S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

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Sidestepping the real issue

STAR 1/9/92. (304A)

THE debate over federalism needs to come out of the closet. Until now there has been too much shadow-boxing about whether federalism is a backdoor route to the preservation of bantustans and minority privilege. The real debate is not about that but about whether a South Africa without federalism can remain a single country at all.

The taboo on frank discussion of this issue simply has to go: it is no good pretending that we do not live in a world where countries are sub-dividing like amoebas, or that the pressures which apply to them don't apply with at least equal force to South Africa. The old Union of South Africa, which effectively glued four different countries together, has lasted only 82 years to date — which, in historical terms, means that the glue is barely dry.

South Africa would do well to reflect on the lessons Germany has to teach about federalism. As every schoolboy knows, Germany was constructed as a single State by Bismarck who welded the disparate states together as the lander (provinces) of the new Reich.

This he did essentially by Prussianising the key institutions: the Prussian king became the German Kaiser, the German army was built on Prussian lines, and Prussian blueprints were used in every field. This authoritarian style was accepted by the lander essentially because Bismarck's long, unbroken record of military triumph and economic prosperity made them all feel strong and rich.

In 1918, however, the Bismarckian state met military defeat and economic ruin. In effect, the lander felt the contract had aborted and the Reich began to fall apart: Germany lost all its colonies, the French took back Alsace-Lorraine and separate republics were declared in Bavaria, Saxony and Thuringia. In the end, the much reduced Weimar Republic survived only because it conceded much greater federal powers to the lander.

This situation was anathema to Hitler who was nothing if not a passionate devotee of the unitary state. For a while he too made the Germans feel strong and richer, but the Third Reich too ended in defeat and misery: again, the implicit contract failed.

This time the Poles snatched away territory in the east and even the Germany which remained was cut in two. The western rump opted again for a federal state — which succeeded mightily. East Germany opted for highly centralised government — which once again ended in disaster and collapse. German history teaches only federal lessons.

The old Union of South Africa had its implicit contract too: there was to be absolute white supremacy and equality between Boer and Brit. Within those limits, however, a federal discretion was to be allowed to the provinces. The Cape could keep its idiosyncratic franchise, and marriages across the colour line could continue as they always had. Natal could treat and mistreat its Indians in its own way and, uniquely, maintain a powerful black monarchy in its midst. The OFS and Transvaal could comport themselves as befitted two former Boer republics.

In some ways this implicit contract was actually strengthened by the National Party after 1948. White supremacy was reinforced and the State patronage of Afrikaners gave Boer-Brit equality a social and economic as well as a legal dimension.

But in other ways the contract was subverted. In essence, the Transvaal was our Prussia, Verwoerd our Bismarck, and apartheid the Prussian blueprint on which the State had to be made anew. Gradually the country was Transvaalised. We became wearily familiar with the notion that the country's leader was almost invariably the Transvaal leader of the NP. The power of the provinces was cut back and back, always to the benefit of Pretoria, until, infamously, the provincial councils were abolished.

Worst of all, race relations were recast along Transvaal lines. Some of the worst traumas of apartheid occurred when this simple Transvaal model of setting boundaries between races was applied to already densely integrated urban communities elsewhere.

Verwoerd and his successors got away with such atrocities partly because they strengthened white supremacy, but mainly because under their rule South Africans, especially white South Africans, felt they were getting richer and stronger. Under P W Botha this gradually ceased to be true: although the Prussianisation of the State reached unexampled heights, the State itself was shaken as never before.

Now President de Klerk has reneged on the implicit contract even further. Far from getting richer, per capita incomes have seen negative growth for three years; far from getting stronger, the armed forces are being cut to the bone. Most of all, of course, the end of white supremacy is in sight.

Not surprisingly, the unity of the old Union has started to unravel. A clamant white Right demands wholesale secession into a Boerestaat, the threat of a Kwa Natal UDI exists at one remove, Bophuthatswana dreams of uniting with Botswana, and the non-African majority of the western Cape has begun to remember what good sense the old Cape Colony made as a separate country.

Not surprisingly, the NP too has had a death-bed conversion to federalism. But we have seen nothing yet: an end to white supremacy may be promised, but it has yet to occur. When it finally does the most fundamental part of the old contract will disappear and there will be a quantum leap in secessionist tendencies on every side. Those who want to hold South Africa together as a State at all — never mind a unitary State — must abandon the bogus debate over federalism and begin the real one now. □

NE

Little drama expected at congresses

(304A)

STAR 1/9/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Greater clarity about the progress in the negotiation process should emerge during the annual round of National Party provincial congresses which begins in Bloemfontein today.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha officially opens the three-day Free State congress tonight and OFS NP leader Kobie Coetsee speaks earlier.

No dramatic constitutional or negotiation initiatives should be expected from the four congresses in the next five weeks, NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said last night.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer will respond to congress resolutions which express concern that the Government should not deviate from its approved constitutional principles — including a second House of Parliament representing minorities and entrenched executive powers for regional governments.

The congresses are taking place in the run-up to the critical short session of Parliament which starts on October 12.

Labour Party faces imminent split

STAR 1/9/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Labour Party (LP) is poised to split, with half of its remaining MPs ready to join the Democratic Party and the rest eager to defect to the ANC or get out of politics.

Last night Rus-ter-vaal MP Sam Louw began what could be a flood of resignations by announcing he had joined the ANC.

Former Ministers' Council members David Curry and Chris April are strongly tipped to lead a group of up to 15 MPs into the DP, according to LP sources.

President de Klerk's federalism summit next Monday seems to be precipitating the disintegration of the LP and also presenting a dilemma to the DP.

Rus-ter-vaal MP Sam Louw . . . joined the ANC.

About 19 of the party's 33 MPs don't want to attend the summit which they regard as a ganging-up of a National Party "federal front" against the ANC, according to frontbencher Dougey Josephs. They believe attendance would contradict the LP's membership of the Patriotic Front (PF) which includes the anti-federal ANC.

The remaining pro-DP MPs feel that the LP should attend the summit to be consistent with its avowed federal policy.

They favour the DP because of its strong federalism and believe the pro-federal LP should not belong to the PF.

However, the DP itself also has many of the same doubts about the intentions and merits of Mr de Klerk's summit.

LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse confirmed that the executive met in July to review the LP's future and decided to consider five options — to disband, to continue as an independent entity, to join another party, to form an alliance or to form a new centrist party with the DP or ANC.

He said he hoped the party would hold together until its annual congress at the end of the year but feared that growing tensions might cause an earlier split. The tensions could come to a head at a meeting of the caucus in Cape Town on Friday.

There is a widespread feeling in LP and other political circles that the party — which came into being in the absence of the ANC and other liberation movements — has served its purpose.

Mr Hendrickse said several LP MPs had been holding discussions with the DP to consider joining the DP or forming a new centrist party.

Mr Louw said he believed that nine other LP MPs would join the ANC, 15 would join the DP and 10 retire from politics.

Changing foreign policy debated

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

304M

A democratic South Africa's foreign policy — which will be greatly influenced by the country's commercial and economic interests — would have to be radically different from the Government's present policy, while retaining some of its best values, a conference in Johannesburg heard yesterday.

STAR 1/9/92

Giving their reports at the end of the four-day conference on "South Africa and the world: a new vision", five commissions which dealt with various aspects of a future government's foreign policy said a number of things would have to change.

Commission rapporteurs said the new foreign service — which had to integrate the existing service with the international affairs departments of the ANC and PAC — would have to be truly representative.

'Blackmail' attacked

STAR 1/9/92 (304A)

The National Party has condemned "an ominous indication" that the ANC is "blackmailing" foreign industrialists by promising not to nationalise them if they give it money.

The deputy head of the ANC's foreign affairs department, Aziz Pahad, has denied a Sunday Times report that ANC leader Nelson Mandela promised Swedish firm Atlas Copco privileged treatment when industry was nationalised.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe noted that the Sunday Times said its sources insisted that Mr Mandela made such a statement during May. — Political Correspondent.

focus on The Right

Sowetan 1/9/92

Mr Andries Beyers, the former CP MP who caused the recent split in far right Conservative Party ranks, speaks to political correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** about Afrikaner nationalism and their right to keep their cultural heritage and identity:

(304A)

MR ANDRIES BEYERS, who will go down in history as the man who split the far right-wing Conservative Party, speaks softly, with a gentle voice, and in a non-persuasive way about Afrikaner nationalism.

It's not something that black people have to feel scared or intimidated by; "it's not racist," he explains...

When Beyers led the breakaway from the CP on August 13 this year, he stated his reasons for the departure were rooted in the desire to see the Afrikaner people retain their cultural identity and heritage.

"We owe our children a future and we pray that what we do will receive the necessary blessing," Beyers said.

The avuncular Afrikaner, whose victory in the Potchefstroom by-election of February 19 this year precipitated the watershed referendum a month later, led the cabal from the CP primarily to enter into negotiations.

"In summarising our short-term strategy, we want to become involved in the negotiation process, and specifically join the negotiations on future regional government with the idea of promoting our idea of self-determination," Beyers said.

The problem with the CP, he told *Sowetan* recently, is that "there are too many racists in the party", and there was no longer even a semblance of unity, especially because of the differences on policy.

"In the first instance, the Conservative Party refused to accept our (the five rebels') proposal to move away from racism, and concentrate on the bargaining (through negotiation) of our rights on an ethnic basis. But, the Conservative Party still wants to be a racist organisation, and we differ there.

"In the second instance we say that we must have a realistic and fair plan for the future. We must keep our ideal of self-determination (as an eventuality) and to succeed with that we had to accept a drastically reduced fatherland.

"And within this fatherland, there must be no discrimination based on race, but we must be able to maintain a majority for the Afrikaner. And according to scientific research that is possible.

"The CP continues to tell (white) people that there will be another (whites only) election, and in this election they will be able to take over political power," Beyers says.

He explains further that the CP will not enter into negotiations with parties like the ANC and PAC or Azapo, because they are "communists or terrorists".

But, he says, these movements represent the black people of South Africa, and it is the democratic right of everyone to elect their own leaders. If, then, it is true that the ANC represents the majority of black people, then negotiating a peaceful solution to the country's complex problems lies through this party.

Andries Beyers is congratulated by supporters after his victory.

It was clear after the referendum that there would not be another whites-only election, and that the best route lay through the negotiation process that had been under way in the country for the past two years, Beyers says.

And taking stock of the ground swell towards strong regional government, Beyers says, his group's thinking is gaining a fair measure of support.

"We want to use this situation, through an evolutionary process, by taking part in the shaping of regional government.

"We want to use regional government as a means to, in the end, reaching our ideal of self-determination in a portion of the country.

The majority of Afrikaners had accepted that "the old country" was gone.

"People are starting to accept that ... if we want self-determination, we will have to accept a smaller portion of the land.

"We want a solution to the problems in the country and are prepared to become reconciled to other parties, and we think that it is possible that our aims can be reached without inhibiting the rights of other people.

"That is the crux of the matter. We want a solution, a real solution. We want to be the friends of other people. I think everyone must realise that in order to create peace, real and enduring peace, they also have to take into consideration that there is a desire among my people, the Afrikaner people, to have self-determination, to at least have a power base somewhere, and they are going to fight for this.

"Without this, I don't think there will be real peace," he says.

Beyers has no regard for minority vetoes and the shrouded term which is used for it: effective checks and balances.

"Checks and balances by a minority over a majority is not possible. That may work, perhaps, for five years. A minority can never frustrate the will of the majority. That is a fact."

News in brief

BP will attend talks

(304A)

THE Boerestaat Party has accepted President FW de Klerk's invitation to the September 7 conference on regionalism and will use the opportunity to put its views across, party leader Mr Robert van Tonder said yesterday. Argus 1/9/92

Van Tonder said he would lead a five-man BP delegation to the conference "on regionalism/federalism for a new South Africa", where he would strongly argue that South Africa was "a sub-continent of at least 14 different nations" and not one country.

Summits on fate of talks

(304A) CT 1/9/92

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The National Party Free State congress kicks off with a busy start today against a backdrop of widespread uncertainty and concern about the negotiating process.

At the same time the ANC's crucial national executive committee meeting — focusing mainly on whether the organisation will resume talks with the government — goes into its second day in Johannesburg this morning.

National Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe was yesterday cautious in his assessment of what could be expected from the congress.

All the NP congresses are, however, being crammed in the six weeks before the special session of Parliament in October, and a clearer picture of what the government intends for the session is expected to emerge.

Yesterday President F W de Klerk reacted cautiously to a London report that legislation empowering him to call a general election for all South Africans next year would be passed during the session.

He said yesterday that reports on what legislation may be submitted "are speculative and often off the mark".

He repeated previous statements that "announcements would be made in due course on the legislative programme being envisaged".

Dr Van der Merwe said that the congress may respond to the ANC NEC's deliberations if they are made clear before the end of the congress on Thursday.

The NEC meeting ends tomorrow and there have been reports that the organisation is under international pressure to get back to talks.

NP, DP meet on federalism

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk will meet with Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer today to discuss the government's conference on federalism to take place next Monday in Pretoria.

The DP, which has already expressed a number of misgivings about the underlying purpose of the conference and the way it was announced, is expected to make a decision on whether to join after today's meeting.

The ANC and its Patriotic Front allies inside and outside of Codesa have already indicated that they will have nothing to do with the one-day meeting.

● Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder yesterday confirmed he would head a delegation of four to attend Monday's conference on federalism. — Political Correspondent, Sapa

NP youth leaders call for 'radical changes'

CHARLIE PRETZLIK (304A)

NP YOUTH leaders said at the weekend the NP needed "radical change" urgently — and a split could not be ruled out. BTOAY 1/9/92

Speaking at Idasa's national youth conference at the World Trade Centre outside Johannesburg, the men, who did not wish to be named, said a shakeup of the party's image and structure was imperative if it was ever to stand a chance of winning a future election.

"We carry too much old political baggage and we need to look very seriously at personnel changes and doing more to accommodate the black community," one said.

A name change to the Christian Democratic Party, a new flag and national anthem, as well as modifications to constituency borders, were all necessary if the party was to stand any chance of being a major political force under a new constitution.

One of the sources predicted that if an election were called tomorrow, the NP would be unlikely to collect more than 25% of the votes.

Another said these views were mainly held by the younger members of the party. Most older members still adhered to the old symbols and structures.

Although no split was likely in the near future, the possibility "cannot be ruled out," he said.

He predicted that "at least 25% to 30% of the party workers — mainly older ones — can be expected to retire once a new constitution has been decided upon".

The possibility of alliances with other political parties was still actively being pursued, especially with the IFP and DP, he said. An alliance with breakaway members of the ANC was also in the air.

He said there were some members of the ANC with whom he would be "only too happy" to serve in government.

Also at the weekend, Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a meeting of the NP East Rand conference that the party could count on close to 6-million votes and that it would be pushing hard in the months to come for a further 2-million black votes.

