the hour-long sitting steered clear of the controversy that has marked much of the council's chequered history.

Most of the 60 councillors who enjoyed a finger lunch after the dissolution sitting will not qualify for life-long pensions.



## FW 'does not deserve to share liberty medal'

PHILADELPHIA. — A coalition of community and religious groups opposed to President F.W. de Klerk's involvement with apartheid says he does not deserve to share the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

The coalition, which includes black clergy and a Quaker peace group, wants to either have Mr De Klerk's invitation to the July 4 ceremony withdrawn or to persuade President Bill Clinton not to attend.

"It just makes a mockery of any kind of medal that's awarded to folks who have supposedly taken stands in favour of liberty and justice," a coalition spokesman said. — Sapa-Reuter (304A)

# MPs start job-hunting

By IAN CLAYTON

(304A)

MOST of the 308 MPs in the tricameral parliament are not going to face an electorate in the future. They are planning their retirement from active politics — on the basis of their lucrative pensions, of course.

Some, like Denis Worrall and Land Affairs Deputy Minister Johan Scheepers, who is returning to the side bar, are laying the foundations for a new career and additional sources of income.

All of these MPs know they will not be re-elected in the first democratic elections and many have put their parliamentary careers on the back burner. One of these is former fire-brand, white mine union boss and current Conservative Party MP for Carletonville Arrie Paulus.

Another is the most senior person of colour in the National Party, Andrew Julies, deputy chairman of the party in the Cape, a position which should ensure a senior role in government and the party's reform.

However, after the NP took over the

of the DP, which was born out of the merger of his Independent Party, Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement and Zach de Beer's PFP.

While the trio were elected as the DP's co-leaders at the time of its formation, the PFP faction soon worked towards wresting control of the party, making De Beer its sole leader.

After much in-fighting, a disillusioned Malan quit. Worrall remained on board — only to find himself being sidelined and blamed for the party's woes and, in particular, its hammering in the Umlazi by-election in 1990.

In the face of stiff opposition from his colleagues, sources said, Worrall pushed for the DP to contest the safe NP seat. The DP candidate lost his deposit.

He lost his post as vice-chairman of the DP's national council and is not a member of the DP's Provincial Management Committee in Natal, which is

House of Representatives, Julies declined nomination to any ministerial position and has gone into seclusion.

The former leader of the opposition in the HoR, Dennis de la Cruz, is in a similar position. The Ottery MP used to be known as the best-dressed man in parliament, but is better renowned as the father of Jacquie, who achieved fame as a pin-up in *Penthouse*. He, too, is fading from the scene.

While the majority will fade into oblivion, there is a significant category of mostly younger MPs who clearly want a slice of the action in the new parliament.

They include the CP's Pieter and Corne Mulder and Schalk Pienaar; Cehill Pienaar of the Afrikaner Volksunie; Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Marthinus van Schalkwyk of the NP; Tony Leon, Dene Smuts and Hennie Bester of the Democratic Party; Peter Hendrickse and Llewellyn Landers of the Labour Party and Jannie Momberg, Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell of the African National Congress.

doing the groundwork for an election. Most embarrassingly, he is not a member of the DP's negotiating team — even though he is the DP's chief spokesman on constitutional issues.

Worrall severed ties with the NP in 1987 because of its anti-reformist stance, resigning as South Africa's ambassador in London and returning to map out a political career for himself inside the country. In a dramatic move, he challenged the then minister of constitutional affairs, Chris Heunis, for the Helderberg constituency in 1987 whites-only general election. He lost by a mere 39 votes.

He appeared to be headed for political stardom — and in NP circles was one of the most feared opposition politicians. He supported the formation of the DP and joined it, calculating that it would emerge as a major player. It was his second fatal blunder.



# The waning of Denis

W/Mail 18/6-24/6/93.

Denis Worrall, one of the DP's original leaders has effectively quit politics, reports

**FAROUK CHOTHIA** (304A)

**D**ENIS WORRALL — who draws a R100 000 year salary as the Democratic Party's MP for Berea — has given up politics. He hardly goes to parliament, and does not even attend most of his constituency meetings.

Even though he is ostensibly the DP's constitutional expert, he is not even part of the party's negotiating team.

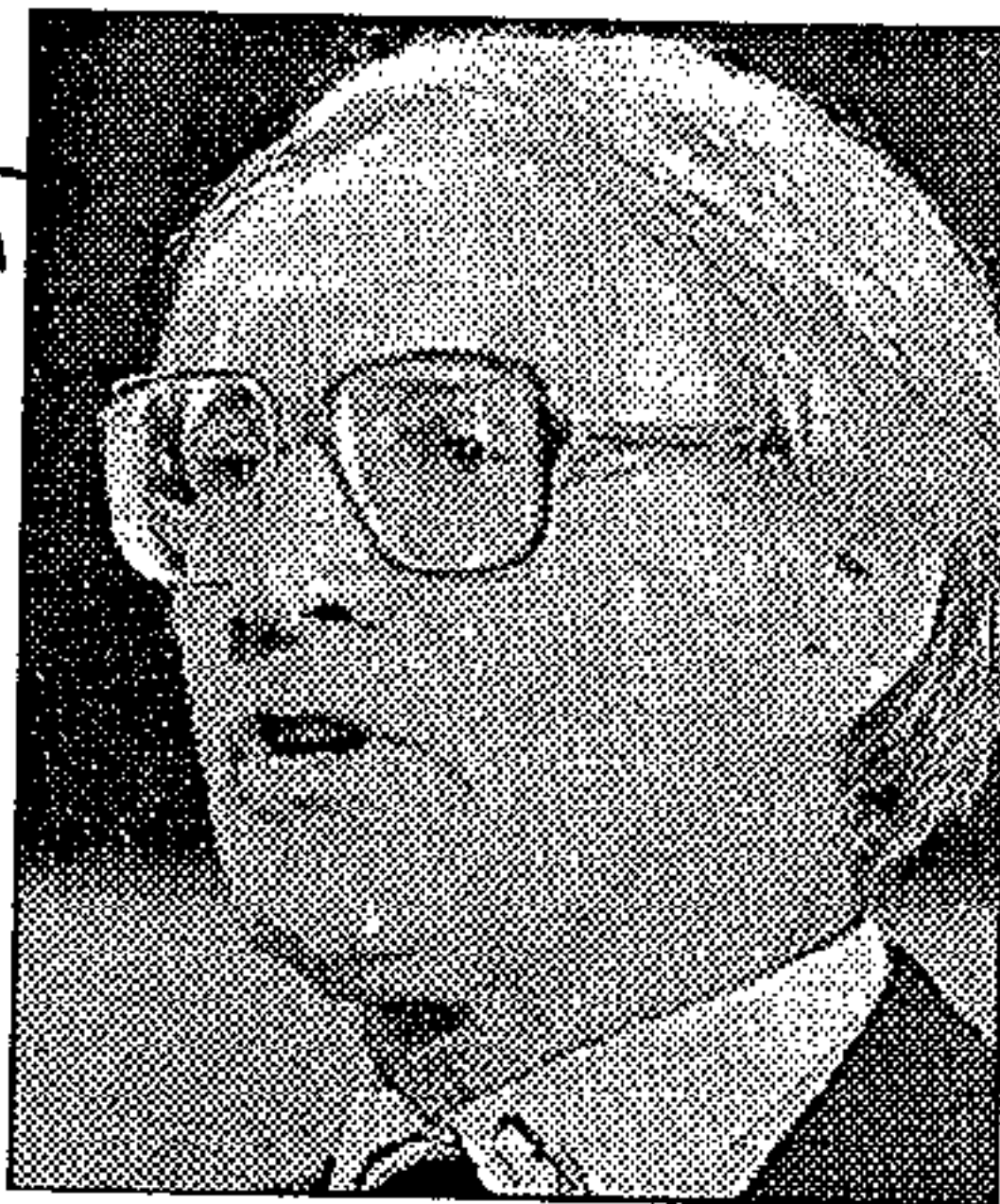
DP sources said Worrall now worked full-time for his company, Omega, which fosters trade relations between South Africa and the rest of the world. With offices in various parts of the world, Omega entices foreign businessmen to invest in South Africa.

When President FW de Klerk came under fire from the DP last week for the spate of resignations from the National Party, he hit back by citing the case of Worrall. Questioning whether Worrall intended to continue with politics, De Klerk said: "We rarely see him in parliament these days".

Backing up De Klerk, DP sources complained this week that Worrall's commitment to his Berea constituency was also questionable. They said he seldom attended meetings of his branch executive committee.

One source claimed Worrall had not attended a branch committee meeting for more than a year, although another said this was an exaggeration — adding that Worrall's absentee rate had been "more than 50 percent". His attendance at the DP's regional executive committee is said to be much the same.

The sources were particularly peeved as the DP nominated Worrall as its candidate in Berea in the teeth of strong local opposition. He was regarded as an outsider and an opportunist, particularly by the old Progressive Federal Party faction of the DP.



Denis Worrall Photo: GUY TILLIM

"He has reneged on his electoral promise of 1989 that he will not be an 'absentee landlord' based in Cape Town. He promised that he would 'root' himself in Natal," complained one party member.

Confronted with the allegations this week, Worrall merely said: "I take my responsibilities to my constituents seriously and with the assistance of an excellent constituency administrator take good care of their interests. I also try to keep the constituency well-informed of political developments."

He added that he saw politics as a "vocation" and not as a career or a job. "I think a politician who is completely dependent on politics for his livelihood is at a disadvantage. For this reason, when I was first elected to parliament I practised as an advocate. Now I have a business."

DP chief whip Roger Burrows said Worrall's attendance in parliament was "reasonable" and no worse than that of other MPs. In terms of legislation, the attendance register of MPs in parliament is not open to public scrutiny. It is only available to their parties — and Burrows refused to release the DP's.

"Certainly Dr Worrall carries out business activities, but that is true for half of parliament," Burrows added.

The sources said Worrall's political demise could be traced to the formation

Worrall



# Situation 'not conducive to an election' - CP

Sowetan 18/6/93

3044

Sowetan & Radio Metro

By Abbey Makoe

## Talkback



THE Conservative Party's chief negotiator Mr Tom Langley would last night not reveal the location where his party intended establishing its Volksmat in the new South Africa.

Speaking during the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show, Langley said: "At this stage you are not going to find anyone saying that this is my bottom line because everybody will press you down."

He refused to say at what point the CP was likely to compromise.

"We must go calmly," Langley said.

He said his organisation was also not supportive of April 27 1994 as the likely date for elections.

He said it was too early to talk about an election date, adding that there was still violence sweeping the country.

Langley said as a result, the situation was not conducive for a "polling atmosphere."

"We must first get other matters in order before

going to an election," Langley said.

Responding to a caller baffled by the CP's advocacy of separate but equal stance, Langley stressed that he and the CP leader Dr Fend Hartzenberg were both Christians, regardless of the policies.

Nakedi, of Mankweng, took the issue with Langley when the CP man said Zulus comprised a nation.

"No," said Nakedi, "I don't agree with that. They are an ethnic group." He added that he was a Pedi but

was married to a Tswana.

Langley responded by saying: "You don't see anything wrong marrying that way?"

Langley said he was fighting for the Afrikaners and not the French, Portuguese, Greek or Italians, although members from these communities were welcome to join in the fight for the Volksmat.

"Are Christians killers of peacemakers?"

Catherine, Orlando

"I know of no country in the world that is divided along racial lines."

Nakedi, Mankweng

with Tim Modise



# Last fling looming for 3 Houses

Political Staff

THERE will be a short session of parliament in September to deal with matters flowing from the constitutional talks.

Among these will be an interim constitution under which an election will be held next April and a measure to provide for a Transitional Executive Council.

The task of this council will be to 'level the playing field' for the election.

The session, which is expected to start on September 13, may be the last one of the present tricameral system.

The government is not in favour of another session of the present parliament early next year.

The September session is expected to continue for three weeks.

By CHRIS LOUW

IN a dramatic about-turn, the National Party has dropped its demand that permanent power-sharing be entrenched as a constitutional principle.

Instead, it seems poised to accept the African National Congress' proposal of a coalition government for a limited period, followed by a fully democratic dispensation.

Tuesday's walk-out by homeland and white rightwing delegates overshadowed probably the most far-reaching concession to be made by the government, when it dropped the key principle on which its own constitutional proposals were based.

In the proposals submitted to the Multiparty Negotiations Process, the government had insisted that parties in a future government be represented in the executive "relative to their representation in the legislature". In practice, this would have meant that

# Government changes tune on power-sharing

16/10-24/10/93  
cabinet posts would have been guaranteed for smaller parties in proportion to their numbers in the national assembly, establishing a coalition government as a permanent fixture on the political scene.

However, when general constitutional principles were debated by the negotiating council this week, the government did not insist on inserting its power-sharing proviso.

The technical committee dealing with constitutional affairs has been sent back four times by the negotiating council to redraft its report. Although a final decision on the draft principles has still to be taken, indications are that the government has

finally aborted its efforts to have power-sharing — or a veto right for minorities — permanently entrenched in the constitution. It is believed that the concession followed a confidential meeting last week between government and a senior ANC delegation. The government's concession does not imply that it is about to give up power. Rather, it represents a change of strategy.

Issues like the powers and functions of the head of state and the executive government during the transition still have to be negotiated. The notion of an executive composed of representatives of the political parties emerging from the elections

with significant support, for a limited period, will probably be recommended to the negotiating forum by the negotiating council.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the National Party have already agreed on a coalition government to lead South Africa through the transition to democracy. In terms of its promises to its constituencies, the NP will sell this arrangement as "power-sharing", while the ANC will prefer to term it a "government of national unity".

In reality, the agreement represents the implementation of the "sunset clauses" proposed by the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo last year as a mechanism to break the deadlock in the negotiations.

●See Philip van Niekerk's column on PAGE 15.

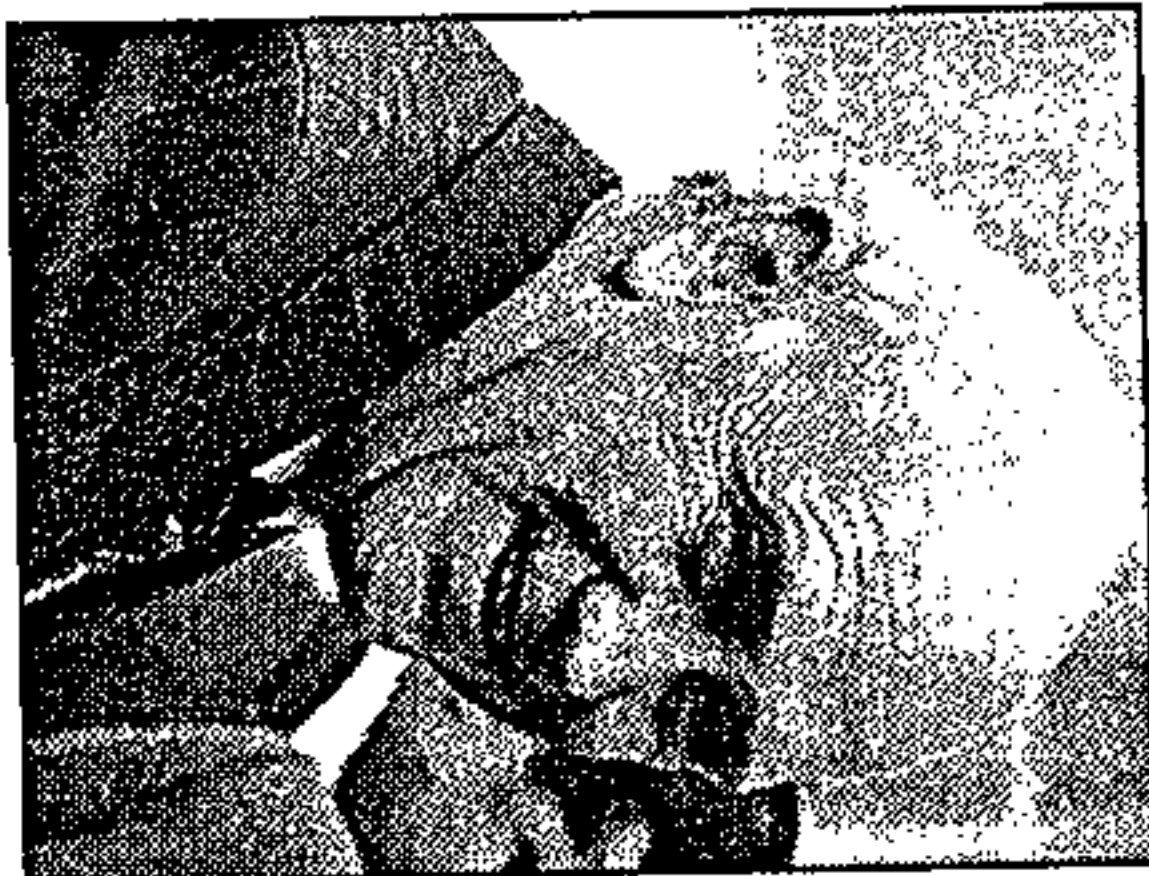


# Into the sunset,

## in shame or glory

W/mond 18/6-24/6/93.

304A



De Klerk and Mandela ... Close to concluding their long-standing dialogue

*Haile Selassie believed he could control the transition in his country—and was flung into jail within earshot of the lions. Strides made in negotiations give FW de Klerk another option—accepting a role as co-founder of the new democratic dispensation*



By PHILLIP VAN MEERK

One had the distinct sense on Wednesday that the intervention by the IFP was being dictated from Umlund where the rules of procedure at the World Trade Centre and the reports of the technical committee are even more dimly understood than in the kwaZulu government delegation.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's claim, after Codesa broke up last year, that half the parties were on his side and half against, sat strangely on the lips of Ben Ngubane when repeated this week in the face of all evidence to the contrary.

Mathews led a walk-out after his resolution, demanding in effect that the form of state be decided now, was supported by only eight out of 26 heads of delegation. His objection was a procedural one, opposing a ruling from the chair that less than a third of the delegates did not amount to sufficient consensus. The walk-out once again overshadowed the real movement behind the scenes.

The search for an acceptable formula for the government of national unity after the election has become a key issue in the bilateral talks between the ANC and the government.

One of the strangest features of Nat-ANC problem-solving is that it seems to consist of the NP making vague proposals, De Klerk taking a highly public stance, and the ANC being forced to read his mind, formulate a counter-proposal and ask: Is this what you meant?

During the past three years, the NP has insisted at various times on a trika of the three big chiefs, a rotating presidency and a council of state to advise a largely ceremonial president.

At the same time, the NP has proposed thresholds for representation at these highest levels of government of between 10 and 15 percent — percentages that would in fact exclude the IFP and leave just the ANC and the NP in government.

Could the proposal mooted at last week's ANC national executive committee meeting, that the position of vice-president be created for the leader of the second party — a post hand-crafted for De Klerk — be what De Klerk is really after?

Clearly, the rules and powers of the president and the vice-president would have to be fine-tuned. But providing a position of such status and power could answer the problem of what to do with a former president in his mid-50s. He certainly can't go back to being a common or garden cabinet minister.

It would be hard to begrudge De Klerk the post. He is, after all, a man who broke with the *Kragadige* tradition of his predecessors to engage in a debate about what the future South Africa should look like. He lost some of the arguments and won some, involving restraints on the power of a majority government, that have probably enhanced democracy in a future South Africa.

If agreement on the interim government is reached, the true meaning of the phrase "sunset clause" will be seen at last. After all, it's far better to drive off into the sunset as the co-founder of the new, democratic South Africa, than in a battered old Volksie beetle.

In his last days as emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Selassie came to understand that he could no longer withstand the tide of change. He never lifted a finger as the young military officers of the Dergue gradually dismantled the elite of Ethiopian society, carting family, friends and ministers off to jail until there was no one left in the palace except Selassie himself and a servant. One day, a group of officers came to strip him of his last remaining power, the throne. The Lion of Judah, descendant of Solomon, King of Kings, was whisked from the palace in the back of a green Volkswagen beetle to a military barracks where he was incarcerated within earshot of the growls of the imperial lions.

We are fortunate in South Africa not to have to live through a simple switch of power from a corrupt, old, absolute monarch to a bloodthirsty and equally corrupt cabal of young officers.

But, apart from the fact that the Ethiopian ruling house broke down in those last days into the same three factions that haunt the National Party in its decline — the Jailers, the Talkers and the Floaters — there is a noteworthy similarity between the transition in Ethiopia and that in South Africa.

Selassie believed he could control the transition. He believed that if he gave enough, the usurpers begetting into his rotten kingdom would want to share power with him. The realities of power dictated otherwise.

FW de Klerk, too, set out three years ago on an imaginative rollercoaster ride of reforms. Hidden behind the smiling persona, the southern hemisphere Gorbachev breaking down the barriers to his country's isolation, was a carefully thought-out, constantly reappraised agenda whose end-goal fell short of democracy.

The NP's constitutional solutions, gradually unveiled since February 1990, spelt out a narrower proposition: a permanently entrenched role for the NP in an enforced coalition government.

This crude model of executive power-sharing was embedded in the NP's September 1991 proposals. It was the set of demands De Klerk carried with him through the white referendum and the deadlock at Codesa II, the one he continues to wield, albeit ambiguously, in interviews with newspapers.

The NP's weakness is that it never really formulated a strong bottom line, an alternative vision of the new South Africa. This is what distinguishes De Klerk, the crafty tactician, from Nelson Mandela, who went to jail for 27-and-a-half years for a principle.

Somewhere, like Selassie, De Klerk lost control of the agenda. Forces in the country at large, organic, accidental or unleashed by the freeing of political activity, tipped the balance of power. It became apparent sometime last year that De Klerk had no more rabbits to pull from the hat. Hence the panic among the more skittish members of his party.

It says something to De Klerk's credit that, behind the bluster, he appears at last to have accepted the inevitability of a fully democratic dispensation. It has not been widely enough noted that on June 2, in the meekest, most substantive debate yet at the negotiating council, permanent power-sharing in the executive did

not emerge as one of the general constitutional principles that will bind the national assembly in drawing up the final constitution. The NP did not insist on it.

A provision for proportional representation "in general", it is clear from the debate at the council, applies only to the system of voting and not to government.

This indicates that the NP and the African National Congress have moved tantalisingly close to a successful conclusion of their long-standing dialogue that began four years ago when Mandela started writing letters from prison to FW Botha.

It has been apparent for some time that the trade-off has been democracy for interim shared rule, the government dropping its insistence on permanent power-sharing and both parties agreeing to a government of national unity to restore stability and ease the transition.

De Klerk is now starting to talk in terms of a more normal definition of power-sharing: of

parceling power to as many points as possible through a Bill of Rights, strong regional and local government, the institutions of civil society and a national election at regular intervals in which ruling parties come and go.

This enormous stride has tended to be overshadowed by the contrived attempts at messing up the negotiations by apartheid's children, the three bantustans and two rightwing parties which call themselves the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Joe Mathews, the man who led Wednesday's walkout, is experienced in ruptures of this nature. He was, after all, the South African Communist Party delegate at the convention in 1960 at which the great rupture between the Chinese and Soviet communist parties became official.

On that occasion he was one of those who stayed. He sat next to Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev, with whom he apparently struck up a splendid friendship, and they may or may not have discussed how to bluff your way procedurally through a meeting.



**AD LIB**

John Farquhar on  
media and marketing



A new business  
column by the  
outspoken  
former editor of  
MarketPlace

## Bouquets at the bun fight

**T**HE annual advertising bun fight at Sun City has come and gone. As expected, Hunt Lascaris TBWA walked away with an armful of awards, which pleased them greatly, judging from the way they were dancing on their table at the conclusion of the ceremony.

Other major winners were Ogilvy & Mather Rightford Searle Tripp Makin, VWV Studios.

A total 42 Loeries for outstanding advertising creativity were awarded. And this year 2 000 entries were received — the largest number yet.

The Sales House "Men of Africa" TV commercial, which won a top award, was the only "African" concept that made it through to the finals. The rest were so First World they could have worked as well in New York or London.

The "upper class" advertising which is the stock in trade of the advertising industry in this country is an indulgence marketers can no longer afford. Advertising is an expense which has to produce sales. Amusing ideas which capture the interest of the few elite consumers do not make good business sense.

As one of the Loerie Awards' severest critics over the years, I must hand it to Dr Ivan May and his committee. The 1993 ceremony was the best-run ever. For once the committee concentrated on the essential purpose of the evening: recognising advertising creativity. And to cap it all, even the food was edible.

### Proof of the pudding

LAST week I made the assertion that advertising creativity on its own does not sell. It needs a good product which appeals to consumer tastes.

Look at the 1993 Loerie winners. The radio commercials produced to support Ohlssons beer received the industry's highest commendation for creativity, a Loerie Award. Despite this, Ohlssons' advertising did nothing for the brand. Over the years Ohlssons, although supported by millions of rands in rather creative advertising support, has remained an also-ran. It has one of the lowest beer sales in the country.

Creativity has to be relevant and it must offer the consumer a benefit strong enough to bring about change.

### The Cannes Awards

THE attention now moves on to Cannes, where the world's best film, TV and print advertisements will be announced at the end of this month. The success of Hunt Lascaris TBWA last year has spurred our ad industry to submit the largest number of entries in the TV category ever: 49.

Cannes will also see a fair display of the print advertising produced in this country. The industry's chances of winning a print award are, however, slim. To quote Chris Palmer, of London-based Simmons, Palmer, Denton, Clemmow & Johnston, this year's Loerie Awards chairman: "Print advertising in SA is behind the times."

### Advertiser praise

IT is rare for an advertiser to go on record praising the effort of the advertising agency in establishing its product and in helping sell it.

Some years ago, Syspro developed a South

**FOCUS:** Immunising young children against the killer Hib disease

## Serious gap in routine shots

W/Mail 18-24/6/93

### CRITICAL CONSUMER

Pat Sidley's weekly  
column on  
controversial issues



**P**ARENTS of young children, who can afford to, should be asking their doctors to immunise their children against Haemophilus Influenzae B. This is not the flu we know but is called "Hib disease", which kills many children annually.

It hits children aged mainly between six and 12 months, though there have been some cases involving children as young as two months. Mostly, it affects children before they are five years old.

It may cause the deadly, infectious and notifiable meningitis, as well as specific types of ear infections which lead to deafness, arthritis, septicaemia and pneumonia.

In the United Kingdom, according to the *Drug and Therapeutics Bulletin*, the newer vaccines should prevent the deaths of 55 children annually and prevent serious illness in another 1 100.

In South Africa, the problem is a great deal more serious, as it is known to affect poorer populations more seriously.

In other words, the vaccine ought to be given to all black children, along with other routine vaccinations, like those against measles, tuberculosis, etc. But, because of the costs involved — a private shot will cost around R50 — it is not yet supplied by local authorities.

In the UK, it has recently been introduced

along with all the other routine inoculations.

Research shows that children under five years in South Africa have a one in 250 chance of falling ill with the disease. According to the research, black male children are most at risk.

It is a highly contagious disease, easily spread in schools, creches and the like.

In the UK, two types of vaccine are available — here so far, only one, known as HibTITER and made by Lederle. According to local doctors, the vaccine is safe and effective, and it eliminates a major cause of child deaths.

The *Drug and Therapeutics Bulletin* says when it is given with the usual diphtheria, tetanus and pertussis shots, and then with polio shots, it will provide protection to children from four months old. And according to studies in the UK, no booster shots are needed afterwards.

The *Bulletin*, which is an independent and authoritative publication, says that large studies "show a rapid and marked reduction in the incidence of the disease as a result of vaccination. And in one pilot immunisation programme in the UK, the incidence dropped to zero."

According to the *Bulletin*, there are few side effects from the vaccination.

The conclusion of the *Bulletin* — which mirrors what the drug company says, and gives it more weight — is that immunising against Hib disease "saves lives and reduces serious morbidity (deaths) in very young children. We welcome its inclusion in the routine vaccination programme."

Naturally, the drug company would like to see its product included in local-authority health programmes as this would represent a great deal of cash for the company. But, seems, as usual, money and other problems will delay this.

Taking the overseas evidence into account along with the advice of local doctors that Critical Consumer spoke to and the South African research which shows we are at a greater risk than European groups, the obvious conclusion is that the health authorities ought to introduce it as soon as possible and parents should ask their doctors for protection as soon as they are able.

## Toy-toying at sixes and sevens

■THE kèrels at Dorsbult Bar would like some clarity from Shell House, because the African National Congress' mixed messages are confusing us.

Last week, Oom Hubrecht Willemse was leading us on a fierce toy-toy around the bar, shouting "kill the boer, kill the farmer". The assistant barman, Itumeleng, who is also the chair of the local ANC branch, had to step in and discipline him.

"The slogan has been banned by the movement," said Itumeleng, "even though it refers to an abstract challenge to apartheid rather than a threat to specific individuals." Oom Hubrecht stepped meekly into line.

Then, two days later, Oom Karl Niehaus says the slogan has not been banned at all and that the ANC's national executive committee has not even discussed the matter. Oom Hubrecht has been in a dense sulk ever since, refusing to toy-toy and mumbling darkly into his Klipdrift about settlers and bullets.

■"F\*\*\* the editors," one graffiti writer recently exclaimed on a women's toilet door at *The Star*. "I can't. There are too many of them," another replied. Well, some of the legions of editors could have been better deployed to help out on former *Star* editor Harvey Tyson's new book, *Editors Under Fire*.

They might have objected to Tyson's merging of *The Weekly Mail* editors in an index item titled "Manoim, Anton". Or the collapsing of former *Rand Daily Mail* editors Raymond Louw and Allister Sparks into a single "Sparks, R".

Indeed, as one wag suggested at the launch of the book, the title might have been "F\*\*\* the editors."

**KRISJAN LEMMER**



leagues. Which is entirely appropriate, because Abe not only has a strong rugby background but has impeccable recreation credentials. Last year he was the House of Representatives' leading party animal, having spent R48 154 on entertainment, according to figures released this week.

■A NEEF of Oom Krisjan recently went to Shell House to claim some petrol money from the ANC accounts department, and found it crawling with the kind of chaps in suits you see in the Hansa commercials. It turns out that the accounts department has been "reinforced" by some heavies from one of the major Johannesburg accounting firms.

The reason? Scandinavian funders have made it clear there will be no more money until the books are in order. Oom Krisjan's neef was told to come back in a few weeks.

■LAST week it was Joe Verster being voted "Mr Congeniality" at his Mauritius hotel. Now another Civil Co-operation Bureau operative is looking for a new career, as a stand-up comic.

At the trial of Anton Harber, advocate Eric Dane asked the CCB's Staal Burger whether his hotel was frequented by prostitutes. "Yes,

Gorbachev, he would be swept aside by the forces he has unleashed. His reply: "No, don't think that is a true comparison. I'm not changing the very essence of a philosophy, I'm broadening democracy. It is not as if we are moving from the dark ages where there was no form of democracy."

Gorbachev, of course, said the same thing. He was not changing the very essence of a philosophy, but rather "perfecting socialism". Of course, Gorby did not speak of "broadening democracy. He spoke of "deepening" it.

Oubaas Malan believes that, were it not for television make-up, we would even be able to see the Gorby-style skidmark tattooed on FW's forehead.

■HERE at Dorsbult, we cannot say that we are sorry to hear about the abysmal state of the United Kingdom these days. After what the Brits did to our ancestors, we are quite happy to sit back and watch them go to rot.

And it is happening faster than they think. An internal memo from the head of programming at Capital Radio in Transkei advises newsreaders that "the UK is a small island off the European coast" and that "its domestic politics are of little relevance here".

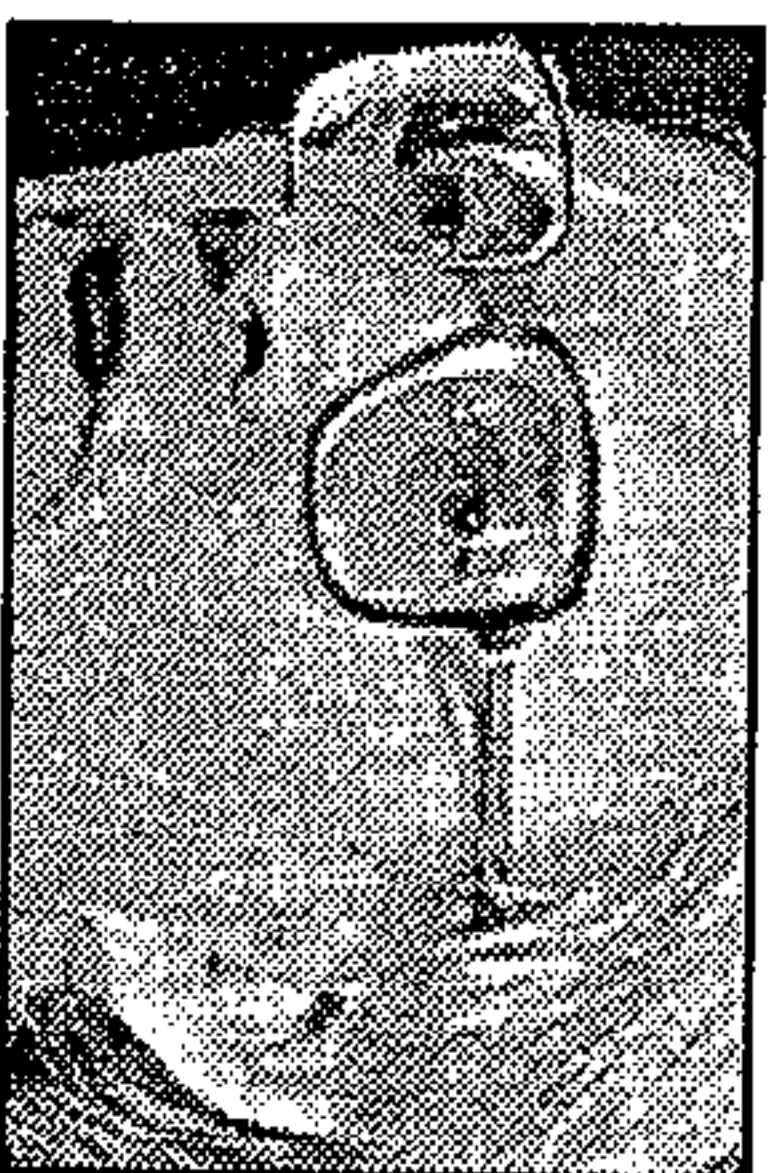
### LIFE ON THE SOUTHERN TIP

SHADRACK BAND formerly of volcano is no longer sharing the same oxygen with us. He is passed. This was revealed to me by his girlfriend Ntombikayise during a beauty contest flop at Univen a fortnight ago.

The late usually played bass guitar in his time and he could be well-remembered for...



*The MP who earns  
R100 000 for doing  
... not very much*



Denis Worrall ... lost all interest

# Dr Do Little

15/1 Mail  
18/6-24/6/93.

**D**ENIS WORRALL, former ambassador to London and now a Democratic Party MP, draws a R100 000 salary for which he does ... very little.

He is rarely seen in parliament or at meetings of his local constituency, drawing a barbed remark in public from President FW de Klerk last week: "We rarely see him these days."

But Worrall is only one of a number of MPs who have lost interest in politics because they realise they have little chance of re-election next year.

Many are actively pursuing other businesses, some using their parliamentary offices as bases.

See PAGE 2



## Is it bye-bye Banda?

**M**ALAWIANS danced in the streets this week as they heard the news that life president Hastings Banda had been defeated in a referendum. There is little doubt that Banda will not exit gracefully ... the question is how best to get rid of him.

Weekly Mail: PAGE 3  
Guardian Weekly: PAGE 7



Abel Mlotswaen-sane, murdered at age 18, was one more victim of a gang which took over the running of the township of Khutsong. The gang uses its new powers to extort rents, hand out fines and



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Of particular interest among the technical reports is a draft transitional constitution (not least in view of President FW de Klerk's remarks on limiting the power of the new president), which would clear the way for setting up a Transitional Executive Council and the removal of remaining sanctions against SA.

The following is the list of proposed principles dealing with the allocation of powers to different levels of government, which the 26 parties seem likely to adopt by "sufficient consensus," no doubt with some amendment:

- ☐ Government shall be structured at national, regional and local levels;
- ☐ Democratic representation at each level, with each having appropriate and adequate legislative and executive powers to enable them to function effectively;
- ☐ The powers and functions of each level of government shall be defined in the constitution. Amendments to the constitution which alter the powers, boundaries, functions or institutions of regions shall require the approval of a specified majority of the legislatures of the regions. If the amendment concerns specific regions only, the approval of the legislatures of such regions will also be needed;
- ☐ The powers and functions of each level of government may include exclusive and concurrent powers, as well as the power to perform functions for other levels on an agency or delegation basis;
- ☐ Each level shall have fiscal powers which will be defined in the constitution;
- ☐ A financial and fiscal commission, with representatives of each region, shall be constituted to advise the national government on the distribution of resources; and
- ☐ Fiscal and financial allocations by national government to regional governments shall be made on an equitable basis, taking into account the national interest, regional disparities, and so on.

Criteria for allocating powers to the centre and regions are also outlined. Thus, the level at which there is most control over the quality and delivery of services should be responsible for those services. The national government shall not exercise its powers so as to encroach on the territorial, functional or institutional integrity of the regions. In the event of a dispute over legislative powers allocated concurrently to both levels, precedence is given to central government.

The committee recommends that where it is necessary for the maintenance of national standards, economic unity, national security or the prevention of action by one region which is prejudicial to the interests of another region or the country, "the constitution shall empower the national government to intervene through legislation or such other steps as may be defined in the constitution."

Essential constitutional principles shall apply to all organs and levels of government.

Where it is necessary for SA to speak with one voice, or to act as a single entity, powers should be allocated to the national government.

Promotion of inter-regional commerce and protection of the common market in mobility of goods, services, capital and labour should be central powers, says the committee.

Regional governments, says the committee, shall have the powers — exclusively or concurrently with the centre — as may be necessary, for, among other things, regional planning and development, and the delivery of services and aspects of health, welfare and education.

The issue of "residual" powers (those not specifically allocated in the constitution) is likely to be hotly contested at this week's meeting, due to kick off as the FM went to press.

A novel approach floated by Inkatha concerns regional "asymmetry," which amounts to a bid to secure more or different powers for KwaNatal.

While it does not at this stage put forward proposals on the idea, the technical committee observes that "it stands to reason" that a measure of geographical and demographic asymmetry will exist among the regions (on which a boundary demarcation commission last week began its work).

The committee also says there can be asymmetry in the allocation of powers and functions, adding that submissions by parties suggest that regions may require different powers and functions depending on location, the extent of development and even population make-up. ■

THE TALKS FM 18/6/93

## Regional crunch

The powers of regional government and the question of self-determination were expected to dominate this week's meeting of the multi-party negotiating council at Kempton Park's World Trade Centre.

The tenor of this debate should signal whether or not the CP will elect to stay in the process or pull out altogether if, as is likely, its proposal for an independent Afrikaner state in a confederal system is rejected. The meeting should also give an idea of whether Inkatha (and Bophuthatswana) believes that the kind of regional powers so far set out will satisfy its muscular federalist demands.

Among other matters to be taken further are: violence (including a possible PAC/government report back); the proposed April 27 general election date; and reports of the technical committees.



# New hopes and old moulds

304A FM 18/6/93



Pieter Joubert is professor of political science at Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education

Political parties are keen to canvass maximum support in the next general election but, it seems, that as a result of historical realities, they have for too long focused selectively on the needs of specific ethnic groups at certain levels of society. Marketing their policies among other communities and social levels will be problematic.

So it follows that such an historically focused target-awareness — their serving only a specific electorate — could be reflected in the electoral achievement of most of the parties.

When the NP won the 1948 general election under the banner of an apartheid party, it was successful mainly because of the support of the large, poor-white labourer class of the time. It was the blue-collar white and mainly rural Afrikaner who put the NP in power.

The support base of the NP has shown a visible shift. During the last two elections (1987 and 1989), more than half of Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking whites voted for the NP. The NP had thus developed into a predominantly white, middle-class party. The political gap left in the rural areas by this shifting support base has gradually been filled by the HNP (1969), the CP (1982) and the AVU (1992).

The NP's shifting class support base is relevant to all parties contesting the coming general election.

Though there are now superficial signs of multi-ethnic party political membership (for example, white ANC and IFP members, black NP and DP members), most political

parties have a traditionally established class-linked support base, which will be hard to change in the short term.

The NP will have to shake off its apartheid image among the majority of blacks. This is especially true seeing as most blacks see themselves (as a result of the deteriorating economy) as being poor and constituting an underclass — a situation which, according to the ANC, they ascribe to the apartheid era.

Against this background, it is obvious that the NP will have to make an enormous effort to boost its present 7% of black support (according to opinion polls) to a significant double-digit figure before the election.

The ANC, in turn, is entering the fray as the black liberation party. It is aimed at the 12m-plus blacks who will vote for the first time. For this purpose, the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance can enter the election effectively on three fronts:

- The ANC leadership can offer political rhetoric that will satisfy the aspirations and needs of a black minority which, in spite of apartheid, now finds itself in the upper stratum of society;

- Cosatu focuses on the needs of the mass of black workers who find themselves mainly in the lower middle-class stratum of the black community;

- The late Chris Hani's propaganda that the SACP will take from the wealthy to give to the poor will be music to the ears of the great mass of unschooled, often unemployed, black underclass.

But the ANC, like the NP appealing to black voters, has a problem gaining acceptance among whites. Fewer than 1% of whites support it. Most still regard the ANC with suspicion and see it as a terrorist organisation led by the SACP.

The IFP also faces grave canvassing problems. Though its membership has been open for a long time, the party (which has about 11% support among all groups) is still regarded as an ethnic one dominated by Zulus. Furthermore, the IFP has essential support

only in the rural parts of northern Natal (about 45%). The white MPs who joined the IFP made the move after evaluating their own political futures and the move should be seen as political opportunism in that they hope to continue their careers linked to a future KwaZulu/Natal region.

For its part, the DP carries the image of a mainly English-dominated, white upper-crust party which traditionally represented the rich areas of Johannesburg and Cape Town. The DP, with its image of privilege, is going to battle as much as the NP to bridge the gap to poor, black voters. The high degree of black intolerance already shown towards the NP and the DP supports the view that these parties face an uphill struggle. The DP's only advantage is that it has opposed the NP over apartheid, but, according to the opinion polls, the DP has less than 5% support among all voters.

The extraordinary electoral expectations harboured by the PAC — that it will undoubtedly win the election — are in strong contrast to repeated survey findings which indicate that the PAC has less than 5% support among all groups. The result of such high expectations, which will clearly not be realised, might lead to the organisation intensifying its terror campaign through Apla following an electoral disappointment.

The HNP, AVU and CP face the dilemma that they have marginalised themselves among the greater electorate to the extent that they compete almost exclusively for the support of conservative whites. Opinion polls indicate that the CP has only about 6% support among the total electorate; support for the HNP and AVU is much lower.

Regarding organisations on the ultra-Right, it is possible that they (like the PAC/Apla) will turn to terror and violence from their politically frustrated and marginalised positions.

For most blacks the coming election will be a liberation election and a highly emotional experience.



We cannot stand around any more and watch the destruction, writes David Screen

# Lead us not into confusion

See 18/6/93

204A

**I**N RECENT weeks all South Africans have been subjected to a barrage of graphic images of murder, mayhem and mass action. Images of hard-faced, gun-toting AFB guardsmen are juxtaposed with those of grim-faced youths proclaiming war on the education system, while national servicemen stand sentinel on all the major roads leading into Cape Town.

Against this background, the big three in South Africa are seen to be providing little of the leadership and vision so desperately required. The one chastises and demands that Britain fulfils its historic duty to South Africa. The other genially opens an international conference and talks of the millions of tourists about to swamp the country. Meanwhile, the third struts around Europe declaring himself to be "the most important and widely respected political figure in South Africa".

The ordinary South African (whatever he or she may be) can be forgiven for being confused, uncertain and angry about the future of this country as the talking heads at the World Trade Centre appear on television screens, proclaiming another "imminent breakthrough" in negotiations.

It seems most South Africans were not told of the violence and trauma that transition would entail, or the tremendous opportunities it could present.

A couple of years ago I spent some time with a deputy editor of a major Cape daily newspaper. I asked him whether it was possible for his newspaper to present transition in a positive light. I suggested a page on a daily, or perhaps just a weekly basis, of success stories of transition: integration in schools; integration of South Africans in urban areas; integration in the workplace; the positive response to various NGOs working in the townships. His reply was that although that sounded like a positive idea, it did not sell newspapers.

I came away from that conversation deeply troubled and recalled a trip to our neighbouring countries I had undertaken with a

group of South Africans in August 1990. Over a 10-day period we visited Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia, meeting government leaders, business personalities, trade unionists and members of political organisations. Each of those constituencies had one thing to say repeatedly about our country: "Your successful transition to a democratic society means that our transitions will be successful."

The images of the violence emanating from South Africa had affected them deeply and wherever we went we were encouraged to do whatever we could to stop the violence.

At this stage, one has to ask the question whether South Africa does in fact have the quality of leadership to create and inspire a new democratic society.

The assassination of Chris Hani and its violent aftermath has undepinned the deep resentments and racial polarisation brought about by decades of apartheid. It is apparent that this same ideology has spawned a generation ofbantustan leaders, civil servants,

military officers and business opportunists whose vested interests are under severe threat from a new South Africa.

Never before in our history have we needed leadership with commitment to all South Africans as we do now — but where will we find this leadership?

We can find it in our schools, where thousands of teachers have, through the decades, worked tirelessly to create a vision of a better society among their students. We can find this leadership in the non-governmental sector where countless numbers of people decades ago recognised the severe damage caused by apartheid and provided resources and a recourse to justice denied to most people in our country. We can find this leadership in the churches where there are those who have, for many years, preached a spirit of tolerance, understanding and harmony to all South Africans.

However, given the tradition of authoritarianism and personality cults that so dominates here, these voices are seldom heard. We have

reached the critical phase in our transition, where a solution will be imposed upon South Africans. Before that happens it is absolutely necessary for those institutions and organisations within civil society to stand up and be counted.

At this critical time, we must hear the voices of those people who understand the deep needs, concerns and fears of most South Africans. We need not hear the guttural vehemence of a Eugene TerreBlanche or the sloganeering of a so-called youth leader. The "we demand" syndrome must be transformed into a "we offer" mode of thinking.

Political solutions that are without a human face must be rejected. Constitutional restructuring and a vote for all must be seen for what they are — merely that. Without a sense of humanity and a culture and spirit of tolerance, empathy and understanding, those solutions will not provide peace, security and prosperity.

Perhaps the time has come for a conference of civil society to negotiate in tandem with the multi-

party Negotiating Forum to provide public comment on the solutions being thrashed out in the debate and discussion at the World Trade Centre. Perhaps then the majority of voices will have some possibility of representation at that venue.

We must now produce creative solutions to the endemic state of near-anarchy and violence. We also need to bury our arrogance and look to other societies which have gone through similar processes, and the dreams and aspirations that emerged from those struggles.

Perhaps our country needs to be permeated with Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" speech, or the lone voice of an Alan Paton in the 1950s, or the voice of an Albert Luthuli. We cannot just stand around any more and watch the destruction. □

David Screen is administrative director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa. He wrote this article for Idasa's journal, *Democracy in Action*.



# Parliament's final session in September, claims CP

Political Correspondent (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The current Parliament could have its last sitting in September.

The Conservative Party claimed yesterday that the Cabinet had decided that a scheduled short sitting in September would be the last of the current Parliament.

This would mean that no sitting would take place early next year and the next Parliament would be that elected in South Africa's first democratic election scheduled for April 27.

Government sources have indicated there may be no session before the elections next year,

but it is understood President de Klerk wants a sitting.

The president's office yesterday declined to comment on the CP claim. A spokesman merely said: "We don't comment on Cabinet decisions."

CP deputy leader Dr Willie Snyman said the Cabinet "decision" indicated the "great haste" with which the Government wanted to end the life of the current Parliament, irrespective of what happened at negotiations.

"It makes a mockery of the negotiation process presently under way." He said the Government was making the highest legislative body in the country "totally irrelevant".

# Disagreement delays opening of airwaves

Star 18/6/93 204A

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Far-reaching legislation to broaden access to the airwaves and clear the way for scores of new radio and television stations will be delayed for more than three months because of disagreement at the multiparty talks.

The Bill to deregulate the airwaves will now probably be dealt with during a short session of Parliament in September, according to Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte.

This meant that the granting of permanent licences to new stations would be delayed.

Broad consensus on the proposed legislation had been reached in a technical committee at the multiparty forum, but some disagreement remained.

The Government had already received about 100 applications for new radio and television stations.

It was expected that between

30 and 40 of the stations could be accommodated within available frequencies.

Schutte said he was disappointed at the delay.

He said the Government, which was keen to give local stations a chance to establish themselves in time for the election campaign, had intended to deal with the legislation during the present session.

The passing of the Bill was necessary to formalise arrangements in a sector which involved investments of millions of rands.

Schutte said a further delay could be expected after the Bill was passed, because the Independent Broadcasting Authority would still have to produce a frequency plan before applications could be accepted.

Nevertheless, he was confident that if the Bill were passed in the September session of Parliament, new stations would be able to establish themselves before the election in April.



# Negotiators sidestep Cosag delaying move

Star 18/6/93  
(304A) ~~18/6/93~~  
By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

A second attempt this week by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) to flex its muscles in the Negotiating Council was sidestepped yesterday, and the debate on constitutional principles finally got under way.

Attempts were made earlier by Cosag to use procedural issues to delay discussion.

Progress, however, was due only to a compromise resolution leading to a "win-win" situation, said Government negotiator Roelf Meyer.

In terms of the compromise, Cosag's concerns would be considered by the technical committee on constitutional matters while the other 20 parties could get on with discussing constitutional principles.

KwaZulu government negotiator Dr Ben Ngu-

bane described the compromise as a "victory for negotiations".

Cosag walked out of talks on Tuesday after a resolution to place federalism and a single-phase transition on the agenda was not carried. (115)

Senior Government sources last night expressed surprise at the IFP's position this week. The party had previously agreed to a two-phased transition; however, this week it firmly backed a single-phase approach.

Cosag members arrived at the World Trade Centre yesterday had planned to submit to the Negotiating Council statements on self-determination, the form of state, the process of sufficient consensus, and the election date.

Cosag also objected yesterday to sufficient consensus — the form of decision-making in the council — and rejected the proposed election date of April 27.

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course still a subject of negotiation and De Klerk's proposal (an opening shot) can only be part of government/NP submissions to be debated. That, after all, is what the negotiations are about. If not, the idea sails close to the desire of Inkatha and other parties to see the constitution drawn up before any election, essentially as a way to ensure their positions and influence. However, this method is not officially called for by government.

According to ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, De Klerk's remarks (in last week's *Sunday Times*) amount to "a desperate attempt to placate an increasingly restless following . . . He is trying to sell to his constituency and his caucus reasons they should stay with the National Party, by suggesting that they will continue to wield influence at the highest level (after the election)."

The ANC, Niehaus adds, is "not open to negotiation" on De Klerk's notion of an "inner Cabinet" — comprising the main party leaders bound by a Magna Carta of principles to guide fundamental presidential decisions over five years. Nor does the ANC accept that the new government should be run based on consensus — at least not in the hard terms De Klerk seems to have in mind. Even in a so-called government of national unity endorsed by the ANC, Cabinet decisions would be taken by the majority, the ANC believes, dismissing what it sees as this latest attempt to emasculate that majority.

It is one thing to agree on the general constitutional principles to be entrenched and to serve as the framework in which an elected body will write SA's new constitution. But De Klerk's latest proposals seem aimed at thwarting an interim government of national unity, which, as the DP's Colin Eglin says, should promote SA's transition to full democracy. Eglin says De Klerk was way out of court if he was suggesting a subtle form of minority veto. This was not the same thing as the need to find broad agreement on policy objectives among members of a multi-party government of national unity.

Sceptical about De Klerk's Magna Carta, "whatever this might mean in law or practice," Eglin says the reality is that a government of national unity could only function effectively based on mutual understanding of national objectives, "combined with recognition of the realities of power as expressed through the ballot box."

Government's first draft of a proposed new constitution for SA, recently placed before the negotiations technical committee

(*Current Affairs* June 4 1993), says: "The executive power of the republic shall be vested in the State President, who

*Continued*

## PRESIDENTIAL POWER (304A) FM 18/6/93 The campaign begins

President FW de Klerk's suggested restriction on presidential power after next year's nonracial general election, as well as the tenor of the ANC's rejection of the idea, are sure signs of the election campaign having swung into gear.

The definition of executive power is of



## CURRENT AFFAIRS

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shall be the head of State and exercise his powers subject to the provisions of this constitution." It goes on to propose a government of national unity consisting of the leaders of parties occupying at least 20 seats (5%) in the National Assembly and of Cabinet Ministers chosen by those parties in proportion to their relative support in the Assembly.

Among the powers the President would exercise "after consultation" with the unity government, various ceremonial duties are listed such as calling and proroguing parliament, appointing ambassadors, ratifying treaties, promulgating laws passed by parliament, convening the Cabinet for the purpose of consultation or resolution of disputes in Cabinet. "All other powers and functions shall be exercised and performed by the State President on the advice of the government of national unity."

The (incomplete) section says further details on the composition and functioning of the national executive will be submitted.

It will be interesting to watch the interplay between the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer at this week's talks for signs of whether De Klerk's latest proposals took the ANC by surprise.



FM 18/6/93

# Oasis or mirage?

364A

**ANC leader** Nelson Mandela is expected to call for the lifting of all remaining US sanctions when he goes to America next month. He and President F W de Klerk are due to receive the Philadelphia Freedom Bell Award from President Bill Clinton on July 4.

The acceptance by multiparty negotiators of a provisional general election date and the expected establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) before the end of the month would meet the requirements Mandela has repeatedly set for an end to sanctions.

In this context, government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer in parliament last week proposed hastening the onset of the TEC without immediately going through the legislative process — subject to agreement by the negotiating council in Kempton Park. Another indication that the TEC could soon be in business is that government has already identified premises in Pretoria to house TEC subcouncils.

Though former president George Bush lifted nearly all federal sanctions in July 1991, many states and cities still enforce restrictions on companies that operate in SA.

A call by Mandela would not lead to a significant inflow of new investment but it would be psychologically important and could pave the way for the repeal of the Gramm Amendment, which blocks SA's access to IMF facilities.

The scrapping of remaining sanctions will provide a penalty-free platform for many US companies to consider new business ventures in SA. However, there is concern that city and state legislators may not regard the repeal of restrictions as a priority and this could delay the resumption of normal trade ties.

At least eight US cities and states still have sanctions laws against Namibia, more than three years after independence. New York City, for example, applies what are regarded as the harshest restrictions against companies with SA ties. They include loss of city contracts and withdrawal of investments in those companies by city employees' pension funds.

Ruby Ryles, assistant press secretary to New York mayor David Dinkins, says a decision to lift sanctions will depend on Dinkins's assessment of progress towards democracy in SA. She says he is aware of the importance of lifting sanctions at the appropriate time, and can see no reason why the move should be delayed once that time arrives.

But sceptics point out that even in New York City references to Namibia were only removed from some sanctions regulations in February 1991, nearly a year after indepen-

dence. However, the close ties between Dinkins and Mandela point to a special effort being made to facilitate the resumption of trade and investment.

At present 27 states, 89 cities and 25 districts in the US still have sanctions against SA, according to the Department of Trade & Industry.

Even after sanctions go, SA is likely to remain a fairly low priority for American companies. Earlier this year US ambassador to SA Princeton Lyman said he believed there was little chance of a return to the situation as it was in the Eighties, when 360 US companies had investments worth \$2.7bn in SA. By this year the number had dropped to 110 companies, with investments totalling only \$1bn.

He expects US companies to adopt a cautious approach to SA and to look at other opportunities as well, such as the Pacific Rim or the North American Free Trade area.

POLITICAL POWER

304A  
FM 18/6/93.

# Checking and balancing

It is sometimes difficult to remember that our political arrangement was originally based closely on the Westminster system, so powerful has our office of State President become. President De Klerk may be the leader of a minority-elected government but he still wields great power — as was acknowledged by the need of the ANC to respond so vigorously to De Klerk's thoughts on how the new SA will be run.

For a supposedly illegitimate leader, De Klerk still has remarkable clout — which raises questions about the extent of presidential authority. We must ask, as the electoral date with destiny begins to loom, whether the powers of the office should be retained unchecked in a new constitution.

Until 1983, for 73 of the 83 years that have passed since Union, our head of State was not the leader of the majority party in parliament. Indeed, amazing as it now seems, until 1961 the constitutional head of SA was the British monarch, represented in the person of a governor-general.

It might be argued that the position was entirely symbolic, but history offers at least one important exception. In 1939 the House of Assembly voted by a majority of 11 to enter the war on Britain's side against Germany. The Prime Minister at the time, General J B M Hertzog, having lost the call for neutrality, was obliged to resign. The governor-general, Sir Patrick Duncan, resisted pressure to call a general election and instead called on General J C Smuts to form a government. That decision by Duncan was intensely resented by Afrikaner republicans (who always had long memories).

This is why the National Party was so keen to install its own head of State. But even when the NP was able to appoint its own governor-general, it still rankled that he was in theory the representative of the Queen. The last governor-general of the Union and the first State President of the Republic were the same man — C R Swart — but the symbolic severing of ties in 1961 was a major NP victory.

Perhaps it was inevitable, given the old NP's relish for naked and complete power, that P W Botha should have abolished the concept of the figurehead president, combining that role with the executive position of Prime Minister. Thus Prime Minister Botha became President Botha. The leader no longer answered to anyone above him, even symbolically. Nor did he answer to the people, because — in contrast with the practice in France and the US, where the president is also the head of State — he was not elected by the people.

But the SA president still has to answer to his party. This accountability is easily overlooked, which was the fatal error made by P W Botha in 1989. In an arrogant and misconceived attempt to place himself above

politics, Botha made the mistake of resigning as head of the NP, while stating his intention to carry on as president.

The Nat parliamentary caucus, versed in the ways of power, immediately refused to accept this rejection of its king-making role. It not only elected F W de Klerk as its new leader; it insisted that De Klerk must replace Botha as president. It was this misjudgment by Botha, rather than his stroke, which ended his long political career. He had removed himself from his party power base and, unlike an American or French president, he was not elected by the people and so could not appeal to them over the heads of the politicians. Botha made a remarkable recovery from his illness; indeed, if he had not resigned as head of the NP, he might still be in Tuynhuys.

President De Klerk, mercifully, has a different political style. But he, too, has been able to wield enormous power. True, he has always been careful to keep in touch with his caucus; when there was doubt about his true support, he silenced waverers with a successful appeal to white voters in the 1992 referendum.

However, there is a sense in which De Klerk has absolute power, the theoretical levers of which were merely strengthened by that referendum result. The National Party depends on him; indeed, the country depends on him to hold it together during the dangerous fragility of the transition.

Perhaps this is as it needs to be during hard times; the last thing we need now is Nats squabbling among themselves.

But constitutions should not be designed for present aspirants to power, whether they be De Klerk, or the ANC's Nelson Mandela or Cyril Ramaphosa. The history of post-colonial Africa is that political leaders, easily disregarding cardboard constitutional devices like governors-general, have tended to arrogate more power to themselves.

The Westminster system was imitated in Africa with great pomp and splendour — but without the formidable traditional restraint provided by the monarchy. Such traditions only gain force through natural evolution; they cannot be imposed.

In the absence of traditional restraints, some other check on power is necessary. We might consider the virtues of the French or American systems, which automatically divide power; we might try to ensure that political power is split between, say, a president and a prime minister.

The vital principle is that a constitution should not be devised for individuals, but to survive them. One wonders with some alarm how much of the present constitutional thinking is based on the assumption that De Klerk, Mandela and their lieutenants will be around forever.





# 72-hour ultimatum to PAC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The PAC has been given 72 hours to accept a declaration committing all 26 organisations at the multi-party talks to the suspension of the armed struggle and other forms of hostility and violence.

Unless the PAC accepts the declaration, the government will ask the Negotiating Council to suspend the organisation from the talks, government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said: "This situation (the PAC's armed struggle) has got to come to an end."

The PAC is "optimistic" it will be able to reach an accommodation with government on the issue, PAC negotiator Ms Patricia de Lille said last night.

Ms De Lille said she believed it was possible for agreement to be reached on a "total or all-round cessation of hostilities".

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa also warned the PAC to sign the declaration. He said the 72-hour break given

to the PAC would be its "very last opportunity" to sign the document.

A source stated yesterday that the PAC was under enormous pressure in the Planning Committee from the ANC and the SACP to sign on the dotted line.

It is thought that the ANC believed it would only be possible to rein-in ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba — and end the chant of "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" — once the PAC suspended its commitment to

the armed struggle.

The source said there was pressure from government "but the real tough stuff is coming from the ANC and SACP".

President F W de Klerk told police cadets at a graduation parade in Pretoria yesterday that negotiators would insist that any political party that killed police and civilians stop if it wanted to be part of a negotiated settlement.

He slammed as "arrogant" an Apla announcement made in Namibia on Thursday.

'Civil war may be option'

JOHANNESBURG.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he believed in a federal system for a democratic South Africa and warned civil war might be the only option if this goal was denied.

"I have never believed in violence. I never accepted violence as a way of solving problems. But what will be will be," he was quoted as telling foreign correspondents.

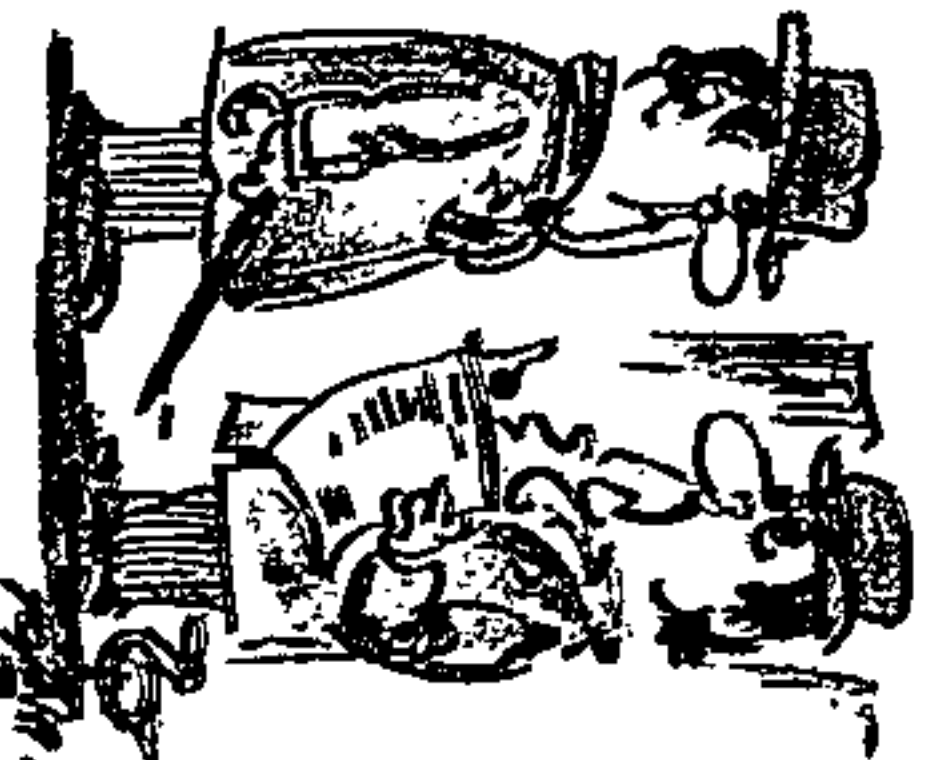
Asked if he was prepared to lead his people in revolt, he replied: "If it is the only option, to lead my people through these dark waters, then it will be the option I will follow."

Later Chief Buthelezi denied he had said he would go to war if a federal system for a democratic South Africa was not adopted.

"What I said was there was already a low-grade civil war in KwaZulu, and that this would get worse if federalism was not considered," he said.

— Sapa

## Crack of dawn



I see Absa wants R23 million for its Hout Bay dune property site. It goes to show Absa doesn't make the heart grow fonder.

## BUSINESS BRIEF

## Page1 appeal date awaited

By IAN GAULT

THE Western Province Rugby Football Union is awaiting a date for the appeal over its banned prop Garry Page1.

WPRFU president Mr Ronnie Masson said yesterday all matters had been attended to in lodging the appeal, and only a date for the hearing was needed.

The SA Rugby Football Union is expected to respond soon.

## Mandela and Buthelezi fail to meet over dinner

AT 19/6/93

DURBAN. — Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi did not attend a peace award dinner last night — dashing hopes that the dinner would see the first public meeting between the two men since 1991.

At the dinner former Nigerian president General Olusegun Obasanjo awarded the first Africa Peace Award to the Durban township Mpu-malanga — where an historic truce has held out in what was one of the most strife-torn areas in the country. Yesterday it was reported that Methodist Bishop Stanley Mogoba

was in the process of finalising the date for the meeting between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

Chief Buthelezi indicated at a civic luncheon in Randburg yesterday that they will meet in a few days.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who brokered the proposed meeting at Bishopscourt in Cape Town, is in the United States at the moment.

Chief Buthelezi said Bishop Mogoba who was making arrangements on Bishop Tutu's behalf had spoken to him this week. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

# Don't give medal to De Klerk, say US clergy

304A  
19/6/93

PHILADELPHIA. — A coalition of community and religious groups opposed to President F W de Klerk's longtime involvement with apartheid say he doesn't deserve to share the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with Mr Nelson Mandela.

The coalition, which includes black clergy and a Quaker peace organisation, wants to either have Mr De Klerk's invitation to the July 4 ceremony withdrawn or to persuade President Clinton not to attend.

"It just makes a mockery of any kind of medal that's awarded to folks who have supposedly taken stands in favour of liberty and justice," said the Rev Isaac Miller, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Advocate.

Past recipients of the medal and R300 000 award, first given in 1989 by the non-profit "We the

People 2000" organisation, have included Poland's Mr Lech Walesa, the French humanitarian group Doctors Without Borders and the late Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall.

Mr Mandela, president of the African National Congress, and Mr De Klerk were announced as this year's recipients by a 13-member international selection commission headed by Martin Meyerson, former president of the University of Pennsylvania.

Anti-apartheid activists and some black clergy argue that Mr De Klerk rose to power through the same party that imposed the apartheid system of racial segregation and has not shown the moral courage the medal is intended to honour.

In an interview on Tuesday, Mr Meyerson defended the joint

award, saying the progress in South Africa has depended on both men.

"Here was a remarkable effort from two people starting from very diverse settings, each learning greatly from the other, working together to provide some hope in a situation where there was very little before," he said.

What effect the opposition to Mr De Klerk's medal will have depends largely on the plans of the black clergy organisation, which represents 400 ministers serving more than 250 000 people in 11 denominations.

The organisation's president, Rev Jesse W Brown Jr, said the clergy would announce a "visible symbol" that individuals could display to show their opposition to Mr De Klerk. — Sapa-AP

ALL SUBJECTS ARE FULLY EQUIPPED WITH



# Minister moves to quash reports of dissatisfaction with the NP

Buss. Bay

DEPUTY Land Affairs Minister Johan

Scheepers yesterday moved to counter reports that his resignation was because of dissatisfaction with the NP or the workings of his department.

Scheepers, who has resigned with effect from July 1 after 12 years in politics, said in a statement: "I regret that my retirement has been announced by speculations and allegations in the media."

He added: "I am not prepared to allow any further unilateral reports on this issue to reflect negatively on the NP, its leadership, the Regional and Land Affairs De-

partment or myself."

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that Scheepers was resigning because he was frustrated with officials in his department whose intransigence and incompetence were thwarting his attempts at land reform.

He reiterated that the main reason for his retirement was because he was returning to his legal practice on a fulltime basis.

As I am still a supporter of the NP, other speculations regarding my retirement justify no further comment.

He expressed his gratitude to President

WILSON ZWANE

F W de Klerk, saying he had only appreciation for the reform measures taken to return SA to a full democratic dispensation.

"Apartheid was a mistake and I join the ranks of those within the NP who regret this policy and who have expressed their regret on this policy in the past," he said.

He said he was also resigning as MP for the Vryburg constituency from July 1.

This was to allow his successor to be nominated soon so that the person would have time to represent his constituents

more effectively.

Scheepers said he would not confirm or deny the report "because to do so will not take us forward".

In his statement he said: "I believe my successor will experience the same satisfaction in promoting land reform in the interests of all our people by applying and extending the recently formulated Land Policy."

Sapa reports that Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie yesterday described the reports on the reasons for Scheepers's resignation as "wild and base-

less" speculation.

Fourie said he was aware Scheepers had experienced problems with officials but that these had been addressed responsibly and resolved through the head of the department.

Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers moved yesterday to smother suspicions that the resignation indicated disenchantment with the party.

De Villiers said Scheepers had informed him he was resigning because he wanted to pursue a legal career.

Minister

Buss. Bay

From Page 1

He said Scheepers had assured him he would remain loyal to the NP.

But De Villiers said he believed Scheepers was "frustrated" with his department's officials.

Scheepers said in an interview yesterday he was resigning because he felt the time to do so was opportune.

He would not speculate on who was like-

ly to succeed him in the Vryburg constituency, saying appointments were De Klerk's preserve.

There was, however, an abundance of talent in the NP caucus, he said.

De Villiers said a decision on Scheepers' successor would be taken within the next few months.

To Page 2

## Commission aims to curb govt waste

By ARI JACOBSON

THE independent Audit Commission which was set up in April expects to curb uncontrolled government spending, said chairman Dr Francois Jacobs yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference after the R136,7m auditor-general's budget vote which includes a R4,7m provision for the Audit Commission, Dr Jacobs said "for the first time" three members overseeing the budget would come from the private sector. The eight other members are parliamentarians.

The three from the private sector members are: JSE chairman Mr Roy Andersen and two executives from accounting firms, Mr JJ Njeke from Price Waterhouse and Mr Hanke Scheepers from Coopers and Lybrand.

Dr Jacobs said the aim of the Audit Commission was to reduce state expenditure.



June 1993

## FW, Mandela for Clinton

PETER FABRICIUS (3049)  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President De Klerk is likely to meet President Clinton for the first time in the White House on Friday July 2.

He will then travel to Philadelphia where he and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela will be presented with the Philadelphia Liberty Medal.

It is understood Mr Mandela will also meet Mr Clinton in the White House on July 2.

In Washington Mr De Klerk will meet World Bank president Lewis Preston, IMF managing director Michel Camdessus and businessmen.

This signifies the importance the South African government attaches to economic development in the transitional period.

Mr De Klerk will address the National Press Club here and will meet top journalists. He may meet Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

## At the World Trade Centre

# CP, PAC postpone talks on hostilities

APR 19/6/93  
30/4/93

**DALE LAUTENBACH**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

**KEMPTON PARK.** — A proposal by the Conservative Party, seconded by the Pan Africanist Congress, has postponed the decision on a declaration requiring all negotiating parties to suspend hostilities and armed struggle.

It was widely expected that a resolution requiring this would be dealt with yesterday, but after a long debate in which amendments were offered and following several meetings of the 10-person planning committee, a stalemate remained. The CP, in alliance with the PAC, succeeded in postponing a final decision to the next meeting of the Negotiating Council on Tuesday.

The declaration is designed to break the deadlock between the government and the PAC on the issue of armed struggle by requiring all members of the negotiating process to commit themselves "to peaceful resolution of conflict and, where applicable, cease/suspend any form of hostilities/armed struggle/violence in pursuance of political objectives and in the resolution of political differences".

An amendment to the draft declaration yesterday was that "the conduct and utterances of all are consistent with this declaration". This appeared clearly addressed to the various contentious chants that have been in the news recently.

The PAC supported the CP proposal

to postpone a decision because it needed to reflect and confer with its leadership, some of whom were in Cairo at an OAU meeting.

Patricia de Lille, who led the PAC delegation yesterday, said the issue was very sensitive for the PAC and reports that the PAC was about to suspend the armed struggle had had the effect of delaying yesterday's proceedings.

She said the PAC envisaged dropping its call for a mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and government by calling on all parties at the negotiation table to commit themselves to an all-round cessation.

And PAC president Clarence Makwetu has accused the government of not being prepared to discuss a mutual cessation of hostilities. He said at a Press conference yesterday that the PAC was willing to do so immediately.

Earlier yesterday Roelf Meyer accused the PAC of conducting an armed struggle while negotiating at the same time, a situation he said could no longer be tolerated.

Asked to comment on Mr Meyer's accusation, Mr Makwetu merely said the government was also doing this. He then said the government was "arming itself to the teeth", which was "not acceptable".

Mr Makwetu denied that the PAC had agreed to comply with a draft declaration which calls for the immediate cessation of hostilities by all parties to negotiations.



## FW made freeman of upgraded Klerksdorp

KLERKSDORP. — President FW de Klerk was made a freeman of Klerksdorp during a solemn city council ceremony last night. <sup>07/19/93</sup>

But ANC media officer Mr Rankowa Molefe said Mr De Klerk did not deserve the award.

He said: "The appropriate person for this award is the champion of peace in South Africa, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who was born here in Klerksdorp." <sup>(3047)</sup>

During the ceremony Klerksdorp's status was upgraded from a town to a city. — Sapa

# Afrikaner challenges CP to 'live in real world'

DALE LAUTENBACH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

KEMPTON PARK. — It was Afrikaner versus Afrikaner at the Negotiating Council yesterday as debate bit into the issue of self-determination and the Conservative Party was challenged to "live in the real world".

"We have to face the realities of our country and that is the major difference between us and the CP," said National Party negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers.

He was joined by colleague Mr Leon Wessels: "There is no way the PWV will be anything but a South African state and I see my way clear to being an Afrikaner there; I see my way clear to being what I am."

Mr Wessels argued that the nature of being an Afrikaner could be maintained through the organs of a civil society as protected by a bill of rights; the culture and identity of the Afrikaner could be safe among all other people without impinging on their rights.

Despite enormous differences on the subject of self-determination as a constitutional principle, the spirit of the debate was that the CP should be taken seriously: "We will have to listen to one another," said Mr Wessels.

This was borne out by the number of questions put to the CP from, among others, the NP, government, the SACP and the DP.

And again and again came the same question: "When we say where will this Afrikaner state be, your silence, I'm sorry to say, is overwhelming," said Mr Wessels.

304A  
"Where?" said government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer. "The people the CP claim to represent are scattered all over. How are they going to effect the location of these people they want to represent."

"We have a great concern about non-Afrikaners in that state," said Dr De Villiers. Demographics dictated that in all probability the self-determinationists could only achieve dominance as a minority over a majority.

"And then we'll have a new freedom struggle and the whole problem of apartheid begins again," said Dr De Villiers. "We want people to be free in South Africa ... we do not want to create new ethnic conflicts."

"We the Negotiating Council cannot be party to introducing in South Africa a constitution that will discriminate against its people, so what would the rights of the non-Afrikaners be in such a state?"

Arguing with a zeal that would have seemed curious until so recently, government and the NP stood vehemently opposed to the CP's vision of self-determination in a confederation.

"We have to live in the real world," said Dr De Villiers.

For its part the CP did not offer to stipulate where it envisaged its state, saying only that boundaries had to be negotiated. (Government sources have asked in private: "Who are they going to negotiate with?")

Mr Fanie Jacobs of the CP said citizenship in the Afrikaner state would be determined by the "law of descent" but refused to define what this meant when challenged to do so by Mr Colin Eglin of the DP.



# US to unveil SA funding plan in July

CT 19/6/93 (3047)

By SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — President Bill Clinton hopes to unveil a major package of proposals to bolster the South African economy and promote a successful transition to multiracial democracy when he awards freedom medals to President F W De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in Philadelphia on July 4.

However, the announcement remains conditional on a firm election date and the creation of a Transitional Executive Council.

The package, which was discussed with ANC foreign affairs director Mr Thabo Mbeki this week, is expected to include the removal of all remaining economic sanctions at the federal level — most importantly the US veto on International Monetary Fund and World Bank lending to South Africa.

Clinton will also call on state and local authorities to remove restrictions on US investment in South Africa, and will urge leaders of the Group of Seven nations to co-ordinate what one US official called a "significant mobilisation of resources" for reconstruction in SA.

Clinton may also say the US will make available \$10 million for voter education, observer training and other programmes to help South Africans prepare for elections.

Aug 19/6/93

3041A

for “free and fair” elections.

**Weekend Argus Political Correspondent**








the Inkatha Freedom Party.

non-racial elections with any precision.

time," they say.

Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

# for political parties

	ANC alliance	47 - 54%
	NP	21 - 26%
	IFP	8 - 11%
	PAC AZAPO	3 - 10%
	CP	4 - 5%
	DP	3 - 6%
	AWB HNP	1%

Whom would you choose to lead South Africa:

LEADER	Western Cape %	Northern Cape %	ORS %	Eastern Cape %	Natal %	E TV1 & Kang waile %	N TV1 Gazan Lebo %	PWV & Kwa- Ndebele %	Western TV1 %	Ciskei & Venda %	TOTAL
De Klerk, NP	52,42	32,88	4,61	24,39	18,31	8,89	5,48	21,05	12,17	3,20	19,49
CP, HNP, AWB leaders	5,21	-----	2,07	-----	-----	-----	4,50	5,93	6,99	-----	2,87
DP leaders	1,48	-----	-----	-----	1,02	-----	-----	0,62	-----	-----	0,55
Mandela, ANC leaders	15,11	14,17	54,09	54,74	24,60	27,56	63,95	39,18	37,66	91,95	38,23
Buthe/lezi, IFP leaders	1,85	-----	3,12	-----	30,65	1,27	-----	5,66	3,42	-----	9,18
Other leaders	6,40	2,36	5,38	6,04	9,09	19,65	4,41	3,57	-----	2,90	6,38
Refuse / don't know	17,52	50,59	30,74	14,83	16,33	42,63	21,66	23,99	39,76	1,95	23,30

ballot.

ice and rain, says a Wisconsin Schlemmer.

endure over time.

as well as choice of readers, include:



Other trends such as political tolerance (or intolerance) levels and attitudes to rival parties show cause for serious concern about the prospect of "free and fair" elections.

Almost 2 000 respondents in a nation-wide sample from all population groups were questioned in the latest opinion poll, conducted in February.

While some of the responses showed an awareness and acceptance of certain basic democratic principles, the researchers say aspects of the results give "great cause for concern". The problem factors include:

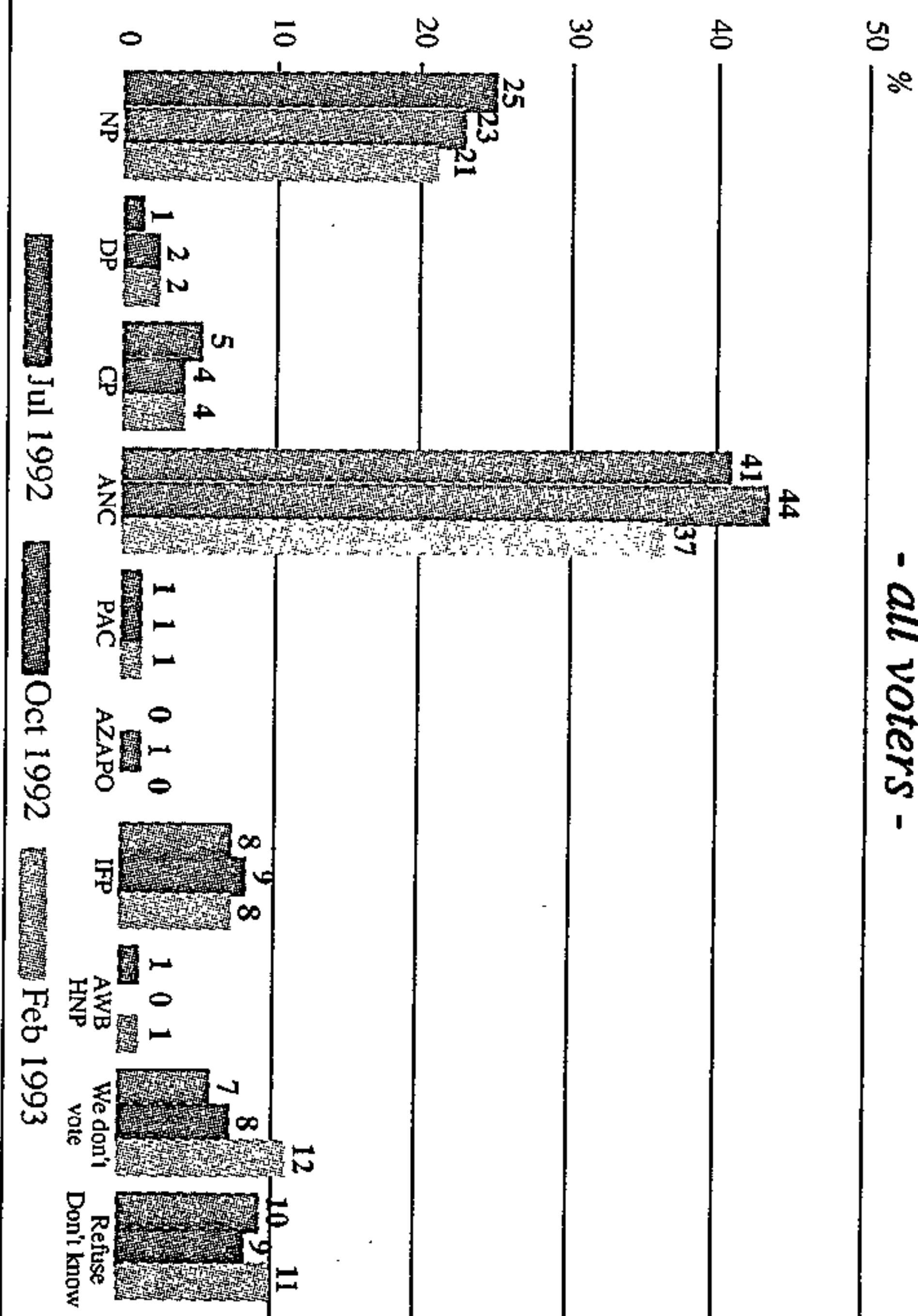
■ Among African, Asian and coloured future voters is relatively widespread acceptance of the attitude that other parties should not contest areas in which one party is dominant. Protests against other parties holding meetings are considered justified.

Nearly five out of ten Africans also reject the right of formerly "white" parties to operate in black areas.

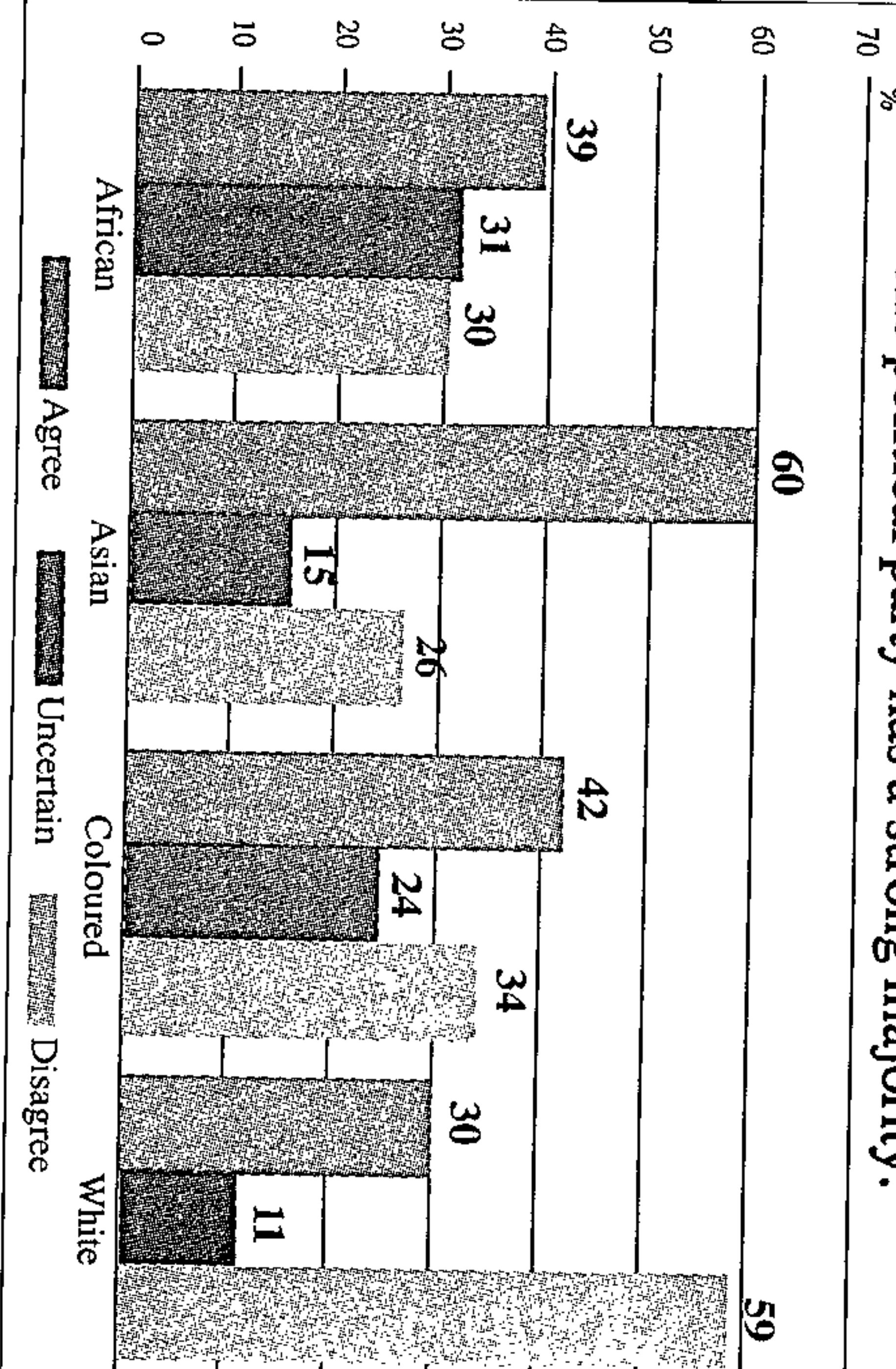
■ The pattern of results suggests "considerable rigidity" of political allegiance among all South Africa's future voters. Political choices are clearly not about policy but, very substantially, about solidarity and factional power politics on the lines of "my group, my class".

■ It is only among whites that there seems to be a majority realisation that great numerical strength and

Party political support: choice of party - all voters -



Other political parties should stay out of local areas where one political party has a strong majority:



# ANC support lags behind NP in W Cape

THE Western Cape — still the National Party's main stronghold in South Africa — will be a major political battleground for the ANC if it is to strengthen its relatively weak position in this region.

This is indicated by the latest survey of political support among voters, conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

The results show that a massive 44 percent of potential Western Cape voters of all races feel attracted to the NP, compared with only 22 percent favouring the ANC. Potential support for the South African Communist Party (SACP) was about 8 percent in this region and countrywide.

The NP has maintained its strong lead in the Western Cape de-

spite a drop in countrywide support for both the NP and the ANC between October last year and February this year.

A significant trend shown by the latest results is that the percentage of potential abstainers has increased from about 8 percent to 12 percent during the same period. They are voters who say they don't vote, or refuse to vote, or don't know who to vote for.

When it comes to support for political leaders, the results show President F W de Klerk to be the choice of a whopping 52 percent of potential Western Cape voters, compared with only 15 percent who chose ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Countrywide, however, support for President De Klerk (19 percent) was only half that of Mr Mandela and ANC leaders (38 per-

cent). These results include certain homeland regions such as Ciskei, Venda, KwaNdebele and Kangwane.

The survey of voter support was based on the responses of potential voters to questions on their degree of closeness to a political party.

In both the Western Cape and countrywide, the parties and leaders other than the NP and the ANC did not fare well, and "neutral" voters formed relatively high percentages.

In the Western Cape, 15 percent of potential voters questioned said they felt either "close" or "very close" to the Democratic Party, compared with 9 percent countrywide.

The rightwing parties appeared to be almost neck-and-neck with the DP in Western Cape voter support.

Top researcher Professor Lawrence Schlemmer said they felt either "close" or "very close" to the Democratic Party, compared with 9 percent countrywide.

The rightwing parties appeared to be almost neck-and-neck with the DP in Western Cape voter support.

■ A decrease in support for both the ANC and the NP among all population groups.

■ An increase in support for the DP among non-African voters.

■ An increase in support for Inkatha among whites. (However, the sample size is reported to be too small for any conclusive statements in this regard.)

■ An increase in the number of African voters who have no choice of party or leader and who are therefore less likely to vote in an election. This is accompanied by an apparent decrease in ANC support.

■ Nearly one-quarter of all voters said in February that if an election were to be held then they would either not vote or did not know who to vote for.

A further indication of political directions is the proportion of people who feel "very close" or "close" to particular parties. This is a test of the degree to which voters can identify with parties.

The survey results show the proportion of Africans who feel "very close" to the ANC dropped from 49 percent in October last year to 41 percent in February this year. And the proportion of Africans who feel "very close" to the NP dropped by more than half during the same period — from 7 percent to 3 percent.

Among non-Africans (including "coloureds" and Asians), the degree of identification (close and very close) with the NP remained roughly constant.



# 14 Voter education

## The media and the election

South 1916 - 2316193

ONE OF the many aspects involved in preparing for a free and fair election is examining the role of the media in the country.

Is the media impartial? Does it allow free and equal access to all political parties? Is any section of the media owned by one of the parties or the government contesting the election?

The answers to these questions have an impact on how free and fair an election will be.

Because parties attempt during an election campaign to persuade all citizens entitled to vote to support them, they need to reach them to get across their messages.

It is also vital that they be presented with objective information about the parties contending for their votes.

They must receive accurate, undistorted information about all options available to them in order to make the choice best suited to their own interests when casting their votes.

Voters also need to be educated about how the elections will be conducted. In South Africa, where millions of people will be voting for the first time, they need concerted voter education programmes.

Because the media is able to reach all sections of the population, its role as a medium facilitating voter education is crucial. This article is reaching you because it is presented in the media.

Because of the importance of the media in an election campaign,



**FREE THE AIRWAVES:** South African demonstrators outside the SABC offices

election monitoring and observing also includes monitoring and observing the role of the media from the pre-election period.

Currently in South Africa, there are many attempts to open the airwaves of the South African Broadcasting.

Because the SABC is exclusively controlled by one of the parties that

will be a key contender in the elections, it cannot be completely impartial.

Compounding this is the fact that the SABC is the only public radio and television network available to citizens of South Africa.

For this reason it is vital that the SABC is re-organised in such a way that it is not only impartial,

but also perceived to be impartial by the entire population of the country.

This needs to happen well before elections if the medium is to be effective in voter education programmes, because at present the SABC lacks credibility among large sections of the future electorate.

In the interim the SABC could

allow civic organisations with credibility to use the medium for voter education purposes.

Maria Trust had to suspend negotiations with the SABC for airtime for voter education programmes on June 9 because it felt the SABC was not willing to facilitate the process in an impartial manner.



# In search of the lost generation

South 1916-2316193

Seventeen years after the June 16 Soweto uprisings, what are the expectations of South Africa's youth? Three young people speak their minds about an uncertain future:

## Justin McKay, 18,

### Vredehoek

WITH all the violence, it is very hard to be positive about South Africa, but I believe the big parties, like the NP and the ANC, have South Africa's interests at heart and are trying their best.

It is just certain elements on the right and on the left of these two parties who could ruin things.

While apartheid has been taken out of the laws, there is still a lot of apartheid in the people: racism from both sides, black and white.

Next year's election will be a big testing point. It will be a good indication as to how South Africa will turn out. It could be the start of a long civil war or it could be the start of peace in this country.

I do not mind which government I live under, but I will mind if I am discriminated against for being white.

But whatever happens, I will not leave South Africa. I could get an Irish passport and leave, but I won't — I love this land too much. I was born here, I was raised here. South Africa is my home.

It is we young people who have to set an example for the rest of the country. We cannot be blamed for apartheid, but the responsibility to build a new, peaceful country rests on our shoulders.

I will vote NP and if they decide to form an alliance with the ANC, I will not have anything against that. I trust President FW de Klerk and the rest of the NP leadership.

When I leave school, I want to become a policeman. Some people think I am a racist because of that, but that is far from the truth. The SAP is changing and young people must be part of these changes. I have received so



much from society and joining the police will be my way of putting something back into the community.

## Celeste Brown, 16,

SO MANY things could happen, I can't tell what will happen in the future. It is all very confusing at the moment.

But I don't want to leave Cape Town. I want to stay here for better or for worse.

Young people should have confidence in themselves and go for their goals. We must not depend on the government to make things right. If we want to see change, then we must make those changes ourselves.

The changes so far have been small but positive. Schools and beaches are open to all races, but it will take a long time for people's attitudes to change.

I am not sure who I will vote for, but it will definitely not be the AWB!

Politics is so confusing, I will need to have long talks with my dad before I know what is happening exactly.

I won't vote for the ANC, there are too many unresolved issues in the ANC and they fight too much amongst themselves. Also they are communists, and communists want to stop us from having religion.

I am very worried about the economic situation in this country. I am worried about all the retrenchments that are happening — my aunt was retrenched recently.

I just hope I can get a job, when I leave school, as an air hostess. If I can't, then I would want to work with children, maybe as a kindergarten teacher.



## Mlandeli Kunelisi, 20,

### Khayelitsha

I MOVED from Ciskei to Khayelitsha in January this year to find a job. So far I have had no luck. With some white bosses, the moment I say I stay in Khayelitsha, they show me the exit door.

But it is not my motto to give up, I cannot stop hoping for work.

I am hopeful that peace will come to South Africa one day. It won't happen at the moment — the National Party has proved its inability to build peace — but hopefully under an ANC government there will be peace and prosperity for all, regardless of race or sex.

I trust the ANC. They have stood the test of time and have fearlessly confronted many challenges over the years with success.

Progress has been made at the negotiating table. But we are still waiting for progress to move beyond the table and to the people because nothing has changed on the ground.

If anything, violence has increased since negotiations began. In Ciskei, for example, bullets and teargas were the only presents we received from Oupa Gqozo and his people. We got to know this apartheid violence very well.

As a school pupil in King Williams Town, it was this sort of violence that interrupted our studies and some of my friends were killed as a result.

It would be easy for me to hate whites because of all the violence caused by apartheid. It is even stated clearly in the Bible: "A tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye".

But nevertheless, I can't see myself practising such things — I just want everybody to be treated equally. We are all human beings.





# **We want a revolution**

South 1916-23/6/93

By Rafiq Rohan

THE negotiators at the World Trade Centre are moving too far to the right — they need to be brought more to the left, cheering crowds in Guguletu were told on Soweto Day.

"We don't only want the vote. We want a national democratic revolution," said Mr Lizo Nkonki, South African Communist Party (SACP) Western Cape secretary general and one of the more popular speakers. (1. )

"The process is moving too much to the right and it is up to us to move it to the left." (304A)

Nkonki said the government is not sincere about transforming South Africa democratically.

"We must always be ready for the boers because we can never trust them. It is now up to us to shut the mouths of those who don't want democracy," he told the applauding, 4000-strong crowd.

The keynote speaker, ANC regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak, said next year there will be a government "of our own choice."

"Next year Kriel will be gone and we will celebrate June 16 with Nelson Mandela being the elected president of South Africa."

Boesak advised everyone without an identity document to apply for one as soon as possible but accused the government of stalling in issuing these documents.

He said this was a deliberate ploy because the government stood to gain by voters not being in possession of identity documents.

He also warned people against voting for the National Party and Democratic Party.

"When you vote for justice you cannot vote for the National Party or the Democratic Party. Where were they when our people were dying?"

Nkonki's advice was slightly different: "Take the NP and DP food parcels when they come to you, but vote ANC!"

The occasion also provided militants an opportunity to voice the controversial slogan: "Kill the boer, kill the farmer." Toyi-toying groups danced around the NY49 Stadium and one of the groups chanted the slogan continuously.

Sapa reports that the slogan was chanted widely at the Orlando Stadium in Soweto when ANC president, Nelson Mandela made his entrance. However Mandela hinted that the chant might be dropped.

He told the crowd he would raise the matter in the ANC national executive committee and discuss it with ANC youth leaders.

"I understand your anger. You are justified, but we are building a nation and there is no need to frighten any community, in order to bring all other people in the peace process."



# CROSSTALK

The National Party replies to the ANC on the debate surrounding the powers which should be given to regional government under a new constitution:

## NP: 'The people shall govern'

By Piet Matthee

ONE OF the most fundamental ways in which democracy can be promoted is by means of the distribution of power.

This is done by entrusting strong regional governments with specific governmental functions and entrenching this in the constitution, as is the case in federations.

If democracy is to flourish in South Africa, ordinary citizens will need to be able to participate in the democratic process in a direct and meaningful way.

### Monolith

The key to this lies not in a large authoritarian bureaucratic monolith, but in the federal units, where the meaning of the phrase — the people shall govern — can become a reality, rather than remain a mere phrase without substance.

A rough and ready definition of "federalism" for our purposes in South Africa is the one advanced by Lawrence Schlemmer.

This definition states that federalism is a system in which lower tiers of government or regions are able to exercise all powers that could be significant to the tier or region and for which authorities at that tier or in that region are likely to be held accountable.

Such powers are entrenched in the sense that they cannot be removed or negated by higher tiers of government.

A federal system contains various benefits for democracy: it limits the powers of the central government in that it puts obstacles in the way of a tyrannical centralised authority.

It helps prevent an all-powerful authority being tempted to become an all-consuming monolith enforcing its ideology to the furthest corners of society, à la communism or fascism.

Furthermore, federalism recognises regional interests which are not the same everywhere in the country.

One can assume, for example, that a different problem in Natal will have to be addressed in a different manner from that in the Western Cape. In this way it brings the government closer to the people.

Then there is the question of scale. Virtually all states which are democratic and which cover large areas of land or have large populations, or both, are federations.

On the basis of this criterion alone, South Africa, with its strongly delimited regional identities which cut across colour differences,

ought to choose a federal dispensation.

Fourthly there is the argument against urban bias. There is a distinct danger in a unitary system that the rural areas, where poverty is the most dire, will be neglected in favour of the more mobilised urban population.

Regions that encompass substantial rural populations may give the rural poor bargaining chips and leverage that they would not have in a unitary system.

Local or regional legitimacy can complement the legitimacy of the central level. The will of the people is better expressed in small areas, preferably at a very local level, where decisions will be more visible to ordinary people.

### Access to power

As has been pointed out by Lawrence Schlemmer in his paper delivered at the symposium organised by Groundwell and the Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung during November 1992, the major benefit of devolution for democracy lies in the multiplication of points of access to power and the greater overall political balance that it provides.

At the centre of the process stands the individual and the acknowledgement of his human dignity. Millions of people throughout the world believe their human dignity is

infringed if they are prevented by a majority, which does not necessarily share their values and interests, from themselves making a real difference to their fate at the ballot box.

The ANC knows, as we do, that a large body of local and international opinion is in favour of federalism. One should however not be misled by a recent press release issued by them in which they confirm the importance of regional government.

According to them, the regions will be able to enact laws dealing with any aspect of the areas listed in the schedule, provided the provisions of such legislation are not repugnant to national legislation.

The central government will have concurrent and over-riding legislative powers and if the regions step out of line, Pretoria will put them back in line.

The ANC's intransigence on this matter must be highlighted so that it is forced to face international and internal criticism on this issue.

It would appear that liberal democracy is now in the midst of an essential phase of refinement, and is gradually moving in the direction of regional autonomy.

This process is not only moving in the direction of regionalism, but also towards creating umbrella structures in order to combine federal units in a greater whole.

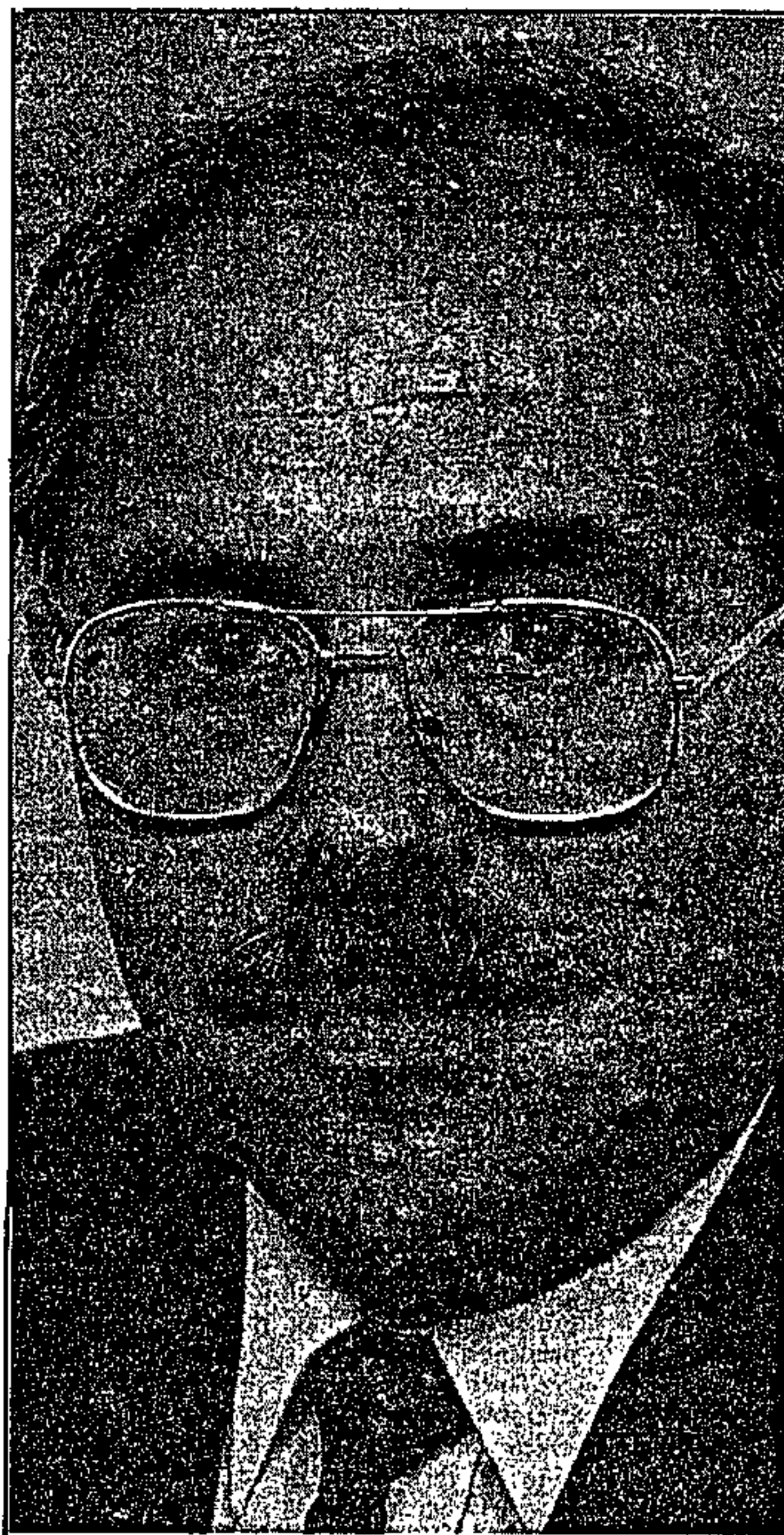
The rights of every federal state should be entrenched and protected, but each state should also form part of the greater South African whole.

There can be no question of separation or secession. Federalism does not weaken and may actually facilitate the establishment of an over-arching national unity.

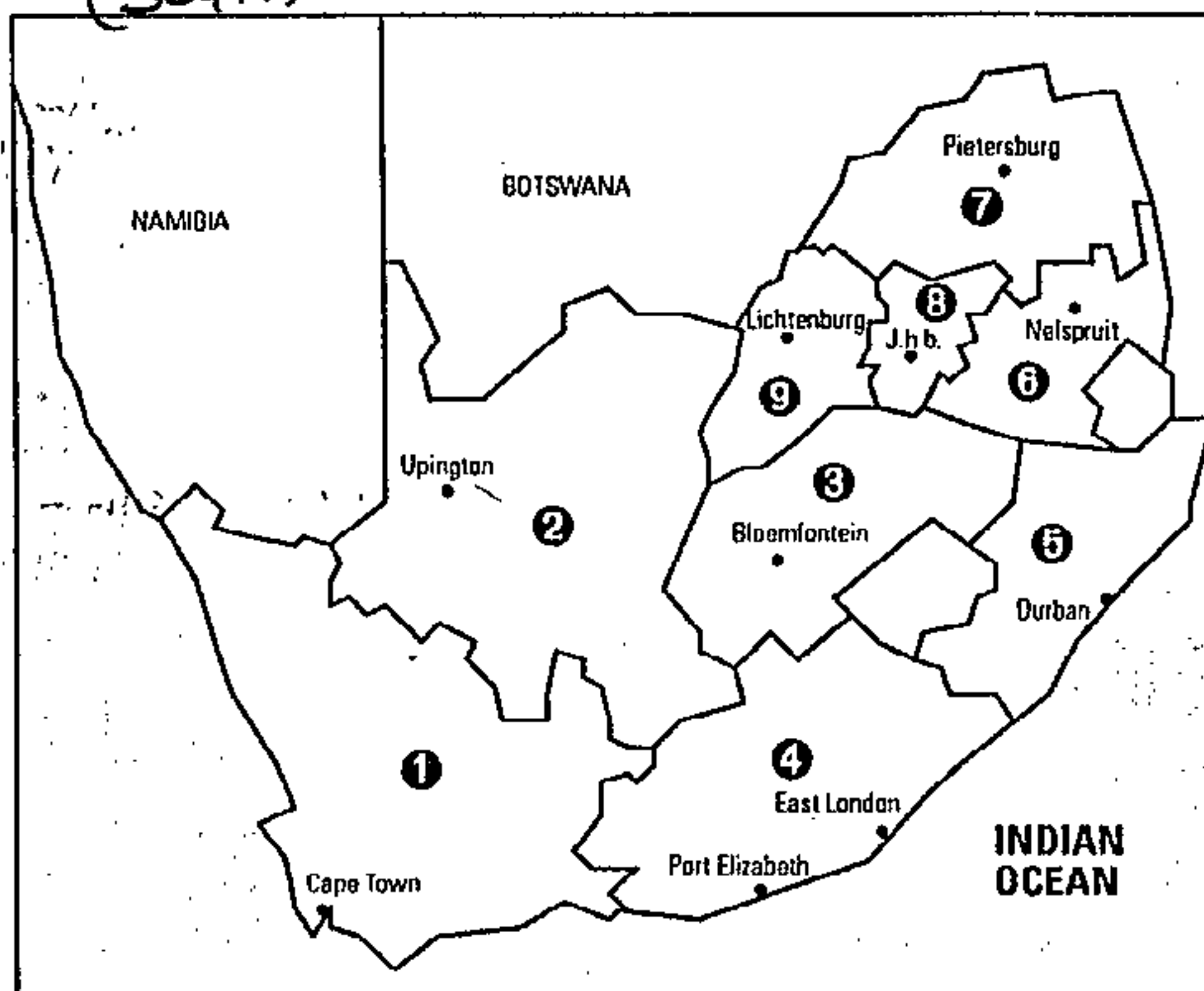
There is nothing to suggest that divisions in South Africa will be strengthened by regional autonomy.

There can be no doubt that political accountability and democratic responsiveness will be meaningfully enhanced by a high degree of autonomy for regions.

● *Piet Matthee is the National Party Member of Parliament for the Umlazi Constituency.*



PIET MATHEE



1	Western Cape
2	Northern Cape and the district of Ganyesa, Kudumane and Taung in Bophuthatswana
3	Orange Free State, Qwaqwa, as well as the Thaba Nchu district of Bophuthatswana
4	Eastern Cape/Border, Ciskei and Southern Transkei
5	Natal, Kwazulu and Northern Transkei
6	Eastern Transvaal, Kangwane and part of the Simdlangentsha district of Kwazulu
7	Northern Transvaal, Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda
8	PWV area, Moutse, Kwandebela and Odi 1 and Moretele 1 district of Bophuthatswana
9	Western Transvaal and the rest of Bophuthatswana, (Molopo, Ditsobotla, Lehurutshe, Madikwe, Mankwa, Bafokeng)

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/5455.

**SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.**



# CP plea: 'Don't make us Lebanon'

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party spelt out its plans for self-determination at multi-party talks yesterday, telling the Negotiation Council: "Don't make of us a modern Lebanon — a people without a country."

CP negotiator Mr Fanie Jacobs said afterwards the CP was "very pleased with the way things had gone, and the fact that the party had been allowed to present its plan for a future South Africa".

He said the CP was committed to negotiations, adding that the CP would remain a part of the talks for as long it was "in the interests of South Africa".

There was no hiding the jubilation of the CP which was finally given the opportunity to spell out its plan for Afrikaner self-determination and an independent Afrikaner homeland.

During the debate which followed, Dr Dawie de Villiers expressed concern for the majority of people in the state who were not Afrikaners, as this could lead to the freedom struggle and apartheid all over again.

The debate on self-determination is to continue next week.



# Poll shows growing political intolerance

Stag 191619g

THE ANC alliance is still the frontrunner in the election stakes. Next is the National Party, possibly followed by the Inkatha Freedom Party.

These are pointers based on current opinion — little more than straws in the wind. Researchers say it is too early to predict the outcome of South Africa's first nonracial elections with precision.

Significant shifts in voter support for various parties and leaders in recent months is shown by the latest Human Sciences Research Council opinion surveys.

Other trends such as political tolerance (or intolerance) levels and attitudes to rival parties show cause for serious concern about the prospect of "free and fair"

**THE latest opinion surveys show significant shifts in voter support for different parties, but a top researcher warns that attitudes such as political intolerance do not augur well for free and fair elections. FRANS ESTERHUYSE reports.**

elections.

Almost 2 000 respondents in a nationwide sample from all population groups were questioned in the latest opinion poll, conducted in February.

While some of the responses showed an awareness and acceptance of certain basic democratic principles, aspects of the results give "great cause for concern". Problem factors include:

- Among black, Asian and coloured future voters is relatively widespread acceptance of the attitude that other parties should not contest areas in which one party is dominant.
- Nearly five out of 10 blacks also reject the right of formerly "white" parties to operate in black areas.
- The pattern of results

(30449)

suggests "considerable rigidity" of political allegiance among all South Africa's future voters. Political choices are clearly not about policy but, very substantially, about solidarity and factional power politics on the lines of "my group, my class".

It is only among whites that there seems to be a majority realisation that great numerical strength and large majorities for a party do not necessarily produce good government. The benefits of strong opposition, for example, are not well recognised among blacks and Asians in particular.

The "most discouraging" finding is that only about one-quarter of future black, Asian and coloured voters have faith in the secret ballot. Among whites, only about half of voters seem to feel cer-

tain their choices will remain secret.

Top researcher Professor Lawrence Schlemmer comments that democratic practice is "very clouded" by extraneous factors all over the world.

Schlemmer warned that very little national consensus existed about the underlying principles of democracy. This may not disrupt the first election, he says, but unless voter education deepens and brings about a better understanding of multiparty competition, a new black democracy may not endure over time.

The latest overall political trends, based on responses to questions on choice of parties as well as choice of leaders, include:

- A decrease in support for both the ANC and the NP among all population

groups.

- An increase in support for the DP among white, coloured and Asian voters.

- An increase in support for Inkatha among whites. (However, the sample size is reported to be too small for any conclusive statements in this regard.)

- An increase in the number of black voters who have no choice of party or leader and who are therefore less likely to vote in an election.

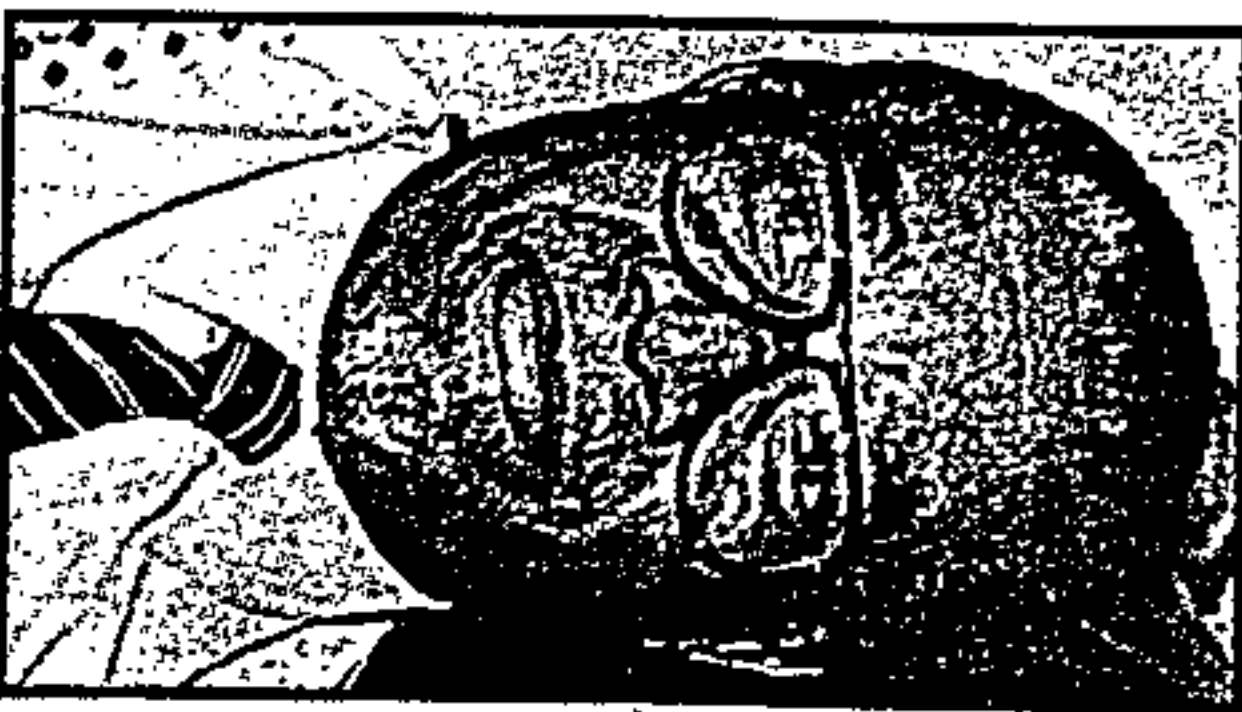
The survey results show that the proportion of blacks who feel "very close" to the ANC dropped from 49 percent in October last year to 41 percent in February.