"We have no intention of becoming a minority party," Botha said.

Negotiations top the bill at NP Free State congress

(304A)

B/DAY 1/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

THE first round of NP provincial congresses begins today in the Free State, kicking off with deliberations on the state of constitutional negotiations.

All the congresses have been squeezed into one month instead of the usual three, because President F W de Klerk has called a special short session of Parliament for the middle of October.

Unlike previous years, De Klerk will not be holding public meetings to open the congresses officially. These meetings will instead be addressed by party leaders, with De Klerk speaking during the congresses.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha will do the honours tonight, with De Klerk addressing the congress tomorrow morning after completion of the justice and law and order debates.

The state of constitutional negotiations enjoys high priority at the congress. According to the resolutions submitted, delegates are concerned about negotiations and want to debate the extent to which the NP proposals they approved last year have been watered down or shifted.

There is a demand that government does not stray from the principles contained in the NP proposals, especially on the issue of a second house of Parliament.

Party leadership, in selling the proposals to change party policy and gain a mandate for constitutional negotiations, punted the second house as a vital mechanism for the protection of minorities.

The resolution before congress states that the second house is the only place where minorities can effectively be represented and where regional government with executive powers can be entrenched.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said yesterday he believed the referendum had given the party a mandate "fresh and wide" enough for the leadership not to need to seek a further endorsement.

There was nothing innovative that the leadership wanted to place before the congress.

De Klerk's speech would more than likely put into perspective developments during the past year with few major new developments, Van der Merwe said. However, one never knew what surprises the President had up his sleeve.

The congress was also perfectly poised to provide a forum for discussion on decisions of the ANC's national executive committee which is due to end its meeting tomorrow. The Free State congress will finish its set business on Thursday afternoon.

Other issues to be discussed will be a request that the death penalty be retained, the possibility of private armies being incorporated into the SADF, the high rate of unemployment and the financial implications involved for parents with children at Model C schools.

Volksunie now a political party

BILLY PADDOCK

THE newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie party yesterday officially registered as a political party. B/DAY 11/9/92

Following its constitution and appointment of an interim management committee at the weekend, the Volksunie — rooted in the breakaway of five CP MPs last month — will hold its founding congress within two months, but after the short October parliamentary session. 304A

The party's parliamentary leader will be Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, who took on CP hardliners publicly at a CP youth congress, while the chairman will be Moolman Mentz (Ermelo) with Standerton MP Rosier de Ville as secretary. The other two members are former CP Free State leader Cehill Pienaar (Heilbron) and Chris de Jager (Bethal).

Pienaar said they had already held talks with various parties, and plans for meeting leaders of other unnamed parties within the next two weeks were also advanced.

Government's summit on regionalism and federalism, planned for next week, would afford the party contact with some parties with which it had not yet officially held discussions.

He said the Volksunie was in favour of joining negotiations as representatives of Afrikaners of all ethnic groups. It was still too early to boast substantial support as the party was still in its infancy, but there was support from a variety of "interesting sections of our population".

Pienaar said NP members had expressed interest in the new party, and he expected they would move to the AV over time. He also expected more moderate members of the CP would join.

People were waiting and watching to see how the party conducted itself, he said.

There was also substantial support within the CP lower echelons and among officials and local government councillors.

Govt prepares for possible election

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — The Home Affairs Department is preparing itself for the possible declaration of an early general election.

A spokesman was responding to persistent reports of a possible open general election next year, with or without the ANC's co-operation.

The spokesman said the electorate, comprising all races in SA, was estimated to be 17 632 000. If the TBVC countries were included, this would rise to 20,7-million.

If the proportional representation system was used, voters rolls would fall away and other means of proving identity would be used. The spokesman said 2,7-million of the estimated 11,966-million black voters had still to obtain ID documents.

Sapa reports the government is not yet preparing legislation for President F W de Klerk to call an election unilaterally next year, but it may become a last-ditch option if negotiations break down.

Government sources said yesterday no such legislation was in readiness for the short parliamentary session in October.

NP constitutional negotiators said any move to call an election without the agreement of the ANC and other negotiating parties would be sheer folly, but most agreed government would have to consider such action if negotiations broke down.

304A

NP holds congress

THE National Party starts the first of four annual provincial congresses in Bloemfontein today. (304A)

This week's three-day congress comes weeks before a special session of Parliament in October when it is expected that significant changes to the constitution could be made to facilitate the transition to a democratic society.

The session could see legislation passed which would empower President FW de Klerk to appoint an interim executive structure and make it possible for a general election based on one-man, one-vote for a constituent assembly.

Sowetan 1/9/92

ARG 1/8/93

DP won't take part in FW's conference

(304A)

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party has decided not to participate in President De Klerk's conference on federalism next week.

Announcing this today, DP leader Dr Zac de Beer said his party saw the conference as being more divisive than unifying.

The DP remained committed to the principle of federalism. The party and its predecessors had for more than 30 years been enthusiastic proponents of non-racial federalism as an essential part of a new constitution.

"We have well-developed views on the subject and we shall be sending these to all interested parties.

"On many, though not on all, issues the National Party's views are quite close to our own. But in specific regard to this conference, our attendance must depend on whether it will be a unifying event or a divisive one.

"We have had neither an invitation nor an agenda. To judge from such information as we have been able to obtain, the conference will have the character of a rally of those Codesa parties generally opposing the ANC.

"We can therefore not be part of it, any more than we could support a rally of pro-ANC parties against the Nats.

"There was a precedent a year ago when we were invited to attend the Patriotic Front conference in Durban. Because we saw this as an anti-Nationalist rally we attended as observers only.

"If we are permitted to do so we shall send observers to the president's conference in the same spirit."

Dr De Beer confirmed he would meet Mr De Klerk in Pretoria today, but said this would be about "a particular matter affecting members of parliament". He added that the issue of the conference might well be raised.

STAR 2/9/92

'Nats have support of almost half the voters'

By Peter Fabricius (304A)

BLOEMFONTEIN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha believes the National Party and its allies already command nearly 50 percent of the voters who will participate in the country's first fully multiracial elections in about a year's time.

With a little more effort, the NP will win the first universal elections, he told about 600 supporters in his opening address to the NP's Free State congress here last night.

Mr Botha said it was wrongly assumed that all 20 million eligible voters would vote.

He forecast instead that 14 million would vote in a 70 percent poll.

The NP had already shown in the referendum that it commanded 3 million white votes.

If one added to that 1,5 million coloured voters and 500 000 Indian voters and if Inkatha pulled its weight, that would be just on the 50 percent mark.

He urged NP supporters to go out and win over members of all communites.

"Within a year, or maybe a little more, we will hold the first elections and let us ensure that we win."

Earlier Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was unanimously re-elected leader of the Free State NP and deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach, chairman.

● The NP is preparing for the establishment of a Free State regional government within a SA federation.

Mr Coetsee said an action committee was already investigating the possibility of OFS federal government.

● **Govt could draft bill on women's rights — Page 8**

Settlement must be made soon, warns Pik

(304A) STAR 2/9/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — As the European Community's "troika" mission arrives in the country today, Foreign Minister Pik Botha has warned that Europe and the world will write South Africa off if a settlement is not reached soon.

Speaking to journalists after opening the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein last night, Mr Botha said he welcomed the troika's visit and believed all other players would too.

It would be a sad day if the 12 important EC countries lost interest and wrote South Africa off — a danger the country faced if it could not resolve violence and reach a constitutional settlement.

Mr Botha said he believed the vast majority of South Africans wanted consensus government, at least for a time, to overcome the hatred of the past and build confidence.

The Government's message to the troika would be that it wished negotiations would start soon and was ready to implement the recommendations of UN Special Envoy Cyrus Vance, Mr Botha said.

The Government had already given "serious attention" to aspects of the report.

FW expects negotiations boost soon

STAR 2/9/92

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

(304A)

President F W de Klerk is hopeful that there will be a significant breakthrough in the stalled negotiations process this week, possibly as early as today or tomorrow.

Mr de Klerk revealed this — his most optimistic assessment of the negotiations scenario since the collapse of Codesa 2 — in an informal speech to the Institute of Directors in Johannesburg last night.

Without disclosing details, Mr de Klerk, who travels to Bloemfontein today to address the National Party's Free State federal congress, suggested that the more than two-month-long deadlock in formal negotiations could be coming to an end.

He said: "I think you can expect a major breakthrough in the coming week — tomorrow or the next day — in the negotiations process. Small groups have been working together, working hard, to produce results."

Mr de Klerk also said he would be travelling back from Bloemfontein today to "meet the troika" — an apparent reference to the European Community delegation due in SA today.

Implementing regionalisation policies cannot wait for the resolution of other problems, writes **Dr John Seile**

From power deadlock to a system of constraints

STAR 2/9/92.

(304A)

MUCH attention has been given to the pervasive conflict and underlying distrust of Government and other major political actors that festers as violence grows and remains unmanaged.

Little has been said about the deadlock over the control of political power: the stifled debate over devolution, the role of regions and federalism.

Common wisdom has been that, while it is very important, regionalism cannot proceed until in some way mutual trust is increased. Therefore like the issue of violence, but less dramatically, it must wait for resolution.

I want to suggest that progress on control of power need not wait for the development of enhanced mutual trust.

And, somewhat like the strikingly positive impact of UN monitors on potential violence during the recent two-day mass action campaign, a dispassionate outside interlocutor might have a profound impact on Government-ANC views about power and, in so doing, reduce their differences.

In time, mutual trust might grow from such converging positions, but in the shorter term the convergence could be enough to provide a stable basis for movement into electoral politics.

The first assumption in this argument is political: there are potential gains for each major contender, as well as for the regionally based ones, in a system that gives some genuine powers to regions or states.

The next assumption is economic: there will be a finite amount of tax revenue available for the entire range of human services — education, health, housing, rural development and infrastructural maintenace (roads, bridges, administration and policing) — regardless of the sources of revenue or the allocation of either the sources themselves or revenue from these sources between the centre and the regions.

Wishful thinking has characterised both camps on this issue, although the "regionalists" might be even more naive in their dual illusions that any central regime will give over the major share of its revenues and that enough money would be available from such allocations and regionally generated taxes to sustain a full-fledged paraphenalia of regional government, complete with executive, legislature and bureaucracies.

The third assumption has to do with the basic purpose of power devolution to regions. Too often regions and states are discussed as if they could or should serve as a primary focus for political participation or even political identity. The prospect is counter-productive, if the premise of regions demarcated in terms that minimise ethnic-national political ties is taken to heart.

In this context, the ANC proposal (admittedly put without motivation) for a tenth, Xhosa-based region encompassing the Transkei, the Ciskei and the Border areas cannot be justified.

Put bluntly, the central purpose of regional devolution is to secure enough political space for parties that cannot hope to be any more than minor partners in a national governing coalition, so they will accede, however grudgingly, to a national government led by a party or parties which they continue to distrust.

The fourth assumption involves the power granted to the regions or states. While it has several dimensions — legal, economic and political — in general it serves to constrain the regions, thus minimising the distrust by a national government of regions who might try to evade mandates presented in a countrywide election.

First, the constitution should make clear which powers will go exclusively to states, which will be held exclusively at the centre, and which will be shared.

Aside from foreign affairs, defence and basic monetary policies, most of these can be shared in ways to be negotiated with the states. In practice, most devolved functions will be effectively shared, because no other prospective state than the PWV would be free of some substantial dependence on revenues generated by the national government.

Even if a disproportionate share of these revenues come from mining or other activities focused in one or a few states, equity will argue for some allocation scheme in which the national government plays a crucial role.

Finally, the political constraint may be the most powerful one. Any party leading a regional government, or a major partner in a regional coalition regime, that aspires to a larger role in the central government will be disinclined to act out regional policies that would risk it potential voter support in other regions of the country. It may be "conservative" rather than "liberal" or "radical", but it is unlikely to espouse narrow racist or ethnic views that would only alienate potential support from other quarters.

Finally, we need to raise hard questions about the dimensions of regional government itself. Cost, the limited availability of competent, democratically oriented officials and the difficulties of focusing political participation at the regional level, all argue for a modest regional system.

Whatever the relationship of the regional civil service to the national one, certainly it should be fitted for the particular functions given to regional government, not simply some amalgamation of pre-existing provincial and homeland authorities in need of continued employment. □

● *Dr Seiler is an American political scientist visiting South Africa*

DP will send observers to conference on federalism

STAR 2/9/92 (304A)

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Democratic Party will attend the Government-organised conference on federalism in Pretoria on Monday as observers.

This follows a meeting yesterday between President F W de Klerk and DP leader Zach de Beer.

Dr de Beer said earlier yesterday that his party would not take part in the conference because the DP viewed it as a rally of those opposed to the ANC. The DP was, however, willing to send observers.

A spokesman for the State President's office emphasised that the conference was aimed at the discussion of regional government/federalism.

Dr Zach de Beer . . . no participation in talks.

All parties would be given the opportunity to put their viewpoints. The meeting was not aimed at block-formation.

However, the DP said the information it had obtained indicated that "the conference was a rally of those Codesa parties generally opposing the ANC".

"We can, therefore, not be part of it, any more than we could support a rally of pro-ANC parties against the Nats," Dr de Beer said. He noted that the DP attended the Patriotic Front conference last year as observers as the party saw it as an "anti-Nationalist" rally.

Slabbert hints at party return

DURBAN. — The former leader of the opposition in the House of Assembly, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, last night hinted that he might return to the party political arena, but he could not say when.

In an interview after an address to a selected audience at the Country Club here, Dr Slabbert said he was more optimistic now about a future constitutional settlement than he had been at the time of Codesa II.

He said he was not "wide-eyed and starry-eyed" about the prospect of a solution.

"We must begin to focus on cultural values rather than cultural weapons," he said.

(304A) CT 2/9/92

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Four fates South Africa may face

STAR 2/9/92. (304A)

South Africa faces four possible scenarios: the ostrich, the lame duck, the Icarus or the flamingo. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA takes a look at a new study on our future.

HOPES FOR South Africa's future have gone up and down like a rollercoaster since February 2 1990. Optimism and pessimism have alternated — with the latter more prevalent since negotiations broke down. So what do the years ahead hold?

Enter Professor Pieter le Roux of the University of Western Cape's Institute for Social Development, and Professor Vincent Maphai of UWC's Political Science Department, who recently consulted various academics and Left-of-centre organisations before putting together a team to undertake South Africa's latest scenario-planning exercise.

The team — comprising academics, activists and members of left-wing organisations taking part in their individual capacities — came up with four "Mont Fleur Scenarios", so named because the group held its meetings at Mont Fleur in the Stellenbosch district.

The group has since made presentations to the leadership of the PAC and the ANC, and hopes to present them to any other interested organisations.