The latest estimates of the outcome of an election, if one were to be held immediately, showed the ANC alliance (up to 54 percent of the vote) still well ahead, followed by the NP (26 percent) and the IFP (8-11 percent).

Other parties: PAC/Azapo (3-10 percent), CP (4-5 percent), DP (3-6 percent) and AWB/HNP (1 percent).

# Moments of levity amid the horse-trading

See 1916193



**MDLALOSE:** Sensing trouble, he appealed for patience and understanding.

THE "new" South Africa might be slow in coming, but its gestation is not without its share of levity . . . at least for those at the World Trade Centre who are debating our future.

Despite the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG) walk-out of Tuesday's Negotiating Council meeting, much banter was exchanged by IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose — who chaired yesterday's meeting — and ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa. When he got Mdlalose to smile, Ramaphosa said: "It's good to see you laughing."

Laughter was the stuff needed to lessen the palpable tensions flowing from Tuesday's

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA**  
Political Correspondent

meeting. Sensing trouble, Mdlalose had appealed when opening the meeting to council members to "be patient, understanding and tolerant of one another's views."

Negotiations, he said, did not take place among people who agreed but involved those who had differences. He had hardly finished speaking when "constructive filibustering" — added to our rich political lexicon by the KwaZulu government's Dr Ben Ngubane — began in earnest.

● See Page 10

agenda lasted 35 minutes, with COSAG members demanding to be allowed to report back to the council on consultations with their principals.

A few more new phrases slipped into negotiators' vocabularies: to "friendly amendments" and "points of information" Ramaphosa added "a point of privilege".

When it was disclosed that yesterday was IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews's birthday and a Labour Party delegate's wedding anniversary, SACP chairman Joe Slovo jokingly said one of his cousins was getting married.



**RAMAPHOSA:** The ANC chief negotiator managed to get Mdlalose to smile.



## Saturday People

Star 19/6/93

# From PAC firebrand to MEC

**A FORMER PAC soldier will be sworn in as Member of the Executive Committee of the Transvaal on Monday. JOHN PERLMAN, Chief Reporter, spoke to him.**

**W**HEN David Chuenyane decided to find out whether the National Party really intended to offer black people a meaningful role in its activities, he went all the way to the top for his answers. "I called the right people and asked them who was the chairman of this area," he recalls. "They told me it was Roelf Meyer. I called him up and said I would like to talk to him."

Chuenyane, a 50-year-old Soweto businessman, met Meyer, who told him "about the future of the new NP". And that convinced him to join up? "Oh no, I still had to meet Pik Botha and the State President. I didn't want just to be a black face in the NP. I wanted to make sure I would be incorporated into the decision-making bodies of the NP."

**T**HAT was last October. On Monday, Chuenyane — the NP's election co-ordinator for the Greater Johannesburg-Soweto region — will be inaugurated as MEC of the Transvaal Provincial Administration. About 30 years ago he was a PAC firebrand heading north, but on a much longer and rather more dangerous journey.

"In 1964 I was a member of the PAC," Chuenyane says. "I was 21, energetic and militant, wanting to overthrow the NP Government. I managed to escape just before the police came for me and made my way to Tanzania where I was given military training."

Chuenyane chuckles aloud when he recalls how he used to argue with his father, who had been elected a



**NEW ROLE:** Former PAC soldier David Chuenyane now supports the NP. Photograph: George Mashini

community councillor. "I kept urging him to resign."

At that time, Chuenyane was living in the US, first in California where he did a masters in theology at a seminary, and later in Washington DC. "My relationship with the PAC had lapsed after about three years," he says.

"After military training I fought in Mozambique and Rhodesia, but the organisation was starting to fall apart. The leadership wasn't together, there was no coherent programme... I didn't see any way I was going to improve my life sitting in a camp."

Chuenyane went on to study electronic engineering but says the time in the seminary was a "big part of the change in my life. That is where my thought patterns began to change."

Last year Chuenyane decided to leave his "comfortable life" in the US and return home. "I always had this yearning that some day I could go back to South Africa," Chuenyane, his American wife and their three children returned to the same house in Mapeta, Soweto, from which he had fled years ago. "I had made money in the US and I could afford to live in the suburbs, but it was right for me to go back to my roots."

But politically, Chuenyane was looking for a new home. "I considered joining the PAC again when it was unbanned, provided we could come up with a programme that would be viable and would help with the liberation of the people. But when I came back they were still deciding about negotiations and there was

still a military wing. I thought that if in one organisation you have two organisations, one of which is doing whatever it thinks is right, we will be back in the same position we were in in the Sixties."

Chuenyane saw no point in joining Inkatha. "Their support is more regional and they don't seem able to deliver." The ANC? "I never really considered them because of my past in the PAC. It was an emotional thing." The DP? "I never gave them a thought. Most of their members are English-speakers who always say they have no blood on their hands, but they colonised this place... at least with the Afrikaners you knew where you stood. If they didn't like you, they told you."

Chuenyane says the NP "removed an albatross from around their necks" when they dropped apartheid. "But for them to change by themselves would be very difficult. They would need some influence and direction. And if more blacks joined the NP it would be easier for us to pursue our dreams and democratic aspirations."

**C**HUENYANE describes with some relish how he was asked to help interview candidates for a new NP regional secretary. "I asked them: 'Have you ever associated with black people? How many black languages can you speak? The party is multiracial now and you should be able to speak at least one.' They were never expecting a question like that. They were not expecting to be interviewed by a black man."

He readily concedes that black people won't easily see the NP as the best vehicle for their dreams — especially as they won't be getting the Meyer-Botha-De Klerk treatment — but he believes his team of five organisers and their canvassers are making headway.

He is candid about his ambitions. "There is no way the ANC can absorb all the black people and give them all opportunities. That is why we are spreading out through all the parties. Of course I am fighting for a cause, but I am also looking for an opportunity to further my career. Why should I lie to people and say I am fighting for them when I am also after more than that?"



# PAC stalls for time at talks

Star 1916193

## Tuesday deadline on armed struggle

THE proposed multi-party declaration on the suspension or cessation of armed struggle has been put off for ratification until Tuesday.

The postponement of the matter, which is intended to resolve the difficulties between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress, came after yet another request by the PAC to consult with its principals.

This time, said the PAC's Patricia de Lille, the movement's president, Clarence Makwetu, was waiting to consult with PAC delegates to a conference in Cairo.

The declaration was tabled at the World Trade Centre talks in a final amended form yesterday afternoon following an earlier debate in

which more than 30 speakers took part.

It was proposed that parties able to endorse the amended declaration do so and those still wanting clarification be given until Tuesday to follow suit. The postponement was offered because the PAC needed further consultation.

However, it was decided, with stern warnings to the PAC, that decisions and endorsements by all the parties would be postponed until Tuesday, when the Government's Roelf Meyer insisted, a decision should be taken by the council on what to do with those parties who refused to endorse the declaration.

The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa also warned: "They (the PAC) should understand it as the last opportunity to get this declaration adopted." — Sapa

(Sapa)

(30417)





## The ship of negotiations, and an iceberg called federalism

Star 19/6/93

**C**ONSTRUCTIVE filibustering. Now there's a political non sequitur to conjure with. It comes in a long line of them, all made in South Africa. From the country that brought you the expansion of pass law restrictions and called it the abolition of pass laws; that ethnically cleansed its universities and called that an extension of education; that condemned blacks to second-class citizenship and called that separate development ... the new South Africa is preserving its traditions.

The phrase constructive filibustering appeared in a document presented to the World Trade Centre negotiations at Kempton Park this week. It came from one of the moving (some would say unmoving) forces of the Concerned South Africans Group, the KwaZulu government. The document's import, reduced to essentials, was to serve notice that while the KwaZulu delegation will remain at the talks (give or take a walkout or two), it will do so with the specific intention of seeing to it that the talks proceed painfully slowly at best. Unless, that is, its opponents agree to its demands pre-emptively.

The document was filled with threats, putting one in mind of a boy in a school playground who agrees to take part in a game as long as the others agree at the outset that he will be allowed to win. It was a frustrating week at the World Trade Centre.

Two questions, among others, need to be considered in order to understand what is happening now between COSAG and the remaining majority of parties to the transition talks. The first is: have the Government and the ANC, along with their respective sympathisers, secretly ruled out a federal-style option for the future South African state? The second is: are the COSAG parties so scared of the verdict the electorate might pass on them that they will stop at nothing to stall the transition?

The issue of federalism — or devolution of power, or regionalism, or any number of varia-

UNDERCURRENT  
AFFAIRS

SHAUN  
Johnson



**THERE** is a growing perception among COSAG's political opponents that what motivates its negativism is its fear that when elections come, its constituent elements will fare poorly.

(304A)

tions on a principled theme — is like an iceberg towards which the negotiations ship has been steaming unsteadily ever since it left port. This week the ship struck the tip. Political radar screens have indicated the impending collision from the outset, but there was no certainty about when it would take place. Now that it has, some initial judgments can be made.

The COSAG argument is, circuitously, that constitutional principles (including the matter of federalism) cannot be negotiated until they are agreed upon. The other parties reply that the reason one negotiates is to achieve agreement: if you make the decisions first, what is there left to talk about? But COSAG is adopting this radical line because it does not trust the intentions of its negotiating opponents; it believes a pact has been struck and that when the negotiations are concluded, the will of the bigger parties will prevail.

But in fact there is nothing in the growing stacks of talks documentation that rules out federalism in some form. The National Party, as is well known, wants the powers of the future central government to be severely constrained. The ANC, for its part, has softened markedly in the past three years on power devolution. The details are up for negotiation. In this sense, COSAG might be punching a phantom. But in doing so, it is postponing the main bout, at the risk of having all the paying spectators leave in disgust.

It is not for us to pronounce on whether COSAG's fears are genuinely felt, or being used as an excuse for the filibustering. But it is important to note a growing perception among the group's political opponents that what is really motivating the negativism is COSAG's fear that when elections come, the group's constituent elements will fare poorly. This is a serious problem, because it is not one on which the other parties can compromise and placate — they cannot declare the voters' loyalties for them.

The problem is serious because, if it is the case, then the IFP/KwaZulu thinking is not going to change, whatever happens at the talks. They will go all-out for a "one-stage" transition because that means the unelected Negotiating Council, on which they wield considerable influence, would fashion the new country. The "two-stage" model has it that once the electorate has its say, relative support-bases will be clear, and parties will exercise influence according to their proven share of the popular mandate. Some parties — and this includes parties outside the COSAG fold — will be blown away, politically speaking, and others will have their status reduced. Politicians do not, as a rule, easily contemplate these sorts of prospects.

And so there are powerful undercurrents beneath the surface problems at the talks. It is not always easy to divine them, but we need to make the effort if the opaque onrush of daily events is to make any sense at all.

# Govt smearing us - Makwetu

KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
Political Correspondent

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu yesterday denounced the Government's "deliberate campaign" to portray the PAC and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) as "criminals and murderers".

Makwetu told a press conference in Johannesburg that Government strategy was to undermine "the legitimacy of the armed struggle against colonial oppressors, and the right of the oppressed to use all means and methods at their disposal to fight against the whole ugly edifice".

## Indignities

This was calculated to distract attention from Pretoria's refusal to enter into a "mutual cessation of hostilities" with the PAC.

Flanked by PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo and national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, Makwetu said the PAC and APLA were "in principle ready" to enter into negotiations with the Government on the mutual cessation of hostilities, in line with the Harare Declaration of 1989.

Makwetu catalogued some of the indignities to

which blacks in South Africa had been subjected over the years, and accused the Government of waging an armed struggle of its own against the black majority.

"Armed struggle, therefore, arose in order to fight these evils in defence of the oppressed African masses.

"Under international law, oppressed indigenous people have a right to use all means at their disposal, including armed struggle, in order to liberate themselves and their country and to assert their right to national self-determination."

Makwetu said the PAC would hold talks with Pretoria "any time" to try to resolve differences on violence: "If they want to meet us, we are ready to meet them even tonight. In other words, we are ready to talk to them any moment."

Makwetu said he was not excited about the setting of a date for the country's first all-inclusive election, saying South Africans did not know what they would be voting for.

The PAC, which wants the election to be for a constituent assembly, reserved its position when the election date was discussed again this week.



# Cessation must be mutual — PAC

■ From Page 1

understand it as the last opportunity to get this declaration adopted".

PAC president Clarence Makwetu has already indicated that the PAC will not bow to government pressure. (HA) (304A)

And PAC sec-gen Benny Alexander has been even more forthright, saying: "If the entire negotiating forum kicks out the PAC, the PAC will not force itself on the forum."

Soon after the PAC was given this ultimatum, Makwetu repeated the organisation's position that they will only agree to a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg, he said: "The PAC has put its case clearly. We are prepared to sit down and discuss how to bring about a mutual cessation of hostilities, but the government has not done that yet. Until then we cannot agree to it."

Makwetu further accused the government of not being willing to discuss the issue of a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Alexandra said five points had to be considered before the PAC could agree to an end to hostilities. These were:

- Agreement on a constituent assembly;
- Agreement on the future of Apla soldiers;
- The role of the international community in enforcing resolutions;
- The form of the future army and;
- The issue of the arsenals of various armies.

Earlier, the government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer accused the PAC of conducting an armed struggle while negotiating at the same time.

Asked to comment on Meyer's accusation, Makwetu pointed out that the government was also doing this.

## 'Talks or struggle — but not both!'

By MOSES MAMAILA and Sapa

THE PAC's participation in the constitutional talks hangs in the balance if — as is expected — they refuse to end the armed struggle. (HA) (304A)

The organisation has until Tuesday to decide whether they endorse a draft declaration which binds all participants at the talks to an immediate end to hostilities.

The matter will have a final hearing when the talks resume at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport on Tuesday.

ANC sec-gen Cyril Ramaphosa has already entered the fray and warned the PAC that "they should

■ To Page 2

# Next 5 days will tell what the future holds for SA

*C1 Press 20/6/93*

By SEKOLA SELLO

IN the next five days the world is likely to know whether SA is headed for what one observer poignantly referred to as a racial miracle or, as many fear, a racial catastrophe.

On June 25 the Negotiating Forum is expected to endorse a recommendation by the Negotiating Council that elections be held next April 27, a decision which could precipitate a serious crisis for the fragile multi-party talks. (304A) ~~SA~~

The Council's recommendation – made at the beginning of this year – was strongly opposed by Inkatha and their allies in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) and a few other homeland parties.

In the last two weeks of talks these parties have used every trick in the game to prevent the announcement of the election date. However, they have been outmanoeuvred by their principal rivals, the government and the ANC. ~~SA~~

Predictions of a massive racial conflagration have been made in the past and all of them have been proven wrong. There is little to suggest that the country could be poised on the brink of serious trouble.

The fact that most of the country's major political players are still talking to each other also makes nonsense of predictions of looming disaster.

But the relative civility of the talks at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport belies the serious problems that lie ahead. There are serious differences between two distinct groupings, those for early elections and those opposed to them.

The government, ANC and its allies in the Patriotic Front are for early elections while Cosag are opposed and using various ploys to delay this aim.

## Warning

This week Cosag once more warned against going ahead with an election date before the issues of what form the state should take, federalism and an Afrikaner homeland have been dealt with.

Afrikaner Volksunie member CD de Jager warned against making hurried decisions that "one day we will all be sorry about".

This was an ominous warning coming from a party generally considered less hardline than the Conservative Party and other rightwing formations.

It is generally accepted that, once an election date has been set, the CP will walk out. Short of an Afrikaner homeland, it is difficult to see how the CP can be persuaded to remain in the talks.

Both Inkatha and the KwaZulu government have indicated that even if they do not walk out, they will not be bound by the decisions taken at the talks. Several other minority parties from Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and QwaQwa could also take similar positions.

Although the PAC are for early elections, their participation in them is conditional on two factors. They insist that these must be for a constituent assembly. They also demand the question of the mutual cessation of hostilities between their armed wing Apla and the security forces be resolved.

The movement's national organiser Maxwell Nmadzivhanani states the obvious when he says it is "practically impossible" that these two issues will have been dealt with by June 25.

According to Nmadzivhanani, until these two problems are resolved there is no basis for the holding of elections.

The positions taken by the rightwing groupings – both black and white – and the PAC is a clear indication that some important role players could boycott the April elections.

The ANC and government will in the coming days try hard to placate the CP, AVU, PAC and Inkatha to ensure their participation in the elections – an effort many consider hopeless.

Should they succeed then the racial miracle many are hoping for could be on the horizon. The alternative, in the words of the late unlamented Prime Minister John Vorster, could be too ghastly to contemplate.

The next five days could indeed be crucial to this country.



# Negotiating Council's end of term report to parent

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

FIVE days from now the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre will be asked to justify its existence before its parent body.

On Friday the council must put before the Negotiating Forum concrete proposals on moving South Africa towards democracy for ratification by the larger forum.

After seven weeks of talks the council has:

- A contentious election date;
- A package of constitutional

principles;

● A commission established to draw the regional map of the country; and

● All-but-completed agreements on largely technical matters such as an independent electoral commission and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

Of the agreements reached by the council so far, only the election date is expected to provoke debate in the Negotiating Forum.

The date now on the table is April

27, or earlier if possible. The council also has three days of talks this week to bring to fruition several vital issues. These include:

● The shape of the transition, and who will write the constitution. This boils down to whether the country will move directly to a government with a constitution which has been decided upon by the Negotiating Council before elections; or whether it will move to an interim phase of joint rule, and thence to elections for a constituent assembly which will write the constitution;

● Regional powers, and to what degree these will be protected from central government interference.

These two issues are closely linked: Inkatha could give its approval to the transitional joint rule process if it receives enough guarantees of regional rights.

The ANC could concede important regional rights in order to leave most of the constitution-writing to a democratically elected constituent assembly.

# De Klerk addresses chiefs on 'new' NP

SI Times, 20/1/93

By EDYTH BULBRING  
Political Correspondent

THE National Party handed out bread rolls and oranges and promised a meal to about 4 000 black people bused in from all corners of the northern Transvaal to attend a rally addressed by President FW de Klerk in Pietersburg yesterday.

Mr de Klerk, introduced by Foreign Minister Pik Botha as a "strong chief", predicted that the National Party would soon command the second largest slice of support among blacks in South Africa.

The meeting, which featured tribal dancing, was also addressed by a number of chiefs from the northern Transvaal.

They spoke in favour of strong regional government, demanded that the status of chiefs be guaranteed in the new South Africa, and appealed for more air time on television for the Shangaan and Venda languages.

Mr de Klerk promised he would deliver on all three. (304A)

The crowd, which included about 100 whites, responded in a polite but lukewarm manner when Mr de Klerk told them the meeting was in a sense a re-

birth for the National Party.

"If we want security and stability in the future then we need the National Party to become as strong as a bull," he said.

He attacked the ANC and said that all moderates who share the NP's values should unite against the threat posed by the organisation.

The president said the NP had proof that the ANC and the civics had tried to stop the meeting by intimidating bus drivers but they had failed because the NP is "strong".

At a press conference afterwards, Mr de Klerk said: "Today's rally was a wonderful kick-off to show and prove finally that this is a new National Party."

He predicted that those who said the NP would get minimal support from black South Africans were in for a "tremendous surprise".

But at least one of the members of the audience, bused in from Pretoria, did not share Mr de Klerk's enthusiasm.

The youth, who declined to disclose his name, complained that they had only been given oranges and bread. "We need meat to feel full."



## AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

HURTLING toward its first major deadline, the Negotiating Council stopped the clock for three days this week to dance a delicate and dangerous minuet.

The negotiations have to deliver concrete proposals to the parent body, the Negotiating Forum, this week. They have few in hand, and only three days of talks to go before the forum meets at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

But instead of heeding the looming need to take a decision, any decision, on substantive issues, delegates turned to playing out an inevitable power struggle.

From the start, the mood was ugly on Tuesday. The Kwazulu government, taking its turn as "Cosag bad cop" this week, choreographed a bickering group of allies, seizing on procedural issues to doggedly corral the meeting towards confrontation.

It forced the council to spend the whole of Tuesday debating, in effect, the placing of an item on the agenda.

Eventually, fumbling forests of documents into briefcases in an attempt to catch up with the others, the Cosag delegates left.

The dread "walkout" had happened.

They were leaving to "consult with principals", they said — a bit rich on Inkatha's part, considering that Dr Ben Ngubane's precipitate confrontational statement was freshly faxed from Ulundi.

But it was a clear reminder to the government and the ANC alliance that Cosag would no longer take the bullying of the two main players.

Tickled like dull trout, or bludgeoned into compliance, the Cosag parties had been carried along for seven weeks — but they weren't going to take it any more.

Of course, two days later they walked in again, point taken.

After a brief scolding, the main contenders restored peace, launching into appalling quips to lighten the mood.

The lullaby continued into the afternoon when the council settled down to debate constitutional principles on the clear understanding that they were not taking binding decisions.

This was a deliberate strategy to "show them that there is nothing dangerous or frightening about debating real issues", said a National Party member.

A committee of constitutional experts duly noted the concerns expressed and the agenda moved on.

By Friday, villains had appeared against whom many of the parties could safely unite — the PAC and the CP.

Frustrated by the PAC's intransigence on the violence issue, the government brought its bilateral talks concerns to a council demanding a progress report on

these. In an attempt to get the PAC to stop killing people — and boasting about it — was transmuted into a general declaration of cessation of hostilities to be signed by all in the council.

Of vital importance to the government, the declaration would send the message that the talks had stopped the killings.

It was also a terrible gamble that may backfire. Until now, the fact that the PAC negotiates while its armed wing guns down civilians in pubs has been largely obfuscated by the movement's complaints about last month's police raid. Now, having been brought into the open, the issue

will taint the process and embarrass the government if the PAC fails to sign the declaration when the debate re-opens on Tuesday.

The PAC was not the only one to squirm in the spotlight of the declaration: the Far Right, which hints darkly at the consequences

should it not get its way, balked at committing itself to not taking up arms if that should happen.

It is unlikely to happen, and therein lies one of the most cynical of all the negotiation strategies.

The Conservative Party has admitted privately that it will not pander to those "just drooling for us to walk out" by quitting the talks for good "until the end".

Knowing full well that Kempton Park cannot deliver an Afrikaner homeland of the sort it seeks, the CP participates to give the appearance of trying the nobler option before resorting to confrontation.

Perhaps it believes that the world will rally to support its self-determination in the way that Europeans raised a small army to help the brave little Boer nation fight beastly Britain 90 years ago.

But diplomats at the talks are sickened by the CP double-talk.

CP delegate Fanie Jacobs thrice ducked the question of how citizenship would be determined when he rose to explain his vision of self-determination to the council.

Through commitment to our ideals, he said, through the law of descent.

Mr Jacobs' presentation provided a diversion — as did the open laughter when he again warned of "disastrous consequences".

As the week wound down, the resident voice of reason, Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress delegate Pravin Gordhan, reminded the council: "We have reached the point where we have got to become decisive about substantive issues."

Behind his dry delivery lay a warning: some parties — and his supports the ANC — believe they had already made significant compromises. It was up to the others to follow suit. They have three days.

— CLAIRE ROBERTSON

It's time for  
the Kempton  
Park crew to  
cut the cackle

S1 Times 20/6/93

(304A)

# Hani slaying ups support for ANC

By CHIARA CARTER

INDEPENDENT surveys of coloured voter opinion in the Western Cape shortly before and just after the assassination of Chris Hani have revealed a big swing to the ANC. (364.17)

The later poll, conducted by the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys, showed the ANC would command just over 23 percent of the coloured vote — more than double the findings of previous surveys.

According to the survey, support for the Democratic Party had risen to about 10 percent from seven percent, while that for the NP dropped from just under half to a third. (364.17)

Equally startling was the high percentage of undecided voters — 16 percent didn't know and 12

percent did not support any party.

A survey of coloured males on April 22 indicated the ANC commanded as much as 32 percent of support — more than double the 15 percent the organisation enjoyed in a survey among women on April 8, two days before the Hani slaying.

The largest number of ANC supporters were between the ages of 18 and 34 — the so-called "boycott generation".

The survey, which has a five percent variable, was carried out among 200 men and 200 women.

A separate national survey of white voters conducted by Omnicheck in April indicated support for the NP had plummeted from 40 percent in October 1992 to only one in four voters.



# Racist slogan should be banned from public arena

STimes 20/6/93  
304A

"VRYSTAAT" is probably the best-known South African slogan but "Bulala Amabhunu" is fast replacing it. Where "Vrystaat" unified South Africans, "Bulala Amabhunu", wrongly translated as "kill the farmer, kill the boer", does the opposite.

A slogan, like the bumper sticker, expresses in a short, punchy way the feelings, aspirations, dislikes and commitment of people. Each of us can think of slogans which evoke a nostalgia which can include joy, hope, hatred, sadness, solidarity, blood lust and determination.

Slogans, war cries, songs and chants are emotional levers with which to stimulate our loyalty, commitment and anger or simply serve to remind us of happy memories and warm companionship. The emotional connotations can make them powerful, destructive and irrational weapons in the mouths of manipulative politicians.

## Banned

Unlike "Vrystaat", many slogans are exclusive. The cry of "Amathembu" will only be supported by Transkeian Xhosas; "Kom Boere" by Afrikaners and "Usuthu" by Zulu warriors.

The slogan that grips our interest at present is "Bulala Amabhunu". "Mayibuye Afrika" (let Africa return to us), "Izwe Lethu" (the country is ours), "Amandla Awethu" (power is ours) are old cries.

Others are controversial such as "Gatsha is a dog" (chanted by the ANC); "You have cleaned the blood from our hearts, Janusz Walus" (chanted by the IFP); "One settler, one bullet" (chanted by the PAC).

Because of the galvanising effect on the supporters and opponents of slogans, it is important to analyse them when they are used for political purposes in a context of race, tribe and language.

The word "bulala" has definite connotations of violent killing or killing in anger. A bull would be slaughtered (hlaba) for its meat but it would be killed (bulala) if it had gored somebody.

Although not as strong as murder, the word carries some of those connotations. It is totally unacceptable to civilised society for any political party to use "bulala" as part of its armoury of slogans and the word should be banned from the South African political vocabulary.

The word "Amabhunu" is

## GRAHAM McINTOSH examines what is meant by 'Bulala Amabhunu', the chant ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba says he won't abandon

presented to South Africa as meaning "farmer", but this is an incorrect translation. "isiBhunu" is Afrikaans in Xhosa, Zulu and Swazi. "iBhunu" means an Afrikaner and "amaBhunu" means Afrikaners in general.

Just as white South Africans are in no doubt as to what is meant by "Afrikaner", black South Africans understand precisely the same by the word "iBhunu".

Carl Niehaus, FW de Klerk, Eugene Terre Blanche and Zach de Beer are all "amaBhunu". As far north as Kenya where Afrikaners are called "Kaburu" in Swahili, Afrikaners are as clearly identified as the Batswana, are, as a tribe of Africa which is loved, feared, detested but always respected.

"Amabhunu" can have the hint of a "smear" in it rather as the words "Vaalpens" (Transvaler), "soutie" (white English-speaking South African) and "hairyback" (Afrikaner) have.

## Regime

"Amabhunu" does have a wider context in the sense that it represents the "regime" because the policemen who enforced influx control, the civil servants with whom blacks dealt with in terms of apartheid legislation, the prison warders, the ticket inspectors and conductors on the trains were mostly Afrikaners.

They came to represent the regime that implemented apartheid and so personified white baasskap. That may be a sense in which the ANC Youth League and MK use "Amabhunu". To see the word as meaning "farmers" is simply nonsense.

In the final analysis, "Bulala Amabhunu" is a blood-thirsty, tribalistic and racist slogan which is disgusting and shameful in the context of South Africa's politics.

□ Graham McIntosh, who farms near Estcourt, is a former PFP MP.

# Hanging divides cabinet

By EDYTH BULBRING  
and NORMAN WEST

THE cabinet was deeply divided over President FW de Klerk's decision to ask Parliament to vote this week on lifting the moratorium on the death penalty.

Some ministers, including Foreign Minister Pik Botha, warned that if Parliament voted to lift the moratorium, as it did, it would be politically impossible for the government to carry out its mandate. And, when it failed to do so, it would once again be seen to suffer a humiliating setback.

Others, led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, insisted that Mr de Klerk abide by his undertaking to allow Parliament to vote on hanging. If the decision was in favour, he argued, hangings should be re-introduced forthwith.

As a result of these divisions, senior government sources said, the cabinet struggled for two weeks to come up with a formulation that would fulfill Mr de Klerk's promise that the death penalty issue would be

revisited, without committing the government to hanging anyone.

The compromise formula was to allow Parliament to vote but then to refer the matter to negotiators at the World Trade Centre before making a final decision.

Given the strong opposition to the death penalty of major World Trade Centre parties such as the ANC and Inkatha, the government knew full well that any decision by Parliament to re-introduce hanging would be overturned by the negotiating body.

Perhaps for this reason when Parliament debated on Thursday whether or not to hang the 285 prisoners on death row, more than 120 MPs did not cast their votes.

The House of Assembly and House of Representatives voted overwhelmingly in favour of the death penalty but the House of Delegates voted against.

Although National Party MPs were allowed a free vote, only four voted against the motion put by Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee "that the House is of the opinion that

the government should revoke the suspension of the carrying out of the death sentence".

They were Mr Sakkie Louw, MP for Newton Park, Mr CJW Badenhorst of East London, and two deputy ministers, retiring Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Johan Scheepers and Deputy Minister of Justice, Mrs Sheila Camerer.

Mrs Camerer voted against the motion, according to the minutes of the proceedings, despite having said during the debate that although she was against hanging she would support the motion "to strengthen the hand of the State President at the negotiations".

The exercise was best summed up by two speakers in the debate.

The burly independent MP for Overvaal, Advocate Koos van der Merwe, called it an exercise in futility as the government would not be bound by the outcome.

Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon called it "a piece of chicanery".



# No intimidation before NP rally, says ANC

B/Day 21/6/93

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC yesterday denied it had intimidated people not to attend an NP meeting in the northern Transvaal at the weekend.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday dismissed the claim by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, who accompanied President F W de Klerk to the meeting, that the ANC had attempted during the days before the rally to intimidate supporters into staying away. (3044) (SAP)

Botha claimed intimidation had only been 10% to 15% effective, Sapa reports.

Niehaus also alleged that there had been a low turnout for the meeting, although the NP said it was delighted with the size of the crowd.

"The low turnout is a direct indication that the NP is not accepted as a party of the future that will bring liberation to the people," Niehaus said.

However, De Klerk said on Saturday that the NP had the third largest support base in the black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections, Sapa reports.

He and Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference after the rally held at the Pietersburg showgrounds.

The approximately 6 000-strong crowd had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, De Klerk said.

"This was a very important day."

Black support for the NP had been writ-

ten off by many of the commentators, said De Klerk.

"But we are convinced black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity, said De Klerk.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow," he said.

"The NP gives notice today that what was started here will be repeated across the country."

The goal was to ensure that each and every voter knew, whatever any intimidator did, that when he entered the polling booth his vote was secret.

"If we can ensure this, we will give a tremendous surprise to those who think that the NP has support only in communities other than black."

"We are the third biggest party among black South Africans."

After the ANC it was only Inkatha and the NP which showed double-figure percentage support in research results.

Botha said the meeting was the largest, by more than three times, he had ever addressed in the northern Transvaal. The second largest was broken up by the AWB in 1986.

# Play aggressive role in election, unions urged

□ Ramaphosa: Use power in workers' interests

SHARON SOROUR  
Labour Reporter

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has urged organised labour to play an independent and aggressive role during the election and constitution-making process and not be afraid to use its power to further workers' interests.

Addressing a workers' rights conference in Cape Town at the weekend, he said unions should be contemplating how to assert their rights to make sure no political party could ignore them.

"Any party which wants to trample on workers' rights must know that it will face the wrath of workers. Already a number of the proposals coming from the National Party, the Democratic Party and other parties are fundamentally anti-worker in character. Cosatu and its affiliates have to stand up and challenge this."

Unions should put forward their demands, not only to the ANC but to all other parties before and after the election.

The ANC clashed with Cosatu on Friday by suggesting the labour movement did not have a role to play in the policy-making process, but should concern itself

solely with the interests of its members.

Key speakers from the government, labour and business — including Minister of Finance Mr Derek Keys, Deputy-Minister of Justice Mrs Sheila Camerer, Anglo spokesman Mr Bobby Godsell, Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo and Nactu general-secretary Mr Cunningham Ngukana — addressed the two-day conference, organised by the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union.

But Mr Ramaphosa, former general-secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, moved to reassure unionists of their role in a democratic South Africa.

He told delegates Cosatu had correctly identified that it had to look at the concerns and interests of all working people in South Africa, and not confine itself to a narrow focus on the workplace concerns of its own members.

Mr Ramaphosa said there could be little doubt that trade unions, and Cosatu in particular, had played a critical role in driving the negotiations process forward and keeping it on track.

As the most organised sector of the mass movement, unions had spearheaded the active involvement of civil society in the political process, demanding that the

process belong to all the people of South Africa and not only to political parties at the negotiating table, he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said that while workers were worried that organised labour appeared to have been excluded from the negotiation process, it was sometimes "incorrectly concluded that workers have no role or influence in the negotiation process".

Cosatu had played a significant role in encouraging civil society organisations to pressurise political parties to commit themselves to a speedy and democratic transformation process.

Cosatu and the ANC had independently concluded that if a new democracy had any hope of succeeding, a reconstruction and development programme, driven by democratic forces in society, was needed.

"Although the programme will have to be spearheaded by a new democratic state, which will have access to resources and power, the programme will succeed only if it is mass-driven.

"The fledgling democracy will be surrounded by all sorts of hostile forces which want it to fail, both locally and internationally."



# Crucial week ahead for negotiators as parties threaten

Walkouts

NEGOTIATORS face a crucial week in constitutional talks as they try and make adequate progress to report back to the parent body on Friday, while avoiding an irreparable confrontation that could see another walkout by some parties.

ANC and government negotiators are resolutely pursuing their goal of getting the negotiating forum to agree on Friday to the establishment of a transitional executive council — despite strong opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group. There are indications that the Cosag parties want the meeting to be postponed or, failing this, plan to walk out if the provisional election date of April 27 is ap-

proved by "sufficient consensus". It is widely expected that the CP will walk out this week as it becomes increasingly evident that it will not be able to negotiate a separate Afrikaner homeland under a confederal option. (3044A)

After seven weeks of negotiating, the parties have set a contested provisional election date; have broad agreement on general constitutional principles; a report on fundamental human rights; draft legislation on an independent electoral commission and media commission that still requires debate; and broad agreement on combating violence. (HES) A senior government source said that as

Billy Paddock

a result of last week's events when the Cosag parties walked out after spending a full day filibustering on an agenda item, the negotiating council was way behind schedule. Friday's meeting was tied up with the council trying to resolve the problem between government and the PAC.

Government and the ANC will want to send their leaders to Philadelphia next week with an agreement on a transitional executive council and a firm election date so that US President Bill Clinton can announce the lifting of remaining sanctions. SIMON BARBER reports from Wash-

ington that Clinton's plan to unveil a major package of proposals designed to bolster the SA economy when he awards freedom medals to President F W De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela in Philadelphia on July 4, remains conditional on agreement being reached on a firm election date and the creation of a transitional executive council.

The package is expected to include the removal of all remaining economic sanctions at federal level — most importantly the US veto on IMF and World Bank lending to SA — according to diplomats and US officials. (HES) Clinton will also call on state and local

## Walkouts

struction bonds" designed to raise capital for housing, education and transport. The negotiating council meets three days in a row from tomorrow. The first day is likely to be spent catching up on the reports from the technical committees.

The debate on the process that will be followed in drafting a final constitution is likely to result in heated debate as the Cosag parties reject the establishment of a transitional executive council and elections for a constituent assembly. (HES)

The government source said he could not understand what Inkatha was up to because it had agreed in bilateral meetings with government to the two-phased process. On May 28 Inkatha's Walter Feigat had confirmed this in the presence of the full Inkatha delegation. (3044A) (HES)

"We then had a further meeting with the ANC on May 29 where we came to an understanding on the nature of this process and we could then move a resolution on June 1 that instructed the technical committee to draft regional powers and func-

## From Page 1

tions on the basis of a two-phased process." Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has since reneged on this agreement and government is trying to devise a strategy that will keep Inkatha to its word.

An ANC-allied negotiator at the weekend said he was "extremely cautious" about what they could achieve this week and warned that there would still be a great deal of filibustering from the Cosag parties.

He said there had been a request to Kwa-Zulu to drop its formal statement that they would enter into "constructive filibustering", but this had been to no avail.

"We will have to find a way to restrict the opportunities available to them to continue this strategy and forge ahead. If the crunch comes then it must come and they will have to face the consequences."

The government source said while they would be attempting to push the pace of the talks this week, caution had to be the order of the day and "we must try and avoid a head-on confrontation".

authorities to remove their restrictions on US investment in SA, and announce that he will be urging leaders of the G-7 nations to co-ordinate what one US official called a "significant mobilisation of resources" for post-apartheid reconstruction.

Clinton may also say that he is urging agencies like the Export Bank and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to step up efforts to promote SA trade and investment.

One option under review is the provision of government guarantees that would encourage US pension funds and other institutional investors to invest in SA "recon-

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# PAC joins in

## DAD'S BUNDLE OF JOY



**FOR DAD . . .** The best Father's Day present — a new baby, Mr. Roy Matthee of . . . celebrated the birth of little Candice yesterday morning. With the happy family

From page 1

"If the crunch comes they will have to face the consequences," he said.

A government source said that while it would attempt to push the pace of the talks this week, caution had to be the order of the day and "we must try to avoid a head-on confrontation".

"We must attempt to keep them in the process as long as possible so that we can find solutions."

"If not, Inkatha and KwaZulu could leave the talks for a period and upset the process," he said. (Sapa) #

A senior government source said the negotiating council was way behind schedule because of the Cosag parties' walkout last week after a full day of filibustering on an agenda item.

The government and the ANC will want to send their respective leaders to Philadelphia next week with an agreement on a transitional executive council and a firm election date so that President Bill Clinton can announce the lifting of remaining sanctions.

The council meets three days in a row from tomorrow.

The first day is likely to be spent catching up on reports from the technical committees. — Own Correspondent, Sapa CT 21/6/93

**JOHANNESBURG. —** Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said at the weekend the PAC would remain in multi-party negotiations for as long as its participation was in the interest of the country.

Mr Makwetu was speaking in Boipatong on the Vaal Triangle on Saturday at a service to commemorate the shooting of 42 people there on June 17 last year.

He was reacting to a warning on Friday by the government's chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Cyril Ramaposa of the ANC, that the PAC risked suspension from multi-party talks if it did not sign a declaration tomorrow committing all 26 organisations at the talks to suspend the armed struggle and other forms of violence.

### 'Last chance'

The declaration is intended to resolve the difficulties between the government and the PAC.

On Friday Mr Meyer said it could no longer be tolerated that the PAC carried on an armed struggle while negotiating at the same time.

Mr Ramaposa also warned the PAC that tomorrow would be "the very last chance" to sign.

In his speech, Mr Makwetu said that for the PAC the "bone of contention" was not signing the document but its implementation date.

Meanwhile negotiators face a crucial week in talks as they try to make adequate progress while avoiding a confrontation that could lead to another walkout by some parties.

ANC and government negotiators are pursuing their goal of getting the negotiating forum, which meets on

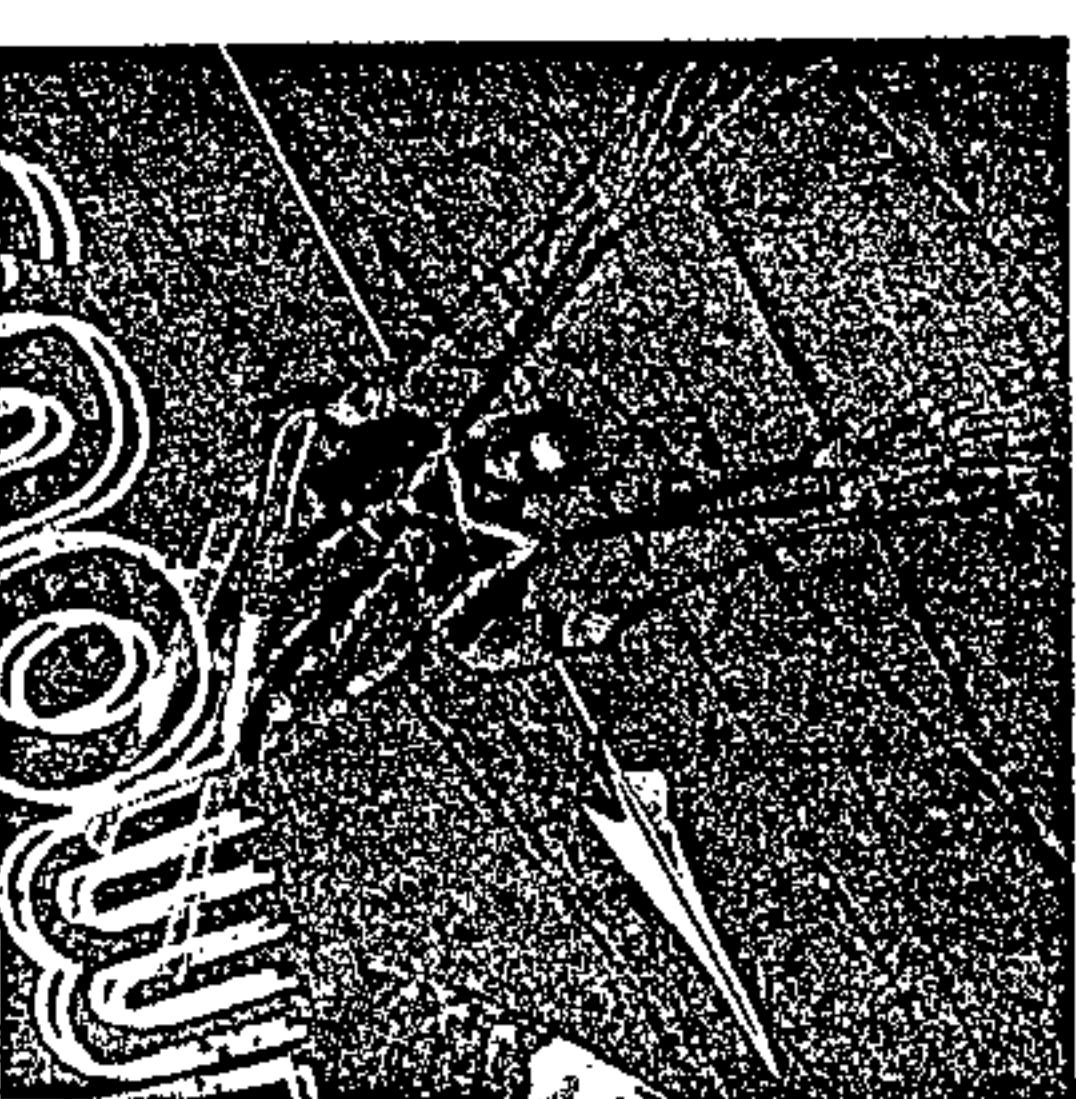
Friday, to agree to establishing a transitional executive council in the face of strong opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag). There are indications that the Cosag parties want the meeting to be postponed or, failing this, to cause a rumour by walking out if the provisional election date of April 27 is approved. It is widely expected that the CP will walk out this week as it becomes increasingly evident that it will not be able to negotiate a separate Afrikaner homeland under a confederal option. However, the CP will get no support from Cosag leader Inkatha or from the rest of the group.

An ANC-allied negotiator said at the weekend he was "extremely cautious" about what could be achieved this week.

He said Inkatha had ignored a request to drop its former statement that it planned "constructive filibustering".

"We will have to find a way to restrict the opportunities available to them to continue this strategy and forge ahead."

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## INTERNATIONAL

# Anti-apartheid rally calls for SA to set poll date

LONDON. — Supporters of the anti-apartheid movement at a demonstration here have called for "the maximum possible pressure" on South Africa to fix a date for the first universal franchise elections.

A crowd of about 3,000 gathered yesterday in Trafalgar Square to cheer two veterans

— both in their eighties — of the campaign against racial discrimination in South Africa.

"This is a crisis moment for South Africa. It is a moment of absolutely intense danger," said the movement's president, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. Mr Walter Sisulu, deputy

president of the ANC, noted that turnout was smaller than in past years and urged continued support in Britain.

"We need you more than ever before when we are on the last mile. It is always the last mile that is the most difficult." Demonstrators drew up a

letter to British prime minister John Major calling for international pressure on the South African government to set a date for free elections.

The letter expressed "alarm" that South Africa was to be allowed to take part in a Royal Air Force air tattoo next month. — Sapa-Reuter.

## ● Families struggling to identify relatives

# 'Insensitivity of cops' slated by SACC wing

Sowetan 21/6/93

THE East Rand branch of the South African Council of Churches and Katlehong Ministers Fraternal have accused police of not giving next-of-kin the opportunity to identify relatives killed in Tokoza and Katlehong violence before they are given a pauper's burial.

They claimed on Friday that such burials had taken place — three bodies to a grave, in white cemeteries, while relatives were still attempting to identify their dead.

### Claimed bodies

The East Rand SACC and the Katlehong Ministers Fraternal claimed bodies had been taken from Germiston police mortuary to as far away as Diepkloof, Soweto, for storage and families

did not have the means to get there to identify them. East Rand police spokesman Lieutenant Janine Smith said proceedings for paupers' burials normally started when bodies were unidentified for two weeks.

### Storage fee

"Often people are reluctant to identify the bodies because it means they will have to pay the R10 storage fee or pay for the burial themselves," she said.

On bodies being taken to Diepkloof, she said: "Our mortuaries are full. We have to store them where we can and we cannot make provision for relatives to identify bodies. We have to control crime in the country." — Sapa.



# D-Day for PAC at talks

Sowetan 21/6/92

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Reporter

**A** SHOWDOWN looms tomorrow between the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania and the negotiating council of the multiparty conference over the armed struggle. (30/4)

Consternation gripped negotiators at the weekend when the PAC dug in its heels, declaring it would not suspend the armed struggle unless the Government agreed to a mutual cessation of hostilities. (SFA) (SFA)

Negotiators are to decide tomorrow whether the PAC — and any other party backing the armed struggle — should be kicked out of multiparty constitutional talks.

A proposed multiparty declaration on the suspension or cessation of the armed struggle is set to be ratified by the 26-party negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, thus making the exit of the PAC from the forum a strong likelihood.

The proposal was tabled last Friday after several meetings between the PAC and the Government to discuss the issue over the past three weeks ended in a stalemate. The PAC maintained that its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), would abandon the bullet only when the ballot was secured or when there was what it termed a mutual cessation of hostilities between itself and the Government.

The Government demanded that the PAC should at least declare a moratorium on armed

incursions, insisting that the organisation could not simultaneously talk and fight.

Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said a decision should be taken by the council tomorrow on what to do with parties which did not endorse the declaration.

The Government's position, however, is that the PAC be kicked out of the process unless it ratifies and sticks to the proposed declaration.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said at the weekend that the organisation would not end its armed struggle.

Addressing a service in Boipatong on Saturday to commemorate the June 17 1992 massacre of residents, Makwetu said: "We stand by our position that we won't renounce the armed struggle until a mutual ceasefire had been arrived at."

## Proclaim ceasefire

"The regime insists that they never declared war against the PAC, and thus cannot be required to proclaim ceasefire. I reiterate that the current negotiations process must go hand in hand with intense struggles on every front."

PAC negotiations strategist and national executive member Mr Mark Shinnars yesterday said the National Party, and not his organisation, was in a crisis.

He said the PAC would continue to put its case across at the World Trade Centre and would not be bothered by the Government's demands and attempts to pressure other parties to agree with it.

"We are in the process because it is our right. Parties which want us out will have to say so tomorrow."

# Negotiators selling out — Winnie

CT 21/6/93 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Newly elected South African National Civics Organisation chairwoman Mrs Winnie Mandela attacked the multi-party negotiations forum on Saturday, saying it lacked democratic participation as practised by trade unions and civic organisations.

Mrs Mandela was addressing a National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa regional congress in Germiston.

"Negotiations will always be discredited and viewed with suspicion until the people on the ground are involved," she said.

"I am not opposed to negotiations in principle, but I am opposed to the selling of my people in the name of negotiations. Negotiations must be representative of the feelings of the people."

Mrs Mandela said political organisations must obtain grassroots mandates before changing strategies.

"If the mood of the people is 'Kill the Boer, kill the farmer', it does not help for their leaders to try and say 'Sorry Baas ... what they really mean is 'Kiss the Boer, kiss the farmer'."

"If the leaders do this they are not representing their followers, but their own selfish hunger for power," she said.

The ANC recently withdrew the con-

troversial chant, after whites complained it was inciting racial murder.

Mrs Mandela said South Africa was threatened by poverty and economic deprivation, high levels of violence and crime, and the lack of involvement of ordinary people in the resolution of the political situation.

● A group of women led by the suspended executive committee of the ANC PWV Women's League yesterday called for the reinstatement of the committee and its leader, Mrs Mandela.

Calling themselves "concerned" women of South Africa, the group gave July 4 as the date by which the committee should be "unconditionally" reinstated.

In a press conference at the Mandela's Orlando West home, spokeswoman Ms Nompumelelo Madlala said that should the committee not be reinstated on that date, the group would call for a national congress of the Women's League.

The committee was suspended in March last year following a leadership row.

Ms Madlala said the participants at the negotiations were not "communicative" with the masses, who only got information about the deliberations through the media.

Mrs Mandela was not present at the briefing, but had apparently earlier attended the group's meeting. — Sapa



## FW: 'Black vote surprise' <sup>3014</sup>

PIETERSBURG. — The National Party had the third largest support base in the black community and was going to produce a "tremendous surprise" in the elections, President F W de Klerk said at the weekend.

He and Transvaal party leader Mr Pik Botha enthused over voter support at a media conference following a mostly black

NP rally at the showgrounds here.

The crowd of about 6 000 had been a "wonderful kick-off" to show that the NP was truly a national party, said Mr De Klerk.

"This was a very important day." Black support for the NP had been written off by many of the commentators.

"But we are convinced black support (for the NP) is growing. There is a great potential to unlock."

This potential was based among moderates who wanted peace, progress and opportunity.

"They realise those who threaten you today will run rampant with the lives of South Africans tomorrow." — Sapa

CT21/6/93

## OAU may fund ANC, PAC voter education

CAIRO. — Special voter education funds might be given to the ANC and PAC, if the Organisation of African Unity accepts recommendations by its liberation committee.

A report issued at the weekend suggests a fund be established to channel money directly to the ANC and the PAC for voter education. (304A)

The two organisations already receive continuing support from the OAU's liberation fund which has a shortfall of nearly \$15 million (about R45m).

ANC representative Mr Stanley Mabizela said he had emphasised the importance of support for the election. — Sapa (11) (25) CT21/6/93



# Clash on armed struggle expected at talks

Sheet 2116193

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

A showdown over a declaration on the suspension of the armed struggle and the cessation of hostilities is looming tomorrow in the 26-party Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday her organisation would not sign the declaration but was prepared to sign an amended version.

Government negotiator Roelf Meyer served notice on Friday that the Government would to-

morrow urge the council to take a decision on the continued participation of parties which refuse to commit themselves to the declaration.

The declaration, which flowed from the deadlocked talks between the PAC and the Government, was discussed in the council on Friday but a decision has been deferred until tomorrow.

The Government insists that the PAC suspend its armed struggle, while the PAC will only discuss the mutual cessation of hostilities.

However, the declaration can potentially be signed by all 26

parties in the council.

Negotiations passed a baptism by fire last week but more hiccups could emerge in the run-up to a meeting of the Negotiating Forum on Friday.

Compromise (304A)

The council will have to decide within the next four days on two vital issues which caused the walkout last week by the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Negotiators will have to strike a compromise on whether the transition should be a single or a two-phased process.

Cosag parties demand that the multiparty Negotiating Forum draft a final constitution which will be put to a referendum. In terms of this scenario elections for a representative government will be held by September next year.

Most negotiating parties are demanding the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to prepare equal ground for all parties in the first democratic elections on April 27 for an interim government of national unity.

Key negotiators have warned that "difficult moments" lie ahead this week.



# Botha, De Klerk Woo N TV blacks

By Dirk Nel  
Northern Transvaal Bureau

PIETERSBURG — President F W de Klerk on Saturday strongly denied claims that the National Party favoured a unitary state in the future political dispensation for this country.

Speaking at a press conference following an NP rally at the Pietersburg show grounds, De Klerk said: "We remain committed to a federal system, with strong regional government." The President claimed the ANC had moved closer to the NP position.

"In my opinion, federalism has already won the day, only the details still have to be worked out", he said.

Describing the Pietersburg rally as "an important occasion", the President said the event had shown the NP enjoyed wide support.

"I predict a tremendous sur-

prise in the coming election, as the NP has become the most truly non-racial party in South Africa," he said.

When asked whether he was worried about the fact that whites attending the rally were completely outnumbered, Foreign Minister Pik Botha replied: "Not at all — we are not running our campaign along racial lines."

(304A)  
Intimidators

"Today we succeeded in our purpose, because the intimidators did not succeed in keeping the people away."

"This was an historic event: you did not hear any cries of hatred, or see any cars and houses burnt. It was a model for the rest of the country."

Traditional dances and shouts of "Viva de Klerk" marked the NP rally on Saturday.

About 6 000 people were bussed in from Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu to hear De Klerk and Botha. The two leaders received an enthusiastic reception

from the predominantly black audience, all sporting NP colours and waving party flags.

Among those who shared the platform with De Klerk and Botha were Gazankulu Chief Minister Samuel Nxumalo, paramount chiefs, and Indian and coloured community leaders. Marshals at the rally were mainly black NP members.

Addressing the large rally, De Klerk committed his party to the alleviation of unemployment, hunger and poverty. He also pledged to take steps to improve education and health services.

"We must get the economy to grow again. Only if more factories are built, if new soil is tilled and more cattle are bred, can we expect your situation to improve," he said.

De Klerk assured traditional leaders of an honourable place in the country's new political dispensation. He announced the appointment of Chief Chris Mordiba, a former Lebowa Cabinet minister, as a Transvaal provincial executive member.



Rural rhetoric . . . traditional women listen to speeches at a National Party rally in Pietersburg at the weekend. The rally is part of the NP's drive for support, which also includes an upmarket advertising campaign. Picture: Gary Bernard



THE constant rupturing of SA's democracy talks may have as much to do with ignorance as it does with political principle.

SA's problems are unique but not very unique. They have been confronted in Spain and they have been solved. South Africans know little about Spain, and in all the effort to redesign SA only one man, a lonely Nationalist MP, has actually come to Madrid. He stayed two days.

But as Chief Buthelezi's representatives hurried out of Tuesday's talks in Kempton Park, a political replica of the Zulu leader (only this time Catalan and white) was preparing to be asked to help Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez form a government. Without him, the country can probably not be governed for long.

Spain is a prosperous, safe, stable, democracy now, but in 1976 and 1977 — soon after the dictator Francisco Franco had died — it was a cauldron of hatred and fear.

Its people were split into those who had supported Franco and flourished under his rule, and those who had fought, or whose families had fought, on the losing side in the civil war at the end of the '30s. They had been discriminated against, and regions ill-treated by Franco, particularly the Basque country and Catalonia, were threatening secession. Similarities with SA today are imperfect, but compelling nevertheless.

Spanish transition from dictatorship to democracy was long too. Franco died in November 1975 and the country approved of a new constitution at the end of 1978. That document, drawn up in just the atmosphere of haste and uncertainty SA now hunkers down under, has proved to be a powerful glue.

Spaniards were ambitious for their country, but even at the start they had figured out something that is still not clear in Johannesburg: it is not realistic to try to create a federal state out of a centralised one. Feder-

# Post-Franco Spain can teach SA a lot about regionalism

PETER BRUCE in Madrid

al states are formed by more or less equal partners (witness Australia, the US and the former West Germany). Where the partnership is unequal or forced (witness Germany now with its poor eastern regions joined on, or the failing efforts to create a federal Europe around the EC), economic divergences simply make union impossible.

But with Catalonia and the Basques threatening to secede, the fathers of the Spanish constitution did what Spaniards always do when pressed. They fudged it.

All 17 of the country's regions would be given autonomy, from Catalonia — the equivalent of, say, Natal — to the wine growing region of La Rioja about as big as Qwa Qwa. The fudge is that not all the autonomous regions are equally autonomous. Catalonia, the Basque country, Galicia and Andalusia were given special treatment for being traditionally self-governing (and, in the case of Andalusia, for being big).

Statutes of autonomy of these four regions were negotiated in Madrid and voted on in regional referenda. Each is different. The Basques col-

lect their own taxes. The Catalans and the Basques both have police forces, though Basque police have wider powers.

The Andalusians have a massive health service. Through the '80s, as these regions grew into mature political entities, it became clear to the national government that they had to be taken care of politically as well. Barcelona got the 1992 Olympic Games. Seville in Andalusia held the Worlds Fair. Each cost the central government billions of dollars.

Smaller regions negotiated a separate form of self government under which powers would be transferred more slowly from the centre. But once again, some regions have spurred ahead, pressing for greater powers, while others (mostly the poorer) have clung to Madrid, asking for little power and lots of money. The point, though, is that democracy is well served and the system is fair and open. Jordi Pujol, leader of the Convergencia i Unio (CIU) party that runs Catalonia, does not have a God-

given right to power in the region. He has to fight for it at the ballot box.

There are elections to the autonomous parliaments every four years. In Catalonia, the CIU wins these most of the time, just as Inkatha would probably win in Natal. But it is often a close run thing with the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (PSOE) of Prime Minister Gonzalez always a close second. But the CIU's loyalty is to its region. In national elections, the socialists usually collect more Catalan votes than Pujol.

If you put the PSOE and the CIU up against each other, the fit with the ANC and Inkatha is uncanny. The key to the success of the Spanish experiment is that Pujol would have to accept a PSOE victory in regional elections. And that, thanks to the money the central government threw at Barcelona for the Games, may just happen next time. Would Buthelezi allow an ANC government in Natal if it won an election there?

For his part, Pujol is about to collect a fat reward for playing by democratic rules. In the general election in June the PSOE lost its overall parliamentary majority in

Madrid. In the same election the CIU won 17 seats, just enough to restore Gonzalez's majority.

It has taken since 1978 for an election to deliver him this power-broking role, but Pujol is now preparing himself in preparation for being called upon to help provide Spain with a stable government. In return, he will demand the earth and probably get it — more autonomy, a Catalan bank, the right to hold onto 15% of taxes raised in the region.

In the meantime, 16 other autonomous communities are rubbing their hands at the thought of a weakened central government depending on one of their kind for help at the national level. The whole process of regionalisation will be speeded up. This is going nowhere towards federalism, but who cares?

The Spanish model is flawed in an almost perfect way in that it recognises that people have local and regional loyalties but that some are just more powerful than others politically. Spaniards would argue that there is no reason why the Boland should not have autonomy, but that it would be silly to give it the same powers as Natal.

And all Spaniards, even those who use the threat of secession to squeeze more money out of Madrid, know the system works because the internal unity of the regions is brilliantly served by having a centre to complain about and blackmail.

SA already has the mix of powerful national and regional political parties to make adopting and adapting the Spanish model quite feasible.

But South Africans need to come to Spain in much bigger numbers and learn about it. And the Spanish Embassy in Pretoria (*por favor*) needs to get Pujol and his Basque and Andalusian colleagues out to SA quickly. They are already in the future and it works just fine.

□ Bruce, the Financial Times' correspondent in Madrid, grew up in Umata.



## New MECs take office

PRETORIA — New members were sworn in as members of their provincial executive committees in the Transvaal, Cape and Natal yesterday.

At the inauguration ceremony for the four Transvaal members — Lerate Chauenyane of Soweto, Le-siba Mothiba from Lebowa, Lucas Nel of Pretoria and former journalist Pieter Goetzer — Transvaal Administrator Danie Hough said the executive committee had been increased to 10 members. (3041A)

In Natal Dan Makhanya and Rudi Redinger were welcomed as members of the executive committee by Natal Administrator Con Botha.

And in the Cape, Martha Olckers, former President's Council member and a government negotiating team member, has become the first female Cape provincial member of the executive committee.

Olckers was sworn in by Deputy Judge-President J.J. Fagan at the Cape Provincial Administration offices yesterday.

She takes over the Tourism, Nature Conservation and Museums portfolio. — Sapa.

# Buthelezi outlines hopes for meeting

WILSON ZWANE

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he hoped that his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela tomorrow would contribute towards defusing violence between members of their organisations.

Asked whether he wanted the meeting to result in joint strategies to curb violence, Buthelezi said he and Mandela had agreed at their meeting in Durban in 1991 on the necessity of good joint strategies.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the meeting of the two leaders would send out a signal to their followers, which should start "moving them towards bringing down violence".

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that Schoeman said: "We would like them to recommit themselves to peace to make it possible for their followers to be more tolerant."

"It would be a major achievement if their meeting helps to bring down the level of violence."

The two leaders will meet in Johannesburg at a venue still to be disclosed by church leaders.

The meeting will be chaired by Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who is arriving from London today, and Methodist Church of SA Bishop Stanley Mogoba.

The question of joint rallies by the two leaders will also be discussed.

Buthelezi has said he expects the meeting to last more than one day.

The agenda for the meeting had not been finalised by yesterday. But the ANC has said the meeting should discuss — among other things — Inkatha's insistence that Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded, the fencing of hostels and the public display of dangerous weapons.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu was upbeat yesterday about prospects for the meeting. PAC leaders had tried for some time to persuade Mandela and Buthelezi to agree to the meeting, he said.

"We wish them well. This is what we have been striving for all along."

DP leader Zach de Beer said Mandela and Buthelezi had to show that they were capable of rising above party loyalties.

It was crucial that they put the interests of the nation first "because their followers are so heavily involved in the ghastly violence". He added: "The eyes of SA and the world will be on them this week. If they can meet the challenge, they will have deserved high places in the new SA."

NP media liaison director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday both leaders had the ability to provide strong leadership on the issue of violence if they refrained from using the event for party political advantage.

● Comment: Page 10

PA  
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# CP warns of biblical wrath

THE CP yesterday vowed to unleash its own version of the "10 plagues of Egypt" if its final demands for Afrikaner self-determination were rejected by negotiators at the World Trade Centre this week.

CP spokesman Corné Mulder said the party would make one last effort to convince the multiparty talks of the need for a volkstaat, and if that failed, a programme of passive resistance would be undertaken.

"When the Pharaoh refused to let the Israelites go free after Moses asked him a number of times, Egypt was hit with plagues. If the negotiators say no to Afrikaner self-determination this week, our case will be sound and we will hit SA with our version of the 10 plagues. Maybe they will listen then." *Biday 22/6/93*

He said the final answer on self-determination would come from the technical committee reporting back to the negotiating council. *(2044)*

"Afrikaner self-determination is the CP's bottom line. Once that is no longer an option for the negotiating forum, there is no sense in us staying at the table."

The technical committee is expected to report back to the negotiating council before Friday's meeting of the larger negoti-

ating forum.

Observers said that the CP's hardline approach might test its already strained alliance with the Afrikaner Volksunie in Cosag and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

AVU leader Andries Beyers said that walking out of negotiations was not on their agenda and that they would not follow the CP if a confederal system, favoured by the CP, was no longer an option.

The AVU realised that a confederal system was not a realistic solution for SA's problems.

The AVU regarded government's proposal to incorporate Afrikaner self-determination within a federal system as a positive step and would remain at the negotiations to advance it.

Beyers added that CP domination in the Volksfront was becoming a problem and that the AVU was completely neutralised in all the Volksfront's political decisions.

The AVU remained part of the Volksfront in the hope that Constand Viljoen, chairman of its directorate and known to have closer links with the AVU than the CP, could have a moderating influence.

## Black Sash unveils vision for SA

THE Black Sash unveiled its vision at the weekend of an SA in which human rights were recognised in law and respected in practice. *Biday 22/6/93*

It said its vision of SA was one "in which the government is accountable to all its people and attends to their basic needs".

Last year the Black Sash's western Cape advice offices in Mowbray and Knysna recorded 3 858 advice seekers, a 67% increase over the previous year. *(145)*

"This increase is a tragic reflection of the country's economic state and the destabilising effect of the ongoing violence," the Black Sash said. *(2044)*

Its aims were to provide the constitu-

tional entrenchment and protection by law of human rights for all, equal access to justice for all, the establishment of democratic and accountable government, and an awareness of the roles of civil society as well as the state in the achievement of social and economic justice.

Its immediate goals included monitoring infringements of political and socio-economic rights, monitoring how the rights of women were affected and to campaign for justice in legislation and state administration. It would also debate and research human rights.

# KORFA TRADE CENTRE

Sowetan 22/6/93

## No friends of NP

THE president of the ANC Youth League, Mr Peter Mokaba, says the fact that the ANC is negotiating with the Government does not mean the organisation is a friend of the Government.

Mokaba said in Cape Town oppressed people would not beg for freedom but would fight for it if necessary. (H)

He said there was no need for him to repent for chanting his controversial slogan, "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" because it was not aimed at individuals but at the Boer system. (304A)



# Negotiations now at a crucial stage

South African 2216193

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

IT IS make or break for multiparty negotiations over the next three days.

At the top of today's agenda at the negotiation council's meeting at the World Trade Centre is violence and the question of the PAC's continued armed struggle.

The Government is adamant that the Pan Africanist Congress should suspend its armed struggle and sign a declaration on the cessation or suspension of hostilities.

In a snap response, the PAC's Mr Jackie Seroke yesterday said his organisation had no problem with a cessation of hostilities.

"We are not opposed to a mutual cessation of hostilities, but the process must be

adequately discussed and structured," Seroke said.

Other items on today's agenda will be the Independent Media and Election commissions. Constitutional matters will be discussed tomorrow.

Transkei's Mr Zani Titus, who is on the planning committee which worked on today's agenda until late last night, said the next three days would be critical.

"What emerges at the end of this week will determine whether South Africa will have democracy or not," he said.

On Friday the negotiating forum will receive a report from its council that should seal the inevitability of the negotiations process.

Friday's meeting is expected to give the go-ahead for the installation of a Transitional Executive Council

which would prepare the country for elections and ratify April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first nonracial election.

The negotiations will also be severely tested by the "constructive filibustering" of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its allies in Cosag.

Our four month  
Secretarial and  
Business Course  
is your short  
cut to success.



LET'S TALK PEACE ... PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu told a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the organisation was prepared to meet white farmers to discuss peace. With him is PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo. See Page 6

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU



**T**HE hope here is that, on Friday, SA's negotiating parties will announce they have reached agreement on a firm date for elections and the formation of a transitional executive. Perhaps they will also be in a position to define how the executive will function, what its powers will be and when, precisely, it will be in place.

This will be extremely helpful to, among others, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa George Moose and ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, neither of whom was able satisfactorily to answer audiences at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace last week.

Moose spoke in the plural, referring to transitional executive councils. Mbeki spoke of one council with subcommittees. Both agreed that whatever they were, they would exist to "level the playing field" for elections. That we knew. Thereafter there was confusion.

**T**he American, pleading inexperience, felt sure there were others in the room who could explain things better than he. If there were, they were not volunteering, and he was obliged to make various stabs on his own. There would be "mechanisms" designed to "ensure transparency in key government institutions", but they were "not as yet entirely clear to me... My sense is these will be decision-making bodies."

Mbeki, the following day, was asked to verify Moose's sense. A simple yes or no would have been nice. Instead we were merely assured that, pace Roelf Meyer, "how the playing field will be levelled" would be spelt out in law at some point. Even then, we should not expect anything that was "mathematical", though we could be certain that the council would not be "overridden by government in matters of its competence". Then, in a flash of candour, Mbeki allowed that not even he could define easily what the council's foreign affairs subcommittee would

# Clamour for clarity before the US can do business with SA

R/Neu 22/6/93

SIMON BARBER in Washington

do, despite the fact that he would logically be an important part of it. Here's a suggestion: its first task might be to clear up the fog.

It will be a matter of no little importance for the outside world to know who and what is the SA government during the transitional executive council's period. Moose said he was urging the White House and Congress to treat the formation of the transitional executive as the end of apartheid rule for the purposes of US law. Is this a proposition the ANC, in particular, accepts?

If it is serious about seeing remaining US sanctions lifted, it had better accept. The Gramm Amendment, the last federal sanction of any significance, requires the US representatives on the boards of the IMF and World Bank to veto loan applications by any country "which practises apartheid". Unless there is greater clarity about the status of the transitional executive, this could cause difficulties.

There are two ways of dealing with Gramm. Either the US president can certify that apartheid is no longer being practised or Congress can repeal the statute. Both methods are under consideration, but both

could be complicated if, say, the Congressional Black Caucus decided to extract concessions from the administration on other matters by insisting Gramm's conditions would not be met until there had been elections. All politics, remember, is ultimately domestic.



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ernment and will be adhered to, where applicable, after elections.

The waiving or removal of the Gramm Amendment will not in itself open the door to World Bank and IMF finance. Loans and facilities will have to be negotiated with the institutions, and undertakings on policy given that will satisfy a majority of their boards. Will a transitional executive council administration be able to do that? If not, action on Gramm before April 27 — assuming that is the final election date — is moot, a comforting symbol, nothing more.

Another, if lesser, example. Will the council authorities be able to sign an agreement with the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the US government agency that provides risk insurance for foreign investment? For US business the existence of an Opic agreement is an important signal, and the sooner one is signed the better.

Among the options percolating through the National Security Council is the provision of US government guarantees to leverage private investment in housing, education and other "reconstruction" projects. These, too, will require negotiations

with a sovereign SA government. Surprising as it may sound, the US Congress is loath to risk voters' money without some assurance that the beneficiary will not squander taxpayer underwritten investment through rash policies.

One issue that continues to vex US companies, both those already in SA and those sniffing, is the fair employment codes mandated by the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act. Though few object to the principle of standards, no other country imposes such obligations on its companies operating in SA. Compliance is a bureaucratic burden and, arguably, has led to a misallocation of resources. It also put US firms at a competitive disadvantage.

The ANC has belatedly come to recognise the problem and has acknowledged that labour standards should be drafted and enforced equally for all by an SA government. As Moose put it: "South Africans regard the question of business behaviour as something they themselves should decide."

**F**ine, but when? Can a transitional administration deal with the question, thus allowing the relevant section of the Act to be phased out? Or must US companies continue to wait? Once more, there is no clarity.

It may be said there are only 10 months before there is a real government, decisions can wait. No doubt they can, but is the delay worth it, especially when a newly elected government will be under enormous pressure to provide immediate and visible material gains for its electorate? Another year of talking will not help, especially given the lead times for loans to be negotiated and investment to be translated into jobs, schools and houses.

Put very simply, it is not very much use for the ANC to declare SA open for business — except as a symbolic gesture — unless there are legitimate authorities in place with whom business may be done. Can the transitional executive arrangement be so characterised?



# Clash looming as PAC sticks to its guns

THE negotiating council today faces a tense debate over the PAC's refusal to suspend the armed struggle.

There are indications that the PAC might be left out on a limb with only the CP for company. The CP also has problems signing a declaration which commits it to desist from taking up arms, even if it does not attain its goal of a separate Afrikaner homeland. The CP has threatened to go to war if it fails in this at the negotiations.

Most of the other 26 parties are pushing to have the declaration of a cessation of hostilities signed by all those negotiating. Even the PAC's patriotic front partners, including the ANC, have warned that today

Billy Paddock  
22/6/93  
BILLY PADDOCK

is its last opportunity before facing censure from the negotiating council.

The declaration was drafted by the planning committee and carries the full weight of the negotiating process. (30/4/93)

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday she was prepared to sign the declaration if it was amended to say it was a "mutual cessation of hostilities" (1/5/93)

And at a media briefing PAC president Clarence Makwetu said his organisation would suspend its armed struggle if one of three conditions was met: the mutual cessation of hostilities between government,

and the PAC; the establishment of a transitional authority with full, independent control over the security forces; and the setting up of a constituent assembly.

The PAC would not endorse the negotiating council resolution to renounce violence because, he said, it was biased against the PAC as it focused only on Apla instead of all armed formations. (2/5/93)

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the PAC's suggestion of an agreement on a mutual cessation of hostilities was unrealistic, Sapa reports. He described as "nonsense" the PAC's insistence that government was involved in some form of armed struggle.

# Coloureds desert NP

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE NP has lost substantial support among coloured voters in Cape Town, according to a new poll.

The Research Surveys poll found 33% would vote for the NP, 23% for the ANC, 10% for the DP, 4% for the Labour Party and 28% did not know who they would support.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said coloured support for his party had been galvanised by the assassination of SACP leader Mr Chris

Hani and the education crisis.

He said ANC support among coloureds in rural areas was even higher than in the city.

The poll found that younger people, high income groups and men most favoured the ANC.

Research Surveys director Mr Jan-nie Hofmeyr said there was a potential margin of error of between 5% and 6% in the latest survey.

He said the shifts showed "we are dealing with a very ambivalent electorate".

CT 22/6/93



# Coloured community turns towards ANC

□ Gains also for DP in big swing against NP

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

ANC support has risen sharply in the coloured community in greater Cape Town, particularly among men and the more affluent, according to a survey.

Democratic Party support has grown too, but the National Party's share has dropped.

The survey also shows a large "undecided" factor.

These are the key points of a face-to-face April poll organised jointly by the Omnichcek division of Research Surveys and the Johannesburg-based Community Agency for Social Inquiry (Case).

The survey, — with a five percent margin of error — puts ANC support among coloureds in greater Cape Town

at about 33 percent, with the National Party trailing 10 points at 23 percent, followed by the DP at 10 percent.

The Labour Party polled 4 percent and "others", 2 percent.

A large percentage — 28 percent — are undecided or don't support any of the existing parties.

Mr Jan Hofmeyr of Research Surveys said that while the "undecided" vote was at a "historically high level", the NP was under serious pressure and that the ANC and DP were the primary beneficiaries.

He said significant swings were still possible.

An analysis of gender differences showed coloured women are more likely to support the National Party than the ANC, while men favour the ANC

over the NP. Forty percent of the women surveyed supported the NP and 15 percent the ANC; 32 percent of men supported the ANC and 27 percent the NP.

The ANC's support is also mostly in the 18 to 34 age group — 28 percent against the NP's 24 percent.

Most coloureds over 35 in this survey — 44 percent — support the NP, against 17 percent who support the ANC.

A comparison of party preferences among coloured women in the April survey with a similar one in October last year shows support for the ANC rising from 3 to 15 percent, the NP's share dropping from 53 to 40 percent, the DP rising from 7 to 9 percent and the undecided vote rising from 23 to 31 percent.

## NEWS FEATURE Social Development Centre to prepare urban blacks for 1994 election

# Doing it right in Soweto 22/6/94 the April election

304A

**POLLING DAY** The ballot paper — not violence — is the

key to power in the new rapidly-approaching SA.

**The majority of spoilt votes  
will be from black people**



Pule Pule ... hosting a seminar.

**B**lack people may still snatch defeat from the jaws of victory in next year's first non-racial elections, many people believe. This would be despite the expected large turnout by blacks in the elections, scheduled for April 1994.

The fear is based on the fact that a large number of votes by blacks are expected to be spoilt because of inexperience.

The concern about this potential spoilt vote has spurred the Social Development Centre (SDC) to embark on a programme to educate people how to vote.

But as SDC director Mr Pule Pule said, it is not only how to vote but also why people have to vote that the programme is to deal with.

"The majority of spoilt votes will be from black people because there is no history of voting in our communities. The other irony is that while urban blacks are presumed to be more educated in the majority of cases, rural people know more about how to go about it than urban-based people because they have taken part in elections.

"Our focus will therefore be more urban-based, although we will go into rural areas. We will start with a seminar on July 1 to educate educators from non-governmental organisations, trade unions and advice centres", Pule said.

The seminar is to be conducted by Wits senior political science lecturer Dr Phillip Frankel, who will address the following issues: voting systems and procedures, majority rule and minority rights, transitional democracy, human rights and the protection of individual rights, campaigning for elections, proportional representation, revolution and evolution.

Pule said it was largely accepted that the election next year would not be about what each party stands for but rather a sentimental vote about what organisations did for the struggle.

### Awareness

"But a greater need for voter awareness and involvement is that research has shown that opening up of democratic structures to people limits the reliance on violence and criminality to redress imbalances and grievances.

"Our campaign therefore aims at getting people to understand that, if the new system is to be answerable to them and do their bidding, they have to put them in there.

"We are to embark also on a post-election programme which will centre on law-related education programmes, which will make people understand some aspects of criminal and civil law.

"While the present law has no legitimacy, after the election, this should change," Pule added.

He said this aspect was particularly important as South Africa was presently riddled with violence.

A voter education programme was therefore crucial even to minimise the prospect of election violence as it incorporates the principles of tolerance.

The SDC was formed in 1987 as a non-partisan institution that provides services to the public on civil matters. The United States Agency for International Development (Us Aid), has donated money towards this particular programme, Pule said.

Turning to the thorny issue of political parties, Pule said his centre was non-partisan and would in its programme use ballot papers that do not carry real names of organisations.

"We are sure that we are going to have the support of political organisations such as ANC, Azapo, IFP and PAC in our endeavour to promote a useful and informed involvement in the watershed elections next year," Pule said.



**PAC, CP**

**out on**

**a limb**

**in talks**

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE negotiating council today faces a tense debate over the Pan-Africanist Congress' refusal to suspend the armed struggle.

There are indications that it might be left out on a limb with only the Conservative Party for company.

The CP also has problems signing a declaration which commits it to desist from taking up arms.

Negotiators said yesterday that a major battle can be expected when all 26 parties on the Negotiating Council are required to commit themselves to a peace declaration.

### **'Luxury'**

The government was determined that the PAC no longer be allowed "the luxury" of being the only party at the World Trade Centre formally pursuing a twin-track policy of conducting both war and negotiations.

The declaration that negotiators will be asked to sign binds parties to the peaceful resolution of conflict and the suspension of hostilities.

On Friday, the PAC requested more time to consider the declaration, but both the ANC and the government warned the PAC that it risked suspension from the talks if it balked at signing the document today.

## Warding off row top talks issue

Political Staff **3049** **6217**  
EFFORTS are in progress to prevent a row in the Negotiating Council today over a far-reaching declaration on the suspension of armed activities.

The compromise involves a report on violence being discussed in the council before the declaration, originally scheduled to top the agenda.

The report on violence proposes two "multiparty agencies" to deal with police forces and armed formations, and recommends a phased approach to a new defence force and police force.

This means the Pan-Africanist Congress's concerns over the implementation of a cessation of hostilities will be considered. **ARL 22/6/73**



Star 22/6/93

## Voter education cash row

Money donated by foreign governments or organisations for voter education should go to the proposed independent electoral commission and not political parties, says the Government. This follows a recommendation by the OAU's liberation committee that special voter education funds should be given to the ANC and PAC (30/4)

Shaun Johnson and Chris Whitfield ask an important, private question publicly

Star 22/6/93

# Will FW be vice-president?

(304A)

**L**EAVE aside for the moment what is, or isn't, happening in public at the World Trade Centre. Our country's reformist revolution is reaching an advanced stage. In recent days a very practical, down-to-earth and inestimably significant question has begun to be asked: exactly what position will FW de Klerk occupy in South Africa's government of national unity (GNU)?

The question is made even more fascinating because of who is asking it, and who is expected to answer. The interlocutor is the Government; the response is required from the ANC. Direct feelers are being put out to Nelson Mandela's organisation, because the National Party wants clarity now on how it can reassure its followers that it will play a significant, guaranteed role in the new dispensation. Enissaries have asked the question, and are awaiting an answer. The underlying assumption now common in South Africa is that Mandela will be president after the first elections. But even accepting this, the situation is not as

clear-cut as it might seem. There are attendant questions. What will the powers of the president be? Will he be bound by consensual "inner Cabinet" decisions? Will there be a Prime Minister? And, most topically in the context of the big question about De Klerk: will there be a vice-president?

To the cynical observer, the debate over De Klerk's role in an interim government might appear akin to shifting deckchairs on the Titanic. With violence and the economy concentrating the public mind, that is not surprising, but the issue has implications far beyond the more individual status of prominent politicians. It goes to the essence of the type of power-sharing — or call it what you will — compromise that will emerge from negotiations.

De Klerk has indicated that he sees himself in a role elevated above that of an ordinary Cabinet Minister in a GNU. He has not named that post, but has described an "inner Cabinet" or executive committee on which he and leaders of other major parties

would serve. These leaders would draw up a blueprint of priorities to guide all decisions of the interim government during its scheduled five years of existence.

In terms of this proposal, the role of the State President during that period would be limited, being bound on fundamental decisions by agreement within the "inner Cabinet", which would operate by consensus. In effect this would give those leaders of minority parties who make it on to the executive committee a veto over such fundamental policy issues including those relating to education, health and the economy — and the drawing up of the Budget.

The ANC's rejection of this construction has been unequivocal, but that does not mean that the issues raised are not real, and enduring. SA Communist Party chairman and ANC national working committee member Joe Slovo described the "inner Cabinet" idea as "unacceptable because it would see the new president tied hand and foot by the minority parties". But he said the ANC-led alliance

was not moving away from its position that minority parties should be given "a major and meaningful" place in the executive of a new dispensation. The semantic gulf seems wide, but that might be secondary.

The ANC national executive committee, which met recently and reviewed the alliance's position on the road ahead, "tossed about" a proposal that the leader of the second-placed party in the election be made vice-president.

"In a government of national unity there will have to be a meaningful place in the executive for minority parties, but not on a basis that gives minority parties a veto over executive decisions," Slovo said. One presumes De Klerk's proposal is an opening bargaining position — there is much space for refinement.

The ANC's "President Mandela/Vice-President De Klerk" ticket has much to recommend it, obviously enough in terms of racial reconciliation, but also from the point of view of sending a message about stability to the interna-

tional community.

A major problem at this stage lies in the Government's apparent wish to somehow wield an effective veto right, rather than mere "meaningful" influence. If this bottomline is porous, we could be seeing the beginnings of an accommodation.

Self-evidently, such an arrangement would be unlikely to be met with cheers in Ulundi. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would regard it as confirmation of the steamroller alliance he already detects between the NP and the ANC. As in so many other areas of negotiations, this would then require from the two central players a cost/benefit analysis: crudely put, they would have to decide whether they could afford to live with an embittered Minister Buthelezi.

However, the nub of the current debate revolves around De Klerk's future. He is presiding over a Cabinet showing signs of division, with some members beginning to balk at the speed of the transition and others pressing the accelerator. The ascendancy of one or

other faction could well be determined by the generosity of the offer made to De Klerk himself, who straddles the two. If it amounts to a powerful vice-presidency or a form of "inner Cabinet", the negotiators would be reinforced, and the so-called "hawks" might be persuaded that they could not ask for more. But more suspicious minds in Cabinet will ask the question: what if the NP does not achieve a clear second place in the election? Agreements struck previously could then be rendered sterile.

The ANC's claim to have the greatest support in South Africa is now largely undisputed, but nor is it disputed any longer that the NP — however it metamorphosises — will have to be given a significant role if a new government is to have any chance of administering a stable and prosperous country.

We are fast approaching the time when the details of what constitutes a "significant role" will have to be decided. FW de Klerk has placed the first of his cards on the table.



# Big money, big talk in poll stakes

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(304A) (HHS) (HHS)

**S**OUTH Africa's first all-in election, tentatively scheduled for April 27, will be a mega-bucks affair.

And, judging by the optimistic predictions — sometimes bordering on the incredible — the different political parties and organisations have been making, it seems that South Africans will have to cast multiple votes if the parties are to get what they each hope for.

Indications are that the historic election will be the dirtiest and most acrimonious.

The ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress plan an all-out attack on the National Party's abysmal apartheid record and gross human rights violations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party will be portrayed as a puppet of the Government, and the 1991 "Inkathagate" scandal will not help matters.

The ANC will be haunted by allegations of torture and widespread human rights violations in its camps in exile, despite its two commissions of inquiry into the claims. The albatross around the PAC's neck will be the attacks

by its armed wing on white civilians, even though this is not likely to cause much damage to the organisation since it is difficult to conceive of whites who will be queuing up to cast their votes for it.

The election will be expensive, with most contestants planning to spend liberally.

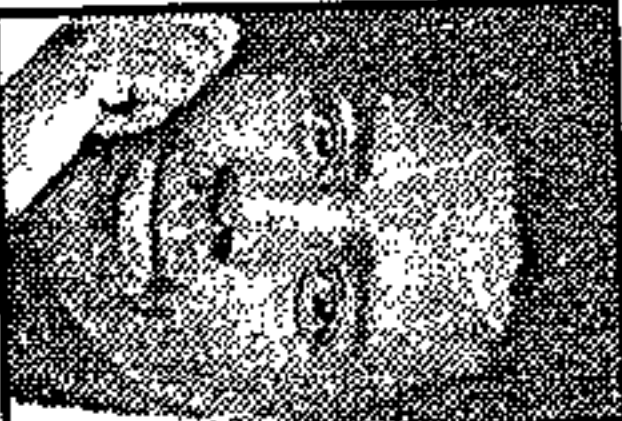
Most ambitious is the PAC, which hopes to raise R190 million for the election, 60 percent of which will be used on the big day itself. Secretary-general Benny Alexander says the PAC will have more than 900 "precinct commanders" working in each township in the country, and will need an estimated 190 000 volunteers to do door-to-door canvassing.

Next in the big-money stakes is the ANC, which hopes to raise between R168 million and R200 million, and the IFP, which plans to amass between R160 million and R170 million, a third of which will be for head office expenses.

As ANC election "general" Popo Molefe explains, the ANC will recruit 180 000 election volunteers as "foot soldiers", and will have one volunteer for every 100 voters.

## ELECTION COUNTDOWN

Most of the parties planning to fight South Africa's first nonracial election predict victory for themselves, reports Political Correspondent KAIZER NYATSUMBA.



The NP, which has a superb election machinery and the advantage of being an incumbent in office, does not need as much money, according to chief information director Piet Coetzer. The party believes R160 million will be enough to launch a nationwide blitz.

More modest is the Democratic Party, which believes R15 million will enable it to poll enough votes to remain a significant player in a government of national unity.

The Azanian People's Organisation, on the other hand, has no illusion that it can raise more than R1 million, and therefore plans to put pressure on the Government to fund it

from the public purse and return to it R2 million confiscated from Black Consciousness organisations when they were banned in October 1977.

Some of the parties make bold predictions about their chances at the polls.

The ANC expects to win the election convincingly, and has not doubt it will poll not less than 60 percent of the vote.

The NP hopes to emerge from the election as "the biggest single party", says Coetzer, and the PAC is convinced it will be the majority party after the election, according to Alexander.

Despite Azapo's huge financial handicap, deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa

says it "would not fear that our people will not support us in an election".

Surprisingly, the IFP is much more realistic than the others, with chief executive officer Joe Matthews revealing that it aims to get about 26 percent of the national vote. However, the IFP will go all out to ensure it wins "sufficient support" in KwaZulu/Natal so that it can form a government alone or in a coalition in the area.

Also realistic is the DP's Ken Andrew, who says his party expects to poll around 16 percent of the vote; 25 percent of the white vote, 40 percent of the coloured and Indian vote, and 10 percent of the black vote.

The Afrikaner Volksunie's Moolman Mentz says it is "too early" for his party to grant interviews about its election plans as it is not yet clear whether the election will be for a unitary state, a federal system or a confederation.

The Conservative Party is opposed to an inclusive general election, and wants a separate state with sovereign powers for whites. □

# PAC agrees to *Sowetan 23/6/93* 'cease hostilities' *(304A)*

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

## ■ BILATERAL TALKS Declaration

signed after intense deliberations:

**A**FTER INTENSE behind-the-scenes deliberations, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday accepted a declaration at the negotiating council which will force the movement to suspend its armed struggle.

Having earlier in the day flatly refused to sign the "Declaration of Cessation-Suspension of Hostilities, Armed Struggle and Violence", the PAC left the council chamber to deliberate with the Government.

Emerging from the meeting later, the PAC's secretary for political affairs, Mr Jaki Seroke, said: "The PAC is willing to accept the declaration of cessation-suspension of hostilities in principle and subscribes to it.

"It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a

mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime."

The PAC and the Government will meet again tomorrow for bilateral talks to:

- Agree on outstanding matters between the two parties; and

- Agree on the implementation of the declaration on cessation and suspension of hostilities.

Seroke also referred to a section of the resolution of conditions that should be created to eliminate violence that was tabled at a session of the council yesterday.

The paragraph refers to a series of phased confidence-building measures which would include the future of all armed formations, their personnel and

arsenals. It is hoped this would lead to the creation of impartial, legitimate and effective security forces with the consequent dissolution of all other armed formations.

Seroke said that the PAC advocated a transitional authority and not a TEC.

The PAC turnaround came after intense behind-the-scenes discussions, brokered by planning committee member and leader of the Transvaal and Natal Indian congresses Mr Pravin Gordhan.

"On behalf of all the parties here I applaud the PAC," the chairman of yesterday's council meeting and the leader of the National Party's delegation, Dr Dawie de Villiers, said after Seroke had spoken.



# AWB claims big recruiting campaign in Eastern Cape

The Argus Bureau

PORT ELIZABETH. — Between 60 and 75 people are joining the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging in the Eastern Cape each week, says the organisation's chief commandant in the region.

The main attraction for new members appears to be the AWB's "highly specialised" self-protection courses.

Commandant Petrus Lombard confirmed that the AWB was actively recruiting throughout the Eastern Cape, including the Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage metropolitan area.

But he denied that the organisation was feeding on "white fears" about living under a black government, although blacks were not allowed to attend the weekend training courses.

"We've had a very good response among English and Afrikaans-speaking people of all ages. Entire families are joining us.

"We are not gearing up for war but giving people enough information and training so they can protect themselves in their own homes and vehicles.

ARG 23/6/93

(30411)

"We will be prepared for war if it does come to that, but we will not start it."

Asked why he thought whites were joining the AWB, he said the organisation's training was "better than any other self-defence training".

Mr Lombard refused to provide the exact AWB membership in the Eastern Cape, saying he wished to "protect our members".

He denied that blacks had been prevented from attending a recruitment meeting in Port Alfred recently.

## NP to act on ANC 'intimidation'

Political Correspondent

THE National Party says it is to present evidence of ANC intimidation of its supporters at its weekend rally in Pietersburg to the Peace Committee.

However, the ANC said that accusations by the NP that black people had been prevented from attending were an excuse for the "low turnout".

The ANC's Northern Transvaal regional executive committee said most

of those who attended were farm-workers who accompanied their employers. (3049)

It said that if there had been intimidation the party should have contacted the regional peace committee, in which the ANC was involved.

NP director of media Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said the ANC's reaction reflected its nervousness about the large turnout. He said 6 000 blacks had attended. CT 23/6/93



# Armed struggle 'confusion' — PAC, government to meet

30447  
#A4 23/6/73

## Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the government will meet tomorrow to thrash out the confused issue of the PAC's on-off agreement to suspend the armed struggle.

The PAC plunged negotiations into confusion last night after initially agreeing to a suspension of its armed struggle and then dismissing the understanding brokered in negotiations.

In what had appeared to be a major boost for negotiations and the peace process, the PAC agreed 'in principle' to suspend its armed struggle during debate at the World Trade Centre on the declaration dealing with the suspension of all armed action.

But later last night the PAC leaders told a Press conference that the organisation had "not unilaterally" suspended the armed struggle but had agreed to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities with the government.

This would be addressed at a meeting with the government tomorrow night.

Many negotiators were astounded

## □ Riddle of 'about-turn' stance

by the PAC's egg dance on a clear rejection of violence.

At a meeting of the Negotiating Council today there will be demands for the PAC to clarify its position.

There may be moves for some action to be taken against the PAC at the Negotiation Council meeting. Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has previously given notice of such a motion. The council can then make recommendations to the Negotiating Forum which meets on Friday.

While the PAC today maintained that it had not gone back on its agreement but wanted details to be worked out, government sources said the agreement unequivocally stated there had to be an immediate suspension of the armed struggle.

Confusion over the PAC's intentions continued today. Ms Patricia de Lille, leader of the PAC delegation at the World Trade Centre, said her organisation had last night taken a "political decision on the cessation of hostilities" — which implies

that the PAC is suspending Apla's armed activities.

But she said the implementation of this decision still had to be agreed to by the PAC and the government.

Government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer and his National Party counterpart Dr Dawie de Villiers responded last night by warning of disciplinary action in the Negotiating Council.

They said in a joint statement: "After this the PAC has no credibility. It makes a mockery of the negotiations process and the 25 other parties when it commits itself publicly to the declaration (on the cessation of armed hostilities) and on its own contradicts it."

The dramatic announcement, which appeared to bring the PAC position on armed struggle in line with that of the ANC, was made in the Negotiating Council and was immediately welcomed by other negotiators.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that PAC negotiators had told him they

were instructed by their president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, to agree to the declaration on the suspension of the armed struggle.

Late last night many negotiators, who had originally welcomed the PAC move, were totally confused by developments, with some speculating that the PAC might have been trying to buy time to sell the agreement to its grassroots support.

The apparent breakthrough came late yesterday afternoon after the PAC, the government and negotiations planning committee member Mr Pravin Gordhan had met behind closed doors.

PAC negotiator Mr Jaki Seroke emerged to tell the 26-party Negotiating Council: "The PAC is willing to accept the Declaration on Cessation of Hostilities in principle and subscribes to it."

"It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and the regime."

But Mr Seroke later told a Press conference that the PAC remained "committed to the armed struggle and is working towards a mutual cessation of hostilities".

Star 2816193  
**NP claims ANC intimidation**

The National Party is to lodge a complaint of intimidation against the ANC with the National Peace Committee. The NP claims the ANC prevented people from attending the NP rally at Pietersburg on Saturday. — Sapa. (304A)



Star 23 16 198  
**F W appoints 13th deputy**

President de Klerk has appointed his 13th deputy minister since taking office by calling on Caledon MP Lambert Fick to replace the retiring Johan Scheepers. Fick becomes the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Affairs.  
— Political Correspondent.

(304 A)

# Row erupts on eve of municipal by-election

By Cyril Madlala

With only a few hours to go to the Johannesburg municipal by-election in Malvern/Kensington, a bitter row over canvassing tactics erupted between Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker and independent candidate Barry Dunne.

At the centre of the storm are four letters published in a local newspaper, all backing Dunne to take over from Richard Macarthur (National Party) who has emigrated to Germany. Bekker's wife, Gerda, is contesting today's election with

Dunne and Tony Wasserman (NP) in what could be an important test of white support for the IFP.

Yesterday, a pamphlet signed by Bekker was distributed door-to-door in the area. He said this was a bid to "level the playing field" after the Bedfordview and Edenvale News published readers' letters supporting Dunne.

He said the appearance of the letters "was a predetermined, orchestrated and malicious attempt" to boost the image of Dunne to the prejudice of other candidates.

Dunne dismissed the pamphlets as "typical political propaganda claptrap" which did not worry him as he had nothing to

prove to the voters.

"They know my character and my record, and I have nothing to gain out of this election but a humble seat in the city council," he said. (2044)

But Bekker insisted that the letters, submitted by individual ratepayers, created the impression that they expressed the viewpoint of the ratepayers' association.

In addition, at least one letter was not even drafted by the person who submitted it, he claimed, but he refused to identify the signatory.

"We are going to win tomorrow, and it is going to be the most historic day in South Africa because it is the IFP's first participation in an all-white

election," said Bekker.

The result would prove that, contrary to opinion polls, the IFP was not being marginalised, he said.

Dunne said he had had no influence on the writing of the letters and no say in the running of the newspaper that carried them.

"I am astounded by Bekker's interference. It is obvious that Mrs Bekker should have addressed the articles, and it only proves how politics and politicians want to dictate the way we live," Dunne said.

Gerda Bekker was not available for comment.

● The polling station at the Malvern Primary School is open from 7 am to 9 pm.

Star 23/6/93



# Nats stay out of Springs poll

Star 23/6/93

By Rodney Victor

The NE has failed to respond to a challenge from the CP to field a candidate in the coming municipal by-election in Geduld, Springs.

Nominations closed yesterday with three candidates for the July 14 by-election. They are local auditor Boet White, representing the CP; Petro Recchia, a Child Welfare social worker who is standing as an independent; and Delia de Jager, wife of last year's Springs mayor, who is standing as an "independent conservative".

Gert Parsons, Springs management committee chairman and leader of the majority CP caucus in the town, said yesterday that the absence of

an NP candidate was symptomatic of the party's fear of the electorate. (304A)

"They've lost an incredible amount of support, and I'm sure they wouldn't have got 10 per cent of the vote in Geduld — that's why they decided to stay out.

"They've already stopped holding elections at provincial and national levels, and we believe that during the short session of Parliament in September they're going to pass legislation to do away with municipal elections, and appoint their own councils instead.

"This means there will be councillors in place with no voters. This is something ratepayers can't accept," Parsons said.

# SA's cultural mosaic faces ethnic realities

SA 23/6/93

304A

IT IS unfortunate that apartheid has so poisoned the issue of ethnicity that we cannot debate it rationally. For the issue is important, as the upsurge of ethnic conflicts around the world, particularly in Bosnia and the former Soviet Union, so vividly illustrates.



Allister Sparks

There is a tendency among liberals, socialists and other rationalists to downplay and even ignore ethnicity. For them it is synonymous with apartheid, which makes any idea of accommodating it unthinkable. And, as people with their philosophical roots in the 18th century Enlightenment, they regard ethnic nationalism as something primitive, a throwback to the bigotry, ignorance, intolerance and other dark passions of the pre-scientific age which one must not make concessions to, but rather hope that education and reason will eventually eliminate.

Socialists in particular have eschewed ethnicity. Marxism, as a theory, is internationalist. The early Bolsheviks saw ethnicity as a myth created by capital to keep the workers of the world divided. "Not only does the proletariat refuse to defend the national development of every nation," wrote Lenin, "but, on the contrary, it

warns the masses against these illusions... it welcomes every kind of assimilation of nations."

So nationalism and ethnic pride became dirty words in the communist lexicon, sentiments to be stamped out in the interests of proletarian universalism.

Irina Filatova, the Russian historian now teaching at the University of Durban-Westville, tells of a driver from the Ukraine who was refused membership of the Soviet Communist Party because when filling in his application form he wrote "Ukrainian" as his nationality and "Russian" as his mother tongue.

In two and is ripping Yugoslavia into a kind of KwaZulu archipelago.

Indeed everywhere it was suppressed, ethnicity is resurging with a new fanaticism. Which calls to mind a warning by the Oxford philosopher, Sir Isaiah Berlin, who likens ethnicity to a twig on a branch. "Bend the twig too far," Berlin says, "and it will lash back at you."

History is full of examples of such lashing back by ethnic groups who felt their culture was being swamped or humiliated. The French, after their revolution, dominated western Europe politically, culturally and militarily. The humiliated and defeated Germans, particularly the economically backward East Prussians, bullied by French officials imported by Frederick the Great, lashed back with a surge of national pride that found its voice in a new philosophy of Romanticism which countered the universalism of the French Enlightenment with a fierce glorification of individual cultures.

Johan Gottfried Herder developed the concept of the *Volksgeist*, or the spirit of the German people, and pleaded for cultural and spiritual autonomy. Others, like Johan Fichte who followed him, turned it into an embittered and aggressive nationalist self-assertion.

A century and a half later, after Germany had suffered another humiliation at Versailles, Hitler was to revive these ideas and pervert them to commit one of the greatest crimes against humanity that the world has seen.

So let us in South Africa be warned. We may not like ethnicity, but it is no less real for that. We may agree that the kind of autonomous *Boerestaat* that the right-wing Afrikaners want is a practical impossibility, since there is no part of the country with a white, let alone an Afrikaner, majority and it is unthinkable that they should be given a part of the country where people of colour will be disenfranchised and discriminated against.

But that still does not remove the ethnic factor from our society. The lack of an Afrikaner Quebec makes the issue harder, not easier, to deal with.

Nor is Afrikaner nationalism the only ethnic twig to beware of. Apartheid may have discredited any overt assertion of tribal identity by black South Africans for the immediate future, but that may change with time.

We are fortunate that with the exception of Inkatha our major black political organisations are not rooted in tribal constituencies. The ANC was founded in 1912 as an explicitly pan-tribal movement to mobilise all African people against the Land Act, and it has remained so ever since. The same goes for its main rivals, the PAC and the Black Consciousness movement, both of which broke away from the ANC and, like it, have no specific tribal identity.

That means the leaders of these parties cannot issue atavistic tribal calls to mobilise their constituencies, as happens in so many other African countries. If Nelson Mandela were to beat a Xhosa tribal drum he would alienate all the ANC's non-Xhosa supporters and shrink the movement's support base from a national to a regional level. He could not then aspire to winning a national majority.

This is a powerful disincentive to politics developing along ethnic lines in South Africa. There is no numerically dominant ethnic group (the Zulus, who are the biggest tribe, are only one-fifth of the total population), which means no ethnically based party can win national power. Even the National Party, the mother of all ethnic parties, has recognised this truth and is frantically trying to go multiracial.

Yet this is still not a guarantee that ethnicity will not rear its destructive head. It is precisely the despair at seeing no prospect of ever gaining power, at feeling politically impotent and therefore culturally vulnerable, that causes ethnic and religious minorities to lash back like bent twigs.

The Basques and Catalans of Spain, the Nagas and Sikhs of India, the Tamils of Sri Lanka, the Catholics of Northern Ireland, and the Palestinians of the Middle East all fall into this category.

As we set about trying to build the new, non-racial South Africa let us take note of this recurring human phenomenon. Let us not bend any ethnic twigs. Non-racialism must not be universalist. It must respect and accommodate cultural differences, not seek to eradicate them. Our aim must be to have a cultural mosaic, not a melting pot. □



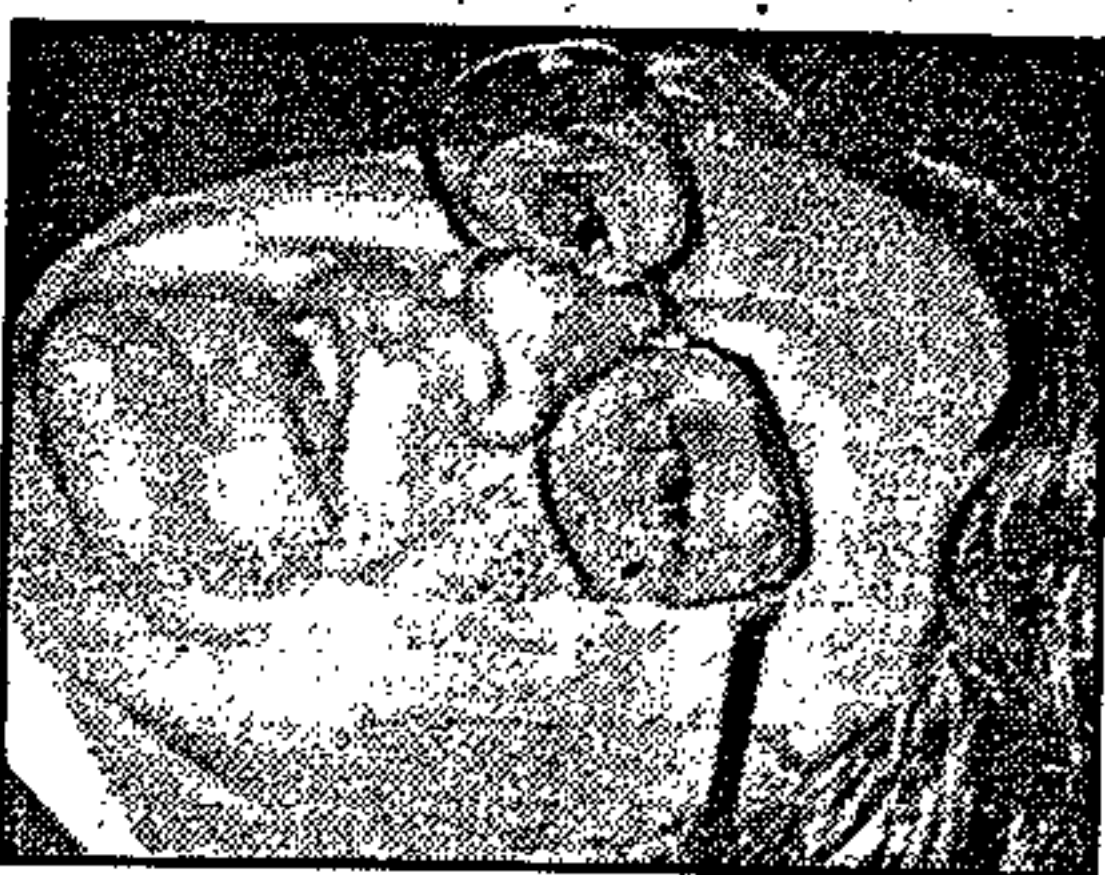
# Tools of the trade could lead to jail

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Suspects found in possession of tools that could be used to break into cars and houses could be jailed for up to three years in terms of the General Law Third Amendment Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee.

The Bill has 82 clauses which contain a variety of amendments, deletions and rectifications to laws, and fill in legal gaps "which were disclosed primarily in the legal practice", a memorandum on the Bill said.

Changes to the Criminal Procedure Act of 1977 give peace officers the power to arrest without a warrant people they find in possession of implements for breaking into vehicles, if the suspects cannot account for the tools. The Bill makes punishable



Coetsee . . . Bill to close legal loopholes.

the possession of tools that can be used for housebreaking and breaking into vehicles.

Such people can be liable to a fine or be jailed for up to three years.

An amendment to the Road Traffic Act of 1989 provides that for the foreseeable future, police taking breath specimens from suspected drunken motorists also have

to take a specimen of blood at the same time.

The Bill also grapples with the question of what sex a person is who has undergone a sex change operation.

Legislation dating back to 1974 allowed for people who had undergone sex change operations to have their sex altered on their birth certificate. However, a subsequent court case held that a person's sex could not be altered medically. The Births and Deaths Registration Act of 1992 therefore said people could not change their legal sex.

However, some people had already started the process of changing their sex when the 1992 law went through.

A clause in the General Law Third Amendment Bill says a person who "was in the process of undergoing a change of sex" when the 1992 law went through can now apply for the sex description on his or her birth certificate to be altered.

## DP agrees to write-off of loans

CAPE TOWN — Loans made to black local authorities totalling R3 billion over 14 years were being written off in terms of the Finance Bill, the Democratic Party's Pinelands MP, Jasper Walsh, said in Parliament yesterday. Speaking during the second reading debate on the Bill, he said although it was sad to have to write off such a large sum the DP supported the Bill in the interests of progress. The scrapping of the loans ended an experiment based on the failed ideology of apartheid which had been ill-conceived, badly managed and exorbitantly expensive to the taxpayer, Walsh said. — Sapa.

## Committee to probe 'dock briefs'

CAPE TOWN — A five-member committee has been appointed to advise Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee on the system of "dock briefs", the Justice Ministry said in a statement yesterday. A "dock brief" occurs when the court appoints an ad hoc legal representative to a person in need of legal aid. The brief is then taken directly from the accused by an attorney or an advocate for a reasonably low maximum fee which is paid by the State. — Sapa.

## MP 'tried to delay printing'

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party MP Geoff Engel had tried to stop the printing of the Income Tax Bill to accommodate amendments which he had proposed, Deputy Finance Minister Dr Theo Alant said in Parliament yesterday. Replying to the first reading debate on the Bill, he said Engel, the Bezuidehout MP, had approached the Minister of Finance with certain amendments dealing with unbundling. He was asked to make written representations. Alant said Engel then went to the parliamentary printers and insisted that the printing of the Bill be delayed. "This was an attempt to promote his own private consultancy work through Parliament." Engel repeatedly interjected that Alant's accusation was untrue. — Sapa.



## NEWS FEATURE *Economic woes will be main challenge of a continent plagued by tensions*

By Joe Latakomo  
Sowetan Africa News Service

# OAU's farewell to apartheid issue

■ UNIFYING FACTOR *Biggest single issue*

*for organisation for last 30 years:* 3049

**T**WO issues will top the agenda of the Organisation of African Unity's conference in Cairo this week and the heads-of-state summit next week.

White minority rule in South Africa, which has been the single biggest issue for 30 years, and Africa's economic woes, will again be put in the spotlight.

This could be the last time the apartheid issue is a major concern, however. If the negotiations in South Africa remain on track it is likely that some form of democratic representation will be in place by next year's OAU summit and apartheid will cease to be the clarion call it has for so long been for African states.

Indeed, the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation Movements of Africa, which is a specialised OAU agency set up to provide financial and military aid to nationalist movements in dependent countries, may have exhausted its mandate.

The disappearance of apartheid as an issue will also mean its disappearance as the major (some say the only) unifying factor in the OAU. For this year, however, it will still be there, albeit in a fast-fading form.

Last month the OAU celebrated its 30th anniversary and African leaders are united in the view that there is little to show for those years of endeavour. The continent is still plagued by wars, political and religious tensions and even the virtual political disintegration of some African states such as Zaire and Angola.

Outgoing OAU chairman Abdou Diouf of Senegal said recently that Africa had "an urgent need to have the means to overcome not only the disputes between states but also internal conflicts".

The OAU has largely been seen as a toothless watchdog. But it was the cau-

colonial borders. If this were not so, there would have been far more border disputes than there have been. One dispute, the issue of Western Sahara, almost led to the break-up of the OAU.

In 1982, the 19th heads of state summit, which was to have been held in Tripoli, Libya, failed to materialise because 19 states boycotted the proceedings over the admission to membership of the SADR, the Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic (Western Sahara). Morocco terminated its membership of the OAU in protest and the issue has still not been resolved.

### Newest member

So far, the SADR has refrained, at the request of certain African states, from taking its seat in the OAU. It will be interesting to see whether the SADR will now demand to take its seat following the acceptance last month of Eritrea as the newest member of the OAU after successfully seceding from Ethiopia.

South Africa has been pressing for some form of recognition by the OAU. Just before last year's summit in Dakar, Senegal, Foreign Minister Pik Botha appeared on the scene to lobby for re-acceptance of South Africa into the community of African nations. His efforts were thwarted and the OAU called

for continued sanctions against South Africa. This year, Botha appeared in Cairo and once more seemed to be lobbying for some reward for its efforts at democratisation.

But most African countries, despite recognition of the progress made—and in some cases normalising relations—do not believe the time has come for such a reward. In fact, both the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress have opposed any moves towards recognition of the Pretoria government.

Looking beyond the liberation struggle it has supported for so long, the Liberation Committee has recommended that the ANC and PAC be given funds for voter education projects.

ANC representative Stanley Mabizela said at the weekend: "We asked the OAU to come out and assist us just as they assisted Zimbabwe and Namibia when it came to voting because our people don't know how to vote and need education."

The committee also recommended an



Pik Botha ... lobbied for South Africa.

extension of the mandate of the OAU observer mission in South Africa until elections are held. Both the PAC and ANC are represented at the OAU and it is expected that the presidents of the two organisations, Clarence Makwetu and Nelson Mandela, will attend the summit next week.

It is the economic decline in Africa, however, that will take up most of the deliberations. The conference is expected to renew the call African countries have been making since 1985 for a special conference of creditors and bor-

rowers to seek a solution to the problem of the continent's heavy debt.

According to the African Development Bank, OAU members now have foreign debts of 250-billion US dollars and interest and repayments use up more than 30 percent of export earnings. Interventions by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have done little to ease the difficulty and some states have found their prescriptions politically unacceptable.

At a recent conference of African Economic Ministers on ways to stem the growing poverty and economic decline, the executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa said that the commission's report had painted a picture of "unmitigated grimness" and added that the World Bank and IMF programmes were taking too long to reverse the decline.

The marginalisation of Africa in world economic terms has meant that it will have to look inward, and develop markets and economic co-operation policies that will transcend existing barriers. African countries are now finding that even the metropolises to which they directed their exports are now closing up—particularly as Europe goes forward towards implementation of the Maastricht Treaty.

The democratisation that has swept Africa in recent years may give African leaders the legitimacy to deal constructively and effectively with the problems that beset Africa. With some form of accountability, these leaders know that unless they deliver, voters will judge them harshly. Given this, and also a recognition by the IMF and World Bank that there may be some truth in the criticisms of their prescriptions, the long-sought conference of creditors and African debtors may yet materialise.

tion in its founding principles that has made the organisation so toothless, particularly Article III of the OAU charter, which obliges member states to respect the sovereignty of member states and not to interfere in their internal affairs.

This principle has seen the OAU turning a blind eye to blatant human rights abuses, flourishing dictatorships, military coups which have put illegitimate governments in place and the subversion of democracy.

In partial response to this, secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim has drawn up a plan to deal with conflicts. The plan was due to be tabled at Monday's first Council of Ministers meeting and had gained much support.

Salim has said that Africa does not have the resources to establish a mechanism for resolving conflicts such as those in Liberia, Somalia, Angola and Zaire, which has virtually ceased to exist as a formal country, with the whole political and security infrastructure having collapsed.

Salim's plan also refers to the rise of Islamic fundamentalism. Last Friday, seven people were killed and 20 injured when a bomb exploded in a Cairo slum.

The OAU has been consistently successful, however, in maintaining the principle of recognising



# Murder case security net

By Susan Smuts

The Rand Supreme Court in Johannesburg is the focus of international attention today as the trial of Chris Hani's alleged killers begins.

Stringent security measures — including weapons searches — were in place this morning before the appearance of the right-wing trio. Conservative Party representative to the now-disbanded President's Council, Clive Derby-Lewis, his wife Gaye, and alleged hitman Janusz Walusz are standing trial for the murder of the SA Communist Party chief outside his Dawn Park, Boksburg, home on April 10.

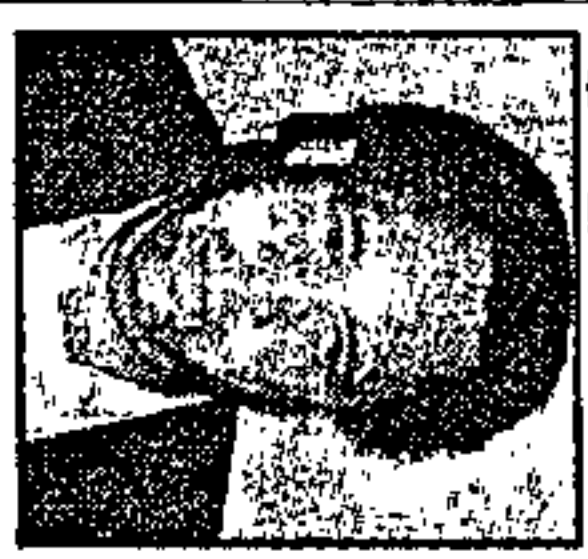
Organisations to secure the limited number of courtroom seats for the media. Family, friends and followers of the slain leader will have to jostle with those of the accused for seats in the public gallery. Those who do not find a seat will be asked to leave the building.