The four future possibilities the group settled on are:

The ostrich

● The Ostrich scenario, in which negotiations break down at a time when the Government enjoys a degree of sympithy from the international community. Pretoria then forms a moderate alliance with various homeland and tricameral parliamentary organisations and parties such as the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The alliance meets with widespread internal resistance, and repressive counter-measures are taken by the new government. Violence escalates, the negative economic climate deteriotates and economic stagnation continues, hence "only very limited social delivery is possible". Eventually all groups return to negotiations.

The lame duck

● The Lame Duck scenario, in which a political settlement is reached and is followed by a long transitional period. "Sunset clauses" and "minority rights" in the constitution severely handicap the all-party transitional government, whose policies are consequently indecisive. The government, which purports to respond to all but satisfies nobody, can hardly meet even basic needs.

Owing to economic instability and uncertainty about the future, investors hold back and no growth is experienced. The vicious circle of political instability, economic stagnation and social decline continues.

The Icarus

● The Icarus scenario, in which a popularly elected government engages in "massive expenditures" at one go in an attempt to address the country's economic problems and the legacy of apartheid. The annual economic growth rate shoots up by 5 or 6 percent during the first 18 to 24 months, but "tremendous inflationary pressures and exchange rate instabilities" later ensue.

Attempts to freeze prices and maintain a fixed exchange rate fail, inflation escalates and the rand plunges. The economy goes into "a rapid downward spin", it cannot deliver on the social front, and "some form of authoritarian regime" emerges.

The flamingo

● The Flamingo scenario, in which a "decisive political settlement" is reached and the new government, aided by "a facilitating international environment (and) regional stability", adopts sound policies and observes macro-economic constraints. It succeeds in curbing corruption in the public sector, raises levels of efficiency and makes "well-targeted social investment" which leads to a decrease in violence.

Although many social and economic problems cannot be addressel in the short term, confidence grows in the long run and the new government is eventually able to meet expectations. The overall income of the higher-income groups grows at the rate of 1 to 2 percent a year, and that of "the poorer classes" increases by between 6 and 9 percent annually.

Among the participants in the study group were Dikgang Moseneke, Mosebyane Malatsi (PAC), Tito Mboweni, Trevor Manuel, Saki Macozoma, Gugile Nkwinti (ANC), Sue van der Merwe (Black Sash), Johann Liebenberg (Chamber of Mines) and Mahlomola Skosana (National Council of Trade Unions).

The project was funded by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation and the Swiss Development Agency, and its participants reached consensus on the scenarios. They said all four scenarios were "equally likely".

The purpose of the exercise, they said, was "to create an awareness that the future is not predetermined, but that it depends on the strategic decisions taken during the next year or two". □

National Party's Free State congress

Pik: Nats will win non-racial poll

(3049) CT 2/9/92

From ANTHONY JOHNSON

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The National Party and its allies would emerge victorious from the country's first non-racial elections a little more than a year from now, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha predicted last night.

Mr Botha told the opening session of the NP's Free State congress that the party and its allies were now only a million voters short of a majority.

He predicted a 70% turnout of the roughly 20 million eligibile voters.

Of these, over three million whites, 1,5 million coloureds and 500 000 Indians already supported the government's position. If Inkatha delivered its estimated one million supporters the tally for such an alliance would be six million.

"We can succeed in getting another million," Mr Botha said. "Within a year or a little more we will be holding elections ... let us ensure that we win."

Mr Botha urged those who were "restless, frustrated and who feel a sense of hopelessness and doubt" to think back on the desperate situation that faced South Africa only two years ago.

"Under apartheid we were on a certain road to total destruction."

He warned that unless the country got its act together soon the world's industrialised nations would turn all their attention to rebuilding central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

FW: Nationalists have crucial role

BLOEMFONTEIN. — There is a realistic possibility of the National Party "together with some other parties" decisively winning an open election, according to President F W de Klerk.

In the annual report of the NP federal council, distributed at the party's Free State congress yesterday, Mr De Klerk said it was crucial that the NP play a powerful role in the country's politics.

"It is probable that an election — in which all South Africans will take part and in which the NP will come face-to-face with new opposition parties — will be held in the foreseeable future.

"We can realistically look forward to the NP, together with some other parties, decisively winning such an election," he said. — Sapa

Coetsee puts Hani in firing line

(304A)

CT 2/9/92

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The ANC's cynical efforts to retard negotiations and press ahead with mass action was going to blow up in their faces, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee predicted yesterday.

In an ANC-bashing tirade reminiscent of the "total onslaught" era, Mr Coetsee said that "people from all communities resent the intrusion in their lives and their right to work".

He singled out SACP boss, Mr Chris Hani, for particular venom, saying that the ANC would be well advised to sever its links with the Communist Party and its leader.

However, he did acknowledge that the ANC was a formidable electoral threat with mass support from the black community and significant backing from intellectual and professional circles.

Observer status for DP at talks

Political Staff

THE government last night agreed to a Democratic Party request that it be allowed to attend next week's conference on federalism as observers, the president's office said.

CT 29/9/92

Earlier yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said his party would not be part of the conference as it would "have the character of a rally of those Codesa parties opposing the ANC". The DP would only attend as observers, he said.

(30419)

smissed striking workers

Bias against women ends to pave way for voting

304A

■ **Blacks will get vote during housecleaning:**

Sowetan 2/9/92.

THE Government plans to abolish all sections of legislation that discriminates against women and pave the way for black people to receive voting rights.

The Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said yesterday the more than 30 clauses in the law books that discriminated against women would be abolished "speedily" - possibly in October.

Speaking at the opening of the National Party's Free State congress in Bloemfontein, Coetsee said Section 52 of the Constitution Act of South Africa, which provided for voting rights to be extended to "whites, coloureds and Indians only" would be abolished "because it also discriminates against black women".

Other significant discriminatory sections and regulations that would be abolished will allow black women equal legal status with their husbands; allow black women access to places where sorghum beer is sold; forbid employers to allow that pregnant women should work until four weeks before and eight weeks after childbirth, and abolish a number of discriminatory measures against women in the public service.

Coetsee said the Government had decided not to wait until a Bill of Fundamental Rights was agreed upon during the negotiations process.

Pik predicts election victory

B/DAY 2/9/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

BLOEMFONTEIN — The NP and its allies would emerge victorious in little more than a year when SA goes to the polls for the first ever non-racial elections, Foreign Minister Pik Botha predicted last night.

Opening the NP's Free State congress, he said the party and its allies, such as Inkatha, were at present only a million voters short of a majority.

He predicted a 70% poll of the about 20-million eligible voters. Of these more than 3-million whites, 1,5-million coloureds and 500 000 Indians already supported government's position, "and if Inkatha delivered its estimated 1-million supporters" this would bring the tally for such an alliance to 6-million, Botha said.

"We can succeed in getting another million," he said. "Within a year or a little more we will be holding elections . . . let us ensure that we win."

Botha said he had informed an ANC supporter that "I don't think we are going to win . . . I know we are going to win".

However, another very senior NP MP said he believed that Botha's figures were "a bit optimistic".

Later Botha said that government's summit on federalism was much the same as the ANC working within the patriotic front. "When we get to the negotiating table a number of parties will be able to be confident that there were a group of us believing in the thing when we speak of federalism," he said.

Botha urged those who were "restless, frustrated and who feel a sense of hopelessness and doubt" to think back on the desperate situation facing SA only two years ago, when "under apartheid we were on a certain road to total destruction".

Speaking to journalists after the meeting he welcomed the arrival today in SA of an EC delegation. "We will be telling them that we stand ready to start negotiations and implement (UN special envoy) Cyrus Vance's report," Botha said.

Observer status for DP at conference on federalism

B/DAY 2/9/92 (304A)

PATRICK BULGER

THE DP would be willing to attend next week's government-led conference on federalism but could not be part of it, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

De Beer said a decision on attendance depended on whether the event would be unifying or divisive.

"We have received neither an invitation nor an agenda. To judge from such information as we have been able to obtain, however, the conference will have the character of a rally of those Codesa parties generally opposing the ANC. We cannot, therefore, be part of it, any more than we could support a rally of pro-ANC parties against the Nats," De Beer said.

"There was a precedent a year ago when we were invited to attend the patriotic front conference held in Durban. Because we saw this as an anti-Nationalist Party rally, we attended as observers only. If we are permitted to do so, we shall send observers to the president's conference in the same spirit.

"As regards federalism, let there be no doubt about our views. We and our predecessors have for more than 30 years been enthusiastic proponents of nonracial federalism as an essential part of a new constitution for SA.

"We have well-developed views on the subject and we shall be sending these to all interested parties."

Sapa reports from Pretoria the state president's office yesterday confirmed government had agreed to a DP request that it be allowed to attend the conference only as an observer. The agreement had followed discussions between President F W de Klerk and De Beer, a spokesman said.

The summit was not intended to form power blocs or create alliances, the spokesman said.

NP will win - Pik

■ National Party preparing for elections:

By Ismail Lagardien (304A)

THE National Party was preparing itself for a multi-racial election "in about a year", Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said in Bloemfontein last night. Sowetan 2/9/92

Addressing a partisan crowd at the NP's Free State congress in the Bloemfontein City Hall, Botha said the party believed it could win the election.

He said in terms of scientific research, his party could easily win about 50 percent of the votes in South Africa.

Botha explained that the whites-only referendum on March 17 showed there were at least three million whites who were against the African National Congress.

He predicted that the NP would get no fewer than 1.5 million votes from the "coloured" community and about 500 000 from Indian voters.

The NP, he said, was certain of getting at least "five to six million" votes.

Govt could draft Bill on women's rights

STAR 2/9/92, (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government is considering drafting an omnibus Bill to abolish remaining discrimination against women.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Free State NP leader, announced this yesterday when he opened the annual NP congress of the Free State.

It is understood that the Bill might be ready for the short session of Parliament in October.

Mr Coetsee pointed out that President de Klerk had said last month that the Government was ready to sign four important UN conventions on women's rights.

These conventions bound signatories to:

- Remove all discrimination against women.
- Equalise the process of acquiring nationality.
- Give equal political rights to women.
- Protect women against certain marital situations.

Mr Coetsee said signing the conventions would bind the Government not only to eradicate remaining discrimination but also to take positive steps to enable women to take a full place alongside men. His department had drawn up a list of remaining statutory discrimination against women.

Pik's vision of triumph

act with Inkatha to form 'rainbow constituency' seen as the way to win an election

Pik Botha

304 A

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE National Party has given a broad hint that it will strike an election pact with Inkatha to win the first multiracial elections next year and hold on to power in the new South Africa.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told 600 Free State Nationalists in Bloemfontein last night that the party and its allies already had the support of nearly 50 percent of voters who would take part in the elections.

His political arithmetic is made up of "a rainbow constituency" of whites, coloureds, Indians — and two-million voters from the mainly Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party.

A pact was not ruled out today by IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate.

He said the IFP and NP had not formed an alliance but added: "When Mr Botha is talking about elections and the IFP delivering votes, he is not talking about deli[illegible] to the NP but [illegible] consensus pol[illegible]es.

"Wha[illegible] he s[illegible]s can be true without decla[illegible]g an alliance between the N[illegible] and IFP."

Mr Botha said that with a little more effort, the NP would win the first elections. "I'm not saying we can win. I'm saying we will win."

It was wrongly assumed that all 20 million eligible adults would vote, he said, forecasting that only 14 million would do so.

The NP had shown in the referendum in March that it had the support of three million whites. With 1,5 million coloured voters and 500 000 Indians, a 50 percent vote for the NP was possible — if Inkatha "pulled its weight".

Mr Botha urged NP supporters to go out and win over members of all communites who shared their values.

Mr Felgate said the political spectrum was divided. Half was dominated by the ANC, which favoured a unitary state, and half — including the NP and the IFP — stood for consensus politics.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus said Mr Botha's claims about the IFP pulling its weight "confirms that an open and covert alliance has long existed between the NP and IFP".

In identifying race groups from which his party would draw votes, Mr Botha had shown how firmly entrenched racism was in the NP, she said.

The critical question the country would face in an election was "whether we have freedom or continued white domination".

Labour Party spokesmen Mr Peter Hendrickse said Mr Botha's approach was "typically racist".

He said: "The problem with the NP is that its base is still the protection of white interests. Because of the changing political circumstances they now want to use the so-called coloureds to stay in power."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said he did not want to deprive Mr Botha of his freedom to make election speeches and to enjoy them.

"But the show isn't over until the fat lady sings. What I will say is that the DP proposes to be a real factor in whatever elections are ahead.

"We are not claimimg we will win, but we can achieve a viable position which we'll use to influence the Nats and the ANC when the time comes."

● See page 4.

ARGUS 29/9/92

ARG 2/9/92

Nats name blacks as organisers

(304A)

Political Staff

IN another dramatic indication of change in South Africa, the National Party has appointed its first two black organisers in the Orange Free State.

Mr Motseokae Tsiane and Mr Donald Colbert began their new jobs yesterday. They were introduced to the NP's OFS provincial congress yesterday by the OFS leader Mr Kobie Coetsee.

"Open your houses to them. Open your farms to them," Mr Coetsee told the delegates.

Mr Tsiane and Mr Colbert are among the first black people to be employed by the NP as organisers.

Their prime task is to mobilise new support for the NP in the OFS.

Mr Tsiane, 35, was, in his own words, born, bred and schooled in Blomfontein. He has worked for the Department of Information and the Orange Free State Provincial Administration.

Mr Tsiane joined the NP at the beginning of the year. "I took time to look at the two major role players — the ANC and the NP. I weighed up both parties, and fell for the NP because of its vision."

There were no first day jitters for Mr Tsiane. "I feel very much at home," he said. "I am proud to be one of the first people to try build the new South Africa. To be counted among those who are building the new South Africa is something that makes me feel proud."

Mr Colbert, 41, comes from a background of local government. He has been a member of the NP from the time it was opened to all South Africans.

(304A)

NP plans for OFS regional government

ARG 2/9/92

Political Staff

THE National Party is already preparing for a Free State regional government within a South African federation.

NP Free State leader and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said this when he opened the NP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Giving the assurance that the OFS was not planning a "UDI" (unilateral declaration of independence), Mr Coetsee disclosed that an action committee was already investigating the possibility of an OFS federal government.

The departure point was an elected regional government in the OFS with maximum devolution of powers, entrenched in a central constitution.

With the help of expert opinion, the committee was also looking at the role of a Bill of Rights and the boundaries and economic viability of the OFS and of possible sub-regions.

He emphasised the move was not a UDI and was completely consistent with NP principles.

If the action committee made progress, the NP could call a provincial conference of political parties and other interest groups to take the idea further.

Mr Coetsee welcomed new coloured and African organisers who had just been appointed to the OFS branch of the NP and urged the approximately 300 mostly-white congress delegates to increase their efforts to win black support.

He said that the NP was already the largest party in parliament, with the recent split in the Conservative Party and the defection of Labour Party members to the NP.

But he warned that the ANC had "formidable" support in black professional and intellectual circles and remarkable propaganda skills — making it a doughty opponent.