## Conspiring

The trio have been charged with murdering Hani, conspiring to murder eight others, and illegally possessing arms and ammunition. They have all pleaded not guilty.

Defence counsel Eben Jordaan said last night he would ask for a postponement. "We have not had nearly enough time to prepare the case. No case is ever brought to court so quickly. Attempts are still being made to raise money for the defence."

THE  
Chris Hani



The State, which will be represented by Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and State advocate Gerrit Nel, intends opposing any postponement. The charge sheet refers to Hani, known to millions as Chris, "Martin" Thembisile, as the Hani. Gaye Derby-Lewis is referred to as Gabrielle Mavourna Derby-Lewis.

Events which filled newspapers for weeks have been summarised in three pages of "substantial fact" which form the State's case. The State will try to prove to Judge President C F Elloff that Walusz shot Hani dead after plotting the murder with the Derby-Lewis. According to the charge sheet, Gaye Derby-Lewis asked former Citizen reporter Arthur Kemp to provide her with the addresses of prominent people, who allegedly appeared on a hit list. Clive Derby-Lewis allegedly obtained the 9 mm pistol used in the murder, and

hit it with a silencer.

Walusz was arrested soon after Hani's murder. Two guns were found in his car, including a pistol which had been stolen from SA Air Force headquarters in April 1990, the charge sheet says. The State alleges ballistic evidence proves this pistol was used in the murder.

- Clive Derby-Lewis was detained on April 17 and his wife on April 23.
- The alleged hit list of people targeted for assassination included: Hani, ANC president Nelson Mandela, SACP chairman Joe Slovo, Foreign Affairs Minister P. W. Botha, Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, Sunday Times editor Kent Owen, SACP's Mac Maharaj, and reporters Tim du Plessis and Karin Brynard.
- Tracked dogs sniff courtroom for surprises — Page 3

## Who's in the courtroom

- The accused: Clive John Derby-Lewis (57) and Gabrielle Mavourna (Gaye) Derby-Lewis (54), both of Krugersdorp, and Janusz Jacob Walusz (38) of Pretoria.
- The deceased: Martin Thembisile (Chris) Hani.
- The judge: Judge President Mr Justice C F Elloff.
- The defence: Eben Jordaan.
- The prosecution: Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres, SC, assisted by State advocate Gerrit Nel.
- The charges: Murder, conspiracy to commit murder, illegal possession of arms and ammunition.



# Big 2 may 'bury the hatchet'

AKG 24/6/93

## Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG.** — The marriage of Nelson Mandela and Man-  
gathu Buthelezi summit yesterday took a significant step towards easing tensions between the ANC and IFP — but deadlocked on the critical issue of the setting of an election date.

The church-brokered meeting at the Kempton Park Conference Centre ended after nearly nine-and-a-half hours of deliberations with the leaders agreeing to share joint platforms and other steps to "bury the past and look to the future".

Mr Mandela said afterwards they had "made a great deal of progress" in the talks and the meeting itself would send out a positive signal to supporters.

But he acknowledged that "there remain some possible sticking points which will have to be resolved" and hoped negotiations would remove IFP concerns.

Dr Buthelezi said the discussions had been held in a good spirit and although he did not think it was "a magic wand that will make violence vanish", it would make a "major contribution".

But it was clear afterwards that the meeting was unlikely to contribute much towards immediate progress in negotiations — and



**LEADERS MEET:** ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi at yesterday's meeting.

could leave the ANC president largely empty-handed for his meeting with United States President Bill Clinton early next month.

Chief Buthelezi had dug in his heels on the election date — tentatively set in negotiations for April 27 next year and one of the conditions to the lifting of remaining US economic and trade sanctions.

The IFP president insisted that agreement first be reached in negotiations on principles that would be part of a new constitution before the KwaZulu government and IFP would get on board.

"We did not achieve the break-

through we hoped for," a tired-looking Mr Mandela told the Press conference.

However, the leaders did make concrete agreements on steps to ease violence between the organisations — including a commitment to "share joint platforms in strife-torn areas to bring about peace."

They also announced in a joint statement that they would "conduct joint symbolic visits to persons and places which are of great significance to our respective organisations."

Joint mass rallies, marches and meetings of "local and regional

structures" would also be held.

There was also agreement that free political activity should be allowed in all areas. "We recognise that if we are to set an example of reconciliation for our people, we must make it clear that both the ANC and IFP support free political activity and reject the concept of no-go areas," they said in the statement.

The ANC has campaigned for free political activity in KwaZulu, but last night Chief Buthelezi emphasised that he had never personally forbidden a gathering by any organisation in the territory.

They reiterated agreement that there should be a prohibition on the carrying of dangerous weapons to political meetings and rallies.

In another step likely to improve relations they committed themselves to take active steps to ensure agreements were implemented at all levels of support.

The organisations' negotiators would also establish constructive bilateral relations in an effort to resolve "constitutional differences".

Chief Buthelezi was upbeat about the effect of the meeting on negotiations, saying "they should go much better than up to now". But ANC sources said that while the agreements would improve relations between the organisations' negotiators, immediate hopes for progress with IFP support had been dashed.



# Hope' after leaders meet



SUMMIT ... ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Buthelezi shake hands at a summit yesterday.

Picture: AP

Political Correspondent  
JOHANNESBURG. — A

gruelling nine-hour meeting between ANC leader Mr. Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday failed to produce an agreement on a date for South Africa's first democratic elections.

But the hugely significant and long-awaited summit, although "grim" and "stormy" at times according to some sources, had "brought hope to this land", the head of the Methodist Church, Bishop Stanley Magoba, said last night. The two leaders had been "accepting and gracious towards one another" at the meeting in Kempton Park, he said.

Chief Buthelezi and Mr. Mandela buried the hatchet and pledged themselves to peace.

## Still no date for election

also at grassroots level, and agreed on the necessity of free political activity throughout the country.

They will hold joint rallies in violence-torn areas and together exhort their followers to lay down arms.

Following the meeting, the ANC and IFP agreed on each others' right to exist, while they also accepted the need for a meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord to be convened as soon as possible.

They still differ substantially on the issue of the election and the carrying of so-called tradi-

tional weapons at Inkatha rallies.

A positive Mr. Mandela said after the meeting that although there had been several sticking points, "the very fact of our meeting today is an achievement in itself because when you discuss the important issues — and even if there is not agreement — after such discussions you cannot be the same".

Also yesterday at the World Trade Centre, the 26-party Negotiating Council announced that tomorrow's scheduled meeting of the expanded Negotiating Forum to finalise an election date had been postponed to July 2.

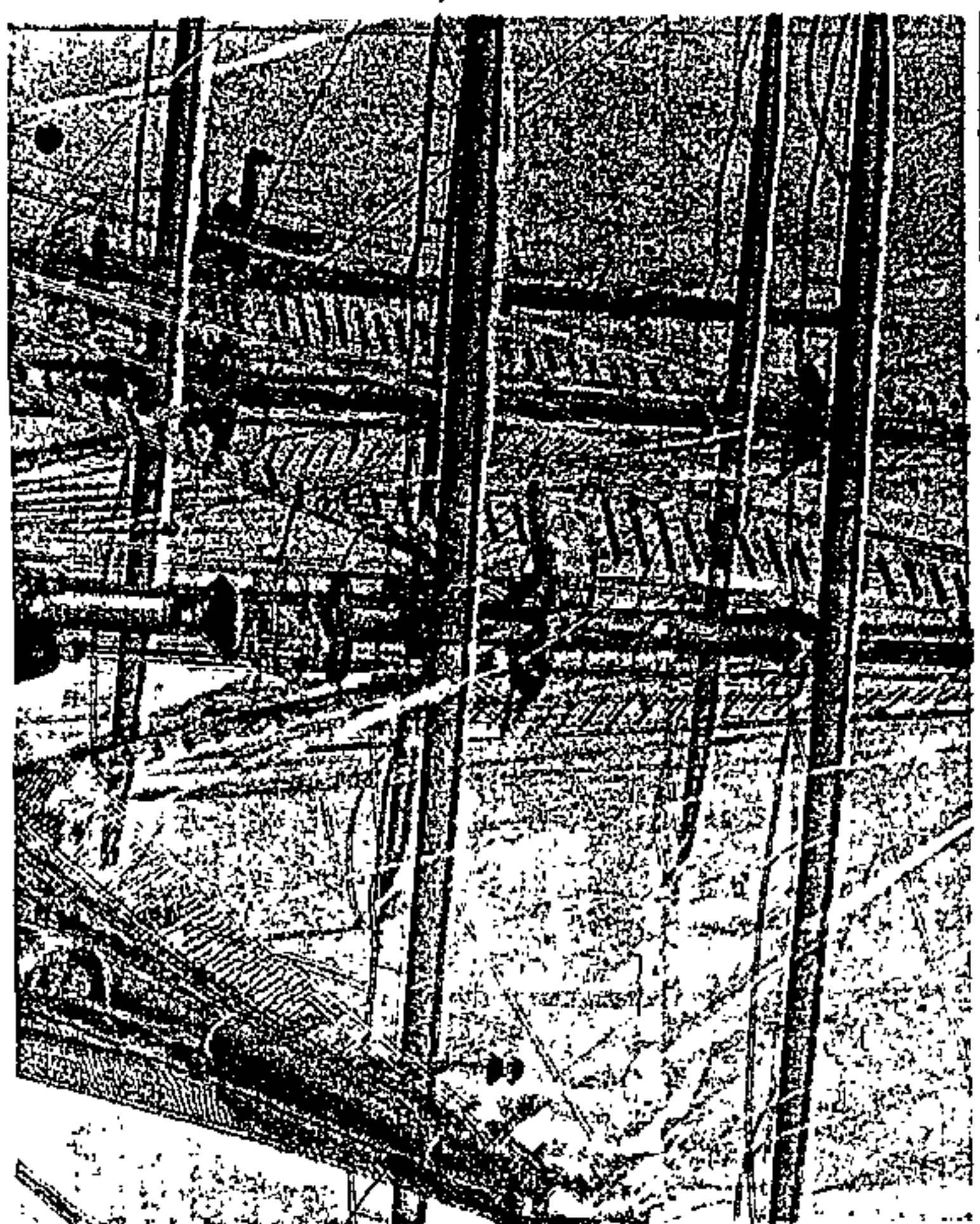
The setback comes shortly before President F. W. de Klerk and Mr. Mandela's crucial meeting next weekend with President Bill Clinton which has been geared towards the lifting of sanctions and promoting investment in South Africa.

Both the government and the ANC were adamant yesterday that the finalisation of an election date and an agreement on a Transitional Executive Council — the key triggers for the lifting of remaining sanctions — should be settled by tomorrow.

But by late last night negotiators at Kempton Park were forced to delay the meeting of the Negotiating Forum until next Friday and Chief Buthelezi declared that the setting of a date was "a recipe for disaster".

Interviewed on SATV's Agenda programme, Chief Buthelezi said the "hysteria" about the election date among negotiators and the international community was reminiscent of the Angola situation. "We cannot do it now," he bluntly declared.

## DIAS VOYAGE TRACED



TALL SHIP ... The 55-year-old Portuguese square rigger, Sagres, at anchor in Table Bay last night preparing to berth at the Waterfront today. The vessel is on a 30 000 mile voyage celebrating the 450th anniversary of Bartholomew Diaz's voyage to the "Cape of Storms". Picture: BENNY GOOL.

# Soros to fund trip for open society directors

B1 Day 24/6/93 204A

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — Currency speculator and billionaire George Soros is to fund a visit to Eastern Europe later this year by the 10 directors of the board of the recently formed Open Society Foundation of SA.

The society's executive director, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Mike Savage, said yesterday that board members would visit Hungary, Poland, Rumania and the former East Germany to examine projects undertaken by other open society foundations established by Soros.

The cost of the visit would not be included in the \$15m, three-year grant made by Soros for SA's Open Society Foundation. Board members include chairman Van Zyl Slabbert, Fakile Bam, Alex Boraine, Anthony Heard, Rhoda Kadalie, Mamphela Ramphela, Khehle Shubane, Peter Sullivan and Helen Zille.

Savage, a sociologist, is to take a two-year sabbatical from July 1 in order to take executive control of the foundation. He said he wished to contribute to the creation of an open and democratic society, the emergence of which was not a foregone conclusion.

"Democracy and openness are fragile in their growth and it is important that they be nurtured in their early days," he said.

While scores of applications for financial assistance had been received by the foundation, none had been approved and specific projects had not been identified, Savage said. Emphasis would be given to education and promotion of transparency and accountability in government and civil society.

Projects would have to fall within the ambit of the society's mission statement which declared that the society was committed to promoting the values, institutions and practices of an open, civil and democratic society.

The foundation supported the promotion and protection of human rights and civil liberties; strengthening of a vigorous and autonomous civil society; political pluralism; and an education system which strengthened and supported these values.

Projects that impacted on institution-building would be supported and would not include construction projects, charities, conferences and institutional research. Nor would the society support party-political initiatives, inventions or private profit-making ventures, short-term emergency relief and scholarships and bursaries.



# Hani trial witnesses threatened

B1 Day 24/6/93

SUSAN RUSSELL

TWO State witnesses in the trial of the three right-wingers accused of murdering former SACP head Chris Hani had received death threats, Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau SC told the Rand Supreme Court yesterday. (S) (304A)

He was opposing an application for postponement of the trial by counsel for Polish immigrant Janusz Walus, former CP MP Clive Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye.

Von Lieres said two other witnesses had been threatened with dismissal and the pressure on State witnesses increased with the lapse of time. The two witnesses threatened with death were under 24-hour police protection.

Transvaal Judge President C F Eloff allowed the defence a postponement. He said the public interest had to be recognised, but an accused person was entitled to every reasonable opportunity to prepare

his defence. He adjourned the case to July 30, when procedural aspects would be dealt with. The trial would proceed on October 4.

Walus and the Derby-Lewises have been charged with murdering Hani outside his Boksburg home on April 10 and conspiring to murder several other prominent figures, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, Judge Richard Goldstone and Foreign Minister Pik Botha. They have also been charged with the unlawful possession of a firearm and ammunition.

The atmosphere in the public gallery was tense during yesterday's proceedings. SACP chairman Joe Slovo, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and senior SACP members sat shoulder-to-shoulder with Derby-Lewis supporters.

Counsel P Coetsee SC for Walus and

□ To Page 2

## Hani

B1 Day 24/6/93

□ From Page 1

Eben Jordaan for the couple told the court their clients had not been given sufficient time to prepare their defence. There had also been difficulty in obtaining funds to pay for the defence. (S) (304A)

Opposing the application, Von Lieres said it was in the national interest and a matter of public policy that the case be disposed of expeditiously. This, he said, would clearly signal the attitude of the

courts in dealing with this sort of case.

He submitted that a speedy conclusion of the matter would also stop media speculation about a right-wing conspiracy prejudicial to the accused.

He said security arrangements at the trial were also costing the taxpayer a great deal of money, with yesterday's alone costing R18 000.

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, June 24 1993

## Mangope attempts to solve education crisis

STEPHEN COPLAN

STUDENTS from Setlogelo Technikon in Bophuthatswana met President Lucas Mangope yesterday in an attempt to resume lessons, which were disrupted last month and had not been attended since.

In a separate development, it was decided at an emergency council meeting yesterday that the University of Bophuthatswana would be closed indefinitely pending the outcome of a judicial inquiry into student unrest, Sapa reported.

The meeting in Mmabatho between Setlogelo students and Mangope was disrupted by the arrest of an SRC member for alleged possession of an SA Congress of Students (Sasco) publication, Sasco spokesman Mokgomoiso Mogodiri said.

Bophuthatswana government spokesman Alwyn Viljoen said the meeting was "a bit of a fiasco" as some students had not brought student cards to get in. The meeting was intended to reassure students and technikon management that the government would intervene to stabilise education, Viljoen said.

Another meeting was planned for July 7, but it was still unclear whether exams would be held or the academic year would be written off.

Bophuthatswana's highest budget allocation was to education, and the government was anxious to get education back on track, Viljoen said.

He claimed there was no education crisis in Bophuthatswana.

Mogodiri said the government was distorting the facts as all tertiary institutions had closed before the current holiday break. Exams had been boycotted.

Mangope had suggested at the meeting that SRC members were responsible for the disruptions on campuses and their terms of office should be restricted to three months, Mogodiri said.

Viljoen denied claims that police were present on campuses. However, Mogodiri said access to campuses was being restricted. There was a low-profile police presence at Setlogelo.

## Soweto services at breakdown point

SERVICES in Soweto are likely to come to a halt within two weeks unless the rent and service boycott is ended by the beginning of July.

Yesterday's meeting of the Greater Soweto Crisis Committee failed to reach agreement on ending the rent boycott. It will meet again next week.

Metropolitan Chamber CE Vic Milne said yesterday the meeting had gone "quite well", but a solution had to be found soon.

Soweto's financial position was desperate, he said.

Soweto's service deficit might be as high as R1,2bn, and payment levels were less than 5%.

He said parties were close to reaching consensus on tariffs, the only sticking point.

Another obstacle was the failure of the ANC to appear at the meeting.

The organisation was consulting the civics on how best it could participate in the Metropolitan Chamber and the committee.

The chamber recently voted to allow political parties to take part as full chamber members.

The ANC also wants the issue of boycotts and service provision discussed in merged transitional executive committees — the organs it envisages will replace present

GAVIN DU VENAGE

municipal structures and which it is hoping to have in place this year.

However, Soweto may have less than two weeks to come up with additional revenue to pay contractors and salaried staff, said Milne.

If this did not happen even basic services would break down and that could lead to further unrest in the township, which could spill over into Johannesburg.

Milne said he was expecting the ANC to take part in solving the Soweto issue next week. Its support was crucial to implementing an agreement and encouraging people to resume paying.

Plans to end the seven-year boycott are now in their 12th draft, and talks have been going on for at least a year. On several occasions the committee has come close to a settlement.

Last year settlement was put on hold while the people involved sought wider consultation on how to resolve the issue.

Earlier this year the Johannesburg City Council said it would take over service provision on an agency basis. However, it would do so only once the boycott had ended. The plan was delayed to bring in various political groups to legitimise it.

## F W set to lobby Clinton on G-7

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk is expected to discuss with US President Bill Clinton the role play in stimulating economic growth and development in southern Africa when they meet in Philadelphia on the eve of the G-7 summit in Tokyo.

De Klerk's visit to the US, from next Wednesday to Sunday, will include talks with World Bank president Lewis Preston and IMF MD Michel Camdessus.

De Klerk will visit Austria on Monday and Tuesday en route to the US where he and ANC president will jointly receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal.

The Foreign Affairs Department said in a statement yesterday De Klerk would meet Austrian President Thomas Klestil, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Foreign Minister Alois Mock during the two-day working visit.

He will also address an Austrian parliamentary group and prominent business leaders.

De Klerk and Mandela were nominated for the Philadelphia Liberty Medal by an international commission for their contribution to political change in SA.

Clinton is expected to present the award to the two leaders in Philadelphia next Sunday, July 4 — Independence Day in the US. — Sapa.



## Parliament may sit twice before election

CAPE TOWN — Parliament could hold another one, two, three or even more short sessions before next year's April elections, government said yesterday.

But the most likely scenario was two short sessions after Parliament wrapped up its business and went into recess today.

Government spokesman Dave Steward said the Cabinet had decided one session would be held from September 13-24 to deal primarily with legislation related to the constitutional process. A second short session at the end of October was being contemplated to adopt a transitional constitution, he said. "It is not envisaged that Parliament will meet again in the new year before the proposed election."

B/Daw 24/6/93  
Political Staff

He said Parliament could be reconvened at any other point if "problems or unforeseen developments" necessitated this.

Steward said the incorporation of the independent homelands into SA would be "part of the general package of constitutional legislation that will presumably be dealt with by September".

Asked whether Parliament would merely serve as a rubber stamp for draft legislation emerging from the multiparty process, Steward emphasised that Parliament remained sovereign and could accordingly make changes to proposals drafted at the multiparty talks. (304A)

# Negotiating forum setback

THE negotiating forum, scheduled to meet tomorrow, has been postponed for a second time this month.

Instead, it will meet on Friday July 2, with a commitment from all parties to make sufficient progress so that the forum can reach firm decisions on issues like an election date and the process of writing a final constitution. (412) (304A)

It is understood that the decision to postpone the forum's meeting results from ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi failing to agree on setting an election date.

Also at multiparty talks yesterday, the PAC refused to clarify its position on sus-

B/Sey  
BILLY PADDOCK

pending the armed struggle and blamed the media for "causing the confusion".

PAC delegate Patricia de Lille, when called on by NP delegate Dawie de Villiers to clarify the organisation's position, said government was "overreacting to our statement last night and as we will be meeting them tomorrow there is no need to deal with it here".

The council decided it was necessary for the PAC to respond. It then proceeded to read once more the statement the PAC's Jaki Seroke read to the council on Tuesday

□ To Page 2

## Forum setback

B/Sey 24/6/93 □ From Page 1

in adopting the declaration to cease or suspend the armed struggle. The PAC said it accepted the declaration "on principle and subscribes to it. It is our understanding that this declaration satisfies our requirement for a mutual cessation of hostilities."

De Villiers wanted to know whether, in subscribing to the declaration, the PAC reconfirmed the text of the declaration and thereby denied "the perception that the PAC will continue to wage the armed struggle". De Lille responded that her organisation was "not prepared to be held hostage by one party" and refused to answer the question. She rejected any other questions other parties wanted to ask, stating: "I said no, that means nee."

Claiming that the media had created the

confusion, she said: "We are not prepared to answer to any reports by the media, which is in any case owned by the government or the liberal Press."

She was supported by ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa, who said no party should be called on to explain the council settlement in the media. But he did support the idea that the PAC restate its position to the council as it did on Tuesday.

De Villiers said he would be raising the matter in a motion to enable the council to get clarity on the PAC's position.

It is understood that the council would not be sympathetic to a government motion censuring the PAC until after a meeting between the two today.

Comment: Page 8



## Minister suffers bout of foot-in-mouth

CAPE TOWN — This month's prize for the politician who opens his mouth only to change feet goes to NP Minister Gerald Morkel who said yesterday ANC president Nelson Mandela "has not worked in his whole life". (204A)

Morkel, who is Budget and Housing Minister in the House of Representatives, dropped his clanger during a debate in Parliament on whether President F W de Klerk's annual salary should be increased to R202 734 and his allowance raised to R63 000. (204A)

Stung by the Labour Party's objection to the increases — its first in the nine-year history of the tricameral Parliament — Morkel asked: "What has president Mandela done in 27 years?"

B. Day 2/1/83  
TIM COHEN

"Has he paid taxes? He has driven wonderful cars and lived in big houses, but he has not worked in his whole life," he said to interjections and cries of "that is disgusting".

Labour Party MP Michael Hendrickse opposed the increase, saying De Klerk had been acting in the interests of the NP, which was "synonymous with the interests of white people". The reason the country was in its current crisis was because De Klerk had acted only in the interests of whites.

Hendrickse criticised De Klerk's handling of the education crisis in coloured schools.

## Parliament may hold more sessions — govt

7/4/6/93 Political Correspondent (364A)

THE tricameral Parliament could hold another three or more short sessions before next year's elections, the government said yesterday.

However, the most likely scenario was two more short sessions after Parliament goes into recess today. Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said yesterday that the cabinet had decided that one short session would be held from September 13-24 to deal primarily with legislation related to the constitutional process.



# De Klerk to meet top US businessmen

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk is to meet top business people, as well as President Bill Clinton, when he visits Washington next month.

He will also visit Austria on June 28 and 29, and meet President Thomas Klestil, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Minister of Foreign Affairs Alois Mock. He will address the Austrian parliamentary group, and prominent business leaders.

He will be in the United States from June 30 to July 4, and will receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal jointly with ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha said: "What makes the award significant is that the presentation will be made on US Independence Day, July 4, in the city of Philadelphia, where the US constitution was drafted."

Mr Botha said: "The timing of this meeting is of particular importance; it will take place on the eve of the Tokyo meeting of the Group of Seven from July 7 to 9, which will be attended by President Clinton."

ARG 24/6/93 (304A)

# US presses SA for deal on transition

## Visit next week 'make or break'

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — Fears are being expressed here that a high-profile visit to Washington next week by President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela could be another disastrous "Rubicon" if negotiators in South Africa fail to reach a transition deal first.

The United States business community is worried that negotiators might fail to reach firm agreement on an election date and the establishment of a transitional executive council before the visit.

If so, Mr Mandela would not be in a position to call for the lifting of sanctions, which everybody here is expecting.

If he does not, potential US investors — already impatient for an agreement — might turn their backs on South Africa.

They have been expecting Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk to make the call when they jointly receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal in President Bill Clinton's company on July 4, Independence Day.

The award is being seen as a symbol of South African unity of purpose about the future, which will lose credibility if negotiators have not first reached agreement.

US business sources point

out that Mr Clinton is lending his prestige and putting his reputation on the line by joining the South African leaders when they receive the award, an event that will focus a great deal of American attention on South Africa.

"The ANC has come here several times telling us to 'get out your cheque books and sign when we give the word,'" one business source said.

"If we are disappointed once again, people are going to say, 'let's rather try Malaysia'."

Most observers here believe that with this kind of pressure on him, Mr Mandela will find a way to call for the scrapping of sanctions.

ANC sources explain it will not be necessary for a Transitional Executive Council to have been established first — in any case, this is clearly a virtual impossibility in only one week. But a firm commitment to do so would suffice.

US business sources have also expressed concern about a draft Senate Bill to lift sanctions and encourage investment once a firm commitment to a TEC and elections has been made.

The draft extends the life of the code of conduct that obliges US investors to respect trade union rights and to sink money into projects that advantage blacks.

The code of conduct will be terminated after democratic elections.



PEOPLE'S LIVES *Women accuse men*

# Hell hath no fury like a *Sowetan 24/6/93* 'talks' token

■ **SPITTING SPIDERS** *Focus is on male* **235A**

*darlings but women delegates are ignored:* **304A**

**By Sizakele Kooma**

**T**HE MEDIA IGNORES THEM, their male colleagues poke fun at them and the public thinks they are little more than ornaments put at the World Trade Centre for decorative

purposes.

This week women delegates of eight political players at the Negotiating Forum came out fuming against what they view as a deliberate attempt to discourage them from effective participation in the talks.

## Actively involved

At a meeting organised by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation, a German development association, the NP's Sheila Camerer, CP's Avril Budd, DP's Martha-Anne Finne more, ANC's Baleka Kgositsile, PAC's Mankoko Molete, IFP's Faith Gasa, Kobie Gouws of the AVU and Nomsa Jajula from the Transkei government told a predominantly female audience that they were not at the talks to give support to the men. They were as actively involved in the process as darlings of the camera Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa.

They blamed the SABC crew for never focusing the lens on women when they spoke and journalists for not soliciting their comment on issues discussed at the forum.

"When Roelf Meyer or Cyril Ramaphosa speak, the camera zooms in on them. But when a woman does, it races through the room. The viewers see this and think we are just passive companions of male delegates," Faith Gasa said.

This and the subtle unimportance attached by their male colleagues to their role at the forum, the women say, adds to their many frustrations.

Said Kobie Gouws: "It has been a bewildering experience. We have been given the responsibility of shaping the country's future. But sitting next to the men, hearing and seeing what goes on, I can't help but think that they view us as tokens.

"Some parties change their women delegates like they change underwear. It gives the impression that their only interest is to have a woman in their delegation. They are not concerned about her input in the process.

"The fact that women were not present at Codesa 1 and 2 puts them at a disadvantage. We are finding it difficult to catch up and keep up."

## Meaningful involvement

Baleka Kgositsile said commitment to meaningful involvement of women in the talks could be shown by including them in the current all-male planning committee and giving them a chance to chair council meetings by rotating the seat.

She said the "crawling" pace of talks was also frustrating for her as a woman and a negotiator: "Sometimes I think we forget on whose behalf we are there."

Despite their frustrations and the negative vibes they pick up from their male counterparts, the women feel the contributions they have made at the forum are laudable.

"We need continuous empowerment. We want women to feel that we are doing it for them. Talk of us being non-participatory is discouraging," said Gasa.

Women delegates, said Finne more, need mentors, training and evaluation, which the process of appointment did not provide.

# SA political deal 'will benefit few blacks'

(304A)

ARC 24/6/93

□ New government could face unrest — expert

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

FEW blacks will benefit from next year's political settlement and conditions will remain much the same for the "masses" — or get worse.

This is the view of Dr Eugene Nyati, director of the Centre for African Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Whites and a numerically small black elite would benefit, but if they failed selflessly to extend the benefits, the transitional government would become vulnerable and civil and labour unrest would make the country ungovernable again, he warned.

Dr Nyati's analysis was contained in his Froembling memorial lecture to the Western Cape branch of the South African Pharmaceutical Society in Cape Town last night.

He said that if whites and the small black elite whom he expected to benefit from the 1994 settlement consciously extended

benefits to more South Africans, "it is possible that over the medium to long term the majority of people may identify with the settlement and act in ways that will stabilise the country and register steady progress".

The immediate beneficiaries had a heavy responsibility and the public would have to "continue needling them from below" to demand accountability in return for support.

Dr Nyati said: "The 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change in the short and medium term.

"The emphasis of the settlement will be a strategic co-optation of the black elite, both political and professional.

"While the country will have a majority black cabinet, the effective power relations between the races will not change much.

"Overall, the most the settlement will do is create a black elite that will be too small to threaten white control of the

economy, but hopefully conspicuous enough to serve the purpose of being a psychological and physical buffer between white interests and the radical demands of the hungry black masses.

"For the majority, conditions will remain as they are or quite possibly get worse."

Dr Nyati also expressed qualms about the nature of the transitional government of national unity, warning that while the idea was "alluring", it could prove unworkable and lead to "national paralysis".

To survive, the future South Africa would have to raise productivity levels, improve education and training standards and give unambiguous support to enterprise.

The challenge for the new government would be to articulate a "national vision that clearly spells out the sacrifices and opportunities that lie ahead" and the role each sector of the community would need to play to realise a development partnership.



# Backstage moves to facilitate TEC switch

ARG 24/6/93

(304A)

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT officials are working behind the scenes to ease the administrative burden of the transitional government which will assume power after next year's general election.

This includes financial allocations to tide the new administration over until a fresh budget can be worked out and approved.

The budget conventionally falls in March, but the election — provisionally set for April 27 — will necessarily mean next year's budget will be delayed.

The government announced yesterday that there would probably not be a parliamentary session shortly before the election of a new government, but sources said officials were already making extensive preparations to pave the way for a transfer of power to a new regime.

"The present government does not want to leave the transitional government with an empty table and it wants to ensure a lot of basic preparation has been made," a source said.

Meanwhile the cabinet has decided that there will probably need to be two short sessions of parliament later this year to prepare for next year's historic transition.

The first short session from September 13 to 24 will deal primarily with legislation related to the constitutional process, depending on progress at the talks.

This could include statutory changes to secure the reincorporation of the homelands.

It is possible that a second short session will be held towards the end of October or early in November to deal with the transitional constitution.

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said yesterday that, ideally, there would not be a session in the new year until after the election, unless unforeseen circumstances required it.



# Sticky beliefs gum up the negotiating process

8/Dec 25/1993

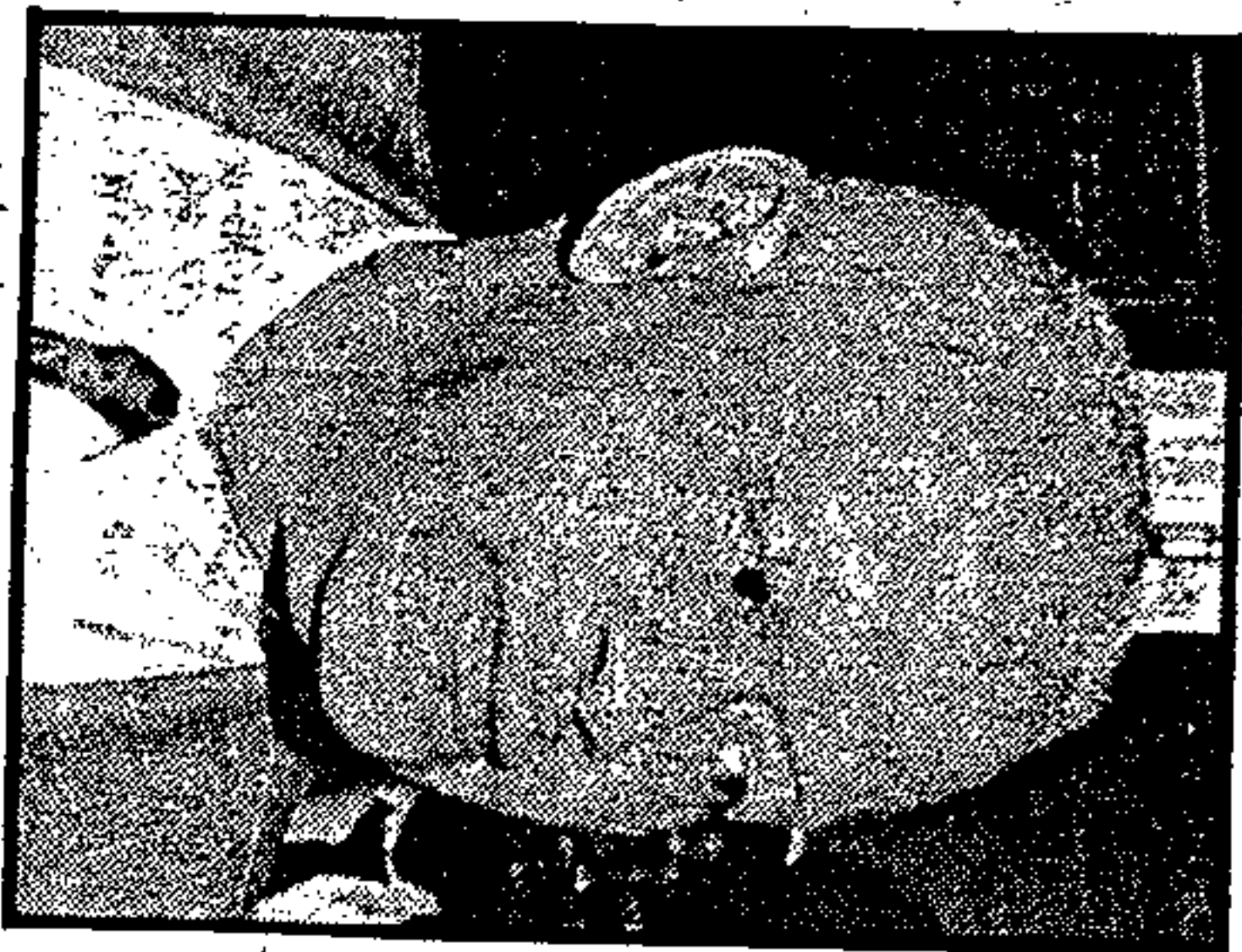
GEORGE Orwell said: "It is at times of great uncertainty that people cling to the most lunatic beliefs."

That is why the negotiating forum scheduled to take place today has been postponed for another week — to give parties like Inkatha, the CP, the Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana the opportunity to come to terms with the new reality facing them — partition does not work.

It is precisely because of the beliefs held so doggedly by the Inkathalied Concerned South Africans Group that sufficient progress has not been made despite Inkatha effectively having gained what it wants — regional autonomy. A member of the technical committee on constitutional issues says openly that the regional proposals amount to a clear federal option without the name being attached.

The forum had to be put off because no effective decisions could have been taken without government and the ANC bulldozing the process. That would have meant serious confrontation and a breakdown in talks, or at least a period.

It became clear that when ANC resident Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthe could not "cut a deal" at their



□ MATTHEWS

summit on Wednesday, at least on an election date, that the forum would have to be postponed. If the two leaders could have reached agreement, at least on an election date, the forum would have been able to go ahead with Inkatha pulling its Cosag allies along.

The negotiating council has not

## BILLY PADDOCK

(30449)

been able to do enough work on substantive issues and convince Cosag that its fears and anxieties are being accommodated. There have been too many delays due to trying to sort out difficulties between government and the PAC and Cosag's filibustering.

Yesterday CP delegate Fanle Jacobson made an impassioned plea for confederation. Even his Cosag colleague, Inkatha's Joe Matthews, could not go along with this and said that it was time the negotiating council realised what the parties were here for — the emancipation and freedom of the black majority.

The negotiating council, in attempting to live up to its undertaking to make the process as inclusive as possible, has ensured that it could not meet its self-imposed deadline. By entertaining lengthy debates on issues and beliefs which, according to SACP negotiator Joe Slovo "this council will never sanction", negotiators are raising false hopes because the alternative is to lose some par-

ticipants, in particular the CP. It is understood that the region government and the ANC have not taken a tougher line just because Cabinet has not yet been able to agree on when to get tough with Inkatha.

The question is whether the next seven days are going to change the position substantially. Most ANC and NP negotiators are not optimistic that the "difficult parties" will change their positions. However, there are some who express hope for progress.

It is understood that there will be a flurry of bilateral and trilateral meetings in the next week — predominantly between government, the ANC and Inkatha — to try and thrash out the problem areas. Through a careful look at the constitutional principles, and especially regional powers and functions, there is a hope that Inkatha will accept a two-phased transitional process and endorse the provisional April 27 election date.

This will be backed up by the technical committee's sixth report which proposes a compromise solution on the regional question.

The report calls for an equilibrium, or balance, between the two approaches, to be established. The

committee says this equilibrium could be attained through:

□ First, the adoption of general constitutional principles pertaining to regional autonomy;

□ Then the council should decide how the principles pertaining to the regions should be incorporated and applied in the transitional (pre- and post-election) period;

□ If regional governments are instituted for the transitional period, the constitution-making body could ensure that these regional constitutions conform with the national constitutional principles adopted by the multiparty negotiating body; and

□ It could be possible for the constitution-making body to approve the coming into operation of regional constitutions before the adoption of a final constitution.

According to negotiators, there are two other considerations that have to be taken into account: a need to guarantee Buthezi a place in the next coalition cabinet; and the need to broaden the Natal/KwaZulu regional joint executive during the transition to accommodate KwaZulu government ministers.

A difficult week lies ahead. Success will depend on the extent of Cosag's flexibility.

## LETTERS

business than many might not have



SO THERE is to be yet another week of suspense as the country waits for the Kempton Park negotiators to deliver a transition package, ready to be signed and sealed by the nation's leaders.

Three years and more have gone by since February 1990, when President De Klerk so courageously unbanned the African National Congress and began releasing political prisoners from Robben Island.

Three years on and we are no for-rader. The toll of slaughtered innocents, victims alike of random urban terrorism and of attacks on remote farms, is growing. The economy is stagnating as a result of the delays and setbacks in negotiation which, too often, seem to have been engineered by mysterious forces in the shadows.

Once again, as crucial decisions are in the offing, there is a rash of random terrorism around the country, such as yesterday's apparently motiveless shooting in Alberton in which four people died under automatic gunfire.

The outcome is a national mood of apprehension and uncertainty. Violence, political and criminal, is reaching horrifying levels.

### Distinct improvement

In Cape Town yesterday Mr Tokyo Sexwale (40), who came off Robben Island in mid-1990, stood up before a hard-headed audience of business men and women at the Seeff breakfast club and addressed those fears very directly.

If this is the face of the next government of South Africa, most of the audience seemed to be thinking when he sat down, the next government will be a distinct improvement on the outgoing administration.

Not that Mr Sexwale told them what they wanted to hear: much of what he said about orchestrated violence and deliberate delaying tactics in the last three years was unpalatable and profoundly disquieting.

As he pointed out, the Right as epitomised by ex-General Constand Viljoen, a leading exponent of SADF destabilisation in the 1980s, remains a formidable obstacle to a smooth transition.

It is easy to see what disturbs Mr Sexwale. The whole situation has changed, with the Cold War fading

# Shadowy forces are threatening a settlement

CT 25/6/93

(304A)

**Political  
Survey  
By GERALD SHAW**



and the South African conflict officially at an end, yet General Viljoen's 1950s mindset does not seem to have changed at all.

Paradoxically, the effect of Mr Sexwale's address was reassuring and encouraging, perhaps because he impressed his audience as a straightforward and humane man, genuinely a democrat and man of peace.

Who is Tokyo Sexwale and where does he come from? This former altar boy who grew up to become a guerilla fighter was born in Johannesburg and, like his close friend Chris Hani, was reared in a strongly Catholic family background, matriculating in Soweto and going to university in Swaziland. He came into politics through the black consciousness movement of those days, which sought to restore black confidence and self-respect after decades of humiliation.

In the mid-1970s he went into exile, was trained as a military engineer in the Soviet Union, and returned to South Africa — to be captured after a skirmish with security forces, convicted under the Terrorism Act and sentenced to 18 years on Robben Island, of which he served 13 before his release.

Mr Sexwale's leadership qualities, which were no doubt already evident to Messrs Mandela and Sisulu on the island, quickly brought him

the chairmanship of the all-important PWV region of the ANC. And he came to national attention at the time of Chris Hani's death when his firm leadership headed off an explosion of black anger.

The repeated delays in negotiations, coupled with destabilising violence, are seen by Tokyo Sexwale as a strategy to weaken the ANC and intensify white fears and resistance to change by depicting blacks as violent, undisciplined people who are incapable of governing.

On violence, Mr Sexwale would no doubt accept that the ANC's own hands are by no means entirely clean, particularly in Natal vis-à-vis Inkatha. But he draws pertinent attention to the many hundreds of unsolved murders of innocent commuters since February 1990, who were attacked on trains or at taxi ranks by masked gunmen with automatic rifles — killers seldom caught and rarely prosecuted.

As he says, South Africa's intelligence services are among the best in the world, having scored many remarkable successes against highly-trained ANC guerillas. Yet they have made no headway against these cold-blooded killers, which was puzzling.

As the country's economic lifeblood drains away, it is imperative that an election date be fixed now, Mr Sexwale believes, and that the Transitional Executive Council brings the security forces under multiparty supervision.

The right-wing menace remains but next Friday's postponed deadline could still be met, we may hope. And a year from now a government of national unity could be firmly in place.

## Inkatha gains

### 'NP voters'

*B. N. N.*  
GAVIN DU VENAGE

INKATHA was eroding the white support base of the NP, independent candidate Gerda Bekker said yesterday after losing a municipal by-election to another independent candidate.

Bekker, however, soundly beat NP hopeful Tony Wasserman. 25/6/93

The Malvern/Kensington by-election was won by independent Barry Dunne, with 630 votes. Bekker received 360 votes while Wasserman managed only 212 in the 23% poll.

The by-election was called to replace NP councillor Richard MacArthur who moved abroad recently. (113) (604)

Bekker said although she campaigned as an independent, it was a "fully fledged Inkatha campaign" using party slogans.

Bekker, who is married to Hennie, a former NP MP who recently broke ranks to become an Inkatha MP, said the slump in support for the NP in what had been one of its "traditional strongholds" showed that whites were losing faith in the party.

Dunne said he thought that many of Bekker's votes came from former "staunch NP supporters".





Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw, left, and American Chamber of Commerce of Southern Africa director Michael Judin.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Years of pain ahead analyst

By JONATHAN DAVIS

SOUTH Africans should not expect to vote for a democratic government under a new constitution until after the turn of the century, Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw told a meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce of Southern Africa yesterday.

The process of transferring power would be long and painful, Louw said, even if a transitional executive committee was to be installed after elections. He told the meeting of the chamber in Houghton he doubted whether the scheduled elections would take place next April.

He said SA needed to learn from the experiences of the rest of the world in order to become a "winning nation". He said history showed that two common factors in the formula for such a winning nation were a market economy and a liberal democracy.

He said the experience of the world to date was that a free market economy created "powerful forces" in favour of liberal democracy, probably because of the prosperity produced.

Another important factor in the creation of a "winning nation" was a low level of government participation in the economy.

Louw said SA could hope to achieve an economic growth rate of about 4% under the best circumstances. This was better than it appeared because internationally the best overall improvements in the standard of living had been achieved under a moderately high growth rate, he said.

# Final gasp of the last white Parliament

CAPE TOWN — The last full session of the last white Parliament came to an end yesterday, passing legislation dealing with subjects as diverse as sex changes and drunk driving.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee made a valiant attempt to inject a sense of substance into the debate, saying the sitting marked the dawn of a new era.

One of the innovations of this new era will be brought about by the General Law Amendment Bill, which will make a blood test compulsory for a drunk driving

TIM COHEN

conviction, amending the current situation where breathalyser evidence is sufficient.

The Bill also proposes to amend the Births and Deaths Registration Act to allow a person who has undergone a sex change to apply for an amendment of his or her sex descriptions in the birth register.

Other provisions make it punishable to possess housebreaking and car-breaking implements.

Sapa reports that a Bill

aimed at promoting equality between men and women was published yesterday.

The Promotion of Equality between Men and Women Bill proposes to abolish the remaining vestiges of a husband's marital power and to make the necessary amendments (a memorandum states. (304A))

Provisions in the Bill include proposals to repeal a court's power to direct that women may not be present at certain trials; to remove the differentiation between men and women in legisla-

tion covering citizenship; and to make certain sections of the Sexual Offences Act equally applicable to men and women.

Other recommendations seek to amend legislation which discriminates against married or pregnant women, to repeal provisions prohibiting the entry of women on to premises where liquor is sold and to repeal the prohibition on the performance by women of underground work on mines.





Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw, left, and American Chamber of Commerce of Southern Africa director Michael Judin.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Years of pain ahead analyst

by JONATHAN DAVIS

SOUTH Africans should not expect to vote for a democratic government under a new constitution until after the turn of the century, Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw told a meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce of Southern Africa yesterday.

The process of transferring power would be long and painful, Louw said, even if a transitional executive committee was to be installed after elections. He told the meeting of the chamber in Houghton he doubted whether the scheduled elections would take place next April.

He said SA needed to learn from the experiences of the rest of the world in order to become a "winning nation". He said history showed that two common factors in the formula for such a winning nation were a market economy and a liberal democracy.

He said the experience of the world to date was that a free market economy created "powerful forces" in favour of liberal democracy, probably because of the prosperity produced.

Another important factor in the creation of a "winning nation" was a low level of government participation in the economy.

Louw said SA could hope to achieve an economic growth rate of about 4% under the best circumstances. This was better than it appeared because internationally the best overall improvements in the standard of living had been achieved under a moderately high growth rate, he said.

304A

# Pretoria concedes quietly

David Beresford in Johannesburg

In a way it is one of those "the emperor-has-no-clothes" stories which one hesitates to write for fear of trumpeting the self-evident, or of committing some form of lese-majeste. But it is a turning point in South African history and one is driven to record it.

The "clothes" referred to are those in which President FW de Klerk dressed his reform programme - his drive to reach a constitutional settlement with the country's black political leadership.

To the extent that there was an enrobing ceremony, it took place on March 17 last year when the De Klerk administration staged a refer-

endum among the country's white voters to get a "mandate" for negotiations.

In its successful campaign for a "yes" vote the ruling National Party spelt out for what they were negotiating.

They did not produce a manifesto, as such. But the commitment was spelt out in their campaign literature as well as speeches by Mr De Klerk. One pamphlet they circulated, for example, set out eight "specific minimum requirements" including "built-in guarantees and mechanisms which will make domination by a majority impossible." A letter to voters from the government's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, said that "all parties with

sufficient support have to share the power of decision making."

The party's four provincial congresses a few months earlier adopted a document that says at one point: "The core of the National Party's proposals is that the executive should not be constituted from one party alone, but from members of a number of the major parties."

This stance appeared to remain the government's position up until this month. On June 1 The Guardian published details of a then confidential draft constitution submitted to the multi-negotiations, which again contained detailed proposals for entrenched power-sharing. On June 11 the Financial Times published a verbatim interview with

Mr De Klerk in which he was quoted as saying that power-sharing was a basic demand being made by the government.

The above is set out in pedantic detail, because the government's stance appears to amount to a complete misrepresentation, although this very strange society is seemingly (and one might say gloriously) disinterested in the fact.

Over the last few weeks the multi-party negotiating forum has been furiously debating a set of "constitutional principles" - based on submissions by the 26 parties participating in the talks - which are intended to set the parameters within which a non-racial parliament will draw up the final constitution. None of these principles refer to power-sharing.

On Friday The Guardian's sister newspaper in South Africa, the

Weekly Mail, explained this by reporting: "In a dramatic about-turn, the National Party has dropped its demand that permanent power-sharing be entrenched as a constitutional principle." The Guardian itself did not report this, frankly, because this correspondent did not believe it; the turn-about was too dramatic.

Not only did the anticipated flood of government denials failed to materialise over the weekend, but - in the tradition of the naked emperor - it has been ignored by the entire South African media. Yesterday two senior government officials confirmed the story to The Guardian.

So that is the story: Pretoria has finally conceded majority rule. It is still not clear when the State President undertakes. But whenever it was, it is a spectacle worth recording.



## Attack sparks CP call to bear arms

STEPHEN COPLAN

THE CP has appealed to motorists to travel armed in the wake of an apparently motiveless AK-47 attack yesterday in which four people were killed in Alrode near Alberton. *Biden*

Two of the four — a white man and woman — died instantly after three men armed with AK-47s fired at pedestrians and a number of motorists parked outside TC Scrap Metals in Alrode. The other two — a black man and white man — died on the way to hospital. Two of the dead whose next of kin had been informed were identified as Naomi Carr of Alrode and Russel Sadler of Springs. *25/6/93*

Three people were also injured in the attack, two of them — a black man and woman — critically.

The attackers wore trenchcoats which concealed their weapons. *(304A)*

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the use of AK-47s emphasised the need to remove such automatic weapons from society. *(304A)*

CP transport spokesman Joseph Chiolo said the party's appeal was necessitated by government's unwillingness to deal comprehensively with "terrorist attacks". He cautioned motorists to be trained and prepared to use weapons for self-defence.

Police spokesman Maj Eugene Opperman, describing the attack as "brutal and senseless", said police were offering a R50 000 reward for any information leading to convictions.

## IFF shuts up shop

(304A)  
THE South African branch of the International Freedom Foundation has been shut down.

The IFF is a Washington-based institute which claims to be independently spreading libertarian ideals, but has been run by rightwing, former student leaders. *W/M*

Its international chairman, Duncan Sellars, confirmed that the southern African office located in Johannesburg had closed shop. "We had a number of funding problems this year. We also had to close operations in Europe."

The IFF sponsored the investigation of the Douglas Commission of Inquiry into African National Congress detention centres. *25/6-11/93*

Earlier last year, the IFF revealed the existence of revelations of an ANC arms stockpile in Angola.



# CP negotiating 'for the wrong reasons'

ET 25/6/93 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha's Mr Joe Matthews shook the Concerned South Africans Group yesterday by telling the CP it was at the negotiations for the wrong reasons.

"It must take a lot of patience for a lot of us here that right now we are not discussing the freedom of blacks but rather the freedom of whites. The basic reason we are here is to determine the emancipation of the black majority," he said.

This followed a plea from CP delegate Mr Fanie Jacobs that his demand for an Afrikaner homeland should be looked upon favourably.

Mr Matthews said Afrikaners had been in power for more than 40 years and did not partition a separate white

homeland. "The Thomlinson Commission looked at the issue and Verwoerd rejected partition."

He said the only reason a white homeland was becoming an issue was because of impending democracy. "We have to face the fact that the majority of people in the country are impatient with the idea of breaking up the South African state."

SACP negotiator Mr Joe Slovo said the council should not hold out false hopes for the CP. "This council will not sanction an ethnic state."

● Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that the government and the PAC will meet again on Monday, Sapa reports. The two parties adjourned their talks yesterday to allow the PAC to consult its principals.

# Schwarz rethinks career

Own Correspondent

CT 25/6/93

(304A)

DURBAN. — South Africa's ambassador to the United States and former Democratic Party frontbencher Mr Harry Schwarz says he will decide soon whether to quit the post and get involved in politics at home again.

Speaking to editors and journalists

at a lunch here yesterday, he also said he believed his successor to Washington should be black.

Mr Schwarz, 69, said he had no plans to retire from public life. "I will die with my boots on," he said, hinting that he would return to South Africa to play a role in "liberal democratic" politics.



# Sexwale warns against 'deadlock'

By ARI JACOBSON

3044

IF the government continued to "drag its heels" in negotiations the ANC might not be able to control its followers any longer, the ANC's PWV chairman, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, said in Cape Town yesterday.

Speaking at the Seef/Cape Times breakfast, he said the country was in crisis and there would be an additional crisis if negotiations remained "in deadlock".

"People must see the results of change if we are to avert a time-bomb situation," he said. "The date (for South Africa's first democratic election) should be finalised tomorrow (today) — yet now we hear it's been stalled".

"Three years down the line (after the unbanning of the ANC) our people have become more desperate," he said. However, Mr Sexwale said, South Africa would only be a success "if skilled

people remained in the country", and addressing the largely white audience he said: "Do you want to sabotage us (the black people) twice, first through apartheid and now by taking all the skills out of the country?"

He said black people were represented in the commercial sector "as shopkeepers, taxi owners and hawkers" and this needed to be "changed drastically".

CR2516/93

# PAC, Govt talks end in stalemate

Sowetan 25/6/93

By Ismail Lagardien  
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government reached a stalemate in their crucial meeting yesterday. (304A)

The Government wants the PAC to suspend its armed struggle in compliance with a declaration of a cessation of hostilities tabled at the negotiating council this week and which the movement endorsed.

In spite of endorsing the declaration, the PAC said it did not mean it had to suspend its armed struggle unilaterally.

A PAC spokesman said yesterday that they would "definitely not suspend our armed struggle unilaterally".

Mr Jaki Seroke, the PAC's secretary for political affairs, said that until elections for a constituent assembly were held and the various military formations in the country were under the joint control of "a transitional authority", his organisation would not suspend its armed struggle.

The Government went into yesterday's meeting expecting "positive answers", according to a National Party source.

The PAC reportedly "were not ready to answer" and had requested more time to consult their principals.



# Genuine democracy: Finally, it's official

25/6-11/7/93  
JMS out

*In a dramatic about-turn, the NP has cast aside power-sharing and the protection of minority rights in favour of negotiating a truly democratic regime.*

**CHRIS LOUW** reports

**S**OUTH AFRICA is heading for a genuine democracy — and that's official. The National Party government has reneged on its referendum promise of last year that power-sharing will be a feature of the new constitution it is negotiating with, among others, the African National Congress.

Instead, it has settled on a government of national unity for the transition period only, which will last about five years. After that, when the first democratic elections in terms of a new constitution are held, there will be full democracy, with no provision to protect minority rights.

This constitutes a complete about-turn by the NP, which until last month insisted on acknowledging "the reality of minority groups" in what it termed a "participatory democracy". President FW de Klerk recently told the British *Financial Times* that "power-sharing must be part of a final constitution".

The change of heart means that the negotiators in the NP cabinet have won the argument against the hardliners. They have finally — in the past three weeks — succeeded in getting De Klerk's support for an open-ended settlement.

However, the cabinet and the NP caucus are still deeply divided on the issue, with more MPs threatening to resign.

Government officials this week conceded that the NP had long entertained the idea of permanently entrenching minority representation in the executive of future governments. "But they have now decided that it will be unwise to perpetuate this after the initial five years of the transition period. It will be a dynamic period in which no one really knows what will happen. The government now realises it is better not to compromise itself."

The new constitution will be drawn up by a constituent assembly doubling as government, scheduled to be elected by April next year. The NP has conceded that it will only be represented in the executive of this body during the interim, proportionally to the number of seats it wins in

## Executive Authority

The core of the National Party's proposals is that the executive should not be constituted from one party alone, but from members of a number of the major parties.

Thus a multiparty government (of which Western European coalition-style-government is an example) is preferred to a system where the majority party alone forms the executive of government. (The Westminster system usually results in this situation)

## Extract from the National Party's official document on 'Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy'

the elections.

The NP's strategy now is to negotiate for a Charter of Fundamental Rights and other, indirect mechanisms to ensure that as much as possible of the status quo is protected in a future constitution. This will include the right to property, and cultural and religious freedom.

Strong autonomous regions will also ensure that the central government, sure to be dominated by the ANC, will not wield "too much power".

During the referendum campaign last year, the NP promised voters it was not about to hand over power, and said it would not allow a system whereby the majority would have all the say in a future government.

In a letter urging voters to support reform, for instance, the NP's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, stated that "the government asked for and got a mandate for power-sharing in the 1989 election".

"Power-sharing means among others that a party getting 51 percent of the votes in an election does not get 100 percent of the power. So power-sharing is not surrender of power to any individual or party — all parties with sufficient support have to share the power of decision-making," Meyer added.

**D**e Klerk reaffirmed the "fundamental principles, as contained in the NP's constitutional proposals, as the basis of a new constitution". These principles included the proviso that the cabinet in a new government would comprise members not just of the majority party, but of all the major parties.

The NP's constitutional plans were adopted by the party's four provincial congresses and were published in a booklet entitled *Constitutional Rule in a Participatory*

*Democracy: The National Party's Framework for a New Democratic South Africa*, which was signed by De Klerk on September 4 1991.

The document stated that "the core of the NP's proposals is that the executive should not be constituted from one party alone, but from members of a number of the major parties".