Govt measures to curb election intimidation

STAR 3/9/92 (306A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — The Government is drawing up a package of measures to curb intimidation during the country's first fully nonracial elections — now expected to take place next year.

Expressing concern that intimidation would be a feature of the elections, Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar spelt out a counterplan to delegates at the National Party's Free State congress yesterday.

He stressed that the measures would have to be negotiated with other parties.

They included:

- An independent election commission, possibly headed by a judge, to monitor elections and intimidation.
- Bringing in international monitors.
- Depoliticising polling stations by banning any form of political propaganda from areas around them.
- Using neutral observers, instead of party officials, inside polling stations.
- Obliging political parties to sign a declaration saying they would not use intimidation.
- Using ballot papers without numbers.
- Mounting a publicity campaign to assure voters that ballots would be secret.

Mr Pienaar said the Government had mounted an intense campaign to issue identity books on the assumption that they would be used for voting.

His department had asked non-independent homeland governments for co-operation and he was expecting a flood of applications for identity books.

EC team hopeful over resumption of negotiations

304A

STAR 3/9/92

By Kaizer Nyatsumba and Esther Waugh

European Community foreign ministers met President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday as hopes grew for an early resumption of formal negotiations in South Africa.

The EC "troika" — British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jansen and Portuguese Secretary of State Jose Manuel Barroso — arrived on a talks-facilitating mission as the ANC's top decision-making body wound up talks on whether to re-enter multilateral negotiations. An announcement is expected today.

The Government this week expressed optimism about the resumption of talks, stalled since the ANC pulled out on June 23.

The EC Ministers began discussions with local leaders soon after their arrival in Johannesburg. They will be consulting a wide range of leaders during their two-day visit.

ANC sources said yesterday they expected the EC delegation to urge the organisation to go back to Codesa-style talks.

The EC troika yesterday also held discussions with Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, and consulted National Peace Accord chairman John Hall and Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys.

After his meeting with the troika yesterday, Mr Mandela said his organisation welcomed the delegation, and shared its view that the country's problems would be solved by South Africans.

After his meeting, President de Klerk said his impression was that the EC was "anxious to be of help, and to facilitate a long-lasting solution for South Africa". He therefore expected the troika to have a constructive approach.

Speaking on their arrival at Jan Smuts Airport, Mr Hurd said the successful conclusion of negotiations in the country would be to the benefit of "everybody else", both here and abroad.

ANC sources argue that it was unlikely that the organisation's national executive committee would decide to resume fully fledged multiparty negotiations, as the ANC is still waiting for "satisfactory" responses from Pretoria to its 14 specific demands — set out as conditions for resuming talks.

Researcher to help ANC

Political Staff

AN overseas expert, Mr Jim Mullin, has been called in by the ANC to facilitate the development of a national research policy for a democratic South Africa. CT 3/9/92

Mr Mullin, former chairman of the OECD's Committee on Science and Technology Policy, is in SA to assist the democratic movement with the project.

The ANC said the visit was part of a programme funded by the International Development Research Centre of Canada. (304A)

SA waits for ANC decision

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The country waits to see today if the ANC confirms President F W de Klerk's confident prediction that the negotiations deadlock is about to be broken.

There have been increasing indications in the past few days that the ANC would lift its two-month boycott of constitutional negotiations, but sources close to the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) said the decision could go either way.

The NEC today makes public the decisions taken behind closed doors in three days of deliberations, centring on whether to restart multi-party talks, which ended last night.

Yesterday hopes for a rapid resumption of the talks were boosted when Mr De Klerk said he was confident they would be on track again soon.

(304A) CT 3/9/92

However, he appeared reluctant to commit himself and cautioned: "Obviously things can still go wrong".

He told delegates to the National Party's Free State congress here that progress had been made in bilateral talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr De Klerk expected that the resumed talks would initially focus on the resolution of outstanding Codesa issues on which consensus had not been achieved.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus would give no hint on the mood in the key NEC meeting during its third day yesterday.

The NEC was behind schedule in the marathon session and the outcome would only be announced today. He added that the ANC would not be responding directly to Mr De Klerk's comments.

The State President took a number of swipes at the ANC and its SACP allies during his speech in the Bloemfontein City Hall. He said they were "making themselves guilty of opportunism, intimidation and ultimatum politics, disruption of the economy and aggressive, distorted propaganda".

He urged supporters to "stand firm against pressure and coercion" and said: "We shall not yield and surrender the country to radicalism."

He also outlined the NP's "fundamental bottom-lines" for a new dispensation.

These were: A democratic model which prevented domination by a simple majority, the effective protection of universal rights, and a tangible market- and work-oriented economy.

ANC slams Pik's remarks as 'brash'

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC yesterday termed Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha's claims that the National Party would win the next election as "brash".

The ANC said Mr Botha's analysis of such a forecast reflected the deep-seated racism that was "the hallmark of apartheid rulers".

"Talking of white, Indian and coloured votes, he glibly presents them all as anti-ANC.

"Furthermore, the expected delivery by Inkatha of 1 million voters for the NP confirms the long-standing covert and open alliance between the NP and the IFP," the ANC said.

Mr Botha's arrogance was matched only by that of his colleague, Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, who not only wanted to determine who the ANC should have links with, but also to unilaterally determine the future of the whole country along federal lines, the ANC added.

"Before an election is called, and its date can only be determined through a process of consultation, there must be a levelling of the playing fields, including the mass media.

"There also needs to be a climate of free political activity so that all South Africans can make an informed choice," the ANC insisted.

Steps set out to limit voting intimidation

Political Staff

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The government is considering far-reaching steps to limit intimidation in the country's first non-racial elections.

Home Affairs Minister Mr Louis Pienaar outlined the proposals to delegates at the National Party's Free State congress yesterday, while stressing that the government did not intend imposing them unilaterally.

They include:

- **Appointing an independent electoral commission to monitor elections and intimidation;**
- **"Depoliticising" polling booths and the surrounding areas by barring parties from any presence within 500m from a booth, and**
- **Mounting a massive campaign to ensure that voters were aware that their vote would be secret.**

(3049) CT 3/9/92

NP votes to keep SA flag

(304A) CT 3/9/92

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The National Party's Free State congress yesterday unanimously supported keeping the national flag as "the symbol of our own South African nationhood".

The proposal was contained in a revised programme of principles for the party considered by the congress.

Significantly, the congress also agreed to a change in dropping the long-standing commitment to "Christian nationalism", which has been the root party philosophy for decades, on the grounds that it had become "tainted".

In terms of the revised principles, the NP now stands for "the building and development of our nation in accordance with Christian norms and values, but with specific recognition of religious freedom and freedom of conscience".

But cuts with old Calvinist philosophy

The review of the party's principles, which is aimed at helping the party "to meet the demands of modern times", also aims to remove "racist undertones" contained in the earlier document, according to NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe.

The NP has also agreed to liberalise its language policy in a bid "to cultivate a spirit of trust and co-operation".

While the NP still supports the retention of Afrikaans and English as official languages, it now also supports the "adequate recognition and promotion of other South African languages, whether on a countrywide or a regional basis".

Dr Van der Merwe said the NP justified the retention of Afrikaans as an official language because it was the most widely understood language in the country at the moment.

National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais questioned how the home language of six million people could disappear. He said legislation could not protect a language.

Afrikaans was the medium of education of 65% of the pupils in schools under his department.

The programme also commits the party to an economic system based on "a market-oriented economy and free enterprise in which each individual . . . has the right to private enterprise, private ownership and security of assets". — Sapa

NEWS SA puts pressure on Bophutjatswana to review proposed labour laws

Bop labour act on hold

Sowetan 3/9/92

■ Unions up in arms over stringent rules that would forbid them from operating in Bop:

THE Bophuthatswana homeland is under pressure to review the proposed new Labour Relations Act which bans South African trade unions from operating in the territory.

Opposition from local trade unions and employer organisations forced the homeland's authorities to postpone the introduction of the controversial Industrial Relations Act.

The new legislation was scheduled to be introduced yesterday, but this was postponed after the intervention of the South African Government.

This was in response to requests by the powerful Congress of South African Trade Unions which raised objections about certain clauses in the new Act.

A Press conference scheduled for yesterday in Mmabatho, capital of Bophuthatswana, to announce the introduction of the new legislation was called off at the 11th hour.

The proposed Industrial Relations Act forbids Bophuthatswana trade unions from having any links with South African labour movements.

The Act also effectively forbids workers to strike.

It also gives President Lucas Mangope the right to interdict any trade union movement in the territory if they plan to go on strike.

It gives the registrar the power to decide which trade union may be allowed to operate within the homeland.

The Act also gives the registrar the power to decide who should be a member of the union.

FW sees progress

Sowetan 3/9/92

■ ANC to give decision on talks today: (304A)

MULTIPARTY negotiations would start soon, State President Mr FW de Klerk told a partisan crowd at the National Party's Orange Free State congress in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Meanwhile the ANC was by last night still locked in its three-day national executive committee meeting and a decision whether to re-enter formal bilateral negotiations with the Government is expected today.

De Klerk, however, said yesterday that "while things could still go wrong" good progress was being made in bilateral meetings between the Government and the ANC which could result in the breaking of the deadlock in negotiations.

He said that the National Party had nevertheless used the "artificially created deadlock by the ANC" constructively to prepare itself and its following on many levels for the resumption of full negotiations.

"Serious and honest negotiations is the only route to peace and progress. It is the winning way," De Klerk said.

AFRICA NEWS Governments negotiate on port ● Two soldiers die in fighting in Senegal

SA, Namibia in Walvis Bay talk

Sowetan 3/9/92

(304A)

JOINT ADMINISTRATION Countries agree on body to run disputed enclave:

WINDHOEK - Namibian and South African officials are to meet in Pretoria tomorrow to discuss structures and modalities for the joint administration of Walvis Bay, according to a Foreign Affairs Ministry Press statement in Windhoek yesterday.

Namibian Foreign Affairs Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab and his South African counterpart Mr Pik Botha announced on August 21 that agreement had been reached on the joint administration of the disputed South African port enclave.

Talks on the future of Walvis Bay, which is geographically part of Namibia and regarded as such in terms of its constitution, began in March 1991.

In December a Joint Technical Committee was initiated to explore the possibility of joint administration.

Friday's meeting is the technical committee's third and will discuss and recommend to both governments how the Joint Administrative Authority (JAA) should function.

Each government must appoint a senior executive officer to the JAA which will also have a management committee, equally represented, with a revolving chairman to manage day-to-day affairs.

Initially the JAA will manage the harbour, with its related activities, water supply from the underground Kuisebmond delta, road and bridge maintenance, customs and excise, industrial development, tourism, health services and nature conservation.

No time frame has been set for the life of the JAA which is expected to be in operation by November 1 or soon afterwards.

The Foreign Ministry Press statement said Permanent Secretary in the Prime Minister's Office Petrus Damaseb would lead the Namibian delegation. This would include permanent secretaries from the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Justice, Finance, Fisheries and Marine Resources and Local Government and Housing.

Senior officials from the ministries of Home Affairs, Defence, Works, Transport and Communication, Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism, the Attorney-General's Office and Trans-Namib will also attend. The Namibian delegates are due back on Friday night or Saturday morning. - *Sapa*

Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat gestures during his speech to members attending the 10th Non-Aligned Summit in Jakarta, Indonesia. He spoke with his famous revolver at his side.

Africa in brief

Sowetan 3/9/92

50 rebels killed

DAKAR - Security forces killed 50 supporters of independence for the southern province of Casamance in a battle near Ziguinchor, official Senegal radio said yesterday.

Two soldiers were killed in the fighting on Tuesday. Sixty rebels and nine soldiers were wounded. Additional security forces had been sent to the region.

Thousands are dying

MOGADISHU - The head of the US food airlift to Somalia yesterday gave a harrowing eyewitness account of desperate children and old people dropping dead by the thousands in the starving nation.

Mr Andrew Natsios said it was the worst human suffering he had ever seen, exceeding even the Ethiopian and Sudanese famines of past years.

Sowetan 3/9/92

Human life imperilled

NAIROBI - A Kenyan academic yesterday warned delegates attending an international conservation conference in Nairobi that human life in Africa was imperilled as never before.

Dr Mohammed Isakakia, Kenya's director of museums, told the conference on biodiversity in Africa that the situation on the continent had become so serious that human life, natural habitat, soils and species were threatened to an extent never known before.

The country's leaders must sup together, watch TV and go for walks – on Robben Island, says **Ameen Akhalwaya**

Between the devil you know and the deep blue

STAR 3/9/92. (304A)

IT IS very easy, when backed in public by your supporters, to hurl invective at your rivals. But nothing is more sobering than to come face-to-face with your foe in a closed room, far from the madding crowd.

The stalemate and the recriminations that followed the collapse of Codesa 2 have been predictable because of the dictates of constituency politics. But constituents themselves become confused when they read that one organisation has sworn off negotiating with another, yet private talks are continuing. To the average constituent, the subtleties between real negotiations and talking about restarting negotiations are seldom understood.

If Nelson Mandela insists he won't resume negotiations until the National Party Government meets the ANC's demands, the public is confused when it learns his movement is discussing the position of political prisoners with the NP, directly or indirectly.

If Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists the ANC pulled out of Codesa because the majority of delegations outvoted it, the public is confused when the Inkatha Freedom Party claims Codesa is undemocratic.

If the Pan Africanist Congress insists it won't negotiate with the "settler regime", a confused public can't readily distinguish between negotiations and preparatory talks it holds with the NP about conditions for negotiating.

If F W de Klerk insists he believes in non-racial democracy, a confused public cannot understand why the National Party wants all sorts of pre-conditions for the mechanics of a constituent assembly.

And so intolerance and confusion are created when claims and counter-claims fly, while confused media, relying on leaks and claims from public platforms, try to interpret trends.

This illness eating up South Africa following the collapse of Codesa could well be controlled, if not fully eradicated, if we can get our politicians to demonstrate their proclaimed support for tolerance and a need to break from the past. They need to get away from their public posturing, their public point-scoring exercises, their playing to the gallery.

This may seem contradictory in the light of the confusion created by closed-door Codesa negotiations, but it would be the first of a two-step process.

The first would be the "Robben Island Option" and the second, the "Public Option". The Robben Island Option is a summit in which only the leader of each political organisation would be invited to participate. The venue would be a remote place such as Robben Island, symbolic because it would bring together the jailed, the jailers, and the non-jailed who fought for the release of the jailed. Robben Island may not quite be the neutral foreign venue the PAC seeks, but at least its leader will be on familiar territory.

Give the leaders up to a week to find one another, face-to-face. Let them yell at one another if necessary. Let them sup together, watch television together, go for walks together. Naive as this suggestion may be, I believe it will quickly concentrate minds on the gravity of the bloodshed and poverty in our country.