This was put even more succinctly in an NP mission statement drawn up by Renier Schoeman, former chief director of the NP's Federal Information Service. The first of the NP's requirements for a new South Africa, Schoeman wrote, would be that the "political dispensation must incorporate built-in guarantees and mechanisms which will make domination by a majority ... impossible".

This requirement was provided for in the government's proposals for entrenched constitutional principles which were handed in at the negotiations last month. Provision was made for entrenched, indefinite power-sharing in a clause stipulating that "the representation of parties in the executive (the cabinet) relative to their representation in the legislature (parliament) ... be designed to provide for the effective participation of the major political parties in executive bodies".

But when the proposals were discussed by the negotiating council at various meetings in the past month, this principle was glaringly absent. And at no stage did either the NP or government delegations insist on having it included in the principles that will serve as a guideline to the constituent assembly.

Government officials now argue that there will be "coalition government" for a transitional period of five years. They say that when the NP made its promises, no time-limit was given. The referendum promises will be kept only for the transition, they say.



AD they stumbled upon the rally of their erstwhile party at the Pietersburg showgrounds last Saturday, the ghosts of National Party leaders past would have turned whiter than white with shock.

John Vorster would have arrested P. W. Botha for subversion for raising a clenched fist salute and declaring President F. W. de Klerk the man who liberated South Africa from apartheid.

Hendrik Verwoerd would have been scandalised by the cultural impurity of a black preacher opening the meeting in Afrikaans and the white Dutch Reformed Minister closing it in Pedi. D. F. Malan, the man who segregated park benches, would have fainted on hearing the debut of the new NP campaign song: "Black and white, let us all unite — vote National, support De Klerk."

Hans Strijdom, the lion of the north, would have had smoke coming out of his ears had he witnessed the *boercoors* anthems of *die ou Transvaal* replaced by tribal dancers gyrating to the rhythm of bongo drums.

And what would these stern gentlemen have made of De Klerk and Botha being carried hoopla-style around the stadium on pick-up trucks, waving at the black masses holding plastic NP flags as balloons were released, disappearing, somewhat to the disappointment of the crowd, into the ozone?

About 5 000 blacks, bused in from Gazankulu, Venda, Lebowa and surrounding farms, were there. Every arrival was handed an orange and a bun, and a NP flag and badge. Those who stayed until De Klerk had spoken were rewarded with a free can of beef and vegetable stew and a loaf of bread.

Whites were completely outnumbered. One diehard Afrikaner farmer said he had been born into the National Party and would die in the National Party, but it was clear from his discomfort at the stands around him filling up with blacks that this was not quite the same party he had joined in 1933.

Sakkie Myburgh, an engineering lecturer who had been bused in from Boksburg, found it heart-warming to see all the "different nations" gathered together, but wanted to hear from De Klerk what was happening in the country because everybody was baffled.

The tone of how the NP will fight the election was set by Botha, an old campaigner, who indulged in some robust bashing of the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party. "Wherever those two are, they fight and burn and kill," he thundered.

In short, said Botha, the NP is the party of peace while the ANC chases children from school and burns people with tyres and petrol. "Show me a road or a clinic or a school put up by MK or through mass action," he asked.

Both De Klerk and Botha appealed to the

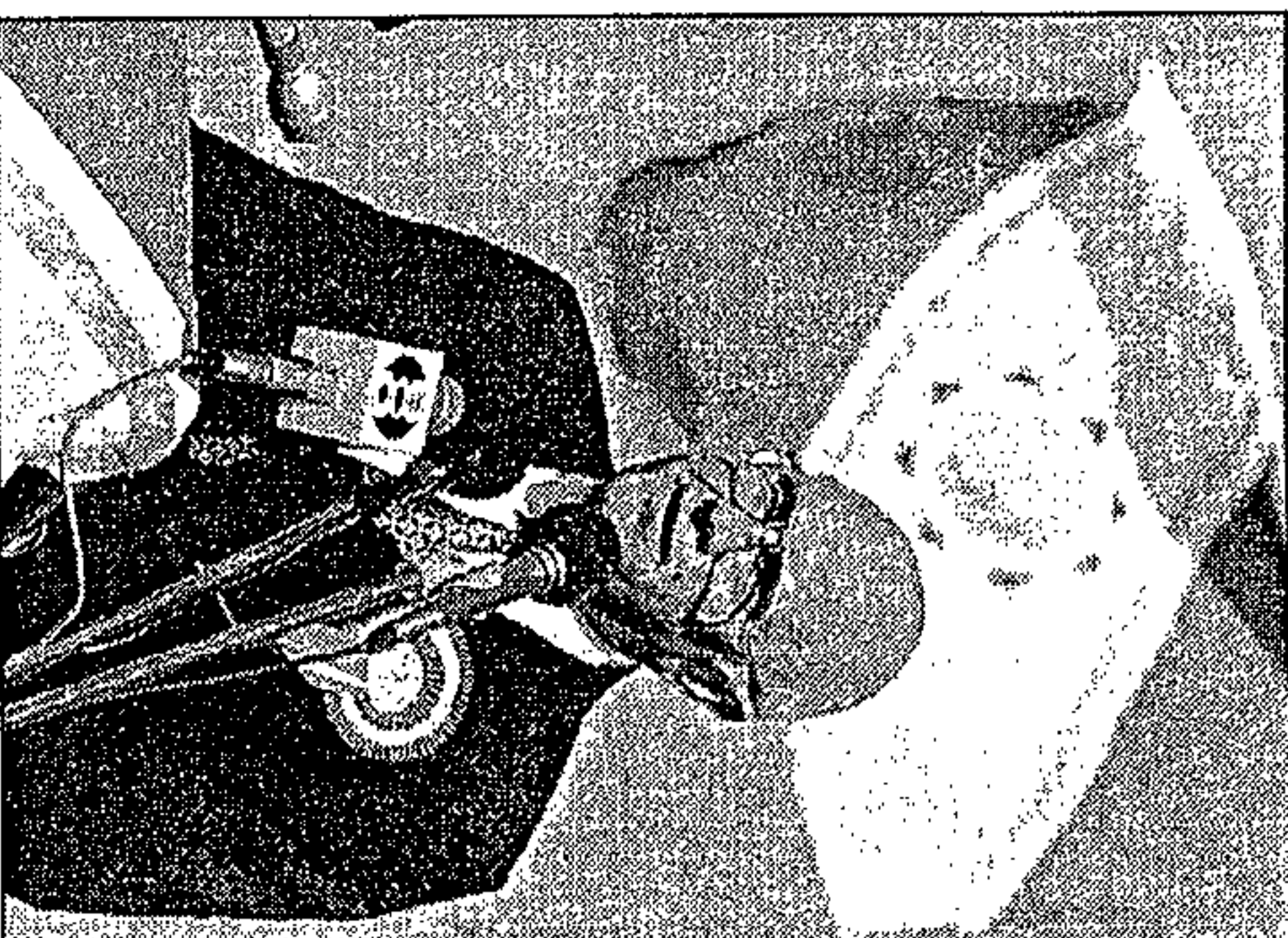
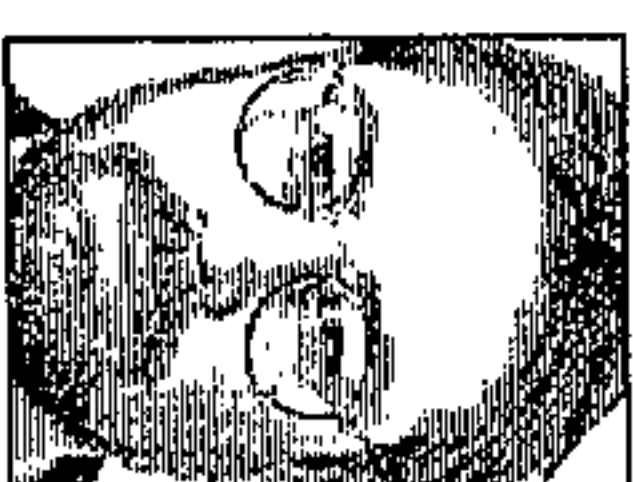
# Blackening the white

## name of the NP

Wm and 25/6 - 1/7/93

The National Party travelled to the northern Transvaal to increase its herd and fatten its cattle.

The jamboree proved only one thing — there are a whole lot of confused South Africans out there



FW de Klerk... Changing the face of the NP Photo: THE STAR

By PHILLIP VAN MEKERS

people to be loyal to their tribal chiefs, and held a closed door meeting to appeal to the tribal chiefs to be loyal to them.

"In the northern Transvaal, there are two million votes," said Botha. "I want them all. We'll be together, we'll pray together, and ask God to send rain so that our cattle will be fat."

De Klerk reinforced the NP's special relationship with God by hammering away at the ANC's special relationship with the South African Communist Party.

And if having God and the chiefs on one's side still wasn't enough, the state president promised to look into extending the SABC television service into Shangan and Venda.

De Klerk appeared a little uncomfortable, staring pensively into space and communicating little with the wizened and diminutive acting paramount chief of the Venda, Poppie Mphophu, seated next to him on the rostrum.

Botha was more in his element in the role of big African chief and made his points using long-winded metaphors involving cattle.

"If you do not increase your cows, but you increase your families, everyone will have less and less milk," he said, in what was supposedly the idiom of his new constituents. "There are certain parties," he added darkly, "who say kill the cows, knowing that next week you will have nothing to eat."

For the NP it was a trial run. It is important to establish that it does have a black constituency, no matter how small and even if it is only a few disgruntled *kgosis* who once collaborated with apartheid, to offset the loss of white support and have a dog's chance of getting 20 percent countrywide.

The NP believes that the northern Transvaal is still up for grabs, which is only partially true. It is politically one of the most diverse regions in South Africa. Parts of Venda and Lebowa are staunchly ANC and contain some of the most militant comrades and chiefs in the country.

The Pan Africanist Congress claims support in Sekhukuni and where the peasant rebellions of the 1950s are still fresh in people's memories. And Seshogo outside Pietersburg is a stronghold of the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

But, there are villages in the three northern homelands where no party has gone. The biggest disadvantage for the NP, other than the burden of its own past, is that for the least politically aware African in a grass hut village, only one name has magic: Nelson Mandela.

On record alone, one would tend not to dismiss the Nats. They have been unbeaten in 14 straight general elections and referenda.

They know how to play electoral politics, even if the rules of the game have changed completely and they will be fighting without their traditional weapons of *swart gewaar* and the SABC.

They are helped by the fact that they are contesting different levels of black support. If the NP gets one of 10 black voters next year it will be creditable, added to its support from the other minorities.

The ANC, on the other hand, has to win seven out of 10 of black votes to be sure of securing 50 percent overall.

The problem with Saturday's rally is that it did not prove a whole lot except for the obvious fact that there are a lot of confused people in South Africa.

Some, like Danson Mabasa from Venda, were there because their chiefs told them to attend. A group of black youths in the stands, on being questioned, all turned out to be the children of MPs in Gazankulu.

Most disconcerting of all, had the NP organisers known it, was the explanation of John Feeyane, a marshal charged with controlling the crowd, who was wearing a National Party T-shirt.

He was there, he said, because his boss, a farmer, had given all the workers the day off, and R20 pocket money.

"The uniform is not my heart," he said. "I am an ANC member. I will be an ANC member until I die."



NEGOTIATIONS FM 25/6/93

# Time to seize the nettle

304A

The multiparty talks were poised this week to take a major step forward in the transition to democracy. The big questions were whether the PAC will be forced out and whether the CP, Inkatha and their Cosag allies will decide to pull out.

The odds seemed slightly against Cosag leaving, largely because it surely realises that it would be less effective on the outside. In any event, the stage has been reached where the process must go forward — with or without these parties. If the same arguments applied to the PAC, they showed little sign of appreciating them on the eve of the ultimatum against their untenable adherence to the so-called armed struggle.

The Afrikaner Volksunie balks at signing the declaration on violence, arguing for the scrapping of private armies and threatening to form its own if that is not done.

Asked if the CP would be quitting the process, in view of the unlikelihood of securing a separate Afrikaner state (where, nobody can say), CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs replied: "If I come to your house and you treat me well, I'll stay till 11 or 12 o'clock; but if not, I'll leave early."

As the FM went to press, the negotiating council had begun its three-day sitting in preparation for today's forum. If there was to be a walkout, things would have been sufficiently clear for it to have happened by Thursday, though the impact of a walkout would be greater at the forum.

Government believes that the CP may be looking for a way out of its impossible confederal demand, that it could acquiesce in a form of federal or strong regional solution that has been outlined in the negotiating council. It seems also that Afrikaner Volksfront convenor General Constand Viljoen was pleasantly surprised at a recent meeting with government when he was shown what the technical committee says about the (Inkatha) idea of regional "asymmetry." This will weigh with the CP.

Compromises were painfully crafted last week on the wording of a declaration suspending the armed struggle, in an effort to accommodate the PAC — whose opportunists seem content as ever to squeeze maximum publicity out of the affair. The PAC's cat-and-mouse game is clearly aimed at radical outbidding of the ANC in next year's election (campaigning for which heard cries of "Viva National Party, Viva" at a multiracial NP rally in Pietersburg last Sunday).

Inkatha's threatening demand for a federal form of state was met halfway when it was agreed that the technical committee (against its better judgment) would lay on the table "alternative ways of drafting and adopting a new constitution, including the bottom-up and top-down approaches," as well as options for state/provincial/regional constitutions. These are to be discussed in the council with a view to arriving at an agreement, including implementation so that parties have a clear understanding of the package which constitutes the key elements of the transition process.

Whether such options would pass muster with the council as a whole remains to be seen. Government sources have cautioned against raised expectations of today's crucial meeting of the expanded negotiations forum.

Government and the ANC hope agreement will be reached on the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council and want formally to endorse the April 27 general election date. Agreement on these two steps is needed in order for the US to announce the lifting of remaining sanctions against SA on July 4, when President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are due to be honoured in Philadelphia by President Bill Clinton.

One Inkatha central committee member privately suggested last week that De Klerk

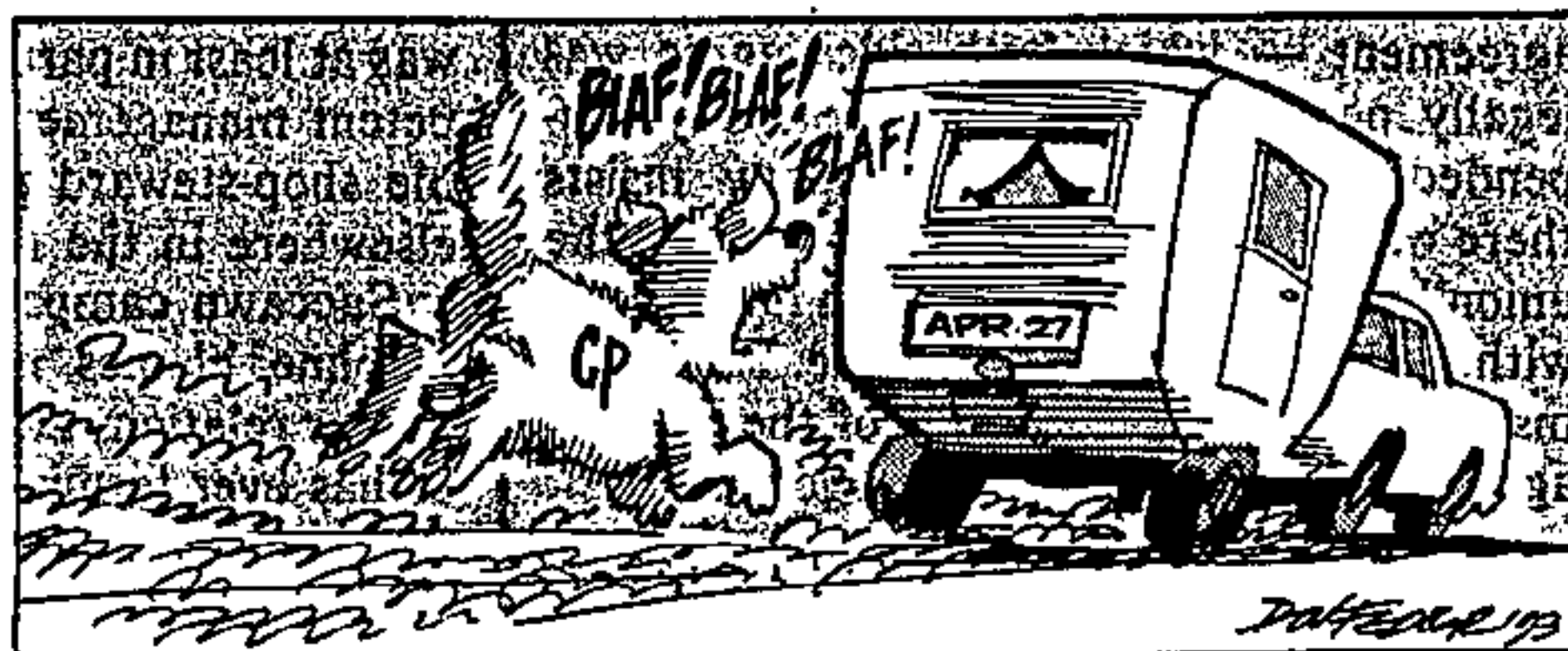
thought that the election date could once again provide the stumbling block.

The man who advises Ulundi is one Mario Oriani-Ambrosini, from whose office was despatched the fax last week proposing the IFP's tough resolution calling for negotiations on constitutional principles and regional powers to be halted, in favour of considering proposals for "a fully fledged federal constitution" before the next election. This was richly hailed by Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as having drawn a line "against the arrogance of those seeking to manipulate the constitutional process and disregarding the aspirations of the majority of South Africans." He charged that the federal option had been deliberately "sidelined" at the talks. It was for this reason that the KwaZulu delegation warned on June 15 that it would "implement a constructive form of filibustering" at the talks — a submission later withdrawn.

For his part, the youthful Ambrosini charges that government has abandoned federalism in favour of a five-year power sharing deal with the ANC.

The PAC was granted a reprieve by the negotiating council last week over signing a declaration suspending the armed struggle. It claimed some of its principals were in Cairo and difficult to reach. This turned out to be a lie, as subsequent hardline remarks by PAC leader Clarence Makwetu made plain. The matter was due to come to a head at Tuesday's meeting, which, it was agreed, would revisit the declaration briefly for full and final adoption — with or without the PAC.

The PAC was insisting, nonsensically, on a "mutual cessation" of hostilities between it and government, which says it has exhausted discussion on the matter in bilateral meetings with the PAC. The declaration is framed in such a way as to apply to all parties. Makwetu this week laid down three conditions, any one of which, if met, would enable the PAC to sign: mutual cessation of hostilities, establishment of a TEC with full independent control over the security forces, and the formation of a constituent assembly (which cannot happen until there's an election). In the end the PAC could be saved from itself if its faxes recently seized in a police raid are returned.



and Mandela would have egg on their faces instead. Government sources expressed concern that "some parties are looking for a way to obstruct the negotiating process even though we've reached compromises that should satisfy them."

It was pointed out, for example, that Inkatha (in effect the leader of Cosag), had, in a major departure from its stance, briefly accepted a two-phase approach to the transition process (implying new-found acceptance of a Transitional Executive Council and final constitution-making by an elected body), and confirmed this to the technical committee. But Inkatha suddenly pulled back last week — probably "on instructions from the man who advises Ulundi." They might look for something else to derail the process, said a government source. It was

## DEATH SENTENCE FM 25/6/93 Hanging in there

Parliament duly voted in favour of lifting the moratorium on the death penalty by 125 votes to 55 after a six-hour debate, described

# Jargon at talks jolly familiar

Star 25/6/93

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

During the closing days of a parliamentary session, MPs — faced with a plethora of late sittings — talk about “legislation by exhaustion”. At the World Trade Centre the workload is more severe and, judging by some bleary eyes, it could soon be “concession by exhaustion”. (304 A)

Besides fatigue, the multiparty Negotiating Council is increasingly assuming characteristics associated with the parliamentary process.

Parliament went into recess yesterday. Similarly, the Negotiating Council will go into a 10-day recess next Friday.

Earlier this week, Negotiating Council members decided they would rather meet every day from Monday to Thursday than for four days during the week, including Friday. But the planned long weekend fell away when the Negotiating Forum meeting was postponed from today until next Friday.

Another parallel with Parliament is the language used around the horseshoe table. Many call one another “honourable members”, and the council “the House”.



# Few blacks to benefit from political settlement'

Star 25/6/93

## Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Few blacks will benefit from next year's political settlement in South Africa, and conditions will remain much the same for the masses or get worse.

This is the view of Dr Eugene Nyati, director of the Centre for African Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Whites and a small black elite would benefit, and if they

failed "selflessly" to extend the benefits, the transitional government would become vulnerable, and civil and labour unrest would "render the country ungovernable once again", he warned.

Nyati's analysis was contained in his Froembling Memorial Lecture to the western Cape branch of the South African Pharmaceutical Society in Cape Town.

He said that if whites and

the black elite, which he expected to benefit from the 1994 settlement, consciously extended the benefits to more South Africans, "it is possible that over the medium to long term the majority of people may identify with the settlement and act in ways that will stabilise the country".

The immediate beneficiaries had a "heavy responsibility".

"The 1994 settlement will be largely weighted against

blacks and is unlikely to deliver the needed structural change in the short and medium term.

"The emphasis of the settlement will be a strategic option of the black elite.

"While the country will have a majority black Cabinet, the effective power relations between the races will not change much.

"Overall, the most the settlement will do is create a

black elite that will be too small to threaten white control of the economy, but hopelessly conspicuous enough to serve the purpose of being a psychological and physical buffer between white interests and the radical demands of the hungry black masses," he said.

Nyati also expressed concern about the nature of the transitional government, warning that it could prove unworkable.

# Can Mandela, FW get it together before visit?

Star 25/6/93

By Peter Fabricius  
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's high-profile visit to Washington next week could be another "Rubicon speech"-style disaster if negotiators in South Africa fail to reach a prior transition deal, US business sources are warning.

They are expressing concern that negotiators might fail to reach firm agreement on an election date and the establishment of a transitional executive council (TEC) before Mandela and De Klerk receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal in President Clinton's company on July 4.

If so, Mandela would not be able to use the occasion to issue the call for the lifting of sanctions which everyone here is expecting. If he fails to do so, potential US investors — already growing impatient for an agreement — might turn



De Klerk . . . will receive medal jointly with Mandela.

their backs on South Africa.

The decision yesterday to postpone a decision on the TEC and an election date until next Friday is going to put enormous pressure on Mandela and De Klerk.

That is the day they are scheduled to meet Clinton in the White House before going to Philadelphia for the medal ceremony on Sunday.

US business sources point



Mandela . . . expected to call for lifting of sanctions.

out that Clinton is lending his prestige and putting his reputation on the line by joining the South African leaders when they receive the award.

It will be a big moment with a great deal of American attention focused on South Africa.

Most observers here believe that with this kind of pressure on him, Mandela will somehow find a way to issue the expected call for sanctions to

be lifted. The Inkatha Freedom Party seems to hold the key to the success of the Mandela-De Klerk visit.

It continues to oppose firm commitments to elections and a TEC until there has been agreement on a federal system for South Africa.

US business sources have also expressed concern about aspects of a draft Senate Bill to lift sanctions and encourage investment once the firm commitment to a TEC and elections has been made.

The Bill would extend the life of the present code of conduct — known as the State Department Fair Employment Standards — which obliges US business to observe trade union rights and spend money on projects to benefit blacks.

The code would terminate after South Africa's first democratic elections. This represents some concession to business interests. The original provision would have maintained the code until a democratically elected South African government had enacted fair labour standards.



WS

## Fun too for De Klerk in Austria, US

Political Staff

304A

CAPE TOWN — President de Klerk leaves on visits to Austria and the US at the weekend.

The Government this week released details of his formal work engagements, and has followed this up by announcing his less demanding engagements.

He leaves South Africa tomorrow night in his Falcon jet for his first visit to Austria.

Firm fans of the opera, the president and his wife Marike will attend performances of the operas *Nabucco* and *Turandot* while in Vienna.

He is scheduled to arrive in Washington on Wednesday.

He will meet Bill Clinton on Friday, just before the US president's meeting with ANC leader Nelson Mandela. The three will be photographed together.

That evening the De Klerks will attend a performance of *Phantom of the Opera* at the Kennedy Centre.

Government officials said apart from receiving the Philadelphia Liberty Medal with Mandela, the main point of De Klerk's visit was to meet Clinton and top financial people.

# CP's 'last chance' to press its case

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

The crunch for the Conservative Party comes on Tuesday when it will be given "the very last opportunity" to convince the Negotiating Council of the viability of an Afrikaner state.

The party's thrust for self-determination in a confederal state left it isolated in negotiations yesterday.

The CP refused to give details of the boundaries of its proposed state. It also elaborated only slightly on its definition of an Afrikaner, with negotiator Fanie Jacobs saying that some English-speakers would also be granted citizenship.

But the CP has undertaken to answer by Tuesday questions raised yes-

terday and in a report by a negotiations technical committee.

In a rejoinder to his fellow Cosag member, IFP delegate Joe Matthews said it required much self-control from many to hear arguments about freedom of Afrikaners when the entire thrust of the process was the achievement of freedom for blacks.

"The basic reason we are here is to ensure the freedom and emancipation of the black majority. We must never deviate from that principle," said Matthews.

After an appeal to the council not to ignore the claims of Afrikaners, Jacobs added a veiled threat, saying the process "should not negotiate a course that will lead to destruction, strife and even civil war".

# Right to hold demo at talks

Political Staff

Thousands of Afrikaner Volksfront supporters were expected to protest outside the World Trade Centre as negotiators begin their work this morning.

Police, defence force and emergency service staff have been put on alert at the venue.

The Negotiating Council was told last night that the Kempton Park Town Council had given permission for between 1 000 and 3 000 demonstrators to protest outside the centre between 6 am and noon.

A council report said organisers agreed that no firearms would be allowed. A strong SAP and SADF contingent would be present on the roads and highway leading to the centre, negotiators were told.

Five demonstrators would be allowed to enter the World Trade Centre to present a memorandum on their demand for an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The Volksfront also hopes that Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen will be allowed to address the council — a request which was refused last night.

# PAC still vague on struggle

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

Confusion over the PAC's position on the armed struggle is dragging on and the matter remains unresolved after a meeting at the World Trade Centre between the PAC and the Government.

The conflict stems from a difference of interpretation of a declaration on the cessation of hostilities and suspension

of armed action. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer last night told the Negotiating Council that the PAC delegation could not clarify its position on the armed struggle.

The PAC denied this but promised to seek further consultation with its leadership as to at what stage it would cease hostilities.



## Inkatha slams CP call for white homeland

Billy Paddock

INKATHA's Joe Matthews yesterday shook the Concerned South Africans Group by telling the CP it was at the negotiations for the wrong reasons.

"It must take a lot of patience for a lot of us here that right now we are not discussing the freedom of blacks but rather the freedom of whites. The basic reason we are here is to determine the emancipation of the black majority," he said. (13) (304A)

This followed an impassioned plea from CP delegate Fanie Jacobs who said his demand for an Afrikaner homeland should be looked upon favourably.

Matthews said Afrikaners had been in power for more than 40 years and did not partition a separate white homeland. "The Thomlinson commission looked at the issue and Verwoerd rejected partition."

He said the only reason a white homeland was becoming an issue was because of impending democracy. "We have to face the fact that the majority of people in the country are impatient with the idea of breaking up the South African state."

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo argued that the council should not hold out false hopes for the CP. "This council will not sanction an ethnic state."

Senior government sources confirmed yesterday that government and the PAC would hold another bilateral meeting on Monday at the request of the PAC in a bid to resolve their differences, Sapa reports. The two parties adjourned their talks yesterday to allow the PAC to consult its principals.

"They are not ready to respond to our questions," a senior government source said yesterday.

● See Page 4



Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw, left, and American Chamber of Commerce of Southern Africa director Michael Judin.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

## Years of pain ahead analyst

**JONATHAN DAVIS**  
SOUTH Africans should not expect to vote for a democratic government under a new constitution until after the turn of the century, Free Market Foundation executive director Leon Louw told a meeting of the American Chamber of Commerce of Southern Africa yesterday.

The process of transferring power would be long and painful, Louw said, even if a transitional executive committee was to be installed after elections. He told the meeting of the chamber in Houghton he doubted whether the scheduled elections would take place next April.

He said SA needed to learn from the experiences of the rest of the world in order to become a "winning nation". He said history showed that two common factors in the formula for such a winning nation were a market economy and a liberal democracy.

He said the experience of the world to date was that a free market economy created "powerful forces" in favour of liberal democracy, probably because of the prosperity produced.

Another important factor in the creation of a "winning nation" was a low level of government participation in the economy.

Louw said SA could hope to achieve an economic growth rate of about 4% under the best circumstances. This was better than it appeared because internationally the best overall improvements in the standard of living had been achieved under a moderately high growth rate, he said.



WEEKEND  
Argus

Editor-in-Chief  
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Editor  
J C B HOBDAV

Let's now get  
on with it!

IT is monstrous and untenable that a mob of armed rightwingers should have been able to invade a venue where concerned South African leaders were gathered to try to sort out a peaceful solution to the ills of this country and to put an end to the very sort of conflict that happened at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

What emerges most strongly from the ugly scenes at Kempton Park is that many supporters of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Afrikaner Volksfront — and, one must assume, many of their leaders — have no interest in the process of democracy and no intention of taking up the offer to try to negotiate their own future, along with all the other concerned parties, in a new South Africa.

Instead, these anachronistic racists seem firmly set on a path of confrontation. They must be disabused — and soon — of any belief that they could win in such a confrontation or destabilise the peace process to a point where it might break down.

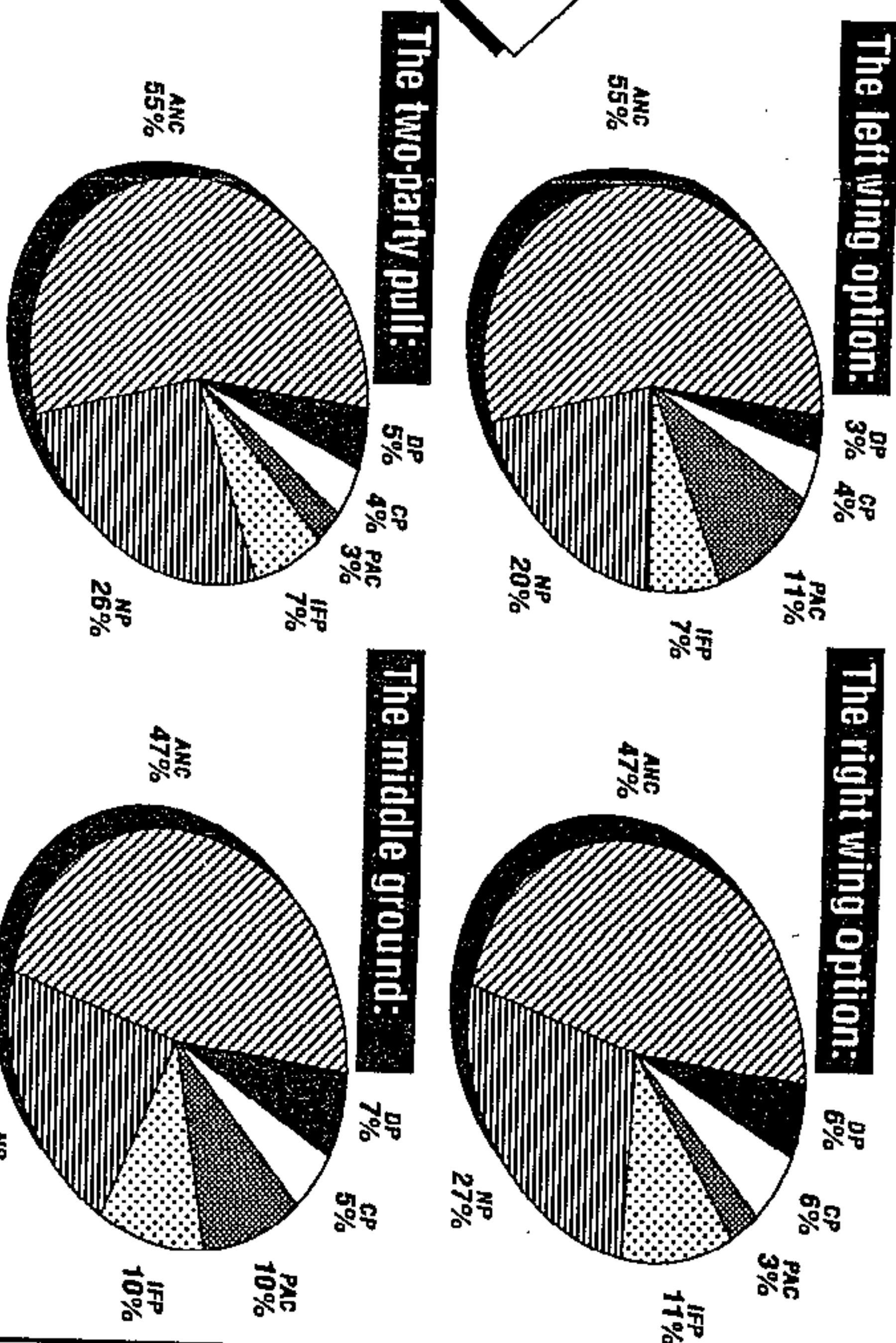
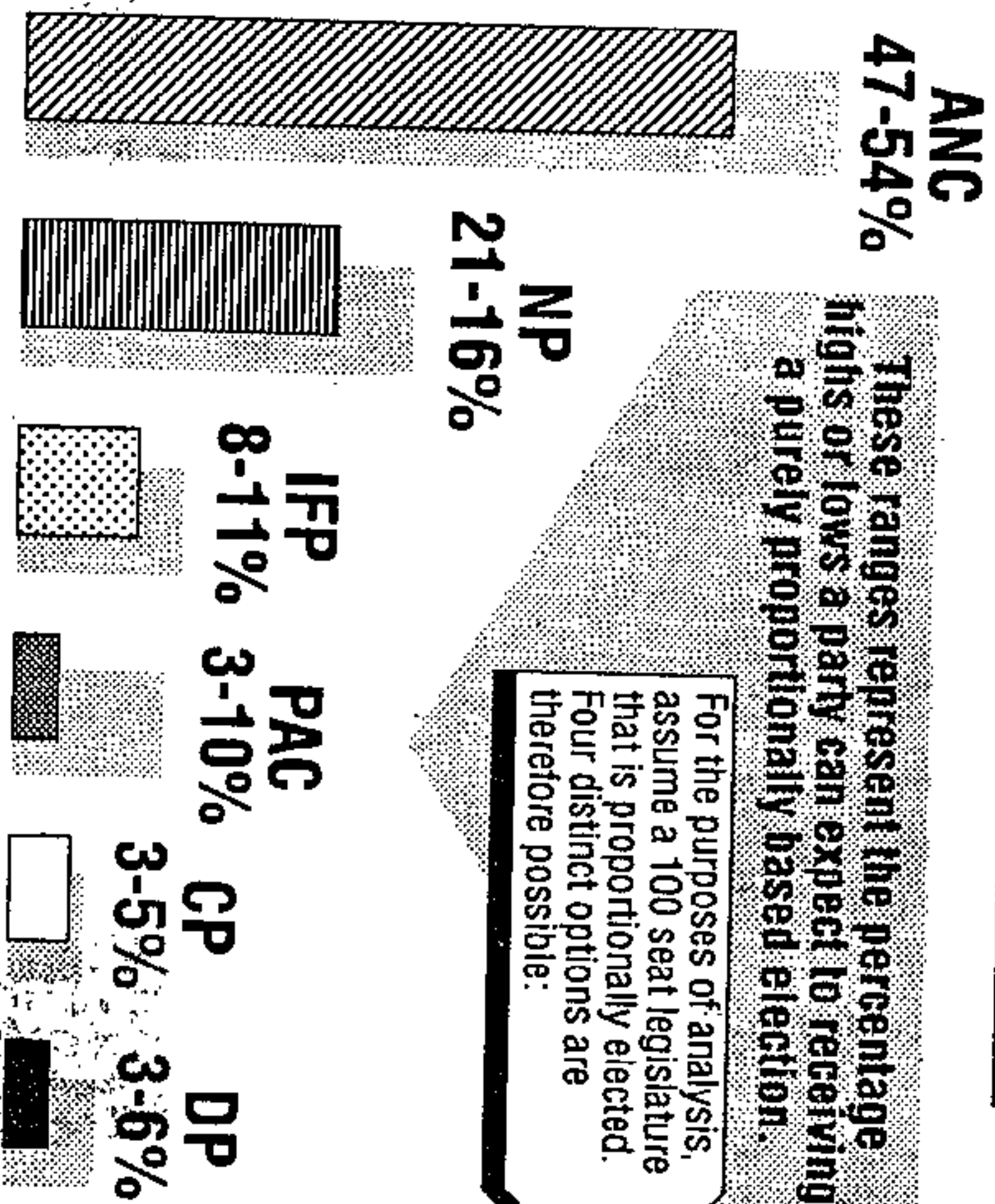
What these bigots are attempting to achieve is a state of lawlessness; the way to counter them is through the law. President De Klerk has vowed that, after the armed seizure of the World Trade Centre, the law will take its course and prosecutions will follow. It is imperative that this should happen. Not only must those responsible for the attack be brought to justice but the security forces must be seen to be in control if other incidents are not to follow.

Mr De Klerk says the attack is an indication that the "bitter fruits of inciting statements" by prominent spokesmen of the Conservative Party and the Volksfront are now being reaped. That is true. But equally contributory is the action on the left wing, with the PAC's provocative campaign of violence against white civilians. Here, too, the law must be seen to take its course. The terrorist activities of Apla and its ilk must be halted.

However, perhaps the main factor behind the threatened insurrection, both on the left and the right, is the

## Four roads ahead, but beware of three!

Support for the parties are currently averaged accordingly:



Graph: BOB GRIERSON, The Argus

Astonishing,  
beautiful black

THAT first black stryddag held by the National Party is being seen as a major breakthrough for the party in black politics and could set the pattern for a hectic election campaign.

NP officials say they were astonished by the turnout and they had to work night and day at Pietersburg last weekend to receive the huge crowd, estimated at between 5 000 and 10 000.

The crowd, consisting mainly of blacks, gave President De Klerk, Foreign Minister P. Botha and other members of the Cabinet a tumultuous welcome, with roars of "Viva De Klerk!" "Viva Pk!" and "Viva NP!"

The Pietersburg stryddag and the recent Western Cape NP rally, where President De Klerk addressed a predominantly coloured crowd of more than 5 000 people at Cape Town's Goodwood showground in March, are the forerunners of many such new-style mass

The National Party's first predominantly black stryddag was a far cry from the days of koeisters and smiling tannies at traditional whites-only Nat rallies of the past. The man behind the new-style stryddag told Weekend Argus Political Correspondent FRANS ESTERHUYSE how he did it.

3044 AFG26/6/93

## 30 percent vote claim 'a fantasy'

FRANS ESTERHUYSE  
Weekend Argus  
Political Correspondent

CLAIMS that the National Party can win up to 30 percent of the black vote in next year's election have been dismissed by a top researcher as "a fantasy".

The NP he said, had established branches "thruout the country" when the NP was at its most optimistic, the party's assessment of its potential share of the black vote in an election was about 12 percent. At that time it thought it could get about 70 to 80 percent of the white vote.

There are four possible voting scenarios in the country's first democratic election, but a political analyst believes three may mean disaster. A report by DALE KNEEN of Weekend Argus.

ONE of the best political scenarios for South Africa would be lower levels of support for the African National Congress and National Party and more for the Inkatha Freedom Party and Pan Africanist Congress.

That is how Mr Daniel Silke, of the University of Cape Town's Institute for the Study of Public Policy, interprets the outcome of the latest Human Sciences Research Council report on voting tendencies.

The report found the ANC and NP were likely to get most of the votes, with estimates of between 47 and 54 percent for the ANC and 21 and 26 percent for the NP.

The IFP would get between eight and 11 percent, the PAC between three and 10 percent, the Conservative Party between four and five percent and the Democratic Party between three and six percent.

Based on these statistics, Mr Silke believes there are four possible outcomes in an election and they will each have different effects, three of which could spark violence from either the left or the right.

MR Silke called the first the "Leftwing Option" as it would benefit those parties on the left and provide them with the upper ranges of their current support.

The Leftwing Option would see the following poll outcome: the ANC 55 percent, the NP 20 percent, the IFP seven percent, the PAC 11 percent, the CP four percent and the DP three percent.

"The success of the ANC is bound to negatively impact on their desire to include smaller minority parties in central government," said Mr Silke.

"Combined with the PAC, they will have secured almost two thirds of the popular vote and will have a considerable voting advantage over their combined opposition.

"With a poor showing the DP may yet prove decisive to the majority alliance as it attempts to push through a new constitution and controversial legislation.

"This scenario leaves the NP relatively intact but at considerably lower levels and without any real claim to power.

"Potential also exists for the IFP to dispute the outcome of the election based upon their poor showing and relative marginalisation.

"Clearly, rightwing opposition would reach a peak and result in a renewed call to arms."

THE "Rightwing Option" would see the reverse with conservative groupings doing better than expected with the ANC at 47 percent, the NP 27 percent, the IFP 11 percent, the PAC three percent, the CP six percent and the DP six percent.


"While the ANC and PAC will squeak through with half the vote, their position will be tenuous. A Leftwing Option of the NP, the IFP, and the CP



The way forward since then has been much too slow. Successive talks have become bogged down in inertia, point-scoring and politicking. Attitudes have been allowed to harden.

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JBO JBO JBO JBO JBO JBO JBO JBO JBO JBO

Speaking from Pietersburg during a telephone interview with Weekend Argus, he claimed the huge attendance reflected spontaneous interest in the party and its leaders. He said he was confident of getting a crowd of up to 30 000 if another srydag featuring President De Klerk were to be held at Pietersburg.

Such a rally would probably have to be held at the town's rugby stadium — one of few local venues that could accommodate so many people.

It was true many people came in buses from other regions, Mr Botha said, but this was normal for any large rally. The party merely helped to make transport available.

True, also, that the NP offered free food parcels — "but this was not announced in prior advertisements or publicly and, in any case, the NP has always offered free food and refreshments at its sityoddae," Mr Botha said.

"Everybody received the same food parcels including the State President and Cabinet Ministers. The food came in the form of a take-away parcel and everybody was served within an hour and 35 minutes."

Mr Bohra said he personally organised the food parcels for all rallygoers. "The point I want to make is that one cannot let people start their day at 5 am and end it late in the evening after attending an all-day rally, without giving them anything to eat or drink. I catered for 10,000 people because that was the number that could be accommodated at the showground.

Asked how many people attended the rally, he said he did not have an exact figure, but he could say that 8,212 people showed up. He issued to people as they arrived a small pamphlet to attend the rally.

The party's estimate, that close on 10 000 people attended 700 were while NP members : the usual number for whites-on-past in that area. And the proportion to blacks was fairly close to that in the Northern Transvaal, according to Mr Botha.

He said he was amazed at the fact that the People had come from as far as Johannesburg, Pretoria, Brits, from the Transvaal homelands in the Transvaal, Northern Transvaal constituency, also many coloured and Indian

Although President De Klerk at only 2.30 pm last Saturday bringing rallygoers began arriving, NP officials worked throughout the next day to welcome them and make them comfortable.

NP officials at the rally in marshals.

vigorously at the national dance.

The program speeches by cheering "Vi-

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Mr Botha regional official and eight sub-regions.

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Mr Carl G  
NP, said pec  
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fewer than five ululating traditional groups performed. The programme also included enthusiastic community leaders, and youths for Mr De Klerk and his party.

l, bare-legged imps, wearing  
address, kicked up dust and blew  
istles. The men rolled on the  
De Klerk and Mr Pik Botha

ally had been "unbelievable" for people, including community leaders, to forward to join the party. The full-time personnel in his district included a black regional organizer and black organisers working in

also been changes in other NP of-  
fices. The opening of party membership to  
prime black, coloured and Indian  
has been appointed in NP offices in

...including the Free State.

**T**HE third option is the "Two-Party Pull" in which the ANC and the NP succeed in bringing their voters to the polls, herding a two-party system that largely eliminates the smaller parties.

"This will promote a more integrated, elite coalition approach from the two major parties. The ANC will need NP support for key legislation and will no longer be able to rely on an emasculated PAC.

"The smaller parties are likely to become increasingly frustrated as they accuse the ANP and NP of collusion in the corridors of power and will continue to play a meaningful role, albeit in opposition.

"This scenario poses a serious danger to a future stable state and will demand strong-arm tactics from the majority government to restore order."

"At the very least the voters themselves will have centralised under the two moderate banners with the two largest parties enjoying the support of over 60 percent of the electorate. The

support to over 60 percent of the construction industry. "It could encourage the re-implementation of a state of emergency as it would have majority backing."

**T**HE final option "The Middle Ground" is the best option for South Africans as it provides for a larger voter distribution among the small political parties.

The ANC would get 47 percent, the NP 21 percent, the IFP 10 percent, the PAC 10 percent, the CP five percent and the DP seven percent.

While these figures still favour the ANC as the party of the future, the increasing amount of those who "don't know" or refuse to commit themselves offers smaller parties some hope for the future.

"Both the ANC and NP have lost some percentage points over the past month while the smaller parties have remained steady. Should they succeed in upping their vote, the new parliament could claim a new legitimacy and inclusivity."

"With all parties enjoying relatively strong representation, this scenario still argues in favour of the two major parties dominating proceedings.

"However, with at least 10 percent of the popular vote, both the IFP and PAC should be satisfied that they were able to obtain the best possible result given their lack of financial and organisational resources.

"The NP will still be the major opposition party and the ANC, although powerful, will have considerable constraints imposed on its authority."

Mr Silke said this option was the best possible alternative for South Africa, although strong regional showing by individual parties could encourage a "UDI" mentality in certain provinces or areas.



## FW may delay trip abroad

PRESIDENT De Klerk is considering whether to postpone his trip abroad, scheduled to begin tonight. ~~APR~~ 26/6/93

A spokesman from the Office of the State President said that Mr De Klerk will make a final decision "later".

It is not clear whether Mr De Klerk is considering postponing his entire trip or just the first leg to Austria.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela are due to receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal from US President Bill Clinton on July 4.

It is unclear whether Mr De Klerk's indecision is the result of events at the World Trade Centre yesterday. — Sapa.



**PROPHETS OF THE VOTE: Prophets of the City, who are bringing the democracy message to Cape Town**

## *Soweto 26/6-30/6/93* **Rapping for the vote in Cape Town** *(30/6)*

RAPPING FOR Democracy will be back in town next month. The project, organised by the Centre for Development Studies at the University of the Western Cape and presented by the Prophets of the City (POC), is aimed at educating students about voting.

The "Rapping for Democracy" school tour started in Soweto in May this year.

POC then spent a month in Johannesburg, covering schools in Eldorado Park, Riverlea, Coronationville and Bosmont. Eldorado Park's "Peace Party", organised by

the local Centre for Peace Action, was an all-day affair, and was a major success.

In Durban POC performed at venues in Isipingo, Chatsworth, Merebank, Mobeni and Clare Estate.

Back in Cape Town on June 7, the programme opened up in the Strand / Somerset West area, where the group "edutained" students at Strand and Gordon Secondary Schools, Mitchells Plain, Macassar, Ocean View, Hout Bay, and finally Eros in Athlone and Maitland High School.

POC departed for Copenhagen in Denmark on June 13 after a show at the Peninsula Technikon.

"Totally worth it," they said.

They are currently in Denmark at the invitation of the organisers of the "Images of Africa" concert. They return at the end of this month, when they re-start their "Rapping for Democracy" tour in and around Cape Town.

● Do you want POC to come to your school to teach you how to vote? Call Melanie or Heidi at CDS at 959-2566/2151. Literature and posters are also available.



# Equal votes for all, say South Africans

MOST South Africans believe that everybody over the age of 18 should have an equal vote, regardless of educational level, income or age, a Marknor survey conducted last year found.

From a total of 2 300 respondents, 62 percent of blacks fully agreed with this statement, 49 percent of whites agreed and 20 percent of both race groups partly agreed.

"Interestingly, more Afrikaans-speaking whites than English-speaking whites fully or partly agreed

that everyone's vote should be equal," said Ms Christine Woessner, Marknor's deputy managing director.

"It must be kept in mind, however, that the survey took place in urban areas only."

The people who gave their opinions rejected the suggestion that the vote of people paying higher income tax should count for more than the vote of people paying little or no tax.

"Not surprisingly," Woessner said, "respondents with a higher

income agreed more with this statement than those with lower incomes."

"Age-related voting was also strongly rejected by both race groups, but with greater disagreement by whites," she said.

She said the greatest conflict came with the suggestion that voting should be qualified by education.

"The issue of educational qualifications seems to evoke the strongest feeling, among both whites and blacks, that it should 'perhaps' be

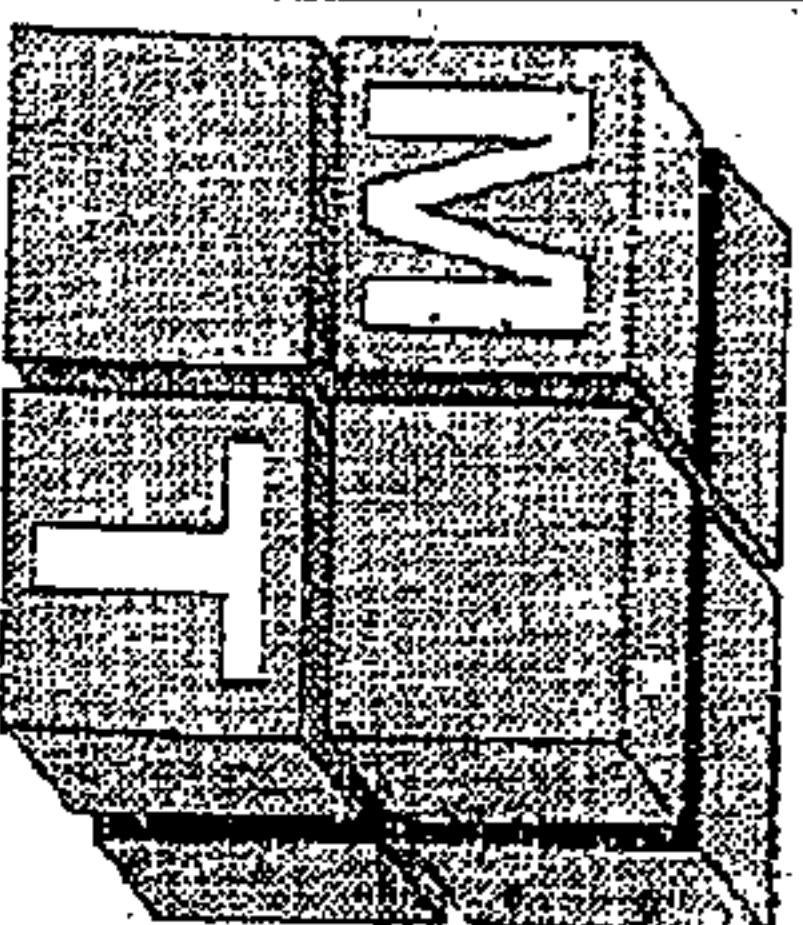
introduced."

Woessner said a system of qualified franchise is not alien to international politics. Not long ago, Americans had to pass a literacy test before they could be registered as voters, and Swiss women only received the vote in 1972.

"Now the most commonly used system is that which allows all adults to vote, provided they are not insane or have a criminal record," Woessner said.

"I wonder, will this be the case in South Africa?"

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



# 14 Voter education

## Cleaning up apartheid's mess

Sowetan 26/6-30/6/93

**W**HEN South Africans discuss the need for international election monitors for our elections, they often raise the issue of monitors helping to calm voters' fears about elections.

These fears are based on the realities that people experience. Many fear violence and intimidation, many are disillusioned and doubt elections will change anything.

Some became so used to being apathetic during apartheid, that they find it difficult to break the habit now that things are changing.

These are all symptoms of a problem which will last beyond election day.

However, elections are a recurrent event: they happen every five years or so.

Can we continually call on the international community to come to our assistance every time we have an election? Obviously not.

These problems anticipated before our first election must be solved by the time the second election comes around.

Political parties have demonstrated foresight and are addressing the "levelling of the playing fields" and the need for affirmative action.

The levelling of the playing fields refers to making up for the inequalities left behind by apartheid, which still affect the balance of power among the various political groups which will be contesting elections.

This is necessary because there are a number of national institutions which still fall under the sole control of the government.

Because the government is going to be one of the parties contesting the coming elections, this is an unfair advantage.

Levelling the playing fields is an attempt empower alternative political groupings so that they can exert some kind of control over the future of their organisations and members.

Violence, intimidation, political intolerance, fear, apathy, suspicion, mistrust, are all symptoms of underlying problems in our society which can all be traced back to apartheid.

Myron Weiner, a Ford International Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was invited to give a lecture on the topic of affirmative action by the Urban Foundation.

"I was not aware of the baggage that the term 'affirmative action' carries in this country. For some South Africans, affirmative action means 'quotas for university admissions, jobs and membership in corporate boards, based on race; while for others it means the entire range of policies intended to reduce racial and gender inequality," Weiner said.

His own definition of affirmative action is "a very selective group of policies and programmes by government and non-governmental institutions to redress the inequalities that exist within societies along racial, ethnic, gender and caste groups, especially those programmes that provide special opportunities to some people on the basis of their membership in these groups".

He also said while the term is an American one, the concept itself existed long before it acquired this label.

Weiner said a difficult factor in multi-ethnic societies is that the two goals of, firstly, reducing disparities among ethnic communities and secondly, managing ethnic conflict at the same time, are often in conflict with one another.

Affirmative action is not meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, but to bridge the gap between groups.

"Some opposition comes of course from some people who are racist and who believe that one group is superior to another," Weiner said.

"Their criticisms are of no concern to us from an intellectual point of view. The more serious concerns come from those who want to build a non-racial, caste-blind, ethnically-blind society, and who are therefore uncomfortable with the idea that benefits should be allocated on the basis of race or ethnic identity.

"There are also objections from those who are concerned that individual merit will be downgraded as the result of affirmative action policies."



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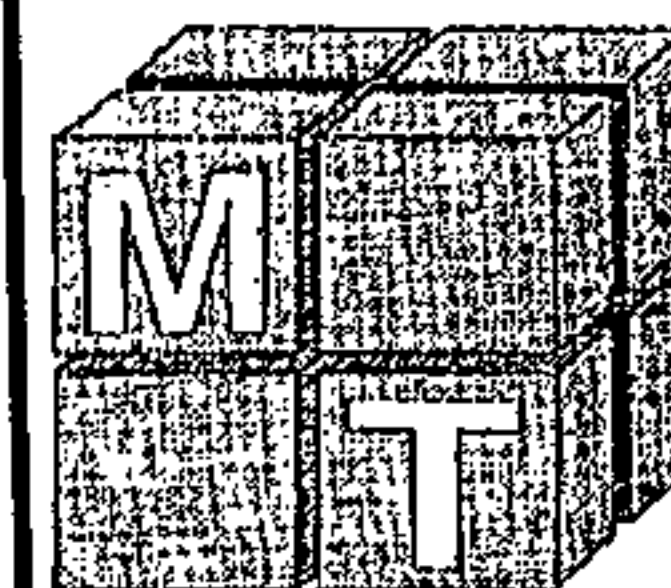
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The levelling of the playing fields refers to making up for the inequalities left behind by apartheid, which still affect the balance of power among the various political groups which will be contesting elections.

This is necessary because there are a number of national institutions which still fall under the sole control of the government.

Because the government is going to be one of the parties contesting the coming elections, this is an unfair advantage.

Levelling the playing fields is an attempt empower alternative political groupings so that they can exert some kind of control over the future of their organisations and members.

Violence, intimidation, political intolerance, fear, apathy, suspicion, mistrust, are all symptoms of underlying problems in our society which can all be traced back to apartheid.

Myron Weiner, a Ford International Professor of Political Science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, was invited to give a lecture on the topic of affirmative action by the Urban Foundation.

"I was not aware of the baggage that the term 'affirmative action' carries in this country. For some South Africans, affirmative action means 'quotas for university admissions, jobs and membership in corporate boards, based on race; while for others it means the entire range of policies intended to reduce racial and gender inequality," Weiner said.

His own definition of affirmative action is "a very selective group of policies and programmes by government and non-governmental institutions to redress the inequalities that exist within societies along racial, ethnic, gender and caste groups, especially those programmes that provide special opportunities to some people on the basis of their membership in these groups".

He also said while the term is an American one, the concept itself existed long before it acquired this label.

Weiner said a difficult factor in multi-ethnic societies is that the two goals of, firstly, reducing disparities among ethnic communities and secondly, managing ethnic conflict at the same time, are often in conflict with one another.

Affirmative action is not meant to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor, but to bridge the gap between groups.

"Some opposition comes of course from some people who are racist and who believe that one group is superior to another," Weiner said.

"Their criticisms are of no concern to us from an intellectual point of view. The more serious concerns come from those who want to build a non-racial, caste-blind, ethnically-blind society, and who are therefore uncomfortable with the idea that benefits should be allocated on the basis of race or ethnic identity.

"There are also objections from those who are concerned that individual merit will be downgraded as the result of affirmative action policies."



# CROSSTALK

The Inkatha Freedom party adds its voice to the debate surrounding the powers which should be given to regional government under a new constitution:

## Federalism is the road to freedom

South 26/6 - 30/6/91

By Farouk Cassim

**F**REEDOM is not a word. It is a God-given right. If freedom comes in the day but is stolen from us in the night, we will have gone to bed free only to awake the next morning in the old chains of bondage and servitude.

The Inkatha Freedom Party wants a lifelong guarantee on freedom. The IFP believes that when men and women are free, genuinely free, only then will they concentrate on creating wealth, music, art and a stable society.

The IFP believes that you are the captain of your own destiny. You are the decision maker for the kind of roof you want over your head, the education you want for your child, the hospital you want for your community.

Decision making at the level of the people is people's power. In politics we call it subsidiarity. Subsidiarity is the bedrock of federalism.

At the end of Codesa 2 it was agreed that the powers of the regions would be entrenched in the constitution.

Professor Kader Asmal (Crossstalk June 12) is partly right about what should have followed: clarifying the respective powers that the centre and the regions should have.

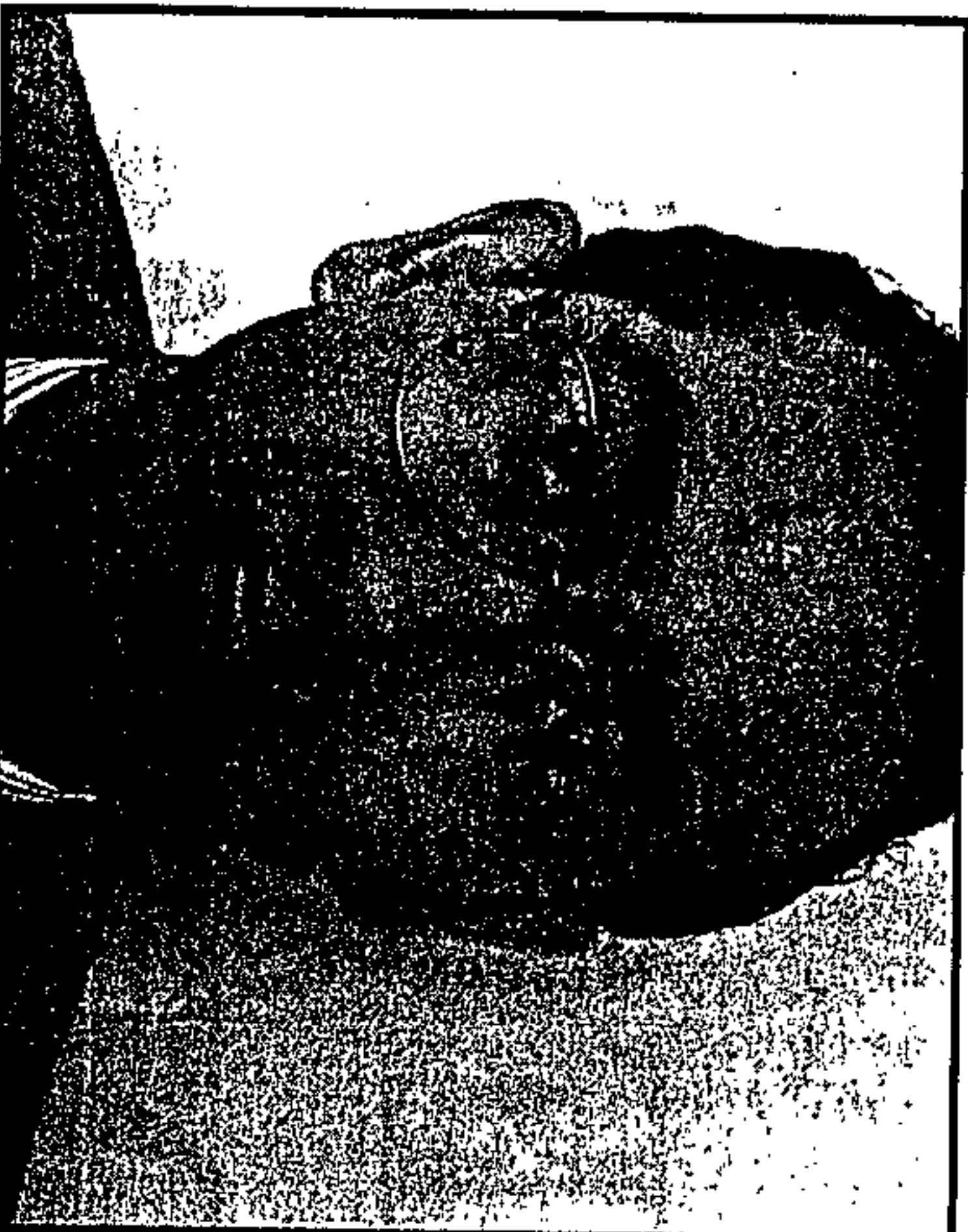
I say that he is partly right because he is conditioned to the thought that once the negotiators had carved the cake between the centre and the regions everyone should have been delighted.

The question that remains is whether liberation, freedom, uhuru on the one hand and the carving up of power on the other hand, is compatible with genuine democracy.

I detect that what the ANC is saying is that there is a need to consolidate power, to increase power, to maximise power. Power, like alcohol, makes men drunk and then they are very dangerous.

The IFP seeks to curb power. Even if the IFP becomes the next government, it is vitally important to recognise that sovereignty rests in the people.

Therefore an IFP government or any other government must have adequate curbs placed on it so that it is totally free to do all the good it can for the people but that it is restricted



Farouk Cassim

from doing serious harm to the people.

Power must reside with the people, not with the representatives of the people. Too much power in the hands of politicians is the sure and shortest route to dictatorship.

Give your money to someone and it is gone. Lend it and you might get it back. Secure it and it's yours for keeps. So too, it should be with the power you have.

The IFP favours federalism because free for free federalism takes you further and faster on the steep road of freedom. It is like being on a jetliner. Centralists are offering a bus ride to a destination which will never be reached.

We are proud to be federalists because we have an open agenda and we offer ordinary people the right to decide for themselves, not to have decisions thrust down their throat.

A free people in a free South Africa is what we seek. Freedom is power. Freedom is motivation. Freedom is the oxygen that makes pol-

itics live. Freedom is what will make South Africa the envy of Africa. Freedom is what will bring investors to our shores.

Federalism offers a belt and braces to guarantee that freedom will live and that tyranny will be tramped underfoot.

The question people ask is whether federalism is the same as confederalism. I ask if a guarantee is the same as a warranty? One is genuine, the other is a fake.

A confederation is a loony arrangement. It must be rejected by everyone in South Africa. The IFP totally and unreservedly rejects confederation as a solution for South Africa.

Confederation will undermine the gains of the struggle of the people of South Africa. It will, moreover, thwart democracy.

It was bad enough producing a passport when going through Transkei. Can you imagine how horrible it will be to travel from Cape Town to Johannesburg and to return via Dur-

ban, East London and George with six to nine border crossings?

What then does the IFP want? The party insists on a permanent union of states with specific powers devolved to the geographically defined states. The IFP wants a federal republic for South Africa like that which obtains in the USA or in Germany.

The IFP agrees that it is right and necessary that South Africa should be strong and united when facing the world and yet it should create room for democracy to be expanded and diffused within the borders of the country.

We want an indestructible union composed of indestructible states. Provided that nothing the centre does is repugnant to the states and nothing that the states do is repugnant to the centre, each sphere will have the scope to promote happiness, freedom, prosperity.

The big doubt is whether the promise of liberation, freedom, uhuru, democracy and peoples' power will materialise in South Africa. If these materialise adequately, we shall have peace and plenty in our land.

International experience shows that country after country is going the federal route. Belgium is the latest. No federal republic, on the other hand, is going the other way.

Free people don't need political bonds fetters. They resist others doing for them what they can do better for themselves.

The IFP and everyone who seeks federalism for South Africa set the following objectives for themselves:

- devolution and not delegation of powers
- subsidiarity and not subordination
- co-operation and not coercion
- unity and not autonomy
- egalitarianism and not elitism

The Inkatha view is that people must rule and not be ruled. If the struggle is won, it must be won for the widest number of people for the widest good of all.

The width of democracy is judged by the slice each citizen had in decision making. Can anyone settle for less? Can they? Can we? Should they? Should we?

Farouk Cassim is a member of the IFP central committee, member of the IFP negotiating team and a member of parliament.



# Today CP... tomorrow ANC! 2-16-83

By MONWABISI  
NOMADLO

2047

UNTIL about a month ago he was a CP diehard, now - after dining with black leader Dr. Ntshato Motlana - he intends joining the ANC.

"That is a great son of SA. I was impressed by him," he said about Motlana this week. For Helmut Lachmann the change of heart has been incredibly dramatic.

Firstly, he never allowed blacks into his "whites only" Studio One Furniture shop on the East Rand, but has since reversed his decision.

Like Paul from Damascus, he later denounced his "hatred for blacks" as being "unjustifiable" as "I want to uplift people's lives in Daveyton and Soweto by job creation and housing. I want to promote communal farming," Lachmann said, adding that self-reliance was significant.

## Interested

"If we want to live in this country, we must live together," he said authoritatively.

He said emphasis should be put on educating blacks in skills like plumbing.

"You can't say to a man he stinks when he does not have warm water," Lachmann said.

"We must reconcile, see value in each other. Hatred has no place in a new nation."

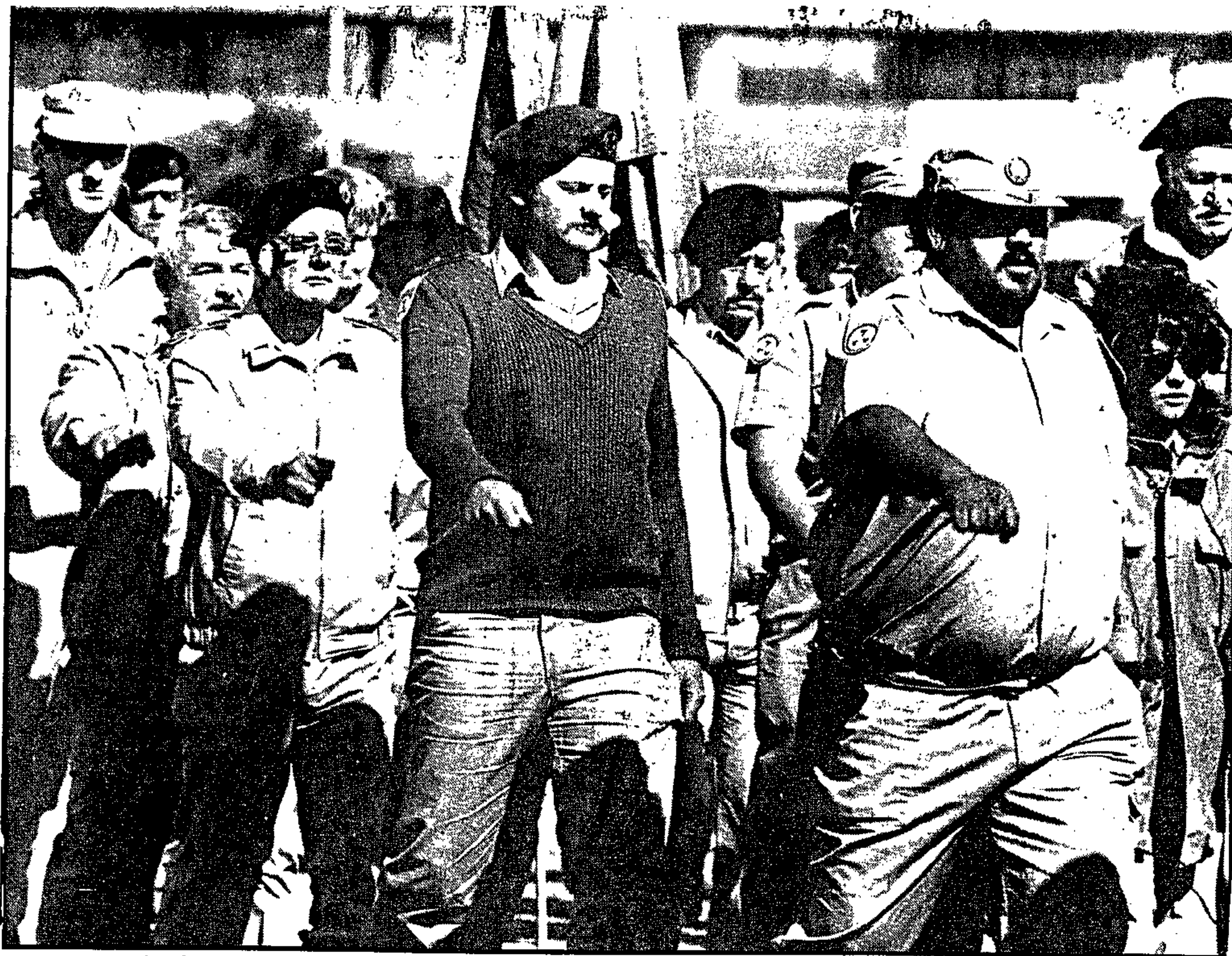
About his political past in the CP? "I'm not interested anymore," he said.

"What about right-wing friends?" "I don't care a damn if they cannot take it," said Lachmann.

He intends joining the ANC to "create peace" in the country.

"Peace is easy to achieve if you want peace," he said, adding that he intended phoning ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba to tell him to stop shouting the "Kill the farmer, Kill the boer" slogan and change it to something like "Love the farmer, Kiss the boer".





**HEAVYWEIGHTS ...** AWB marchers forced their way past police and occupied the World Trade Centre negotiating chambers where they tore up documents and painted graffiti calling for one land for "the people". Some displayed their weapons for news cameras and others draped their "swastika" flags over cameramen. Pic: TLADI KHUELE

## FW is warned: **DO SOMETHING!**

IF THE government failed to take immediate action by arresting the rightwing leaders who led the destructive march on the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park on Friday, the ANC might be consider arming its cadres to protect them during negotiations, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, has warned.

Addressing a media conference after assessing the damage caused by thousands of rightwingers at the negotiations centre

on Friday, Mandela said State President FW de Klerk assured him during their telephone conversation after the right-wing siege that the arrest of culprits would begin on Friday night.

### Rampage

But by late yesterday no one had been arrested.

The march was led by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) co-ordinator Gen Constand

Viljoen and CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg.

The PAC adviser at the negotiations, Barney Desai, indicated that his organisation might review its participation in the talks in the light of Friday's rampage.

He said he said other delegates were trapped inside the building for almost three hours during the right-wing siege.

"Our call for a neutral venue under neutral chairmanship with the participation of the international community has been vindicated by today's events," Desai said.

Mandela lashed out at

Hartzenberg for participating in the march and said as the leader of an official opposition in parliament and a signatory to Tuesday's declaration of cessation of hostilities, he should have known better. (304A)

Mandela said the ANC had declared Thursday, July 1, a national day of action in defence of democracy.

### Hooded

"On this day we call on all our people, from every walk of life ... to join us in nationwide demonstra-

tions, rallies and marches," Mandela said.

During Friday's fracas several delegates to the planning committee of the Negotiating Council, including the National People's Party leader, Amichand Rajbansi, were assaulted by hooded rightwingers.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and the leader of the SACP at the talks, Joe Slovo, sought refuge at the government offices in the building.

Journalists, mainly black, were also subjected to harassment.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibha, headlines and sub-editing by B Kooze, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.



# SA's first black Nat gets his stamp of approval

CIPR 27/6/93

By SIPHO KHUMALO

HAVING traversed almost the entire political landscape - from the ANC, to the Liberal Party, to Inkatha and recently the NP - Daniel Makhanya finally has something to show for it.

This week Makhanya was capped as the first black person to be a member of the Natal Executive Committee (NEC) - thanks to his membership of the National Party.

Makhanya, who runs an industrial relations firm in Isipingo near Durban, was appointed to his new position by State President FW de Klerk and inducted this week by the Judge president of Natal, Justice Howards, in Maritzburg.

The 57-year-old Makhanya, who signed up for the NP in 1991, says his



**DANIEL MAKHANYA**  
Pic: SUNDAY TRIBUNE

appointment shows the NP's commitment to a future government comprising blacks and whites.

"This is putting their words into action. This is a challenge because I see myself as an ambassador of blacks in the province. These people (blacks) have been neglected for

years and now they are going to be attended to," he told City Press.

He said: "I think my visibility has come about because I understand the policies of the Nats and I am able to explain them to people in a way they will understand."

The Natal executive committee runs the province as an arm of the government operating at a regional level.

It provides a vast range of essential services to Natalians and attempts to assist in the regional economy. (304A)

Makhanya, who has a business background, sees his role as an MEC as one of integrating blacks into the mainstream of business. (4P) (4P)

"It is a pity that blacks are not as aggressive on economics as they are in politics. I want to focus on

economic upliftment."

At the time of going to press Makhanya had not been informed of what portfolio he would receive.

Makhanya cut his teeth in politics with the ANC Youth League in the '50s. He joined the Liberal Party in the '60s after the banning of the ANC.

In the '70s he threw in his lot with Inkatha and in the '90s became one of the first blacks to switch to the NP.

He said: "I do not support the NP because of their past 45 years, but rather for their planned future changes. They have also admitted that they made mistakes. I also want a party that is experienced."

Makhanya says he has been fairly well received by Nats in Amanzimtoti.



By SEKOLA SELLO

ANC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi tried hard to exude an air of camaraderie this week.

They shook hands, beamed heartily for the cameras and tried to be as happy as punch as they stood before a phalanx of media corps and observers at the Lutheran Church conference hall in Bonaero Park, Kempton Park, this week.

But even the best choreographed act could not hide the strains, nay, the widening gulf between the two at both a personal and inter-party level.

Although both organisations renewed their commitment to political tolerance and peaceful co-existence at the end of this week's peace summit, the second in as many years, hopes of both organisations' members smoking the peace-pipe look dimmer.

Scratching a little deeper into the impeccable veneer of reasonableness both leaders displayed at the summit, the unpalatable reality is that differences between the two organisations are getting deeper, wider and more complex.

The 10-member negotiations planning committee had a full grasp of these deepening differences when it proposed, a few hours after the inconclusive Mandela-Buthelezi meeting, the postponement of a crucial Multi-Party Negotiating Forum meeting.

The forum meeting, which would have come two days after the Mandela-Buthelezi talks, was expected to endorse April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first democratic elections.

The date, proposed by the Multi-Party Negotiating Council and favoured by the ANC and its Patriotic Front allies, is strongly opposed by Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group.

The Inkatha leader warned on TV soon after his meeting with Mandela of an Angolan-type civil war in this country if the issue of federalism (which Inkatha and Cosag favour) was not resolved before elections.



WIDE GAP... Hours after the Mandela-Buthelezi summit the Inkatha leader was warning on TV of an "Angolan-type situation".

C/Reds 2716193

■ PIC: ANDRIES NGCINEMA

# ALL TALK, NO ACTION

that the ANC and its allies were in a "strong position to carry the day on this issue".

Even the government, which is in agreement with the ANC on the provisional election date, seems to sense this deepening problem. Following the postponement of the forum meeting, a government spokesman is reported to have stated that "there could not have been fruitful discussions on Friday (Election Day) as no meaning-

ful proposals could have been made to the forum".

With the country's first democratic elections already on the horizon, the gap between Inkatha and the ANC can only widen. This, tragically, is likely to express itself in more bloodshed.

The extent of this gap, and the growing complexity of their relations, was illustrated when both sides admitted that merely meeting - even without an

agreement being made - was a great achievement.

Yet any agreement would have sent a powerful message to the soldiers on the ground that a new understanding is emerging between the senior political leadership.

No one expected that the conclusion of the talks would usher in a new spirit of friendship, but there had been a ray of hope that at least there could be agreement on a few important

issues.

But after the nine-hour marathon talks, both parties could not produce anything tangible except a sop to the masses - an undertaking - which is neither binding nor enforceable. Buthelezi correctly refers to it as a statement of intent.

This is largely a rehash of their "historic" Royal Hotel agreement in Durban two years ago, the spirit of which is breached more often than ob-

served.

The undertaking calls on the two parties to - among other things - refrain from vilifying each other, recognising the right of each party to exist and holding joint political rallies.

In spite of the good intentions of the Durban agreement, the last two years since it was signed have seen an estimated 7 000 people perish in political violence attributed largely to the rivalry between the two parties.

Such is the fragile nature of the undertaking that Buthelezi could easily ignore it a few hours after it was made and, in what has become customary of him, warn TV viewers of impending civil war in the country if federalism was not entrenched in the constitution before elections.

Talk of civil war flies in the face of this week's principles, which, among other things, state that "none among us should see it necessary, no matter how serious the point of disagreement, to resort to violence".

Some of the issues on the agenda at the Mandela-Buthelezi talks were equally illuminating. To outsiders, the summit was principally about peace and reducing the level of violence between the two parties. It does not seem like a lot of time and energy was expended on these issues. Instead, extraneous subjects which rightly belong to the forum, such as an election date, seem to have taken up much of the discussions. Mandela acknowledged that the most contentious issue had been the question of an election. He said the two parties would have to hammer out this question in order to obtain a position. "Although there was no breakthrough in this respect we hope that in the next few weeks we will increase movement in sorting out this problem."

It will take a lot more than a few good words from the leadership of the two parties to resolve these deepening differences. As things stand, the best that can be said about the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting is that it took place. To credit it with anything more would be misleading.



# Mobile units process ID books on spot

3041A

## Political Staff

**ELECTION** preparations in Peninsula townships are gearing up with mobile Home Affairs units processing identity book applications on the spot.

The initiative was launched this week after months of talks between the ANC in the Western Cape and the department and coincides with the setting of April 27 as a provisional election date by the negotiating council meeting at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Negotiators believe this will help defuse tensions building up in some black communities about delays in fixing a date. It also gives the final go-ahead for parties to prepare for the country's first one-person-one-vote election.

The Western Cape initiative to deploy mobile ID book units will make it possible for black voters throughout the region — casting ballots for the first time — to apply for identity documents in their own areas.

Processing millions of ID book applications to enable people to vote is one of the most pressing logistical challenges of South Africa's first non-racial election.

The first two mobile units began operating this week. One is in the Lusaka squatter camp and the other at Fawu in NY1, Guguletu.

Next week, the Lusaka unit will move to the Marais Building at Brown's Farm. The other will re-

## □ Home Affairs gears up for poll

main in Guguletu for another week. A third unit will operate in Noordhoek from Monday.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Susan de Villiers said: "We welcome the co-operation of Home Affairs for their preparedness to set up these units. We believe that the response has been so good they are considering yet another unit."

Meanwhile, at Kempton Park, the negotiating council decided to recommend to the negotiating forum meeting on June 25 that an election be held on April 27, but the resolution left the final decision to the negotiating council meeting in 10 days' time "with a view to maximise consensus".

It also left room for an earlier date should a final settlement in talks allow for it.

SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo tabled a resolution calling for April 27 to be fixed as the election date after fierce debate on whether it should even come before the council.

He argued that sufficient progress had been made in talks to warrant the setting of a date.

After extended debate and objections from most of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa proposed the compromise.



# As the era of BJ Vorster's wholewheat egg sandwiches comes to an end . . .

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

**OOM BLACKIE** is one of the few people in Parliament who is confident that, health permitting, he will return after next year's non-racial elections.

He is one of the many support staff who serve the three houses of the tricameral Parliament, which will undergo drastic changes after April.

The 76-year-old, whose job for the past 17 years has been to serve MPs, will be as happy to serve "president" Nelson Mandela his cup of tea as he was to serve wholewheat egg sandwiches to President BJ Vorster.

Like many of the white service managers in Parliament, he spent most of his pre-parliamentary working life in sheltered employment.

He first worked in the catering department of the railways as a kitchen hand, becoming chief steward on the Blue Train. Later he spent several years in the catering department and as an airline steward.

On retiring from the airways, he started work as a service manager in Parliament to supplement his pension.

Hopetown-born Louis Marais has been known as Blackie ever since he was a sunbanned youth — and that is how he is known by President F.W. de Klerk.

Oom Blackie knows that after the first multiracial elections, the Parliament he knows so well will be very different.

For the first time there will be elected black members of parliament, and for the first time black service managers will have a chair in the staff room.

## Service

Despite the scrapping of apartheid, not one black policeman, messenger or service manager is employed inside the gates of Parliament.

Indian and coloured staff, who were employed in increasing numbers with the advent of the tricameral Parliament, mainly service the Indian and coloured houses.

But, unlike the majority of MPs who packed their bags this week at the end of the last full sitting, Oom Blackie does not expect to be out of work.

"I think a new government will be fair. All eyes will be on them. They will probably employ white, Indian, coloured and black parliamentary staff

# I'm at your service — Oom

## Blackie tells 'president' Mandela

STIMES 27/6/93

304A

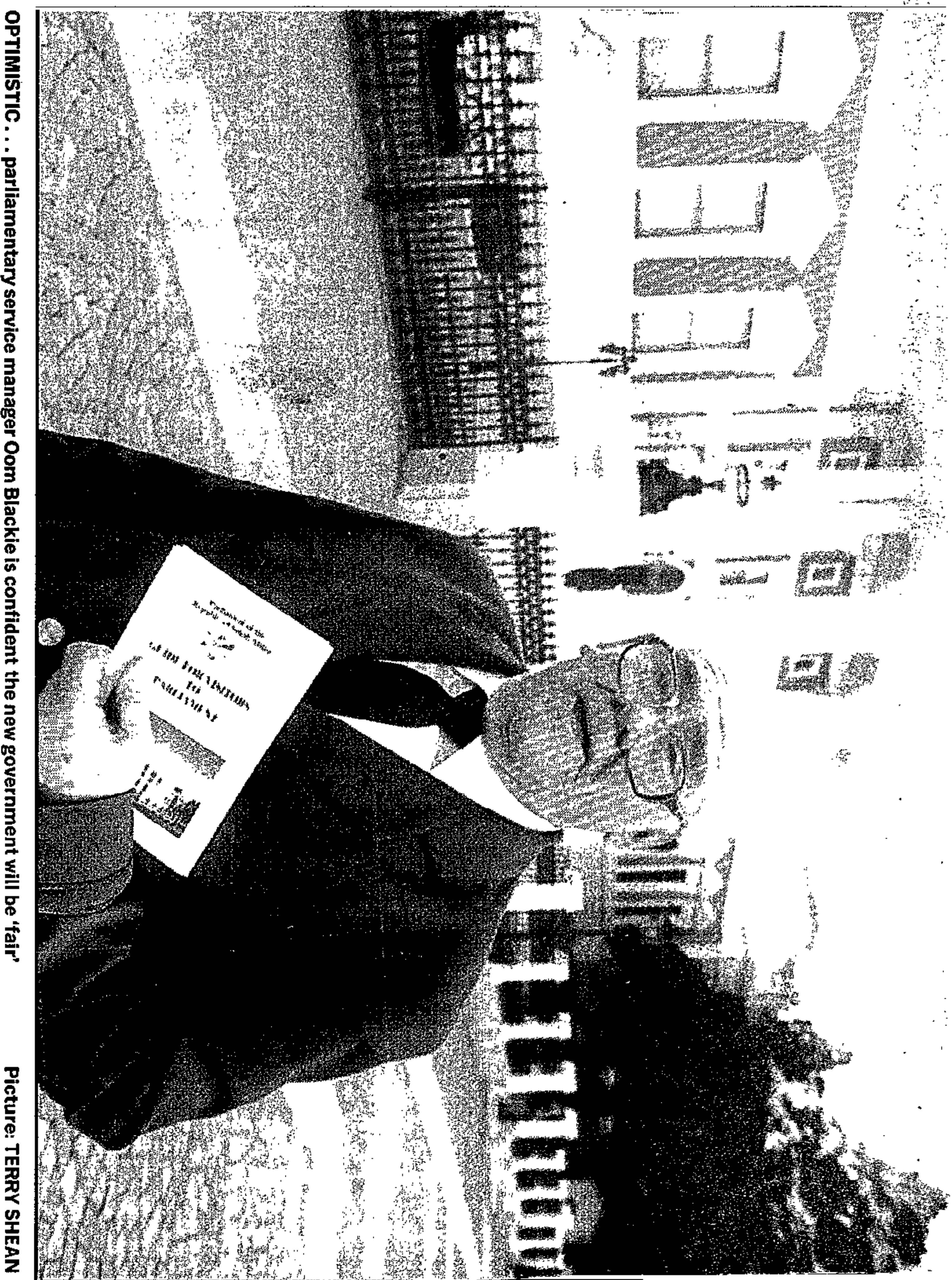
according to how many MPs each race group has."

He does not expect any conflict. The relationship between staff serving Parliament was harmonious and would stay that way.

"A messenger is a messenger. There will be room for all messengers," he said.

Oom Blackie's optimism about his future job security is not shared by the majority of MPs.

They will have brief sittings in September and October to pass legislation allowing elections to take place under a new constitution, and then most of them will have to find new jobs or live off their pensions.



OPTIMISTIC . . . parliamentary service manager Oom Blackie is confident the new government will be 'fair'

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

It is the certainty of change that has characterised the conduct of MPs and the role of Parliament this past sitting.

With all eyes trained expectantly on negotiations at the World Trade Centre, the goings on in Cape Town became a matter of secondary importance. Even the introduction of the State President's question time every second Wednesday failed to refocus the country's attention.

It became clear from the legislation that was passed, or not passed, that nothing went on in the houses that was of national importance without the go-ahead of the major negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

For Democratic Party justice spokesman Tony Leon it was the government's initiative in asking MPs to vote on lifting the

moratorium on the death penalty that spelt out most clearly that Parliament was a lame duck.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee told parliamentarians they could have a free vote, but the issue would first be canvassed at the World Trade Centre before a decision was taken on hangings.

For Mr Leon, the jibe made by Norman Lamont against John Major's government — "the government holds office but it is not in power" — was an apt description of Parliament this year.

The sense of decay and lack of purpose affected the conduct of MPs.

For those MPs who believed their political security would be better catered for by other parties there was the defection route. For Deputy Land

## Secure

affairs Minister Johan Scheepers, the NP did not provide a political future and he left politics.

Many MPs will not be making themselves available for re-election and are already scanning the situations vacant columns.

Many MPs treated Parliament as a club, to be popped into for lunch after spending a morning pursuing more lucrative business interests, or recreational activities. But Oom Blackie and other employees who keep the wheels of Parliament oiled remain enthusiastic.

Oom Blackie hopes and believes it will be the same again next year.



# Running around the rules

ST Times

2-16/93

AMEEN AKHALWAYA reports on a new fad sweeping SA

2048

INSTEAD of roasting him, we should be toasting Herman Mathee. The Belville runner (easy rider?) has unwittingly given us a hitherto elusive word to describe an infectious South African fad. It's called Mattheism.

Mattheism, more refined than jumping on the bandwagon, means joining the treasure hunt when it's nearly over to pick up gold at the end of the rainbow.

Herman Mathee, it will be recalled, has been stripped of his Comrades gold medal for alleged cheating. Organisers claim he slipped into the race two-thirds of the way to the finishing line in Durban.

Mathee insists he ran the race from Maritzburg.

Well, if he didn't, shouldn't we honour him? After all, substantially more individuals and organisations than Comrades participants are involved in Mattheism. Let's start with white

Mattheists. Except for those to the right of the National Party, finding anyone who flirted with apartheid, never mind supported it, is as difficult as picking out Mathee at the half-way mark of the Comrades.

Progs or DPs, who swear they fought apartheid step by step while propping up apartheid institutions such as Parliament, will not admit they served in the SADF. They were conscientious objectors or dodged the call-up.

All these white Mattheists have been sprinting towards a non-racial democracy since the starter's gun was fired a century or so ago, if we believe them.

In the mid-80s, black consciousness fell out of favour when the United Democratic Front took the lead with its ethnic affiliations, brandishing the ANC's baton of non-racialism. Such is the I've-always-been-non-racial fervour that these Mattheists

are known to have omitted their BC membership from their CVs.

The PAC was never going to talk to the settler regime unless the indaba was to negotiate handing power to the blacks and was held abroad.

The PAC Mattheists have joined the multi-party talks because they aren't Codesa — and the World Trade Centre is aptly named as an international venue, isn't it?

Bantustan Mattheists never supported apartheid. Naturally. They were coerced into accepting ethnic legislative assemblies (and the attendant big bucks) by those horrid Nats.

SACP Mattheists, who applauded Stalin, his anti-democratic successors and their self-enriching economic bureaucracy and then condemned Gorbachev for selling out, are among the most vociferous champions of a liberal South African democracy and a mixed economy.

Mattheism is everywhere. Big business Mattheists, who exploited black workers and did little to promote them to senior positions on merit, are gold medal favourites for championing affirmative action.

They are also said to be tripping over themselves as they beat a path to the ANC's door to offer help with post-race celebrations.

Behind the door, ANC Mattheists, having sipped the sponsor's refreshments at remotely located watering holes, are linking hands with big business as they run around the cake of a democratic economy.

We're becoming a nation of Mattheists. So come on, you Comrades spoil sports. Give Herman Mathee back his gold medal. He deserves it as the symbol of the Mattheist new South Africa.

□ Ameen Akhalwaya is editor of *The Indicator*

# SABC: FW 31 Times 27/16/93 sees Mandela

By CHARIS PERKINS

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela are locked in debate on how to solve the new SABC board's legitimacy crisis.

Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert said on Friday he had held separate discussions with Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to convey the board's suggestion that the crisis be referred to a technical committee at the multi-party forum.

"They were not keen on the idea and said they would talk to one another about the situation," Dr Slabbert said.

However, 20 minutes before the second board meeting on Friday, Dr Slabbert learnt the two leaders were still continuing discussions.

He denied a Campaign for Independent Broadcasting statement that he had sought Mr Mandela's approval to stay on as board chairman.

At the SABC board meeting this week, members decided to invite Dr Enos Mabuza and Mr Franklin Sonn to reconsider their decisions to stand down. Dr Mabuza and Mr Sonn refused to serve on the board because they were only nominated after Mr de Klerk's intervention.

Acting chairman Dr Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri said the board had not discussed the legitimacy crisis during Friday's meeting.

The CIB said it was "profoundly concerned" the board had not discussed this issue as requested by the CIB.

● See Page 21



# ATTACK WILL HARM THE CP

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

WHEN the AWB thugs who rampaged through the World Trade Centre struck Faith Gasa, they tangled with the wrong woman. *S. Times 27/6/93*

Mrs Gasa, an Inkatha Freedom Party delegate and outspoken champion of women's rights, was dragged from her vehicle, slapped, manhandled and sworn at "in the language of deep racial hatred", she told the Negotiating Council on Friday.

Fighting back tears, Mrs Gasa told of the "obscene way these things were said, the racial hatred".

But her anger and pain are not the consequences those who hit her will fear most. *(304A)*

The AWB members who abused her belong to the Afrikaner Volksfront, which is dominated by the Conservative Party.

The CP belongs to the Concerned South Africans Group, which is dominated by the Inkatha Freedom Party. *(H)*

And IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated last night that his party could pull out of Cosag because of the attack. *(H)*

If Cosag collapses, the CP will be left without alliance or support in the talks.

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# FW seeks end to education crisis

By NAZEEM HOWA and AYESHA ISMAIL

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK is set to intervene in the simmering House of Representatives education crisis in an attempt to ensure a resolution is reached before schools open for the third term.

According to well-placed sources, Mr de Klerk has agreed to meet representatives of the Union of Teacher Associations of South Africa in an attempt to thrash out a compromise to end the dispute over rationalisation. *STimes (Cimetro)*

A compromise under discussion in teacher circles would involve the appointment of replacements for teachers who have opted for early retirement.

Matric teachers who wished to retire would be asked to stay on until next term. *2716193*

These steps would be taken as holding measures while the National Education Forum assessed the country's education needs.

According to a source, Mr de Klerk and the teacher bodies are anxious to end the crisis before the start of the third term. *(304A)*

Principals have warned that the crisis in education might lead to "there being no third term."

## 'Disastrous' results

News of the possible compromise coincides with the shock among high schools principals at their pupils' "disastrous" June results. *(304A)*

Describing the results as the "poorest" in years, principals blamed the decline on the department's decision to go ahead with its rationalisation, a programme that entailed, among other things, not appointing substitutes for staff on leave and proposals to retrench 3 000 teachers.

A spokesman for the Department of Education and Culture, Mr Claude Adriaans, said the rationalisation was well-advanced and would continue.



## Tricks and tips to help win votes

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

SMOKING, eating or chewing are out for vote canvassers, and some dirty tricks are fine against "the enemy" — the NP.

So says the ANC in a 130-page manifesto of advice on winning the forthcoming elections.

In the document's etiquette section, the ANC has banned the use of "struggle" words such as "dynamics" or "regime" by party workers.

Canvassers have also been told not to drink before going out to win votes as the smell of alcohol creates a bad impression, and to accept any food or non-alcoholic drinks offered by the people they are visiting.

### Puppets

"Never lose your temper, never use bad language and never use physical force unless you have to defend yourself," the ANC advises.

Tricks to be used against the opposition include "overloading" by, for example, getting 500 people to descend on a health clinic "to show how inadequate the service is" — and exposing opposition candidates with a history of corruption or who have been "puppets".

However, the manifesto warns party workers to avoid a favourite old NP electioneering trick — disrupting meetings and using violence.

## ANC is new home to former loyal AWB supporter

By JOHANNES NGCOBO

A FEW years ago, Mrs Petra Burrill was an AWB member at war with the ANC. Today, she proudly carries the ANC's membership card.

"The ANC is my new home," said Mrs Burrill of Kempton Park. "I have realised that for years I was swimming in a bath full of hatred and racism."

She told this week how she had changed her loyalties after meeting members of the ANC's Kempton Park branch.

She said that for years, whites had been "denied an opportunity to listen to reasonable people" like ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale.

"But since I joined the ANC at the beginning of the year, I have discovered that black people are very kind and more religious than AWB members," she added.

### Sacked

Mrs Burrill said an incident in which AWB members chanted racist slogans in her neighbourhood last December was the last straw.

The incident happened while she and her husband were in a meeting with SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union officials.

Her husband has since been sacked from Bophuthatswana's airline, Bopair, because he refused to accept changes in his conditions of service.



PETRA BURRILL is indoctrinated

Mrs Burrill is now on an indefinite hunger strike to protest against the sacking.

She said that during her days as a staunch AWB member, she was "indoctrinated to hate blacks and Jews".

Now she was scared that the AWB would seek revenge for her move. "Once you join the AWB, you are not allowed to resign."

Mrs Burrill was among those who protested against a visit to the ANC in Dakar in 1987 by Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert.

The ANC was banned at the time and Mrs Burrill was among those who called on Dr Slabbert and his entourage to be charged with treason "for meeting communists".

But that is all in the past now and Mrs Burrill is optimistic about the new South Africa.

# Gunmen in car kill 12 in Sebokeng

TWELVE people were killed when four gunmen driving along a street in Sebokeng, in the Vaal Triangle, shot at pedestrians on Saturday night, police said yesterday.

Vaal Triangle police spokesman Lt Gerrie van Rooyen said police were alerted to the bullet-riddled bodies of two men and a woman lying in the street at the township's Zone 8 about 9.30pm. The body of another man was found not far away.

Police later found another eight victims, who had apparently been shot in the massacre in Zone 8. They were taken to Sebokeng hospital where they all died.

Two other critically injured victims are still in the hospital.

Van Rooyen said it was reported that a white car with what appeared to be four black occupants drove along the street while the occupants shot at pedestrians. The motive for the attacks was not known, he said.

In Cape Town the bodies of two men, shot in the head, were found metres apart in Nyanga township, Sapa reports.

An explosion rocked the Rustenburg Magistrate's Court on Saturday afternoon during clashes between police and ANC supporters. Twenty people were arrested. Windows of the court house and adjacent

THEO RAWANA

Receiver of Revenue offices were broken.

Earlier, about 500 people had gathered nearby to march into Tlhabane township in Bophuthatswana.

This was despite an agreement at a regional peace committee meeting on Friday that the planned ANC march would be called off. ANC members had agreed to place officials at the gathering point to inform people of the cancellation, police spokesman Maj Hannes Wehrmann said.

The crowd, which refused to disperse, threw stones at police and two SAP members were slightly injured. Police fired two teargas cannisters and rubber bullets.

After dispersing, the crowd regrouped further away and broke windows of local businesses. At this time the explosion went off at the nearby court building.

ANC regional spokesman Ranko Molefe, referring to Saturday's events and Friday's violent occupation of the World Trade Centre by right-wingers, accused police of double standards.

"While thousands of heavily armed neo-Nazis were indemnified from arrest yesterday (Friday) after creating havoc... at the World Trade Centre, unarmed marchers were shot at and teargassed," he said.

## White fears 'have to be taken seriously'

DURBAN — Fears for the future by white South Africans had to be taken seriously and eliminated by addressing the issue of minority group protection, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at the weekend.

"We must take white fear seriously... we must accept that we need to deal with it and... eliminate it," the Inkatha president told about 5 000 supporters at a Durban rally yesterday.

Buthelezi said Inkatha agreed with the ANC that group rights were best protected by safeguarding individual rights in a Bill of Rights. However, the ANC refused to grant protection to minority groups, he said.

The Inkatha leader criticised the rightwing violence at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday, saying the incident was a "crude reminder that the birth of a new SA will not be without its own

pangs. Even that ugly incident will not stop the birth".

Buthelezi welcomed his recent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela, but cautioned he was not completely confident their joint undertaking to end political violence would work.

He said that "loose cannons" like ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba and southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe, who had both recently denigrated him, threatened the peace accords. However, the peace accords should not be broken by the IFP, he said.

Referring to the question of a future government, he reiterated the IFP's rejection of a strong unitary government.

He said even the best possible democratic model could not be forced on different population groups if they disagreed with it. — Sapa.

## Entry alone can profit companies

Business Day Reporter

COMPANIES should not underestimate the benefits of entering for the SA Non-Listed Company Award, says a merchant banker who has helped several companies with their entries in recent years.

"It increases the value of the company from the perspective of all stakeholders, from staff to customers," said First Corp merchant bank vice-president André Roux, who is in charge of the company's investment banking activities.

Roux helped last year's winner, mining and crushing equipment manufacturer Nordberg, compile its entry document.

"A good performance in the competition gives employees a sense of pride in working for a successful company, and enhances the standing of the company in the eyes of customers and suppliers."

The same message has



# 'Fears of whites must be respected'

Sowetan 28/6/93

WHITE South Africans' fears of the future had to be taken seriously and eliminated by addressing the issue of minority group protection, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

"We must take white fear seriously ... we must accept that it could be terribly destructive. We must accept that we need to deal with it and ... eliminate it," the Inkatha Freedom Party president told about 5 000 supporters at a Durban rally.

## Protect group rights

Chief Buthelezi said the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed with the African National Congress that group rights were best protected by the protection of individual rights in a Bill of Rights.

However, the ANC refused to grant protection to minority groups, he charged.

"If minority group protection can be made compatible with individual rights and a Bill of Rights, then there is nothing wrong with minority group protection."

South Africa was faced with the challenge of fostering reconciliation in the country as without this, there would be no political settlement, he told the crowd at Durban's Curries Fountain Stadium.

## Criticised rightwing violence

Earlier, the Inkatha Freedom Party leader again criticised the rightwing violence at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Friday, saying the incident was a "crude reminder that the birth of a new South Africa will not be without its own pangs".

"Even that ugly incident will

not stop the birth," he added.

The country should not pander to racism and white demands. Instead, the future had to be determined by whites and blacks.

Referring again to the question of future government in South Africa, he reiterated the IFP's rejection of a strong unitary government, saying even the best possible democratic model could not be forced on different population groups if they disagreed with it. — Sapa.

# Afrikaners 'ready to kill' for self-determination, warns CP, says Gous

AFRIKANERS had reached the point where they would be willing to kill for their right to self-determination, CP MP Piet Gous said yesterday.

Attitudes had hardened and this could not be reversed, he said. Gous, who is also president of the Free State Agricultural Union, said Afrikaners had shown at the World Trade Centre on Friday that they would no longer allow themselves to be manipulated.

The moment negotiators signed away the Afrikaner's right to self-determination would signal a declaration of war, he said.

"Then there will be an active military front as well as an active political front — just like the Irish Republican Army has."

Afrikaner Volksfront directorate chairman Gen Constand Viljoen said yesterday the situation was extremely explosive, given the direction of negotiations. (3047)

"The ANC/SACP have been waging a full-scale revolution for the past three years. Afrikaner emotions have been building up and I do not think that I will have control over it when it spills over."

Viljoen said his main concern was not with the AWB members, who found it easy

DIRK VAN EEDEN

to show their emotions, but with the majority of Afrikaners who were extremely unhappy with having to back down on their ideals.

Afrikaners were asking for more time to put across their views on self-determination but government and other negotiators said on Friday events at the World Trade Centre had made it necessary to push for a negotiated settlement with even greater urgency. Afrikaners were beginning to think that they were not being given a fair

chance, he said.

Gous said negotiations were supposed to lead to the recognition of different peoples but negotiators had decided there would have to be war first. He warned that government was "hopelessly out of touch" with the grassroots feelings of Afrikaners.

"Roelf Meyer is advised by National Intelligence that the Afrikaner will accept a unitary state, but they are not reading the signs."

Asked whether the Volksfront still had control over the AWB, Viljoen said it did not prescribe to its member organisations,

but that there would be internal investigations into what went wrong on Friday. He emphasised that the Volksfront did not plan the occupation of the centre.

Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder said yesterday no self-respecting nation would allow its land to be taken away. The Afrikaner showed his teeth on Friday, but would fight for his land. He congratulated the AWB on its "firm actions against the sell-out negotiators".

He called on the CP and the AVU to immediately leave the negotiations, because they were wasting their time.



# Mandela proposes regional 'freedom' plan for Afrikaners

□ Ultra-right warned: 'We're ready for you'

## Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela has made a proposal on self-determination for Afrikaners in a regional dispensation which he believes could take the sting out of the issue now threatening to disrupt negotiations.

But, in the wake of Friday's assault on the World Trade Centre, he warned that if ultra-rightwing organisations resorted to violence, "we are ready for that".

He said if rightwingers were not prepared to take their demands to the electorate and abide by the result, "they must be prepared for all the consequences."

Although he did not spell out details, he said during a SABC TV interview last night that he had put a self-determination proposal to Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers during a recent meeting.

"If they address it seriously we may be able to solve this problem," said Mr Mandela.

He added that the ANC was "prepared to consider enough powers for that region to exercise some powers of self rule."

But he was adamant that the ANC could not accept the Conservative Party's demand for

an Afrikaner state within a confederation, characterising it as "wanting to cling to minority rule".

"We can't split South Africa into fragments. We are prepared on the basis of regional government to consider giving certain powers to the regions."

He said the right wing's assault on the World Trade Centre on Friday had set back its cause.

"Even those who were prepared to deal with them have now hardened their positions."

"If they think they can use coercion or intimidation they are making a serious mistake."

He played down the potential of the extreme right wing to hold the negotiations process hostage, saying he believed 90 percent of Afrikaners "are decent people who would like peace and to resolve problems with their black brothers".

In an apparent reference to Law and Order Minister Herinus Kriel, he blamed the right wing in the National Party for "making it possible for the ultra-right to take the action they did."

Turning to his talks last week with Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said it would be naive to expect one meeting to end violence, but

the progress could be consolidated with other initiatives.

Mr Mandela rejected suggestions that ANC Youth League support for Mr Thabo Mbeki as the organisation's deputy-president indicated strain in the organisation. Such activity was part and parcel of any political organisation.

He confirmed that the ANC had ordered that the "Kill the Boer" chant should not be used, adding that the singing of it by ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba was under discussion at the moment.

Mr Mandela said the ANC felt the Pan Africanist Congress should abide by a negotiation council agreement to suspend its armed struggle. But it would not call for the PAC's expulsion if it refused to sign.

In a reference to his pending visit to the United States, he said the ANC would be in a position to call for the lifting of sanctions only if an election date was confirmed this week and the Transitional Executive Council was installed.

In what appeared to be a slight shift in the ANC position, he said the sanctions could be lifted if legislation was promulgated for the creation of the TEC, but blamed the government for not putting such legislation to Parliament.

By COLIN EGLIN

WHEN, at 9.30 on Friday morning, a uniformed member of the Ystergarde fired a shot and an armoured vehicle of the AWB smashed through the glass doors of the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, a new era in South African politics began.

On the one hand it will be an era of right-wing defiance and resistance, on the other hand it will be an era during which South Africans of all parties who believe in democracy will be faced with the challenge of making their vision of democracy a reality before it becomes too late.

During the two days prior to the invasion of the World Trade Centre there had been some concern that the protest rally due to be held in Jones Street outside the grounds of the World Trade Centre, in the name of the Afrikaner Volksfront, could take some unforeseen turn.

The multi-party security team drew up a contingency plan. The multi-party administration drew up revised guidelines for demonstrations. The planning committee approached a two-man sub-committee to liaise on security matters.

The SAP and the SADF were to have a strong contingent at the gate and around the perimeter of the grounds of the World Trade Centre. The co-operation of Mr Tom Langley, who represented the Conservative Party at the negotiations, was sought.

In spite of all precautions the Afrikaner Weerstand Beweging (AWB) hijacked the occasion — swept the police and security guards to one side, smashed their way into the WTC and took over and occupied the chamber of the negotiating council. This occupation by uniformed and armed political hoodlums has deeply disturbing implications and questions that need to be answered.

### Future role

1. How could the SA Police, who had been forewarned that something unusual was brewing, allow this to happen? Instinctively black South Africans ask the question: "Would the invasion have been allowed to take place if the invaders had been black?"

2. What of the future role of General Viljoen's Afrikaner Volksfront and of Dr Hartzenberg's Conservative Party?

Is Gen Viljoen going to sit back and see the Volksfront hijacked by Eugene Terre-Blanche's AWB?

Can the CP claim to be a parliamentary party committed to negotiations while at the same time associated through its membership of the Volks-

# World Trade Centre raid was start of new era in SA politics

wag with acts of criminal defiance and political thuggery?

3. What of the negotiating process? And more than this, what of the prospects for democracy in our country?

In the face of militant mobilisation of radicals at both ends of the political spectrum South Africa does not have the luxury of unlimited time.

Lastly, there is no chance of democracy even getting off the ground if the political shots are going to be called by a variety of armed formations each waging its own political war.

What South Africa needs as a matter of urgency is the establishment of a trustworthy and effective peace-keeping force responsible to a multi-party Transitional Executive Council and an end to private and partisan armies of all kinds.

### Consultation

Secondly, if democracy is going to have a chance of taking root in SA, then the process of negotiating a new democratic constitution and of installing a multi-party TEC will have to be accelerated.

Frankly, there has been too much time wasted. Too much posturing. Too much jockeying for position. Too much political point-scoring.

If the parties at the Multi-Party Negotiation Forum, all of whom profess to want a democratic SA, don't start getting their act together and producing a democratic constitution there won't be much prospect for democracy in SA.

Yet, having been part of that Multi-Party Negotiating Forum I believe we have that democratic consultation at the tips of our fingers.

What we need at this moment in our history is a breadth of vision and a greatness of spirit to lift us above the niggling diversions of the past.

The event of Friday 25 June was more than an invasion of the World Trade Centre, it was an assault on democracy.



CT 28/6/92  
Cape voter  
education  
gets going

Staff Reporter

HANOVER PARK residents had a foretaste of non-racial electioneering yesterday at a lively meeting in the Hanover Park Civic Centre.

At the meeting, organised by the Hanover Park Civic Association (HPCA) as part of its voter-education programme, the ANC's Dr Allan Boesak and Mr Salie Manie, the Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew, and Mr Isaac Samuels, and the Labour Party's Mr Tommy Abrahams and Mr Kenny Lategan stated their cases.

But HPCA chairman Mr Joseph Nefdt told about 400 enthusiastic residents that the National Party turned down an invitation to attend because they had received it "too late", despite it having been extended on June 2.

He called their apology a "lame excuse".

# FW, Mandela leave on foreign visits

CT 28/6/93

(3049)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela flew out of South Africa at the weekend to begin foreign trips that will culminate in the two receiving the Philadelphia Liberty Medal from US President Bill Clinton on July 4.

The political fallout after the right-wing raid on the World Trade Centre at the weekend sparked fears that the leaders might have to postpone their trips but Mr De Klerk left for Austria on Saturday and Mr Mandela for Egypt.

Foreign Minister Mr. Pik Botha will be Acting State President for the next two weeks.



**IN CAIRO . . .** ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros Ghali in Cairo where Mr Mandela will attend the OAU summit today.

Picture: AP

Diplomatic sources said at the weekend that the prospects of South Africa being rewarded with the lifting of remaining sanctions and promises of investment had been lessened by the turmoil at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Diplomats have also expressed concern that last week's long-awaited meeting between Mr Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi failed to produce a joint commitment to the proposed April 27 poll date — a key trigger for the lifting of sanctions.

The other condition which the

United States, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have insisted on for the "normalisation" of relations with South Africa is the installation of a multi-party Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Negotiators from the ANC, the government and other non-Cosag parties have expressed the hope that the 26-party Negotiating Council will have achieved enough consensus on both the election date and the establishment of a TEC this week before a meeting on Friday of the council's parent body, the Negotiating Forum.



**IN VIENNA . . .** President F W de Klerk and his wife Marike arrived in Austria yesterday for a four-day visit during which Mr De Klerk will meet President Thomas Klestil and Chancellor Franz Vranitzky.

Picture: AP



# SADF-MK merger talks hit obstacles

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

Top Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and SADF officers have been discussing a national peacekeeping force, but talks have hit a snag. Sources yesterday revealed that obstacles had arisen but declined to give details.

The MK and SADF delegations have met at least three times since the beginning of April but sources on both sides have kept a tight lid on the talks. However, they have indicated that discussions were at a "sensitive" stage and progress was being made.

Demands for joint con-

trol of the security forces increased after Friday's right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre and criticism of the police handling of the incident.

SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg told The Star yesterday that a peacekeeping force — to police the run-up to elections — was "one of the aspects" discussed during bilateral talks with a number of parties. But he said "there has been no finalisation" on the issue, which would have to go to the multiparty negotiations for a decision anyway.

The main thrust of the bilateral discussions was

"the rationalisation of military and paramilitary forces".

MK commander Joe Modise yesterday refused to comment.

A negotiations technical committee on violence last week proposed a national peacekeeping force to the constitutional talks. But the idea was immediately opposed by some delegates, who argued that such a multiparty force would undermine the SAP.

It is understood that the SADF and ANC are in the process of identifying members for a national peacekeeping force. Talks have not been concluded.

## Interim constitution target mid-August

By Esther Waugh  
and Chris Whitfield

An interim constitution for South Africa's transition could be completed by mid-August, says Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

In an interview with The Star, Meyer said he would propose this week that the 26-party Negotiating Council agree to a declaration of intent on the target date for the interim constitution.

The Government would want the council to agree to constitutional principles, the transition process and a framework of a constitution for the transition before Friday's important meeting of the Negotiating Forum, he said.

The Government and the ANC have both said that Friday's storming of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers has underscored the need for urgency in the process.

The Government and PAC meet again today to clarify the latter's position on the armed strug-

gle. After first agreeing to the declaration, the PAC told the press that it had not suspended the armed struggle, but had taken a political decision to do so. The implementation of a "cessation of hostilities" was, however, still to be discussed with the Government.

On Thursday the Government refused to discuss an earlier Negotiating Council resolution urging it to return PAC property until the organisation had clarified its position on the struggle.

Tomorrow the Conservative Party faces the crunch on its demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland. The issue was extensively debated in the council on Thursday, 24 hours before the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre.

The CP agreed to provide, by tomorrow, details of the "external features" of its proposed separate state. All other parties in the talks appear opposed to the demand for a confederal Afrikaner state.

## ANC plan on self-rule put to the Right

By Chris Whitfield

ANC president Nelson Mandela has made a proposal on self-determination for Afrikaners in a regional dispensation.

But he warned that if ultra-right organisations resorted to violence "we are ready for that".

Although he did not spell out details, he said on SABC's Agenda programme last night he had put a proposal on self-determination to Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers.

"If they address it seriously we might be able to solve this problem," said Mandela.

He was adamant the ANC would not accept an Afrikaner state within a confederation.

"We can't split South Africa up into fragments. We are prepared ... to consider giving certain powers to the regions."

Mandela said 90 per cent of Afrikaners "are decent people who would like peace and to resolve problems with their black brothers".

# FW's visit to Bush 'not insensitive'

(304A) ARG 29/6/93

□ Private meeting, says Schwarz

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The South African embassy here has dismissed suggestions that President De Klerk's visit to former President George Bush this week is "politically insensitive."

South Africa's ambassador to Washington, Mr Harry Schwarz, yesterday confirmed that President De Klerk would visit Mr Bush privately this week while he was in the United States to meet President Clinton and to receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal.

Newspaper reports in South Africa said yesterday US State Department officials had described the visit to Mr Bush as "politically insensitive" to President Clinton.

Mr Schwarz disclosed that Mr Bush had invited President De Klerk to see him and said the embassy knew of no State

Department disapproval of the visit.

The State Department had been kept "fully in the picture" about all of President De Klerk's arrangements.

"Nothing has been done without their knowledge."

Mr Schwarz said the meeting with Mr Bush was entirely personal and had no political significance whatsoever.

"It relates to what was a good personal relationship. The President is not seeing former President Bush because he is a Republican or because of the political debate.

"Mr Bush is no longer active in politics and President De Klerk will be seeing several other people across the political spectrum."