The summit's official discussions should be guided by a team of relatively neutral but prominent public figures. I would suggest Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Oscar Dhlomo as co-chairs of a team that could include King Goodwill Zwelithini, a Contralesa nominee, Judges Mahomed and Schabort who chaired Codesa, and a religious leader.

The secretary-general of the United Nations and/or the head of the Organisation of African Unity, and even perhaps the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference's impressive Simba Makone, should be present as observers.

Then let the political leaders agree to broad principles of democracy and commit their organisations to negotiate a settlement on the basis of broad agreement on vital issues ranging from control of the security forces (if necessary on inviting in a UN peacekeeping force) to the role of the SABC, to the functions of a transitional government and the modalities of a constituent assembly.

Let each leader then report back to his constituency and emerge, within a specified period, with a mandate to start full-scale negotiations.

And so to the "Public Option". Those negotiations, between delegations headed by each organisation's leader, must be conducted in the full glare of media so that the public can judge for itself what is being agreed to, or disgreed in its name.

Of course, the danger is that if the Robben Island Option collapses, the backlash and recriminations could plunge our country into a deeper crisis.

But let's pin hopes on its success. Let's hope that after gripping one another by the throat, the leaders end up shaking hands.

I believe if Messrs Mandela and Buthelezi, for example, were to go together on a long walk, away from having to look over their shoulders, they might just find they have more in common than their organisational rivalry allows.

And the same would happen, say, if Messrs de Klerk and Bantu Holomisa sat together, looking at the beautiful Cape coastline and discussing how best they could preserve and develop it for the good of everyone.

A naive hope perhaps, but our leaders need to find themselves first before their constituents can find one another. □

Anxious govt awaits ANC talks decision

(304A) BILLY PADDOCK

BLOEMFONTEIN — Government is waiting anxiously to see if the ANC will confirm its belief that the deadlock in negotiations has been broken. B/Day

Today the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) will announce the decisions reached last night behind closed doors after three days of deliberations.

Hopes for a rapid resumption of talks received a boost yesterday when President F W de Klerk said he was confident they would be on track soon. 3/9/92

His comments to the NP Free State congress were, however, more muted than those to a confidential meeting of the Institute of Directors on Tuesday. He told directors he was confident of a breakthrough this week.

Yesterday, he appeared reluctant to commit himself before the NEC's decision was known, saying: "Obviously things can still go wrong." But he told delegates at the congress that progress had been made in bilateral talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

De Klerk took several swipes at the ANC and its SACP allies during his speech. The NP's political opponents were "making themselves guilty of opportunism, intimidation and ultimatum politics, disruption of the economy and aggressive, distorted propaganda".

These tactics would "not get anyone anywhere" and the NP and its allies would not be intimidated.

His message to NP supporters was: "Stand firm against pressure and coercion. We shall not yield and surrender the country to radicalism. We shall not allow ourselves to be overrun."

He also outlined the NP's "fundamental bottom lines" for a new dispensation. These were a democratic model that prevented domination by a simple majority; the effective protection of universal rights; and a market- and work-orientated economy that went a great deal further than "mere general declarations or good intentions and vague fine promises".

● See Page 4

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Douglas Hurd sign an agreement in Pretoria yesterday committing both governments to co-operate in the fight against drug trafficking and money laundering. They agreed to work together to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug trafficking. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

EC delegates meet Mandela, De Klerk

THE EC delegation which arrived in SA yesterday morning met ANC president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg in the afternoon after lunching with President F W de Klerk. B/DAY 3/9/92

During a brief media photo session at the ANC headquarters, Mandela said he had briefed the delegation on events.

"They were very interested to hear our point of view," Mandela said. 304A

De Klerk, who had hosted a lunch for the delegation before it met Mandela, said he expected the members to have a constructive approach during their two-day fact-finding mission to South Africa.

The group also had made it clear that it was here to see what was going on and to render help where required, he said.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said it was "interesting to listen to the ANC viewpoint after having met with State President De Klerk earlier in the day".

Hurd is accompanied by Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen, Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Jose Barroso, and a large contingent of assistants. — Sapa.

Leaders are urged to talk

AN urgent call on political leaders to negotiate a new dispensation before the South African economy is ruined by lack of progress has been made by Durban's newly-formed Regional Chamber of Business. Sowetan

In an address at the chamber's inaugural banquet, president Mr MC Pretorius said the new body would focus its efforts on ending violence, urging leaders to find political solutions and promoting tourism, exports and small business. 3/9/92

He said Natal had learnt from the "Indaba exercise" that negotiations could succeed.

The South African business community was waiting for an acceptable political dispensation before making investments, and this in turn was chasing away foreign investment, Pretorius said. - *Sapa*

Future of talks on knife-edge

Political Staff

THE future of negotiations is on a knife-edge today as the ANC prepares to announce its position after a three-day national executive committee meeting.

It appears as if some face-saving formula will have to be found following the breakdown of the Codesa talks, but talks between the government and the ANC may be upgraded in the meantime.

International pressure, with a European Community delegation in the country, has also become a factor.

ANC spokesman Ms Gill Marcus, who said an announcement would be made this afternoon, declined to give a hint of the ANC's attitude to the resumption of negotiations.

But she said the mood at the NEC had been good and thorough-going discussions had taken place.

ANC sources said it was unlikely to opt for the resumption of full-scale talks because its 14 demands dealing with violence, the security forces, hostel upgrading, a constituent assembly and democracy had not yet been fully met.

Instead, regular meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa might continue. These contacts could be expanded, with President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela becoming more involved.

ARG 3/9/92

The EC group, British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd, Danish Foreign Minister Mr Uffe Ellemann-Jansen and Portuguese Secretary of State Mr Jose Manuel Barroso, met Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela yesterday. (304A)

Mr Mandela said the ANC welcomed the delegation and shared its view that the country's problems would be solved by South Africans.

So close to a deal

(304A)

CT 4/9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BILLY PADDOCK

BLOEMFONTEIN. — The government and the ANC came within a whisker of sealing a package deal on restarting constitutional talks on Wednesday, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said here yesterday.

Mr Meyer said he and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had simply run out of time on Wednesday before the end of the ANC's national executive committee in trying to broker an agreement that would launch full bilateral talks between the parties.

"We have actually come very close . . . I have no doubt about that," a disappointed Mr Meyer told journalists after the National Party's Free State congress.

He said President F W de Klerk's optimism about an early resumption of full-scale constitutional negotiations flowed from the belief that agreement was imminent.

The ANC's national executive committee, after a three-day meeting, said in Johannesburg yesterday it was not yet ready to return to talks but said the government had indicated support for an elected constituent assembly which would be democratic.

Mr Ramaphosa told a news conference late yesterday that the government had agreed that the constituent assembly should be bound only by general constitutional principles, that it should have a time frame and adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

The ANC agreed to maintain the channel of communications established between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer.

Mr Meyer said the government would not simply accept any ANC decision to restrict talks to bilateral discussions.

Mr Ramaphosa said the government had to take immediate and visible steps to end violence and release political prisoners. The ANC wanted a complete and countrywide ban on the display of dangerous weapons.

"Without meaningful steps on the part of the government to deal with the violence and by way of releasing political prisoners it would be pointless to resume negotiations," he said.

Mr Meyer described the current state of negotiations as inconclusive and "at an intermediary stage".

"I have to get a mandate from my principals to see if we want to proceed on the current basis," he said.

However, it seems highly unlikely that the government could afford to be seen as spoilers and break off the bilateral process.

Mr Meyer suggested that the current state of discussions were not entirely negative because it gave both sides the opportunity to ensure that a resumption of talks would be on a firmer foundation.

He said the major dispute between the two sides was the basis on which political prisoners would be released.

It is understood that the ANC is demanding a blanket release of people it regards as political prisoners while the government wants the release to be related to generally-agreed principles such as amnesty.

Mr Meyer said the ANC's demands on ending violence were "not related to reality" because the government had introduced a number of mechanisms and instruments to address the problem.

Earlier he had told delegates to the congress that the talks between himself and Mr Ramaphosa had taken place in a good spirit.

He criticised the "reckless" attitude of some of the "radicals", saying they were pushing the country to destruction and chaos.

Mr Ramaphosa said the NEC meeting had reaffirmed that mass action was legitimate and had endorsed proposals to intensify the mass action campaign.

He welcomed recent announcements by the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission.

He said the ANC had drawn up a "Transition to Democracy Act" to serve as a constitutional framework for the transition period.

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FOREIGN POLICY FM 4/9/92. (304A)

Travels in two worlds

It is becoming increasingly apparent that the changes ushered in by F W de Klerk are going to influence *every* aspect of our lives. This, perhaps, is the crux of Damascene conversions — they arise in the form of visions or convictions that things cannot go on as before. Only later do these visions become translated down into the fabric of everyday life.

Allied to this process is the realisation that SA is not in a classic colonial situation where the ruling class simply gives up power — by consent or force — and departs for metropolitan shores. The whole vast apparatus of government established by the Nationalists has inertia and power.

At an important weekend conference convened by the SA Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Southern African Studies of the University of the Western Cape, the focus fell on foreign policy. Senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs — Pik Botha's men — were brought together in closed session with their counterparts from the ANC and other liberation movements (see *Current Affairs*). The idea was to broadly map out future foreign policy directions for a nonracial, democratic SA.

Since the installation of an interim government should see the beginning of shared rule, and shared policy-making, the exercise can be seen as foreshadowing things to come. There were enough indications that in this field — as in every other — ideological accommodation is possible, though not without some gritty compromise.

There were, broadly speaking, two tendencies, or underpinning theories.

Firstly, the collapse of communism brought an end to the "bipolar" world of the Cold War. In its place, at least three distinct national groupings are emerging which lay the emphasis on economic success rather than ideology. These groupings are the EC; the free-trade bloc comprising Canada, Mexico and the US; and Japan and the Pacific Rim.

These groupings are not precisely what George Bush meant when he spoke of the New World Order — a one-superpower world capable of intervention over human rights infringements, as in Iraq — but they have immense resources and will act in their own economic self-interest. To them the Third World is becoming increasingly marginalised, and to the extent that SA is merely part of that Third World, it will be marginalised too.

This would mean that SA would have to compete for increasingly scarce capital from agencies such as the IMF and World Bank on similar terms to any other stagnant or retrogressing state. It has been estimated that Africa alone among the continents will be growing poorer by the end of the century. A new SA with a major socialist component would be uncompetitive and ultimately face destitution.

This leads to the second underpinning theory which the conference explored. In effect, it suggests that there could be an "ANC dividend" in our future. Having expended so much moral fervour in the fight against apartheid, the eventual triumph of democracy here — or even its partial success — will be so enthusiastically welcomed by the world that it will not wish to see SA fail.

At this stage, such a hope — particularly if it is to be translated into real terms of aid and investment — must be vain unless SA is seen as a worthwhile haven for capital. The private investment community is less interested in the moral high ground than many in the ANC might wish.

What could these factors mean in the conduct of future foreign policy?

One implication is that the desire of the ANC to seek relations with the major supporters of its war of liberation will have to be moderated. For example, the forging of fraternal ties with nations such as Libya, Cuba — and each and every state in Africa which lent it support in the exile years — may lead to a glow of moral wellbeing but may serve no practical purpose. While Foreign Affairs may well be expanded by a future nonracial government, neglect of the three major trading blocs would be self-defeating.

It was argued at the conference that diplomatic ties should not merely be conditional on trade advantages; that ideology and similar approaches to human rights issues should carry weight too. Unfortunately, this begs a question not openly discussed at the conference: do Libya, Cuba, the PLO, and so on, have a firmer record on human rights than the West?

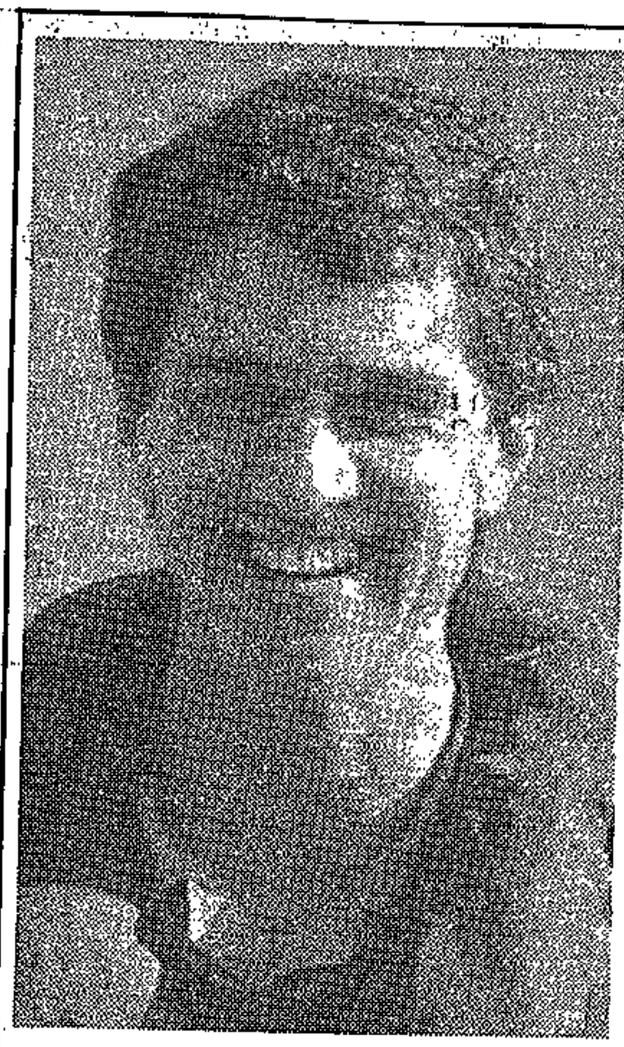
The West is undoubtedly hypocritical in pursuing a policy of intervention in Iraq but not in Bosnia where it would face real opposition; and in letting the Somali situation deteriorate into chaos and horror. But this is not sufficiently an argument for turning away from the major economic powers and forging links with the victim nations of the earth.

Is this what the ANC proposes to do? To some extent, it seems so. And this is where potential conflict arises between the existing diplomats and the would-be ones.

It is symbolised by the different foreign forays made by President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela — they sometimes seem to be visiting two different worlds, and in some ways they are.

On a practical level, how are SA's current warm relations with Israel to last if foreign policy is determined by men whose Middle East vision is Arabist? And there is already clear resentment by the ANC of Pretoria's new bonds with Boris Yeltsin's Russia — so recently the sponsoring communist power of the liberation struggle.

How profound the differences in approach really are remains to be seen. They may be more extreme than many yet realise. ■



Mr Roelf Meyer

Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

ARG 4/9/92

Accord on interim rule imminent

3024A

Political Staff

THE government and the ANC are on the brink of reaching a new consensus on an interim government in South Africa.

This emerged today in spite of the ANC's decision to rule out an early return to "Codesa-style" talks.

Provisional agreement between the government and the ANC has been reached on elements of a new democratically elected constituent assembly — including the drafting of a new constitution, time frame and deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

ANC leaders are optimistic about prospects for the resumption of talks, although they have, for the time being, turned down an immediate return.

The government's policy group on negotiations is meeting in Pretoria today to consider the ANC's decision. President De Klerk says the government will continue to maintain contact with the ANC until all obstacles to negotiations have been removed.

The national executive committee of the ANC has in turn decided to keep open the lines of communication between ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer. The NEC said that, while government responses to ANC demands had been unsatisfactory, the discussions were still incomplete.

Mr Meyer's interpretation of the NEC meeting was that the ANC had not reached a final decision on whether to resume formal negotiations.

The government policy group under the chairmanship of Mr De Klerk today consists of ministers such as Mr Meyer, Mr Kobie Coetsee (Justice), Dr Gerrit Viljoen (State Affairs), Dr Dawie de Viliers (Public Enterprises), Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport and senior officials.

A new consensus appears to be emerging about the urgent need for an interim government for South Africa.

In a statement after a three-day meeting of its national executive committee (NEC), the ANC said mass action would continue in order to bring pressure on the government.

But it was noted with approval that the government had "finally" given provisional support for a constituent assembly.

The ANC reiterated its commitment to a negotiated settlement and said the onus for making this possible rested with the government.

In Pretoria, Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys emphasised the need for getting "a representative government in place". He believed President De Klerk was moving forward quickly on this issue.

Mr Keys's remarks on transitional government echoed the current view of the Bush administration in Washington.

In a recent letter to Congressman Howard Wolpe, President Bush's national security adviser, Admiral Brent Scowcroft, said the US would swing into action with wide-ranging support measures as soon as a "non-racial interim government" was in place.

Ramsay Milne reports from New York on a black equivalent of SA's ET

304A

There's no place like homeland

STAR 4/9/92

IF THERE were an AWB in the United States, its Eugene TerreBlanche would be the Rev Louis Farrakhan.

Except that one is white, the other black, and that one is a Muslim fanatic and the other a "traditional" religionist, these two fringe radicals have almost identical political personas.

There are, of course, some distinctions. One, it has to be said, is that Mr Farrakhan has never (so far as is known) been aboard a horse and that, therefore, Mr TerreBlanche's equestrian skills may be superior.

Another is that Mr TerreBlanche's romantic life is infinitely the more entertaining of the two, if only because more is known about it.

Just as Mr TerreBlanche wishes to see the creation of an Afrikaner homeland in South Africa, so Mr Farrakhan advocates a black homeland in America.

This week he outlined a plan to buy up vast acres of productive farmland in Iowa.

This racial paradise, however, would not be for all black Americans: black prison inmates, reformed by their faith in Islam, should be sent to Africa to start a new country there, he says.

But Mr Farrakhan, while infuriating white Americans, is touching chords among America's disillusioned blacks — and he's no apostle of peace.

He told a wildly cheering crowd in Iowa that American blacks "should have a mind to kill" and predicted a racial bloodbath unless they were able to secure a new economic base.

While these exhortations to violence exceed anything Mr Farrakhan (or the AWB or the PAC) has delivered before, they appeal to a growing sentiment among black Americans.

The Los Angeles riots and the current looting of homes and shops flattened by Florida's Hurricane Andrew are indicators that Mr Farrakhan and other black extremists are not far off target when they aim their gospels of violence and extremism at a receptive black America.

As one writer reminds readers of Time Magazine this week, black Americans are increasingly immersing themselves in the trappings of African culture.

Many have cast aside their "slave" names and adopted African ones.

Some have even dropped all reference to America and call themselves "African".

For white Americans, these are dispiriting signs. But they are there, and Mr Farrakhan and others like him know how to exploit them.— Star Foreign Service. □

focus on elections

Sowetan 4/9/92 (304A)

The National Party believes it can beat the ANC in a one person one vote election. To achieve this, members were urged at the party's Free State annual congress this week to open their homes to black and brown members. **By Ismail Lagardien:**

THE NATIONAL PARTY (NP) is serious about wanting to win a nonracial general election based on one person one vote.

Its leaders believe that the NP can also become the majority party in the country - even if it means throwing its arms around the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as a means of beating the African National Congress (ANC) in a nonracial poll.

This was the main thrust at the NP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein this week - the first of four annual provincial congresses.

The party's leader in the Transvaal and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Justice and Free State Leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the national leader, State President FW de Klerk, all made speeches which aroused the emotions of the crowd.

Beating the ANC

The theme of the congresses is Work Together, Win Together.

The three leaders hinted that there was a strong chance of an election being held in about a year and with a very real chance of the NP "beating the ANC".

Members had to start working towards this goal.

If members of the formerly whites-only party would "open their homes to black and brown members and make their farms accessible to these non-traditional supporters" the NP would become the strongest party in the country, Coetsee told the crowd.

Coetsee was re-elected as Free State leader.

He said the NP in the Free State had three objectives; to strengthen the hand of the leadership at the negotiations table; to strengthen the party in preparation for a regional power base in a future federal dispensation; and to work with other political parties with similar objectives as those of the NP.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Canvassing black support

And to give credence to its expressed ideal of canvassing black support, the NP in the Free State appointed two blacks, Mr Petrus Tsiane and Mr Donald Colbert, as organisers in the province.

On Tuesday the NP had a black minister, a Pastor Goliath, open this year's OFS congress.

Botha told the congress that the NP had changed just in time to fall in with the changes in the world - especially after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union.

"The NP can win the election proposed for next year but it will take a lot of hard work," he said.

Many NP supporters, he said, were concerned and confused about the future of the party and of the country which was perhaps justifiable.

He assured them that the international community was waiting for South Africa to take its place in the world.

In terms of his calculations and in terms of "scientific" evidence, the NP could get about one million votes short of 50 percent in the next election out of a 70 percent poll of 20 million people eligible for the vote in the country.

Moral high ground

De Klerk in his address chose to elevate the NP to a moral high ground and criticised everyone else.

"To all Nationalists, and to the befriended political parties and organisations, my message today is that they dare not let themselves be seduced to (sic) strong-arm tactics. We should not allow ourselves to be pulled down to the level of street politics.

"Stand firm against pressure and coercion. We shall not yield and surrender the country to radicalism. We shall not allow ourselves to be overrun," De Klerk said.

Banners on the walls of the City Hall in Bloemfontein were unambiguous, succinct and self-explanatory: In six languages, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana and English (next to a picture of De Klerk) they proclaimed: "Everyone wins with the NP."

And nobody says the NP cannot deliver on that promise...

Solution to talks crisis 'within reach'

BILLY PADDOCK and PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and the ANC came within a whisker on Wednesday of sealing a deal on restarting constitutional talks, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Meyer said he and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had simply run out of time before the end of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) meeting in trying to broker an agreement that would launch full bilateral talks.

"We have actually come very close ... I have no doubt about that," a disappointed Meyer said after the NP's Free State congress. He said President F W de Klerk's optimism about an early resumption of full-scale constitutional negotiations stemmed from the belief that agreement was imminent.

The ANC's NEC said yesterday it was not yet ready to return to talks but it said government had indicated support for an elected constituent assembly which would be democratic.

Ramaphosa told a Johannesburg news conference government had agreed the constituent assembly should be bound only by general constitutional principles and that it should have a time frame and adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

The ANC agreed to maintain the channel

☐ To Page 2

Talks

BDAY 4/9/92

☐ From Page 1

of communication between Ramaphosa and Meyer.

Meyer warned that government would not simply accept any ANC decision to restrict talks to bilateral discussions.

Ramaphosa said government had to take immediate and visible steps to end violence and release political prisoners. The ANC wanted a complete and countrywide ban on the display of dangerous weapons. "Without meaningful steps on the part of government to deal with the violence and by way of releasing political prisoners it would be pointless to resume negotiations."

Meyer described the current state of play in negotiations as inconclusive.

"I have to get a mandate from my principals to see if we want to proceed on the current basis," he said. However, it seems highly unlikely government could afford to be seen as spoilers.

He said differences between government and the ANC on a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity had been "largely removed".

The major area of dispute between the two sides was the basis on which political prisoners would be released, he said.

It is understood the ANC is demanding a blanket release of people it regards as political prisoners, while government wants the release to be related to generally agreed principles such as amnesty.

Meyer said the ANC's demands on the ending of violence were "not related to reality" because government had introduced a number of mechanisms and instruments to address the problem.

Earlier he said the talks between himself and Ramaphosa had taken place in a good spirit. But he criticised the "reckless" attitude of some of the "radicals", saying they were pushing the country to destruction and chaos.

Ramaphosa said the NEC had endorsed the intensification of the mass action campaign, reaffirming it as legitimate.

seeable future were advised to sell the improved.

Summit 'does not pose threat'

B/DAY 4/9/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

BLOEMFONTEIN — Next week's summit on federalism was not an opportunistic attempt by government and its allies to gang up on the ANC, Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport said yesterday.

He told delegates at the NP Free State congress that the ANC should stop throwing tantrums and desist from hysterical reaction to the summit. "It must be emphasised that the discussions on federalism arranged by the State President will, it is hoped, stimulate an open debate on federalism. This is our only aim."

Delport emphasised that President F W de Klerk was inviting parties that wished to take part in such a debate. "We do not need to, and will not, take part in the opportunistic formation of groups.

"The NP will never form a group against any other party — the NP co-operates with other parties on a principled basis."

Delport said the majority of parties at Codesa had declared themselves in favour of strong regional government, regionalism, or federalism. Since then, some parties had also referred to confederalism.

"At a time when SA stands on the brink of a radically new constitutional dispensation, the government considers it essential for different ideas on regionalism and federalism to be explored and compared, and placed under the magnifying glass."

It was essential at this stage to obtain clarity about and evaluate constitutional models appropriate to SA, he said.

The NP and other parties advocating federal principles should subject their standpoints to public scrutiny to prove once and for all the "ridiculousness of the assertion that federalism is an instrument for clinging to power".

Delport said critics of the NP's standpoint, including the ANC, should rather explain why they were so vehemently opposed to federalism, "which after all embodies internationally accepted democratic principles".

He had no doubt that the major reason for the ANC pulling out of talks following Codesa II was that agreement had been reached in principle on the entrenchment of regionalism in the constitution. He predicted that this issue would be the most difficult point to resolve once negotiations resumed.

Pressure grows for interim rule

STAR 4/9/92.

By Esther Waugh
and Shaun Johnson

The ANC last night ruled out an early return to "Codesa-style" talks, but a new consensus appeared to be emerging about the urgent need for an interim government in South Africa.

In a statement after a three-day meeting of its national executive committee (NEC), the ANC said mass action would continue in order to bring pressure on the Government, and expressed concern at Pretoria's "refusal to take urgent and practical steps to deal with the violence and create the necessary conditions for the unfolding of a democratic constitution-making process".

The NEC decided to keep open communication between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. While the responses to ANC demands had been "unsatisfactory", the discussions were still "incomplete".

It was noted with approval that the Government had "finally" given provisional support for a constituent assembly.

(304A)

Demonstrated

Speaking at a press conference last night, Mr Ramaphosa said he had met Mr Meyer "more than three times". The Government had not demonstrated a seriousness in addressing the ANC's demands during these meetings, he said.

The ANC's call included that the Government take immediate steps to end the violence and release all political prisoners, to address the hostel issue and to ban the display of weapons in public.

"Without meaningful steps on the part of the Government ... it would be pointless to resume negotiations. We have come too far in the negotiations process, too many South Africans have been killed — over 6 000 — in political violence since February 1990, for the people of our country to be lulled by continued Government delay and double-speak," he said.

However, the ANC reiterated its commitment to the process of a negotiated settlement.

Mr Meyer's interpretation of the NEC meeting was that the ANC had not reached a decision on whether or not to resume formal negotiations.

Asked after the NP Free State congress whether he interpreted the outcome of the NEC meeting as a decision against resuming negotiations now, or a failure to reach a decision, he said it was "a sort of an intermediate decision".

Finance Minister Derek Keys emphasised the need for getting "a representative government in place". He believed President de Klerk was moving forward quickly to address this issue.

Mr Keys's remarks echoed the view of the US government. President Bush's national security adviser Admiral Brent Scowcroft said the US would swing into action with wide-ranging support measures as soon as a nonracial interim government was in place.

FM 4/9/92 (304A)

FOREIGN POLICY CONFERENCE

FM 4/9/92

Comrade diplomats

(304A)

As a major component of the next government, the ANC may well have to swiftly choose between diplomatic ties with its "old friends" and the major economic blocs of the New World Order. This was one conclusion to emerge from a conference on foreign policy, hosted last weekend by the SA Institute of International Relations and the Centre for Southern African Studies of the University of the Western Cape (see *Leaders*).

The conference was held at Wits and brought senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs together with representatives of the ANC and other liberation movements to see if consensus could be found on future diplomatic initiatives.

At the outset, it was apparent that ideological differences between the Nationalists and the ANC might not be as unbridgeable as first blush might suggest. Minister Pik Botha, for example, in his opening address, warned gruffly that SA business suffered from too great a concentration and that something might have to be done about it. For his part, the ANC's Aziz Pahad lodged a complaint about SA's business inefficiency — and put it down partly to excessive State control.

While the five working groups — Codesa-style — were closeted away from the press, summaries of their debates were presented at the end of the conference and an overview given by Prof Jack Spence of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It was apparent that there had been divergence on two issues of crucial importance:

- The amount of attention to be given to Africa and the Third World in general — including such ANC allies as Libya, Cuba and the PLO; and
- The speed with which the Department of Foreign Affairs should be remade in the image of the new SA — meaning a huge measure of affirmative action.

While the ANC was not the only liberation movement represented, it effectively pre-empted debate on most issues, arguing for diplomatic representation throughout Africa — though it was recognised that funding would always be a constraint. This thrust would be accompanied by a radical expansion of personnel — a new Minister, for a start — and a waiving of certain degree requirements hitherto sacrosanct to Foreign Affairs.

As Spence observed, the conference was a "typical New South African occasion," looking forward to an apartheid-free State but realising that world concerns were shifting to economic success and self-interest in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The New World Order, however, had lost the triumphant bombast displayed by George Bush after the victory of Desert Storm. Its limitations of power had been underscored by its impotence in ex-Yugoslavia and, in general, renascent nationalisms in the former East Bloc foreshadowed a period of global instability. In this climate, SA would become "just another State," though preferably not "just another Third-World State."

As Mervyn Frost of the University of Natal (Durban) put it: "SA can *compete* — or harp on the past, be a professional victim."

The role of Foreign Affairs under Pik Botha was a subject of some controversy. Some comments were made about the "adulation" accorded the Minister from within its ranks — with which the ANC could not, of course, concur. There was instead an expressed will to rejoin bodies like the OAU and the Commonwealth. And some felt reunion with the latter could serve to defuse certain white fears about majority rule since they would become part of an organisation with substantial "Dominion" representation, in the form of Australia, Canada and Britain.