It is understood that President De Klerk will meet Mr Bush in Mr Bush's holiday home at Kennebunkport, Maine.



## Local govt plan in doubt

DELEGATES to the National Local Government Forum were sceptical yesterday over the likelihood of all local authorities being replaced by administrators by September.

Local government expert Dr Donald Craythorne said Sanco had modified its original proposals about councillors.

"There has been an offer from its side of a 50-50 arrangement for the interim period."

In this scheme, half of the councillors would be existing ones and the other half would be appointed from communities which had been excluded from the municipal franchise.

Mr Derek Watterson of Durban said he believed representatives did not "have the authority to sign away the life of their councils without this being discussed by the councils".

# DP lets fly with anti-IFP salvo

ARG 29/6/93  
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party today declared electoral hostilities against the Inkatha Freedom Party as political groups form battle lines and ready their polling machinery for next year's historic ballot.

Formally announcing the IFP as a political opponent, it indicted the party with human rights violations and gave notice that it can expect no mercy in the election campaign. In an unprecedented DP lashing for the IFP, it:

- Spoke of "stark contrasts" between IFP word and deed;
- Accused it of restricting freedom of assembly, expression and association;
- Charged that it permitted effective one-party rule and lack of democracy in Kwazulu;
- Noted that it had supporters involved in violence;
- Said the DP had different interpretations of federalism.

Mr Mike Ellis, chairman of the DP's Natal coastal region, said his party would therefore conduct itself towards the IFP in the same way it did other political opponents.

Differences between the DP and IFP have in the past been played down by both sides, but recent Inkatha criticism of the DP leadership has generated increasing resentment among Democrats.

Turning on the National Party, Mr Ellis again voiced suspicion about how Mr Renier Schoeman, chairman of the Port Natal/Ebodhwe region of the NP and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, came to possess a copy of the minutes of a DP meeting.

He said Mr Schoeman's explanations had so far been unsatisfactory. His attempts at discrediting the DP were also futile: "Mr Schoeman should not try to take the focus off the very real problems his party faces, almost on a daily basis, by making silly suggestions about the DP."

Democratic MPs have queried whether the minutes were stolen from the home of Mr Kobus Jordaan, MP for Umhlanga, in a burglary at his home some months ago.



**F** PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela do not bring an election date and a transitional executive to lay before President Bill Clinton this week, they will be wasting a modest opportunity but the sky will not fall.

Mandela will still be able to raise money for the ANC's campaign coffers and De Klerk will still get to play golf with a couple of senators and take in a show at the Kennedy Centre. He looks as though he could use the rest.

There are better choices than Washington and Philadelphia for a holiday at this time of year, but blame ambassador Harry Schwarz for that. The Freedom Medal business was his brainchild, and it was he who nagged all concerned to make it happen. At least in Philadelphia, the South Africans will have something to remind them of home. Police there have just rounded up the leaders of a particularly vicious gang that calls itself Zulu Nation.

The truth is, even if the two leaders do have an agreement for Clinton, his response is not going to be earth-shaking. The new policy Clinton wants to unveil, once you get down to the fine print, will demonstrate chiefly that what politicians bill as bold and innovative departures are often little more than simulations thereof. With regard to SA, there is not very much the US government can do in the near term that has not already been done, or whose practical implementation must await the establishment of an elected government in SA.

**T**he administration's plan is essentially the same as that laid out in legislation drafted by senators Nancy Kassebaum and Paul Simon. What it amounts to is this: once Mandela gives the word, Washington will assist and reward SA's "transition to democracy" by ceasing, with the ANC's permission, to be deliberately unhelpful.

The principal reward will be the dropping of the Gramm Amendment. Washington's executive director on

# Cash will not flow into SA simply at Clinton's behest

*By* **SIMON BARBER in Washington**

the boards of the IMF and World Bank will no longer automatically have to oppose all loans and facilities for SA. Indeed, the proposed legislation would have the Treasury secretary actively encourage him to lobby for such lending.

Lovely, but this does not mean the floodgates will open the next day. Before any funds begin to flow — let alone the \$1bn mentioned by the bank's vice-president for Africa Edward Jaycox — a new government in SA will have to make hard choices about what it wants from the institutions and whether it is prepared to meet their terms. And IMF and World Bank finance offers no guarantees the recipient will prosper. Just look at the track record.

Neither is it worth getting too excited about what might emerge from the G-7 summit in Tokyo next week. Clinton will urge his partners to "mobilise" resources for SA's reconstruction. No doubt there will be mention of the subject in the summit communiqué, probably closer to the bottom than the top. This would not be the first time the G-7 has spoken of the need to help SA. Hitherto the practical results have not been obvious. Even now, as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa George

Moose has admitted, "specific mechanisms" to translate the communiqué's language into practical effect have yet to be discussed.

The removal of the Gramm Amendment is the most concrete card Clinton and Congress have to play. Virtually everything else they propose will be hortatory.

There will be two main exhortations. The first will be to local and state governments to stop penalising investment in SA. The idea of trying to pre-empt local sanctions by federal *force majeure* has been weighed and abandoned, although the Kassebaum-Simon Bill does imply that federal funding for local road construction could be denied to authorities who insist on retaining contracting rules that discriminate against bidders with SA investments.

**T**he second appeal will go to the US private sector: please go and invest. Nice words — and pragmatic, too. The federal budget has no fat left to finance official aid much above the current \$80m a year (thank goodness). But the US private sector can only help SA if SA helps itself. The US government cannot tell investors

where to put their money — although it is very good at doing the opposite — and its ability to influence investors' choices is at best marginal.

There are a number of steps the president and Congress will say they are taking to help, but most have long since been taken.

Do not be fooled if you hear Clinton pledging the active participation of entities like the Export-Import Bank, the Trade and Development Agency and the Overseas Private Investment Corporation. This is not especially new.

SA importers of US capital goods are already eligible for Exim loans and guarantees. The Trade and Development Agency recently announced that it would help Afrox finance the planning of a new penicillin plant in return for US firms getting engineering and supply contracts. The Overseas Private Investment Corporation has been anxious for some time to sign a bilateral agreement that would enable it to provide insurance cover for American investors.

Something Congress could do, but will not unless the ANC specifically gives it the go-ahead, is to stop requiring US companies in SA to register with the State Department and

submit detailed annual reports to prove that their employment practices and expenditures on social upliftment meet certain mandatory criteria.

This is the one aspect of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act Congress does not intend to repeal immediately, although Kassebaum and Simon have agreed to make elections the cut-off point rather than waiting for a new government to write its own "fair labour standards".

The retention of this policy vitiates the call for US companies to invest. The hassle factor places US firms at a competitive disadvantage in SA vis-à-vis other companies, domestic and foreign. It discourages the very kind of investment that SA most needs — the sort that creates jobs. At a deeper level, it tells US companies that involvement in SA, unlike anywhere else, is even now potentially wicked and must therefore be specially regulated.

It is up to South Africans to decide if they want this to continue. Just as they must decide whether, or when, they want to proceed with negotiations on a new tax treaty to replace that cancelled by the CAAA; whether they want to sign a bilateral investment agreement establishing the rights and responsibilities of US investors; and whether they want to describe themselves as a developing or developed country for trade purposes. The Kassebaum-Simon Bill makes SA eligible to benefit from the Generalised System of Preferences, which grants reduced tariffs to certain labour-intensive exports of developing nations.

This could help the SA textile industry, but only if congressional protectionists can be held at bay.

**T**he bottom line is that whatever Mandela and De Klerk bring with them to the US this week, the best "reward" SA can expect for moving to multiracial rule is the normalisation of its economic relations with the US and the rest of the world. There will be no special favours. Furthermore, as a practical matter, the normalisation will not occur until there has been an election.

## 'Sparks to fly' at AVF meeting

Political Staff (304A)

TODAY'S meeting of the Afrikaner Volksfront will be characterised by some straight talking over the storming of the World Trade Centre.

Other AVF members are understood to be angry over action on the scene by certain AWB members, particularly assaults and vandalism at the building housing negotiations.

Sources have indicated that "sparks will fly" at the talks, and the AWB's continued presence in the AVF could come under the microscope.

But the meeting is also expected to deal with the organisation's reaction to any decision by the negotiating council to reject its demand for an independent Afrikaner state within a confederal South Africa. ARG 29/6/93

Last night on CCV television's News Line programme, AVF executive member General Tienie Groenewald said the organisation had gone into a phase of "passive resistance".

Asked about the AVF leaders' meeting today, he said it would discuss events at the World Trade Centre last Friday and possible disciplinary action.

Meanwhile the Conservative Party says possible differences with its Cosag partner the Inkatha Freedom Party have been swept away after a meeting in Ulundi yesterday.

CP negotiator Tom Langley, who attended the meeting between party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, said it had strengthened Cosag links.

He said Chief Buthelezi accepted that the incident at the World Trade Centre had not been planned beforehand.



# Demand for a white state: CP 'hopeful'

□ Negotiating Council is 'unlikely to agree'

## Political Staff

THE Conservative Party goes "hopefully" to negotiations today but has conceded that D-Day for its demand for a separate white state could come within the next 48 hours.

"We are still optimistic; we are here to negotiate and we hope that sound reason will prevail," said CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs today. He added, however, that the CP's "bottom line" was an "own independent state" and that the only room for compromise in his party's view was on the degree of co-operation between states in a confederation.

The Negotiating Council, which will receive further submissions from the CP on self-determination today and which will address the issue for the third time either today or tomorrow, is unlikely to change its mood on the issue.

And that mood is a very firm "no" to the confederal option, demanded by the CP in the same breath as its warning that this would be the only way to resolve the issue peacefully.

The council demonstrated its contempt for this veiled threat of war after the extreme rightwing occupation of the negotiating chamber on Friday and in debate earlier in the week 24 of the 26 parties rejected the claim for an own state.

As no decisions in the council at present are final and as all discussions now will only finally be accepted in the form of a package of agreements, the 24-2 "vote" against the CP white state is a reflection of the council's mood rather than its final word, but that final word is extremely unlikely to change.

"If the Negotiating Council would be so shortsighted by wiping it (the Afrikaner state) off the table, it would not contribute to a peaceful settlement," said Mr Jacobs.

He conceded that if the negotiating council in debate today or tomorrow showed itself no more willing to accept the idea of a "volkstaat" than before, the CP would have to review its participation.

The CP has, however, been saying this since it first joined

negotiations and it was interesting to note that yesterday Mr Jacobs took part in debate on proposals for the Independent Elections Commission even though the CP says it rejects the idea of a one-person, one-vote election.

"The mood of the people, the Afrikaner people, is an angry one," said Mr Jacobs. "We have always been a peaceful nation and I believe we still are. But our people will never accept that we be ruled by others."

He said the CP would demonstrate its discontent by "peaceful means" but added that "civil war is a thing I cannot exclude. I for one would strive for a situation to resolve it peacefully."

Importantly there is no support for the CP's confederal dream within the alliance of the Concerned South Africans Groups (Cosag) in which the Inkatha Freedom Party plays a dominant role.

Cosag condemned the CP in the council on Friday after the storming of the World Trade Centre by the rightwing but the CP has not been expelled from the alliance.

## Govt ceases its talks with PAC

WILSON ZWANE

GOVERNMENT yesterday terminated further bilateral meetings with the PAC and said it would ask the multiparty negotiating council to take relevant steps to "limit" PAC participation in the negotiating process. *B/Dag*

Speaking after a meeting with the PAC last night, government negotiator Roelf Meyer said the PAC's position that it would cease hostilities only when there was an agreement on the transitional authority was unacceptable to government.

A proposal calling on the council to take steps regarding the PAC's participation would be formulated and tabled as soon as possible, said Meyer. *29/6/93*

He added that police would, of necessity, continue to act against the PAC within the parameters of the law.

PAC members told a news conference it would be a "terrible mistake" on government's part to ask the council to expel it from the talks. They said government did not own the process. *(30/6/93)*

It said its doors were open to anyone who wanted to talk peace and it was prepared to meet government anywhere and at anytime, but it emphasised it would not jettison its prerequisites for the cessation of hostilities.

These were agreements on transitional authority and a constituent assembly.

The organisation also accused government of reneging on the multiparty council's resolution which, among other things, called on government to return goods seized during the recent swoop on PAC offices.

□ LLOYD COUTTS reports the national peace committee is to invite the AWB, the

□ To Page 2

## PAC

*B/Dag 29/6/93*

□ From Page 1

PAC and the CP to a meeting within the next three weeks in a bid to persuade them to sign the peace accord. *(30/6/93)*

A committee statement said yesterday it was hoped signatories to the accord would meet soon after this to recommit themselves to the accord's principles.

The decision to call a meeting of committee members was taken at a weekend meeting of the committee's executive following a proposal by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela last week.

"A decision was also taken to invite all political parties who have not signed the document — including the CP, PAC and AWB — to attend the meeting, with a view to their becoming signatories of the national peace accord. The occasion is also seen as an opportunity for non-signatories

to give their input in this regard and to discuss their reservations and objections." Proposed amendments to the accord, to improve its efficacy, will top the agenda, following the acceptance by the multiparty negotiating council of a technical committee recommendation on conditions for eliminating violence.

The peace committee executive also accepted at the weekend that the ANC had distanced itself from the slogan "kill the boer, kill the farmer". The statement said the committee expected a formal response from the ANC within days.

The idea of a youth peace corps under the peace committee was also accepted in principle. "What will now follow is an information-gathering, consultative phase on the practicalities of the implementation of such a body," the statement said.



## IFP and Bop to stay in Cosag

### Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in Friday's occupation of the World Trade Centre. (304A)

This assurance was given yesterday by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje. MRG 29/6/73

Chief Buthelezi is reported to have said at a meeting in

Ulundi with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg that the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those roughed up by the rightwingers on Friday.

CP negotiator Tom Langley denied apologising to the IFP and said Chief Buthelezi accepted the CP had not been involved in Friday's events.

"After the meeting Cosag is stronger than ever," said Mr Langley.

## Aid: SA may become 'a developing nation'

BRUSSELS — ANC officials said yesterday that South Africa might be getting ready to line up with the African-Caribbean-Pacific (ACP) group of developing nations for a share of European Community aid.

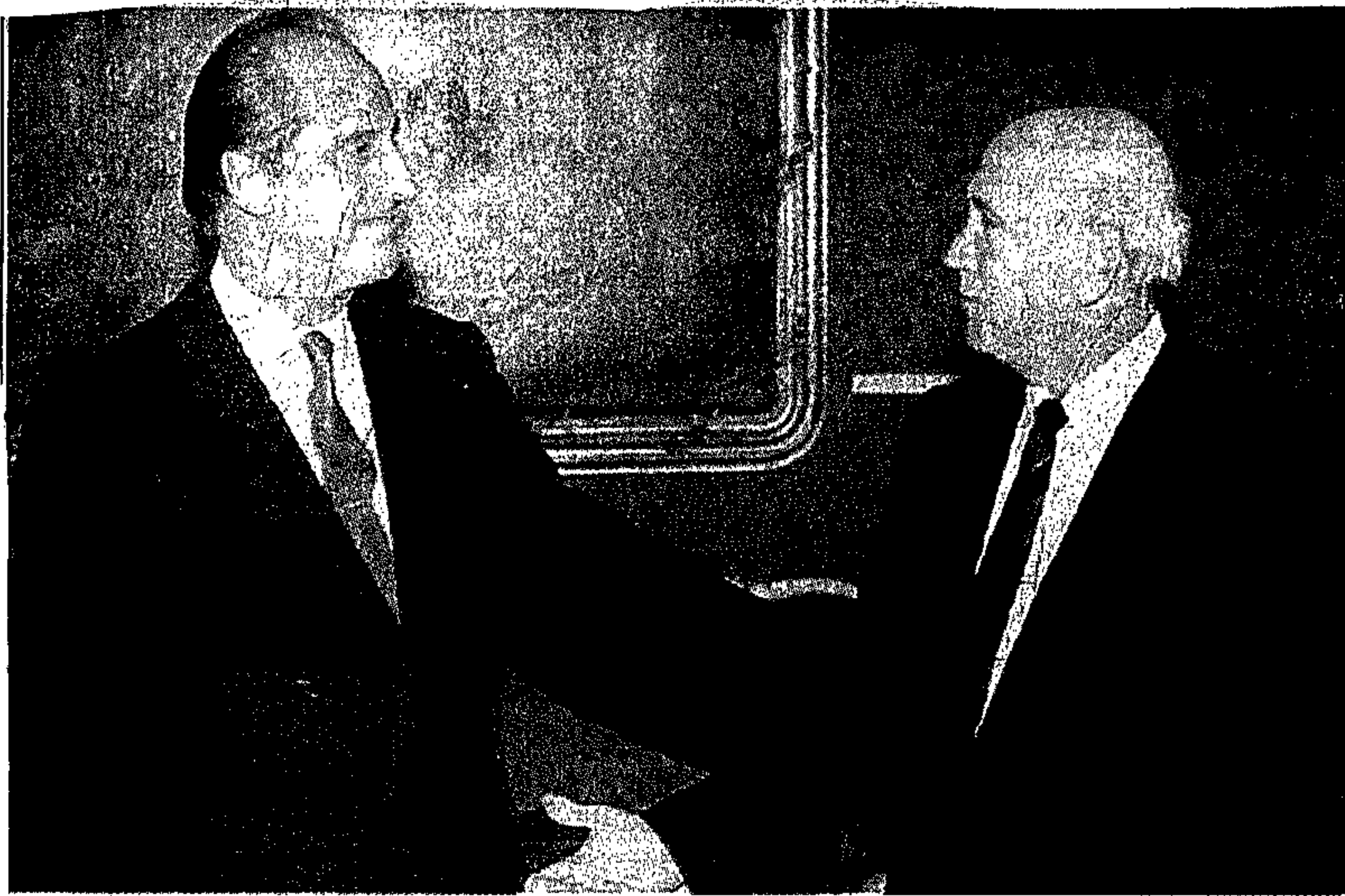
The official was speaking at a conference on links between the EC and a post-apartheid South Africa, at which

South African government officials also said they were willing to see their country classified as a developing nation.

This is a reversal of policy for the ANC.

Mr Tito Mboweni, ANC economics spokesman, said his organisation was ready for some kind of associate membership of the ACP, the vehicle by which the EC extends aid. — Sapa





**GREETINGS . . .** President F W de Klerk meets Austrian President Thomas Klestil at Vienna's Hofburg palace yesterday.

Picture: AP

## FW expresses hope for future

VIENNA. — President F W de Klerk said here yesterday he was confident that radicals to the left and right in South Africa would remain relatively insignificant minority groupings.

Addressing the media during his visit to Austria, Mr De Klerk emphasised that an election date before the end of April remained

the target.

He held discussions with both Chancellor Franz Brantitzky and President Thomas Klestil, as well as holding discussions with members of parliament yesterday.

The Austrian chancellor told reporters he now appreciated the complexity of the South African situation.

Mr De Klerk said he had been well-received and was confident official Austrian sanctions against South Africa would be lifted. In effect Austria was not applying sanctions against South Africa and trade between the two countries exceeded R1 000 million. — Sapa

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# AWB, CP, PAC called for accord

(3047)  
CF 2916193  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Peace Committee (NPC) is to invite the AWB, the PAC and the CP to a meeting within the next three weeks in a bid to persuade them to sign the national peace accord.

The decision was taken at a weekend meeting of the NPC's executive following a proposal by Inkatha and ANC leaders Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela last week.

"A decision was taken to invite all political parties who have not signed the document — including the CP, PAC and AWB — to attend the NPC meeting, with a view to their becoming signatories to the national peace accord," a NPC statement said yesterday.



# Cars hired 'to save money' cost R266 275

FILED 29/6/93  
304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT ministers and top political office-bearers spent R266 275,81 on hired cars in the past year in a bid to "save money".

The state provides ministers and several other senior political office-bearers with their own luxury vehicles and drivers.

In addition, they have access to fleets of vehicles and drivers from government garages.

However, the Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr André Fourie, disclosed in a written reply to a question yesterday that it was impossible, because of high costs, to have enough vehicles and drivers available at government garages for use by these senior office-bearers.

So it was necessary to use hired vehicles and drivers from time to time. "This is the most cost-effective manner in which to render the service," he said.

# focus on elections

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress, hitting the campaign trail for the first time in its 80-year history, has launched a high-powered bid to sweep South Africa's historic elections next year.

"Their elections programme has been up and running for about 18 months already," said Wim Booyse, policy analyst at the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Industries. "They're going to catch everyone else with their pants down."

The ANC, led by Nelson Mandela — probably its main asset in the elections provisionally set for April 27 — has brought in US strategists fresh from Bill Clinton's successful presidential campaign.

It has also hired one of South Africa's top advertising agencies.

Final ratification of the date for the country's first all-race elections was expected on June 25 at a high-level meeting of the 26 groups involved in negotiating a new constitution.

## Slice of the vote

It is virtually a foregone conclusion the ANC will emerge as the party with most electoral support, but it will need a sizable slice of the vote to get its constitutional principles accepted.

The ANC alliance and the Government of President FW de Klerk envisage the parliament elected in April as being the body which drafts a final constitution.

"The ANC are taking this election very seriously," said Tom Lodge, an authority on the movement at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"They're fighting it as if they feel there's a chance they might lose."

He said the ANC needed to work hard on wooing voters in ethnic groups other than its traditional black constituency — coloureds, who form about 10 percent of the 21 million electorate, and whites and Indians who make up about 15 percent.

## Low turnout

"If it is content to rely on its black support, it would obtain only a narrow margin of victory, especially if there's a low turnout," Lodge said.

"It cannot take black support for granted — it has probably reached a ceiling in this area, while parties like the PAC and Inkatha could make inroads."

He said the ANC, with the backing of about one percent of the three million white voters, was not trying to win white votes as much as reassure them an ANC victory would not spell disaster.

"They're spending a lot of money on improving their image."

This month the ANC took out a full-page advertisement in the country's biggest circula-

Despite the signs that the ANC could be out in front even before elections begin, it is taking no chances. It has gone to great lengths and is taking the run-up to the elections seriously. Other parties could be caught with their pants down. *Sapa-Reuter reports:*

*Sowetan 29/6/92*



**Tom Lodge ... an authority on the ANC says they're taking the election seriously.**

tion paper, *The Sunday Times*, explaining its education policy to the largely white readership.

It has obtained the services of US consultant Stan Greenberg, who helped Clinton defeat George Bush last year.

ANC sources said Greenberg, a political scientist who closely follows events in South Africa, had advised the movement to choose two issues and two slogans to focus on as voting nears.

## Radical youth

The slogan "Now is the time" is emblazoned on most ANC posters, while the leadership is trying to eradicate chants like "Kill the farmer" which are popular among radical youth but alienate whites.

Booyse, estimating that the ANC had budgeted R2 million for campaign expenses such as computers, fax machines and four-wheel-drive vehicles, said Greenberg was part of the "high end" aspect of the campaign.

"But they are also pursuing traditional meth-

**They ANC are taking this election very seriously ... they're fighting it as if they feel there's a chance they might lose ... If it is content to rely on its black support, it would obtain only a narrow margin of victory, especially if there's a low turnout ...**

ods like knocking on doors. They've had billboards and placards up in the townships since March — nobody else has."

Booyse said the ANC's main black rivals, the radical PAC and Inkatha, had done little or nothing to prepare for an election while the rightwing white Conservative Party has not decided if it will take part.

## Limited success

De Klerk's National Party is trying to attract black voters with limited success. Recent opinion polls show it losing white support to the rightwing.

Among coloureds, support for the ANC is running at about 15 percent, against 68 percent for the National Party.

Booyse said a weakness in the ANC campaign was its failure to address the concerns of coloureds.

"Their objective is to win 66 percent of the total vote," he said. "But that is a best-case scenario. They won't get it unless they expand support among coloureds, whites and Indians."

Lodge said coloureds, largely concentrated in Cape Town and the surrounding Western Cape, were put off by what they perceived as the indiscipline of the ANC, its leftwing leanings and the domination of youth in the movement.

"The ANC needs to do more to reach moderates," he said. — *Sapa-Reuter.*

*304A*



The radical right is a group of defeated people, reports Stanley Uys from London

Star 29/6/93

# Compassion for the hopeless

THE ANC will not take it amiss, I am sure, if I offer them a word of advice on how to react to the storming of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers (a storming that gives a new meaning to the word gatecrashing).

Their reaction, like that of most South Africans, has been one of outrage, and of demanding that President de Klerk have the whole lot arrested and brought to court speedily for salutary punishment.

Well, yes, that is as it should be, and no doubt in due course some of the gatecrashers will be brought before magistrates. But De Klerk is not avoiding a head-on confrontation with the right wing because he secretly sympathises with them, or even because he thinks they have a case of sorts,

but because he knows his own people, and that confrontation is not the way to handle them, especially when the enforcers of the due process of law are on the wrong side.

The revolt of the Afrikaners was bound to come one day, and now it has happened. You can't live in one style for more than three centuries, and then suddenly become a contrite reformer the next. At least, not all of you. At some point you explode, and now the explosion is occurring. In a few months the game will be over, and then there will be nowhere for the revolt to go. So it is now or never for the rebels.

But if many Afrikaners, or even a majority, no longer sleep easily, this does not mean they are all rebelling. It is remarkable just

how many Afrikaners appear either to have bowed to the inevitable, or even to have mustered some enthusiasm for the changes they know are inevitable. The Afrikaner rebellion is little more than a collection (to use Professor Willie Breytenbach's definition) of poorer farmers, blue collar workers and assorted others.

The rebels, the ones actually engaged in demonstrations like the charge of the khaki brigade, are the rump who have been left behind by history. True, they are racist, and, true, there are dangerous men among them whose capacity for creating racial strife should not be underestimated. But they are all a sad lot, nevertheless, and however many sympathisers they may have out there on the farms and down the mines,

when push comes to shove they will be on their own.

So why does General Constand Viljoen want to bring his career to an ignominious end? Does he really want his descendants to read in the book of Afrikaner history that a man who rose to being commander of the entire SA Defence Force in the end finally could not make it, and just slipped down the evolutionary ladder?

The rightwingers have been sounding forth on the BBC on the Afrikaner's need for a piece of land he can call his own. I heard it more as a cry of anguish than a declaration of war. It was a call of the wilds. Men can be ugly when they cannot adapt, but they can also be infinitely pitiful when they cannot understand what is happening to them or why. The cry

for an Afrikaner homeland is inchoate, wild, desperate, hopeless, and should be understood as such.

De Klerk's approach is not to confront but to open Afrikanerdom's safety valves and let the sound and fury escape, bit by bit. The trick, of course, is to balance this with some regard for the due process of law, but some funny things have been done already in the name of reconciliation, like the release of political killers on both sides, so why not do some more funny things? The proof of the pudding will be in the eating: whether the result is to produce more, or less, strife.

It will probably be necessary to accommodate, in some way, the cry for an Afrikaner homeland. It can be only a symbolic accommodation — a pointing of the finger

at some desolate part of South Africa, say near Bophuthatswana, accompanied by the declaration that there lies your hinterland, knowing that hardly anyone will ever actually go there. But it may have to be made.

The multiparty Negotiating Forum is dealing with a defeated people, and the wise long-term investment is to show some compassion, not to rub their noses in it. The forum has played brilliantly with words until now. It should continue to do so. In reality, it boils down mostly to just the Roelf-Cyril show, but the fact remains that historically, universally, the forum has become a unique institution. If it can continue to live up to this reputation it can perform a wondrous service for South Africa. □



Politicians . . . PloMo Jordan (left) and Ahmed Kathrada are among the new listings in *The International Who's Who*.

## SA VIPs chosen for world's Who's Who

Star Bureau

LONDON — Eleven South Africans have joined the ranks of prominent people featured in the 57th edition of *The International Who's Who*, to be published tomorrow.

The entrants — selected entirely on merit and achievement in a particular field — include sportsmen, academics, scientists, economists and politicians.

In the latter category, PloMo Jordan, Ahmed Kathrada and Tokyo Sexwale top the list, while cricketer Allan Lamb is this year's sporting personality.

Academics include University of the Western Cape vice-chancellor Jakes Gerwel and philosopher John McDowell. Mr Justice Richard Goldstone has been included, together with biologist David Hall, agricultural scientist Daniel Joubert, banker Jacobus van Vuuren and insurance executive Michael Levett.

Editor Richard Fitzwilliams describes *International Who's Who* as "ideal for finding unusual snippets of information on the rich and famous". For instance, it reveals that actress Nicole Kidman's real name is Claire Lewicki and Clint Eastwood began his career as a lumberjack.



# Govt breaks off talks, wants PAC restricted

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

The Government has broken off talks with the PAC and is to urge the Negotiating Council to take steps to restrict the organisation's participation in constitutional talks.

The PAC last night told the Government it accepted the cessation of hostilities in principle. But the decision would be implemented only once agreement had been reached on a transitional authority and an elected constituent assembly, and after the start of elections.

The Government in turn warned the PAC that the SAP would act against it and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, said Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer

The PAC was asked to clarify its position regarding the armed struggle after it had agreed last Tuesday to a declaration on the cessation or suspension of hostilities. Confusion reigned when

the PAC later told the media it still had to discuss the implications of the cessation of hostilities.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said after last night's bilateral talks that the Government had told the PAC it would urge the Negotiating Council to expel the PAC. This would be a "terrible mistake", she said.

However, it is understood the Government would rather ask for steps to restrict the PAC's participation in the council.

De Lille said the Government had not yet returned all PAC property seized in the police crackdown last month.

Meyer noted last night that the PAC was asked on Thursday when it would "stop killing policemen and civilians".

The PAC's response was unacceptable, Meyer said, because it meant that the PAC "would want to continue with its policy of killing policemen and civilians while at the same time wanting to continue with negotiations".

Star 29/6/93

## Papers stolen during siege

It was relatively simple for World Trade Centre organisers to repaint walls and replace windows after Friday's invasion — but yesterday they had to work out which negotiating documents had been stolen.

During their occupation of the Negotiating Council chamber at Kempton Park, right-wingers stole documents from delegates' tables, along with personal effects such as spectacles and pens. (BOL)

Documents belonging to The Star's political correspondent, Esther Waugh, were among

those stolen. A photograph published in the Saturday Star clearly shows a uniformed woman paging through the file at Waugh's seat in the chamber.

Security was stepped up yesterday at the World Trade Centre following Friday's storming of the building. (BOL)

The gates — which were previously left open — are permanently closed and now all visitors must identify themselves before they are allowed enter. (BOL)

More policemen have been placed on guard in the chamber. — Political Staff. (BOL)



# Afrikaner state: CP does not exclude war

By Esther Waugh  
Political Correspondent

The Conservative Party has not excluded civil war should the multiparty Negotiating Council reject its demand for a separate Afrikaner state.

The matter will come under the spotlight at today's meeting of the council but is likely to be wiped off the table.

CP negotiator Fanie Jacobs said last night his party would review its participation in constitutional talks should its demands not be acceded to.

Last week 24 negotiating partners rejected out of hand an Afrikaner state.

Nevertheless, Jacobs was still hopeful that "sound reason" would prevail in the Negotiating Council.

"If the Negotiating Council would be so shortsighted by wiping it (the Afrikaner state) off the table, it would not contribute to a peaceful settlement.

"The mood of the people, the Afrikaner people, is an angry one. We have always been a

peaceful nation and I believe, we still are.

"Our people will never accept that we be ruled by others. This means there will be a situation in which they will show their discontent."

The CP would demonstrate its discontent by "peaceful means". But, Jacobs added: "Civil war is a thing I cannot exclude. I for one would strive ... to resolve it peacefully."

Concerned South Africans Groups (Cosag) parties — of which the CP is a member — condemned the CP in the Negotiating Council on Friday after the storming of the World Trade Centre by the right wing.

Cosag sources last night said the CP's demand for an Afrikaner state was not saleable at the negotiating table and that they would try to persuade the CP to accept federalism.

But Jacobs said federalism was not an option for his party. The CP was willing to co-operate with and recognise other federal states "But our state must be an independent state".

# IFP, Bop to remain in Cosag

Political Correspondent

Star 29/6/93

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Bophuthatswana government will remain members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) despite the involvement of Conservative Party members in the occupation of the World Trade Centre on Friday, the CP has been told.

This assurance, made by the IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Bophuthatswana's Minister of State and chief negotiator Rowan Cronje, was given to

the Conservative Party yesterday.

In a meeting with CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg — which the IFP said had been planned before rightwingers stormed the World Trade Centre on Friday — in Ulundi yesterday, Buthelezi reportedly said the IFP was in "a conciliatory mood" and would remain a member of Cosag.

IFP Women's League president Faith Gasa, who is a member of the party's negotiating team, was among those who was roughed up by the rightwingers on Friday.

Although an IFP source said the CP had apologised for what happened on Friday, CP chief negotiator Tom Langley last night denied this, and told The Star Buthelezi had accepted that the CP was not involved in the fracas.

"After the meeting Cosag is now stronger than ever," Langley told The Star.

Cronje yesterday said he also accepted the CP had not been part of the violent invasion of the World Trade Centre, and that Bophuthatswana would remain part of Cosag.



The  
Scotch  
the Scots  
drink

The Star Tuesday June 29 1993

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## IFP disowns poll smear fax

DURBAN. — Inkatha has distanced itself from an anonymous fax circulating here claiming "the ANC, SACP and NP alliance" intends to hold elections before a constitution has been drafted.

The fax, sent to the offices of several political parties and other individuals, calls on recipients to campaign against this.

NP director of information in Natal, Mr Johan Steenkamp, said yesterday the contents of the document were based on either ignorance or deliberate falsehoods. — Sapa

# SA needs 'Marshall Plan'

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela delivers a powerful appeal for "massive" foreign investment in the latest issue of Fortune magazine and says he will be urging President Bill Clinton to launch a "Marshall Plan" for South Africa when they meet on Friday.

"We should forget the past. Let us concern ourselves with the present and the future. Let us

build a new South Africa," he tells readers of what is one of the country's most influential business publications.

The appeal, made in an interview earlier this month, appears to conflict with Mr Mandela's newly stated intention to delay calling for the removal of remaining sanctions.

This has come as a disappointment to both the Clinton administration and American com-

panies which had counted on the ANC leader using his 12-day US tour to declare South Africa open for business.

Ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz yesterday suggested that the ANC was in danger of being blamed by voters for retarding South Africa's economic reconstruction.

In the interview, Mr Mandela said that all that was needed before he would call off sanctions was a firm election date.



# DP urges transitional regional rule

☐ Insistence on federalism is vindicated by recent history, claims party

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff 3044

THE Democratic Party has come out in favour of fully fledged transitional regional governments with constitutionally entrenched powers and functions.

In proposals submitted, to the technical committee on constitutional issues of the multiparty negotiations, the party calls for such elected political authorities and administrations — which would

be separate from the central government — at the earliest opportunity.

Mr Henrie Bester, chairman of the DP's national policy advisory committee, said the party believed regional legislatures should be elected on the same day as the representatives to a constitutional making body, the transitional parliament.

If this was not done, there would be a tendency away from regional government

with powers going to the central government.

The powers of such regional legislatures should be written into the constitution for the transitional period.

Among the powers envisaged for regional government are a say over health, local government, licensing, town planning, management of urbanisation, taxation, nature conservation, regional development, agriculture, roads, education and culture,

police and prisons, administration of justice, gambling and land settlement.

The DP proposes that regional government — provinces, self-governing territories and TBVC states — should be supervised in the pre-election period by the sub-council on regional and local government of the Transitional Executive Council.

Mr Bester said the struggle

for strong regional government was being fought right now.

"Recent history has vindicated the DP's insistence on federalism. We cannot allow a mismanaged transition period to bedevil the long-term interests of all our citizens."

Maximum powers and functions should be devolved to regional and local government levels at the earliest opportunity.

Sowetan 30/6/93

# EC pledge on polls

**Sowetan Correspondent**

THE European Community will continue to take a keen interest in developments in South Africa and will make "a substantial contribution" towards ensuring free and fair elections in the country next year, Danish Development Co-operation Minister Helle Degn announced in Johannesburg.

Speaking shortly after her arrival in South Africa yesterday, Degn — who is also president of the EC Council of Ministers for Development Co-operation — said the EC remained a

strong supporter of the transition process. Degn said the EC, which was already the biggest foreign donor with an annual donation of R350 million, would embark on "a new poverty-orientated development programme" in the country once a Transitional Executive Council was in place.

This programme, she said, would focus on supporting peace structures, fostering democracy, voter-education and preparing for elections as well as "institution-building and support of focal sectors of economic and social development".

She also announced that:

- The EC would "normalise rela-

tions" with South Africa — and encourage bodies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and "other relevant organisations" to do the same once a TEC was in place;

- Once a TEC is in place, the Danish government will launch a programme of transitional assistance to South Africa to cost R300 million over a five-year period which will focus on rural development and education "and with an emphasis on empowerment and participation of women".

- The Danish government would also make available to South Africa R6 million "for democratisation projects and activities curbing violence".

304A



# Negotiating parties declare a deadlock

B1 Day 30/6/93

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) declared yesterday that they were in deadlock over the process of drafting a new constitution.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We reject out of hand the single-phase process in which this undemocratic, unelected body drafts a constitution. And in our rejection we have introduced a deadlock of major proportions."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said: "We say 'no' to an elected constituent assembly writing a constitution. We have a deadlock."

He said: "Today for the first time we are starting to face the real issues. There is no way out but to find a compromise, but we cannot do it at this stage of the process."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer intervened and said the technical committee on constitutional issues had proposed that the parties seek equilibrium. "I appeal to Inkatha that they have no choice but to consider the equilibrium proposal."

In its report, the committee said the two opposing positions were incompatible and could be bridged only by compromise.

The report reinforces a two-phased transition in which the negotiating forum decides on binding constitutional principles which have a justiciable basis as a mandate to the constitution-making body. It binds the constitution-making body to drafting the final constitution within the

limitations it imposes.

At the same time, it stills the fears of Cosag parties by providing for regional constitutions with their own legislatures and executives.

Ramaphosa tabled a motion stating that the equilibrium proposal "offers the best possible basis for finding agreement on the constitution-making process".

The negotiating council decided it would debate, but not decide on the resolution until today, allowing parties to discuss the issue and consult their principals.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said the DP was prepared to compromise because the principles would be binding on an elected body and the powers and functions of regions would be determined by the negotiating body.

He said those parties like the ANC, which had wanted an elected body to draft the new constitution, had made considerable concessions over the past weeks. Referring to Cosag and Inkatha, he said: "I would like to ask, what are you prepared to compromise on in bridging the gap?"

SACP negotiator Joe Slovo said: "If there has to be a parting of the ways, so be it." He said Inkatha was clearly afraid of placing the future of the country in the hands of the people by facing an election. He said negotiators had to resolve the deadlock within the next 48 hours.

# More aid from EC when SA has transitional govt

CT 30/6/93 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — The European Community, South Africa's largest aid donor, would increase its assistance once a transitional executive council was installed, the president of the EC's Council of Ministers of Development, Mrs Helle Degn, said yesterday.

She announced the establishment of new poverty-oriented development programme. The programme, which supplements existing EC aid to South

Africa, comprises R350 million a year over five years.

The EC would also support the forthcoming election process through voter education and the provision of observers and election specialists.

Mrs Degn, who is also the Danish Minister of Development Co-operation, said Denmark had allocated a further R300m for a programme of transitional assistance in South Africa. — Sapa



# ANC hits deadlock with Cosag

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC, Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) declared yesterday that they were in deadlock over the process of drafting a new constitution.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We re-

ject out of hand the single phase process in which this undemocratic, unelected body drafts a constitution. And in our rejection we have introduced a deadlock."

Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said: "We say no to an elected constituent assembly writing a constitution. We

have a deadlock.

"There is no way out but to find a compromise, but we cannot do it at this stage of the process."

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer intervened and said the technical committee on constitutional issues had proposed that the

parties seek equilibrium and "I appeal to Inkatha that they have no choice but to consider the equilibrium proposal".

● Also at the talks yesterday the Independent Centre for Human Rights requested the maintenance of law and order as a fundamental right in an interim constitution.

# DP wants votes on three lists

30447  
CT 30.6.93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ELECTIONS for regional legislatures should be held on the same day as the poll for national and regional representatives to a central Parliament, the Democratic Party proposed yesterday.

The party unveiled its proposals for States/Provinces/Regions during the transition.

In terms of the DP's submission to the constitutional technical committee, voters at the first non-racial elections would have to express their preferences for candidates on three lists.

The DP will submit its proposals for regional boundaries to the commission appointed by the negotiating council later this week.

The chairman of the DP's national policy advisory committee, Green Point MP Mr Hennie Bester, said yesterday the TBVC states and the self-governing territories would be re-incorporated into South Africa on the day a government of national unity was formed.



# Anti-intimidation plan set up by NP for poll

TOS WENTZEL  
Political Staff

(304A)  
FRC 30/6/93

THE National Party has launched an anti-intimidation plan for the lead-up to next year's election.

It entails special telephone and fax numbers which victims of intimidation can use to report incidents to a counter-intimidation team.

Giving details of the plan, Mr Nick Koornhof, MP for Swellendam and one of the party's information officers, said the party was going to "chase" the ANC about intimidation.

There were indications that people were getting tired of intimidation.

The party would distribute a special card with the telephone and fax numbers to the public. There would be answering machines so that mes-

sages could be left at any time.

The party would keep registers of incidents of intimidation in various regions and would report them to peace committees, international observers and, where necessary, to the police. Precautionary measures were also being taken.

Incidents of intimidation could hinder or even prevent a free and just election, he said.

Mr Koornhof said this had serious implications for the NP. Without large-scale intimidation, the party could draw significant support in an election.

The Cape Town member of the party's counter-intimidation team is Mr Tommie Immelman at 23 4156 and fax 233 8440.

# CP: Demand 'misunderstood'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party's demand for the creation of a confederation of independent states was often misunderstood, the CP's chief constitutional expert Mr Fanie Jacobs said yesterday.

"There is no need to start with confederation," he said at the World Trade Centre.

He denied, however, that the CP had "softened" its position on confederalism, the corner-

stone of the party's policies.

He quoted from the CP's constitutional proposals, released earlier this month, to substantiate his denial. **3041A**

"The creation of a confederation or commonwealth is, however, by no means a prerequisite for the existence of an Afrikaner state, or other states, be they single or federal."

The CP envisages its separate Afrikaner state existing next to

the "new South Africa" in a voluntary confederation.

"We could begin with co-operation treaties. Confederation could develop in due course," he said.

Asked whether this meant a change in the CP's position, particularly in the short-term, Mr Jacobs said: "There is opportunity for interpretation."

Self-determination within a separate geographical area in a united South Africa, according

to some senior negotiators, is emerging at democracy talks as a possible way of dealing with right-wing demands.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has said the ANC would never agree to an independent Afrikaner state.

The CP wanted its proposal to be looked at as part of a constitutional "package" for the whole of South Africa, and not just in isolation. — Sapa



# FW: SA requires concrete results

(304A)  
ET 30/6/93

VIENNA. — President FW de Klerk expressed certainty here yesterday that ongoing political reforms would succeed in dragging strife-torn South Africa towards democracy and economic health.

Speaking to journalists during a four-day official visit, Mr De Klerk said concrete results were now needed to cement the reform process.

South Africa had evolved progressively towards dismantling the apartheid system which demographic and economic conditions had rendered impossible to maintain, he said.

The key aims now were to widen the democratic base and end South Africa's economic isolation, he said, add-

ing he was sure his political strategy would succeed.

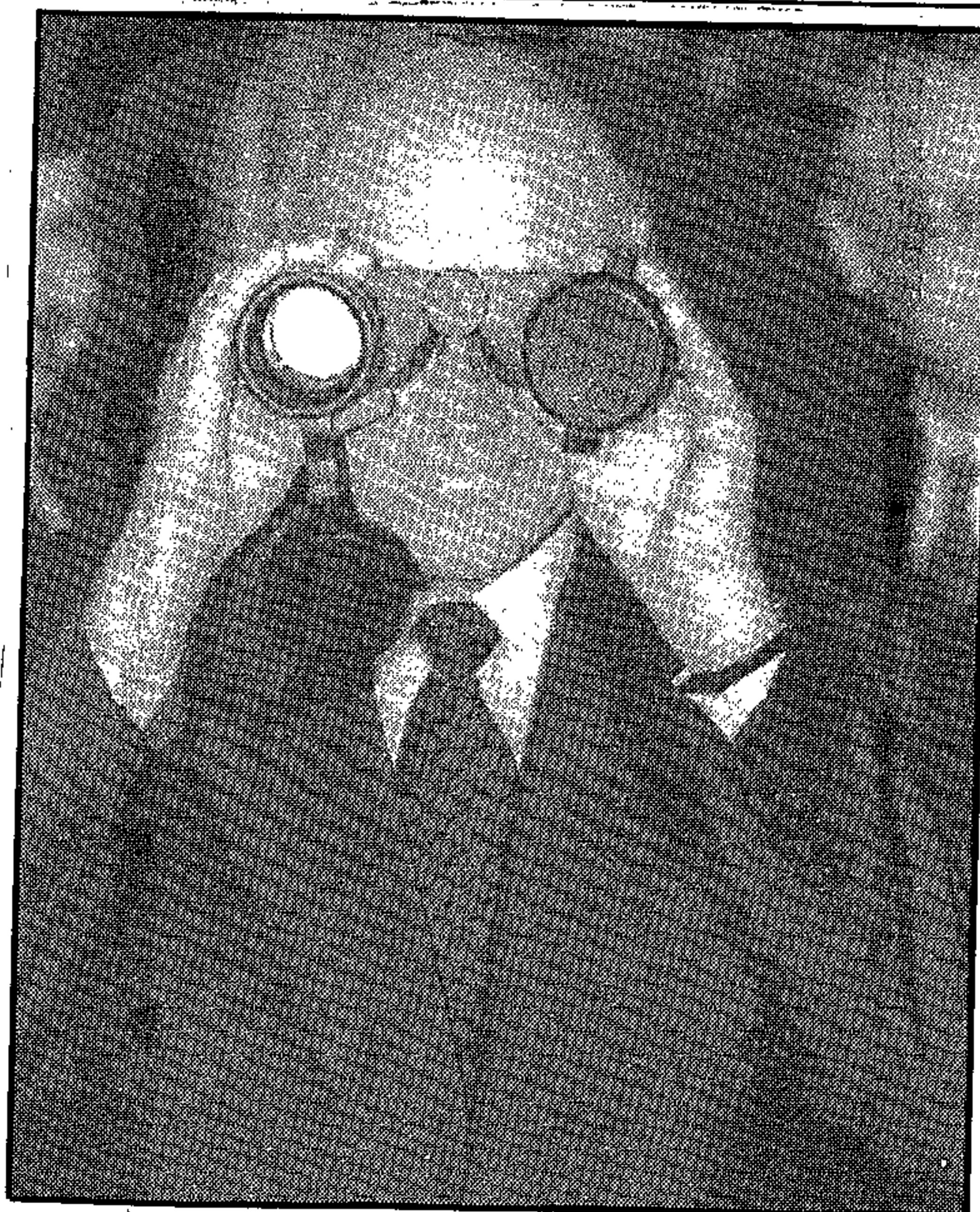
The pillars of his government's reforms were the restructuring of the education system which lay at the root of discrimination against the black population, and the development of a federal South Africa with each region enjoying a maximum degree of autonomy.

Mr De Klerk arrived here on Sunday for talks with Austrian President Thomas Klestil, Chancellor Franz Vranitzky and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Alois Mock.

Mr De Klerk flies to the United States today where he will join African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela. — Sapa-AFP



## POLITICS



**INTO THE FUTURE:** President De Klerk looks through a pair of binoculars which he received as a gift from Vienna mayor Helmut Zilk yesterday during his four-day official visit to Austria.

## De Klerk, Mandela due to arrive in US today

### The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela arrive in America today with little hope of a joint call for the lifting of sanctions.

They are to be jointly awarded the Philadelphia Liberty Medal by President Clinton on Sunday.

ANC sources have not completely ruled out the possibility that Mr Mandela will call for the lifting of remaining sanctions, which would trigger South Africa's access to World Bank and IMF loans and encourage US investors.

But they emphasise that Mr Mandela's decision is dependent

on real progress in negotiations. Much depends on the meeting of the Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

It will be deliberating as Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk meet President Clinton in the White House late on Friday.

Congress sources were negative about the consequences of Mr Mandela not making the expected call.

"It will be a grave disappointment if nothing happens after all the fanfare," one said.

US business interests have also warned that investors here will rapidly lose interest if the go-ahead is not given now.



# ANC criticises two NP appointments

By Kaizer Nyatumba  
Political Correspondent

The ANC has severely criticised the appointment of prominent National Party politicians as Transvaal Provincial Administration Members of the Executive Council (MEC), and has called on the auditor-general to urgently investigate the abuse of Government resources for party-political purposes.

Commenting on President F.W. de Klerk's recent appointment of Springs MP Piet Coetzer and former Pan Africanist Congress member David Chuenyane as Transvaal MECs, the ANC said the

two men would continue to actively promote the NP's election strategy in structures such as the National Co-ordinating Mechanism.

This, said the ANC, would be done at the expense of other parties and organisations while the two men received salaries paid with taxpayers' money. (304A)

Nothing has changed since the Information Scandal. The NP does not draw any distinction between its own resources and those of the State.

As the ANC warned with the appointment of (NP MP) Chris Fischmer as political assistant to the State Presi-

dent, this state of affairs is able to continue because there is no accountability in the current apartheid parliamentary and provincial administration structures, the ANC said.

The organisation said the auditor-general had to urgently investigate Pretoria's abuse of "Government resources for party-political purposes" and demanded that a code of conduct be determined for all political organisations.

It said the Independent Elections Commission yet to be established would have to ensure strict adherence to such a code.

# Eugene lauds 'brave' AWB for action at Trade Centre

By Zingisa Mkhuma

An unrepentant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Eugene TerreBlanche said last night on SABC's *Agenda* that he would "definitely congratulate" his people for standing "firm and fast" at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

TerreBlanche objected to descriptions of the AWB members as a "neo-Nazi set of hooligans" and referred to them as "those brave men out there".

*Agenda* host John Bishop said the world saw AWB members urinating on the walls, hitting and terrorising people and asked if TerreBlanche would apologise for their deeds.

He replied that it was for the courts to decide if AWB members had done those things.

When told that the Afrikaner Volksfront and Conservative Party leaders had distanced themselves from the AWB ac-

tions, TerreBlanche said he had no reason to believe this.

He had led his people to the World Trade Centre to show the world that people who were not national leaders were sitting around the table and discussing the future of the nation, he said.

TerreBlanche claimed that his commando unit had 50 000 members.

"There are thousands and thousands of English-speaking people who are our members and you will see more of them in the future."

He said the AWB was preparing itself for war with the ANC, the SA Communist Party and Apla and said the African National Congress had no interest in sharing power but would use South Africa as a "communist satellite".

He warned that the AWB would never accept a communist government without putting up a fight.



George's  
win School  
Road, Bedfordview

## NEWS

# Doctor charge

## Doctors oppose dispensing proposals

By Danielle Gordon

The Medical Association of South Africa (Masa) has cautioned against a proposed amendment to the Medicines Control Act which would permit pharmacists to dispense medicines without a doctor's prescription for influenza, inflammations and bacterial infections.

Dr Bernard Mandell, chairman of the federal council of Masa, said the proposed change was "likely to compromise quality health care". At present, pharmacists can dispense only unscheduled and schedule 1 and 2 substances without a doctor's consultation.

The amendment proposed by the Medicines Control Council would allow pharmacists to provide some medicines which fall into schedules 3 and above.

The South African Association of Community Pharmacists said it welcomed the development. SAACP executive director David Pleaner said the move would increase access to health care for those unable to afford a doctor.

A final decision on the amendment to the Act will be reached in the next few months.

thought the doctor was trying to molest her.

He hit the doctor on the nose, causing bleeding. The doctor had the tape recorder in his hand. It fell to the floor.

A friend arrived at the house, whom Labuschagne thought was a lawyer. The friend asked what the doctor had done to the woman and "asked where the money was".

Labuschagne had deposited R495 into the woman's bank account. He had allegedly told the couple that not everyone carried R5 000 in their back pocket.

At no stage did the doctor admit he had raped the woman, the husband said.

The hearing continues.

came drowsy. He came to, the was raping her on surgery bed.

The woman's husband said his wife had telephoned him at work a few days later and told him to come home.

Relatives were there and the husband was told about the alleged rape.

His wife telephoned Labuschagne and said she wanted to see him or else she would go to the police. The doctor arrived at their house within 10 minutes.

The husband had hidden a tape recorder in a flower pot. He then went into the next room.

His wife and the doctor were talking when his wife called him. He found Labuschagne bending over his wife and

## De Klerk will visit Bush

By Peter Fabricius  
Star Bureau

receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal.

Some newspaper reports said US State Department officials had described the visit to Bush as "politically insensitive" to Clinton.

Schwarz disclosed that Bush had invited De Klerk to see him and said the embassy knew of no State Department disapproval of the visit.

The State Department had been kept fully informed about De Klerk's arrangements and nothing

had been done without its knowledge.

Schwarz said the meeting with Bush was personal and had no political significance.

"Mr Bush is no longer active in politics and Mr de Klerk will be seeing several other people across the political spectrum."

It is understood De Klerk will meet Bush in Bush's holiday home at Kennebunkport, Maine.

A White House official declined to comment.

WASHINGTON — The South African embassy in Washington has dismissed suggestions that President de Klerk's visit to former President George Bush this week is "politically insensitive".

SA's ambassador to Washington, Harry Schwarz, confirmed De Klerk would visit Bush privately this week while he was in the US to meet President Clinton and to

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the woman, who is in  
er 20s, gave evidence in  
camera on Monday.

Yesterday the wo-  
man's sister (20) told Re-  
gional Court president  
P A J Kotze that her sis-  
ter had told her she went  
to Labuschagne because  
she had a migraine.

The doctor, according  
to the sister, injected  
something into her arm

Star 30/6/93

# Deadlock over new constitution

30/6/93

By Esther Waugh

The negotiating council has reached a deadlock over who will write and adopt the new constitution. A compromise — whether regional governments can be elected at the same time as a national government — will be discussed in the council today.

The stalemate arose between those — including the Government and ANC — wanting an elected constitution-making body and the parties — mostly Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members — demanding that the multiparty negotiating process draft the new constitution.

The gauntlet was thrown down yesterday by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa who said his organisation rejected as "undemocratic" the idea of negotia-



Ramaphosa ... threw down the gauntlet.

tors drafting the new constitution.

He was supported by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, who urged the IFP and its allies to consider an "equilibrium" between the two views.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo warned that: "If there

has to be a parting of ways, so be it."

In an attempt to defuse the deadlock, Ramaphosa formally proposed the compromise contained in a negotiations technical committee report tabled and discussed yesterday in the council.

A decision on the proposal will be taken today.

Slovo told the council the crunch issue that should be determined within the next 48 hours was whether "we are going to accept a democratic process or the kind of abortion of a process proposed by the other side (Cosag)".

Ramaphosa said the multiparty negotiations process was incapable of drafting a constitution to introduce a democratic dispensation.

"We have reached the time where all of us have to state quite clearly where we stand."



Time running out at Forum

# 3 crucial days for S Africa

Star 30/6/93

304A

By Chris Whitfield  
and Esther Waugh

South Africa faces three crucial days of tough talking and protests which should determine whether the timetable for change is reached — and if sanctions are to be lifted soon.

Vital to progress are developments in the multiparty talks which suffered another setback yesterday when negotiators deadlocked on what process should be followed to the writing of a new constitution.

Time is rapidly running out for participants to bridge their differences before Friday's meeting of the Negotiating Forum — the body called together to ratify agreements in the Negotiating Council.

The talks over the next three days between 26 parties forging the country's future will take place against a backdrop of:

- Continuing arrests of rightwingers — with 17 appearing in court yesterday. A further 14 will appear today.
- A protest rally by the Pan African Congress outside the World Trade Centre today.
- An ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance "day of action" tomorrow to protest over the storming of the centre. A stayaway has been called in

## Latest on arrests

● So far 35 people have been arrested in connection with events at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

● Of those, 17 have appeared in court.

● A further 14 are expected to appear today.

● Four people have been released.

● Full report — Page 3

the PWV region, Natal Midlands and Northern Cape.

● An extended Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) meeting.

Those around the negotiating table need to agree on principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body, what that body will be, and what process will be followed in forging a new constitution.

The wide gulf on some issues, particularly on the process to be followed, was highlighted last night with the Concerned South Africans Group favouring the crafting of the constitution by negotiators and others calling for an elected Constituent Assembly to do the job. Negotiators will continue the search for a compromise today.

Also imminent is a decision by the Negotiating Council on self-determination, with rightwingers increasingly warning that Afrikaners will go to war if they do not get an independent state.

Government and ANC negotiators had hoped these issues would be resolved by Friday, when decisions could be taken on a transitional executive council, effectively the first step to interim government, and an election date.

This weekend ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk meet US President Bill Clinton, and progress in these areas is vital if financial and other sanctions are to be removed.

However Mandela has already reportedly said in the US that it is too early to call for a lifting of embargoes.

A Negotiating Forum meeting scheduled for last Friday was postponed for a week because of insufficient progress having been made since the Negotiating Council began sitting in April.

Meanwhile, the storm continues over the right-wing invasion of the Trade Centre.

It is understood there was some straight talking in a lengthy, emergency AVF executive meeting last night on the lack of discipline of mainly AWB members.