The *FM*'s impression was that the serving officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs take the idea of new policy directions very seriously indeed — however much some of the ANC's standpoints remain unpalatable to them. After so many years of serving SA in an increasingly bitter climate, they may welcome giving up some of the burden. They are open to new ideas. But the idea — raised more than once — that "service" for the ANC could equate with formal professional qualifications is unlikely to find favour within the existing bureaucracy.

But then everyone agreed that the bureaucracy itself would be massively expanded, appropriately or otherwise, in terms of always scarce resources. The ANC's "turn" is coming up. ■

ANC proposals for a new constitution

B/DAY 4/9/92 (304A)

ALAN FINE

THE ANC yesterday published comprehensive proposed amendments to the SA constitution to facilitate the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The ANC described the proposed "Transitional to Democracy Act 1992" as a draft for discussion within the organisation and among its allies and the public.

Its provisions replace the own affairs and tricameral system and the President's Council with a single 400-member national assembly, elected by proportional representation, to serve as an interim legislature and a constitution-making body.

It defines SA by its 1910 boundaries, eliminating the homeland system. It sidesteps the issue of regionalism by retaining for the interim the existing provincial system as the only form of regional government — leaving the future of constitutional regionalism to the constituent assembly.

The president would be elected by a simple majority of the national assembly. The cabinet would have a multiparty character and take decisions by a two-thirds majority, as would the assembly when sitting as a legislature.

All parties with 5% or more of the membership of the assembly would be entitled to nominate cabinet members. Each party's cabinet entitlement would be in proportion to its assembly representation.

Deputy ministers need not be assembly members, and this would facilitate the appointment of individuals from excluded groups, including from "civil society".

The proposed law includes an interim bill of rights.

With regard to constitution-making, it includes a detailed deadlock-breaking mechanism. The ANC proposes a new constitution be passed by a two-thirds majority. If not achieved within nine months, fresh elections would be called and the second constituent assembly would have a further six months to complete its task.

If this can still not be done, a proposed new constitution would be put to a referendum and adopted by a 55% majority. If not, a new election would be held and a new constitution adopted by a simple majority of the third constituent assembly.

The constitution would have to adhere to previously agreed principles, and a seven-member constitutional panel would be appointed to adjudicate on disputes over whether principles were being adhered to.

In the pre-election period, multiparty commissions would be established to ensure a level playing field. These would control the security forces and the media. And an independent electoral commission would be appointed to prepare for and conduct the elections.

A fresh foreign policy for a new SA

(304A) STAR 4/9/92

Integration and democratisation are key aspects of a changing foreign policy. KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports.

A DEMOCRATIC South Africa's foreign policy — which will be greatly influenced by the country's commercial and economic interests — would have to be radically different from the Government's present policy while retaining some of its best values, a conference in Johannesburg heard at the weekend.

Giving their reports at the end of the conference on "South Africa and the World: A New Vision", five commissions which dealt with aspects of a future government's foreign policy said a number of things would have to be changed.

Commission rapporteurs said the new foreign service — which had to integrate the existing service with the international affairs departments of the ANC and PAC — would have to be truly representative of the country and its people.

Reporting on the deliberations of the commission on "The Making of Foreign Policy — The Foreign Service, Institutional Support and Civil Society", Dr John Daniel said the integration of the foreign service had to be "a once-off measure effected at the time an interim government is established".

THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Entry requirements into the foreign service would have to be lowered to matric during the transitional period to make it easy for blacks to join.

The conference, jointly organised by the SA Institute for International Affairs and the University of Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, was opened by ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha.

The rapporteurs said considerable consensus had been reached on a number of issues, despite the participants' divergent political and social views and backgrounds.

They said a democratic South Africa would have to be competitive in the world market, ground its foreign policy on sound economic principles, take advantage of services offered by bodies like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund without allowing itself to be dictated to, join organisations such as the Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity, and expand its diplomatic and economic links in Africa. □

Federalism 'not clinging to power'

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN — President de Klerk's summit on federalism on Monday was aimed at proving that federalism was not an instrument for clinging to power, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport told delegates at the National Party's Free State congress here yesterday.

He stressed that the purpose of the meeting was to open debate on federalism and "not to take part in opportunistic formation of groups".

Unlike the ANC, the NP did not gang up on any other party.

Dr Delport said that although the NP had so far chosen not to describe its policy as federalism, its policy of regional government had always been based on federal characteristics.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the Government had not finally decided how the senate should be composed.

One could not "make a joke" of the people's political preferences by composing a second House in a way that completely ignored the democratic composition of the first House. The senate should reflect regional interests. Protection of minorities could not depend entirely on the senate, Mr Meyer said.

The Government believed there should be four main checks to abuse of power: a bill of rights, devolution of autonomous power to lower levels of government, a senate, and proportional representation.

Delegates expressed concern that delay in reaching a constitutional settlement was holding up negotiation on representative local government.

PAC, Roelf Meyer to convene again

Sowetan 4/9/92.

FINAL SUMMIT Another round of talks to arrange a better negotiating forum: (304A)

By Monk Nkomo

A DELEGATION of the Pan Africanist Congress will meet senior Government officials in Pretoria today for another round of talks aimed at arranging a better negotiating forum.

PAC national executive member Mr Willie Seriti confirmed the meeting will be held in the afternoon. The delegation will be led by Seriti and political affairs secretary Mr Jackie Seroke.

The government is expected to be led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Today's meeting is the fourth "talks-about-talks" encounter between the two parties this year. Seriti said the PAC wanted to get a commitment from the government on the establishment of a common voters roll for all race groups and a constituent assembly.

"Thereafter a final summit of the PAC and government leadership will be held at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman," he said.

The disinformation scandal

STAR 4/9/92.

(304A)

VIOLENCE does not occur in a vacuum. It draws oxygen from public opinion which supports it or condones it. Apartheid and the methods used to enforce it, some of them violent, were for many years endorsed or condoned by the Afrikaans churches, by many intellectuals, and by the Afrikaans press and the SABC.

There are many reasons why the National Party abandoned these policies. One of them is the withdrawal of intellectual, press and church endorsement. These considerations also apply at the other end of the spectrum. Just as it will take years to change the culture of a police force or indeed of a civil service, one of whose main purposes for 40 years was to enforce racial laws, so it will also take time to eradicate the culture of coercion which has become so deeply entrenched in resistance politics, not least because the use of violence was given ecclesiastical blessing.

What some people regard as a just war against people stigmatised as collaborators has its parallels in what others no doubt regarded as a just war against people stigmatised as communists. Part of this culture is the process of stigmatisation, which I suspect has played a major role in the violence. It not only sets people up for attack, but also scares off any would-be defenders.

This helps to explain why so many ordinary, decent, white South Africans kept quiet for so long about bannings and house arrests and deaths in detention. When Ruth Hayman, a Johannesburg attorney, was banned, the organised legal profession refused to take up her case. Mr Vorster had so stigmatised the liberals that most whites regarded them as communists and, when confronted with the injustice of banning without trial, retorted: "Well, she must have done something, otherwise Mr Vorster wouldn't have banned her." This acquiescence paved the way for the next step — detention without trial.

As the Radio Freedom broadcasts made clear, stigmatisation of their opponents was a major — if not the major — strategy of South African revolutionaries in the 1980s. The spray of stigmatisation was spread very wide. The targets included long-standing opponents of the Government who also opposed revolution, among them the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The growth of the culture in which some black people were mobilised to use violence against other black people occurred at a time when many liberals abandoned their traditional watchdog role and swallowed the revolutionary agenda — that politics was of only two kinds, liberatory and collaborationist, and those, like the institute, advocating non-violent change were naive.

Township residents have reaped the whirlwind sown by these simplistic notions. It is both tragic and ironic that black people, the victims of the apartheid system, should also be the main victims of the violence engendered by some of the liberatory strategies.

Members of the liberal community who slid away from their old values — of non-violence and tolerance, of standing up for the underdog — in fact failed South Africa in its hour of need. In the 1960s they spoke up bravely for the rights of communists against the arbitrary powers of Mr Vorster. In the 1980s they failed to speak up for ordinary people against the strategies of revolutionaries.

What can be done about the violence? An obvious first step is to remove weapons from the hands of political organisations. It is therefore to be hoped that the recent regulations banning the carrying of all weapons in public places, along with the increased prison sentences for possession of unlicensed firearms, will be strictly enforced. Even though our figures show that so-called traditional weapons are not the major problem, I do not think that carrying these weapons to political meetings is compatible with democratic practice.

The National Peace Accord still has certain weaknesses. One of these is its failure expressly to prohibit the violent strategies of ungovernability. If these are not explicitly renounced, the violent backlashes will not stop.

Reports of agencies such as Amnesty International, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, the International Commission of Jurists, the Human Rights Commission and the Independent Board into Informal Repression are not helpful because, while they rightly castigate the IFP and the police for their involvement in violence, they turn a blind eye to the whole question of ungovernability.

One of the consequences of the disinformation campaign has been to hinder peace talks and constitutional negotiations. It makes it impossible to stop conflict which is quite obviously emanating from both sides.

The current campaign to blame violence on the Reef almost exclusively on hostel residents, while ignoring their own fear of attack, will heighten their already considerable insecurity and cause them to stockpile weapons — automatic weapons, not traditional weapons — in other places. The more they feel under siege, the less they will hesitate to use these weapons, which will intensify the ANC-IFP conflict to the point where it may not end until a new constitution is in place, and perhaps not even then.

As we know from the bitter experience of the tricameral era, once you take a wrong turning constitutionally it is very difficult to get back on to the right road. South Africa, of course, has choices. We've always had them. We even have a name for them — high roads and low roads. In 1910 we took the low road of a unitary state when we could have taken the high road to federalism, which would have enabled the Cape to preserve and extend its liberal racial policies instead of giving Transvaal nationalists control over them. In 1983 we again had a choice. We took the low road of the tricameral Parliament and the homelands policy instead of calling a Codesa there and then to bring blacks into Parliament, which would have been the high road. The low road now is the road of bilateral deals that so many people seem to favour.

The high road is to go back to Codesa, broaden it, and build steadily on the Declaration of Intent and the sound agreements already reached in the various working groups. Given our tortured history, I believe the compromises already agreed upon in the groups are remarkable. They are prudent, fair and pragmatic, and they reflect well on all involved, major and minor players alike. If the opinion polls across the political and racial spectrum are to be believed, they are the foundations of the free and democratic system most of us want.

Such a system cannot be built while the flames of the physical war in the townships are fanned by a propaganda war in the media. □

● *This is an extract from an address delivered last night by the executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, John Kane-Berman.*

NP 'won't gang up on ANC'

CT 4/9/92 (304A)

Political Correspondent

BLOEMFONTEIN. — Monday's summit on federalism was not an opportunistic move by the government and its allies to gang up on the ANC, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport said here yesterday.

Speaking to delegates at the National Party's Free State congress, he attacked the ANC over its "hysterical" reactions to the summit.

"It must be emphasised that the discussions on federalism arranged by the State President will, it is hoped, stimulate an open debate on federalism.

"The NP will never form a group against any other party — the NP co-operates with other parties on a principled basis," Dr Delport said.

The NP and other parties advocating federal principles should subject their standpoints to public scrutiny to prove the "ridiculousness of the assertion that federalism is an instrument for clinging to power".

He had no doubt that the major reason for the ANC pulling out of talks following Codesa II was that agreement had been reached on the entrenchment of regionalism in the constitution. He predicted that this issue would be the most difficult to resolve once negotiations resumed.

● The National Party and Inkatha could not be better allies and they deserved each other, the ANC MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, said last night.

He also said in a speech prepared for a public meeting in Potchefstroom that it was a pity that the DP had decided to attend Monday's conference as observers.

Mr Momberg said the NP was already fighting an election against the ANC.

DP 'can't work with the SACP'

Political Staff (30419)

DEMOCRATIC PARTY leader Dr Zach de Beer said at the weekend he and other liberal democrats might well be able to work with democratic members of the ANC.

"I know that we cannot work with the communists," he added.

He said at the DP's Free State congress in Ladybrand that if the ANC leaders continued their intimate partnership with the SACP they would be sucked into more intransigent and violent behaviour.

He believed that the mainstream ANC leaders were constitutionalists, but the communists were revolutionaries.

He said that if there was a parting of the ways between the ANC and the communists the way would be open for broad multi-party co-operation.

"Peace will become attainable. Political settlement through negotiation will be within reach. Investment, growth and jobs will be on the cards. There is so much for all South Africans to gain.

"I accept that the mainstream ANC now supports a mixed economy in which the private sector takes the lead; I am sure the communists want the state to control the whole of the economy.

"There is a very heavy responsibility facing the ANC leaders now." CT 14/9/92

Having their cake and eating it

B/DAY 4/9/92 (304A)

RED ALERT

JOE SLOVO

THE human mind is a truly wondrous thing. But the mind of SA's white tribe takes the cake. You merely hint at disturbing accumulated race privilege and the sickening rationalisations, in the name of freedom and democracy, pour forth.

The arguments can sometimes be quite disarming. Listen, they say, the blacks suffered a terrible wrong; colour was used to give all of us whites more wealth and a better life. But, they implore, don't repeat the same wrong in the other direction for we are, at last, on the road to a free, nonracial democracy. Let's not have reverse discrimination.

And, abracadabra, the dictates of this "freedom" and "democracy" happily coincide with whites more or less retaining the largesse which apartheid showered upon them. This patent hypocrisy really comes into its own to rubbish buzz-words like redistribution, affirmative action, state involvement in the economy, the return of stolen lands, economic sanctions and mass action against continuing apartheid rule.

Which of our leading editorial writers expressed indignation about the edict to reinstate those dispossessed of property by East German communists, or cried out against US anti-Cuba economic sanctions, or has breathed a word of condemnation against the mass action which put paid to Honecker, or questions the return of property grabbed by the Nazis from Jews?

But if hypocrisy stalks the liberal establishment, it is strutting about on high stilts among the born-again democrats like De Klerk and his colleagues. For them, the very mention of "affirmative action" at Codesa was, in more ways than one, like a red rag to a bull. Yet the whole world knows that the place they and their compatriots now occupy is purely a product of affirmative action.

It gave them stolen lands and subsidised their farming operations. Affirmative action (the "civilised" labour policy, job reservation, etc) transformed their poor white brethren from "incompetent and apathetic indigents" who "can hardly be considered in efficiency the equal of a native" into skilled workers and managers (Transvaal Labour Commission 1904 and Low Grade Mines Commission).

Affirmative action helped catapult the Afrikaner into big-time financial, mining and industrial ventures. When I came to the Bar in 1950 the process of affirmative action was launched by Malan's government to redress the imbalance between English and Afrikaner judges, and the very bottom of the judicial barrel was scraped for this purpose.

And so it went in all spheres of life. These erstwhile knights of affirmative action were not then, like now, daunted by the lowering of standards and the massive state-directed redistribution of wealth. Nor did they show any passion for property rights when they "resettled" 4-million blacks into a rural wilderness. On the contrary, they taught us all how successful affirmative action can be to redress imbalances. So, gentlemen, what is sauce for the white goose is surely sauce for the black gander.

□□□□

IT IS worth recalling Sidney Kentridge's insightful remarks to the 1991 Natal Bar Conference on the question of the NP's affirmative action in our courts. He noted (as all of us at the Bar did) a perceptible decline in the Transvaal Provincial Division's standards which "suffered damage" because of C R Swart's blatant policy of ethnic appointments.

But Kentridge consoles us with the conclusion that, in the end, "the Bench has survived and its independence has been maintained". As for the future, he appreciates "the urgent and understandable desire" by a democratic government "to redress the racial imbalance in the judiciary" and, based on the previous experience, suggests that "if there is a drop in standards, we should not assume that it will be permanent".

Most of my colleagues at the Bar soon adjusted to the dilution of standards and found comfort in even the most mundane display of competence by some of the controversial appointees. Not so my old friend and colleague Mick Schneider. When told in the Common Room that a new appointee had not completely fouled up an undefended divorce session (which shouldn't extend a first year law student), he responded in his inimitable Dickensian style: "Oh, woe is us. It is coming to pass that in our land when a dog as much as displays an ability to bark it is a source of both surprise and wonderment."

□□□□

I WAS pretty certain that I would not get away with my reflections on reconciliation and forgiveness (Red Alert, August 7) without someone saying: "Yeah, what about apologising for the Wimpy Bar bombs?"

Well, Sheila Schultz (Letters, August 11), we not only apologised when it started happening but we also publicly commanded our activists not to be tempted into such acts, and saw to it that they were not repeated. Perhaps I shouldn't blame Sheila for her ignorance since nothing any of us said could then legally be reported by the media.

But she really has no excuse for overlooking the court statement of Andrew Zondo who was sentenced to death and hanged for his Wimpy Bar bomb. Andrew explained that he had had a rush of blood to the head when he read of an SADF massacre of more than 30 exiles (including children) celebrating Christmas in Maseru. But he also went on to say that his tragic act of revenge was against everything that he had been taught by the ANC and, by losing control, he had sinned against his parents, against his party and against God. "If I could give a piece of my flesh to atone for this act, I would do so," were his final words.

If we could only hear some of the murderers still occupying high office emulating such courageous remorse we would be further on the road to reconciliation. And that was the whole point of my last intervention.

South Africa faces identity crisis in new global order

STAR 5/9/92. (304A)

ARE we a Western state or as African as any other country on the continent? This was discussed at a conference of the SA Institute for International Affairs and the Centre for SA Studies. BEN TUROK reports.

THE question about where South Africa belongs, in the West or in Africa, is not an idle one. It is a matter of finding a new identity for a new South Africa in line with its democratic aspirations.

There are important choices to be made. Should South Africa try to link up with the new structures in Europe? Should we join the Commonwealth? Or should we seek full participation across the African continent?

The world is now a unipolar one because of the demise of the Soviet bloc, and the United States is exercising a hegemonic role. It is constructing the North Atlantic Free Trade Association (Nafta) which is competing with the European Community and the Asian bloc centred on Japan.

We are sandwiched between the hi-tech and cheap labour exporters.

In the consolidation of these structures, which are mainly inward-looking, the Third World is being marginalised. Africa, in particular, faces the prospect of further steady deterioration.

On the other hand the United States, despite its global domination is, itself, facing one of its most severe crises. The recession is biting deep, unemployment is unacceptably high, the black ghettoes are exploding, crime is rampant and drugs are destroying the moral fabric of rich and poor alike.

Europe too is going through difficult times, with rising joblessness and social tensions due to immigration from Eastern Europe and the Maghreb. Even Japan is facing economically tough times.

This is the global system that faces a new South Africa. It is marked less by the geo-politics of the Cold War era than by the geo-economics of the new era. The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank are the principal agencies of control and the world is full of supplicants for their favours.

Since economics rules, and since it is still the case that "the flag follows trade", South Africa must identify where its economic interests lie. At this conference, some economists pointed out that our economic legacy is not as rich as many believe.

The import substitution strategy of the past never got beyond semi-processed goods, and this is what we have to sell abroad. Our exports consist of minerals and highly resource-based manufactured goods which often use imported technology. World prices for these commodities are falling and markets are closing up.

On the other hand, there are countries like China which have cheaper labour and are more competitive in exporting labour-intensive goods. So we are sandwiched between the hi-tech and the cheap labour exporters. The best we can do, therefore, is either to seek niche markets in Europe and the East, or expand into Africa. In the former case we can try to join the Lome Convention, sign up with the EC as a whole, or seek special bilateral arrangements. Each choice has problems attached.

The international environment is harsh for newcomers like South Africa, especially as we do not really belong to Europe or any other northern bloc, despite the grand delusions of some of our people.

Some argued that a new government could well benefit from an external anti-apartheid dividend arising from the enormous goodwill that will be extended to this country if we make a peaceful and successful democratic transition.

The ANC argued that while the apartheid State was scorned throughout the world, a vast flood of goodwill was generated by the anti-apartheid movement overseas which became the largest solidarity movement in history. This point was accepted by officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs, and the conference accepted that this fountain of goodwill constituted a platform for a positive foreign policy.

We will not gain entry if the new government lacks legitimacy.

But this moral legacy cannot be taken for granted. The world has seen so many transitions going wrong, promises unfulfilled by virtue of poor governance, and failure to deliver the goods.

The prospect of full integration into the major international institutions such as the UN, and into the OAU and other African bodies, would seem to depend on their judgment of the genuineness of our transition. Africa may need South African finance and expertise, but we will not gain entry if the new government lacks legitimacy.

The struggle for legitimacy worldwide was seen as crucial by many participants. Democratic South Africa will have to be seen to be pursuing polices which bring direct and immediate relief to the disadvantaged, while at the same time, its policies will have to be seen to be realistic and responsible. This is a difficult task.

South Africa can no longer rely on the image of a "lifestyle country", as one participant put it. It has to be committed to internal development and has to be concerned about the region. Many external donors and investors are particularly interested in seeing the southern African region making advances as an entity, since this means a larger market for their goods, and, in the case of Japan at least, better access to the region's extensive mineral resources.

But care must be taken that regionalism does not lead to further South African dominance. The temptation will be for Johannesburg to become the financial services centre, as well as the administrative base for the region. This could be counter-productive since it will lead to resentment by our neighbours.

Given the sensitivity about South Africa, our image in the post-apartheid period is of crucial importance. If we are seen as a cosmetically reformed society merely seeking business openings wherever they occur, we will not get far. However, if it is perceived that we are a society undergoing social and economic transformation, the world may well open its arms to the new government.

The challenge, therefore, is to build an internal foundation around a development programme which goes beyond adjustment here and there, and which is seen to deliver basic goods and services and new productive capacities among the disadvantaged.

South Africa has to be committed to internal development.

But such an approach needs vision (even if we are rather sceptical of visionaries), and that was sorely lacking at the conference. It seems that the stop-go chess game between Government and opposition is creating much scope for the technocrats, who can deal only with immediate problems.

There can be no objection to a step-by-step approach to solving our problems, provided it is advancing towards a vision. What is disastrous is muddling through a minefield of obstacles without a plan or clear objectives.

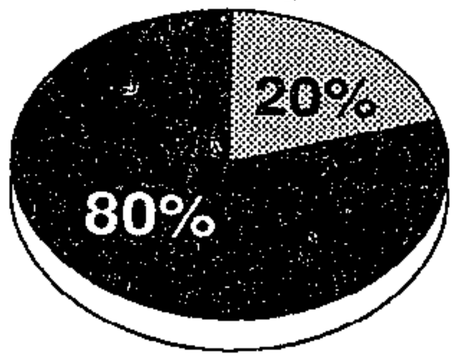
● *The author is director of the Institute for African Alternatives.*

STAR 5/9/92

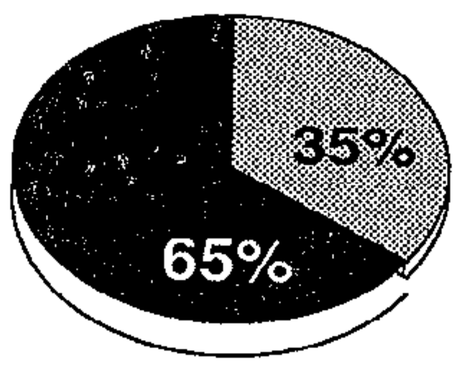
(3044)

What whites think . . .

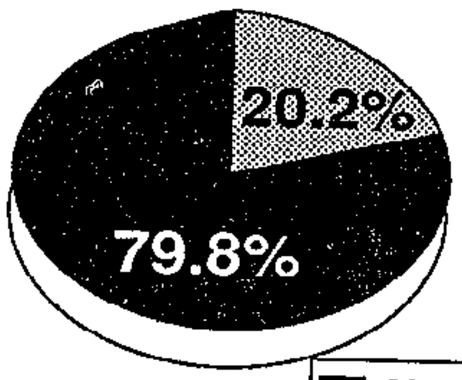
Only negotiations can bring peace



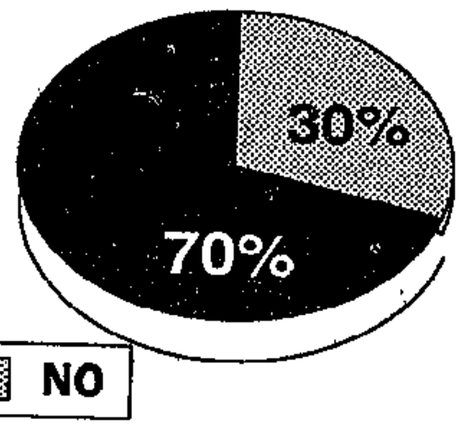
Equal rights will reduce violence



Political settlement will end violence



Communist threat is over



YES NO

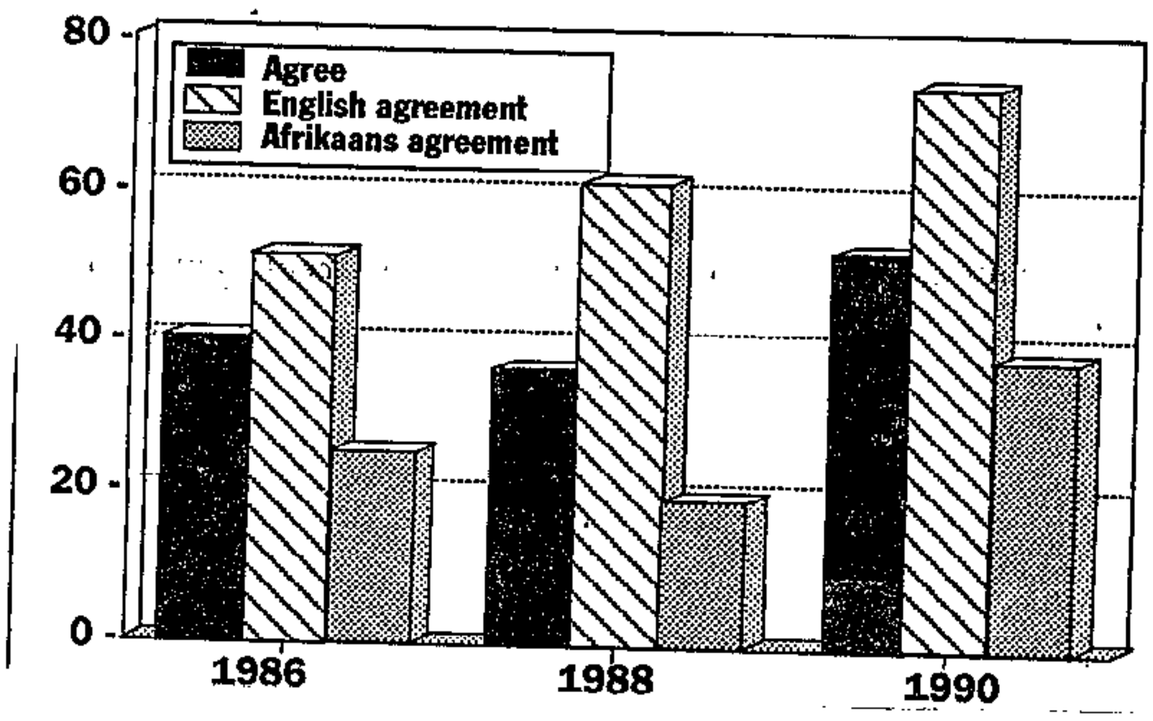
Stop spread of ANC influence

YES (72%)

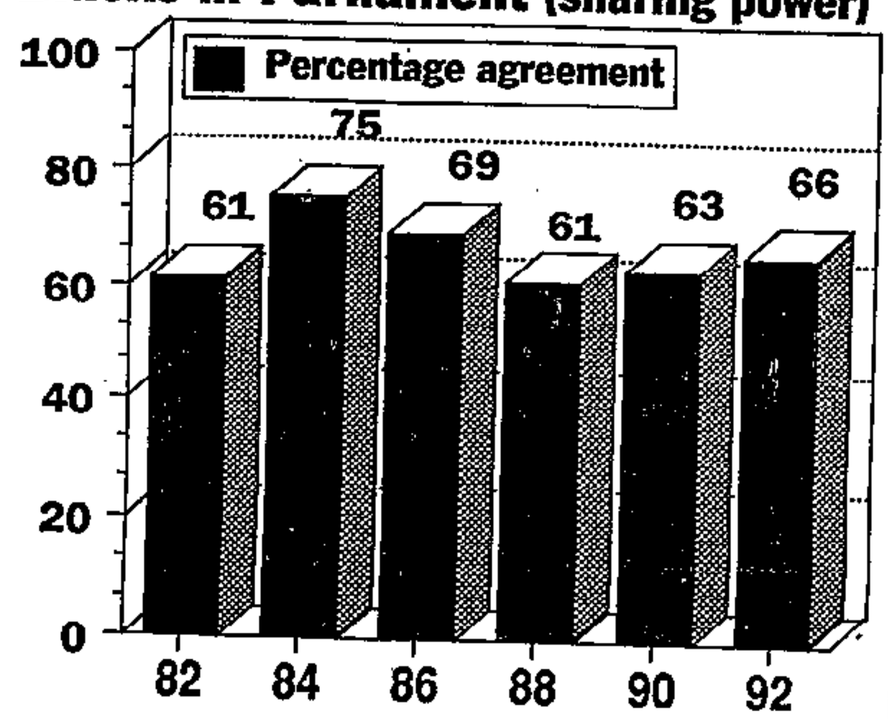
NO (27%)

(Question included in 1992 survey only)

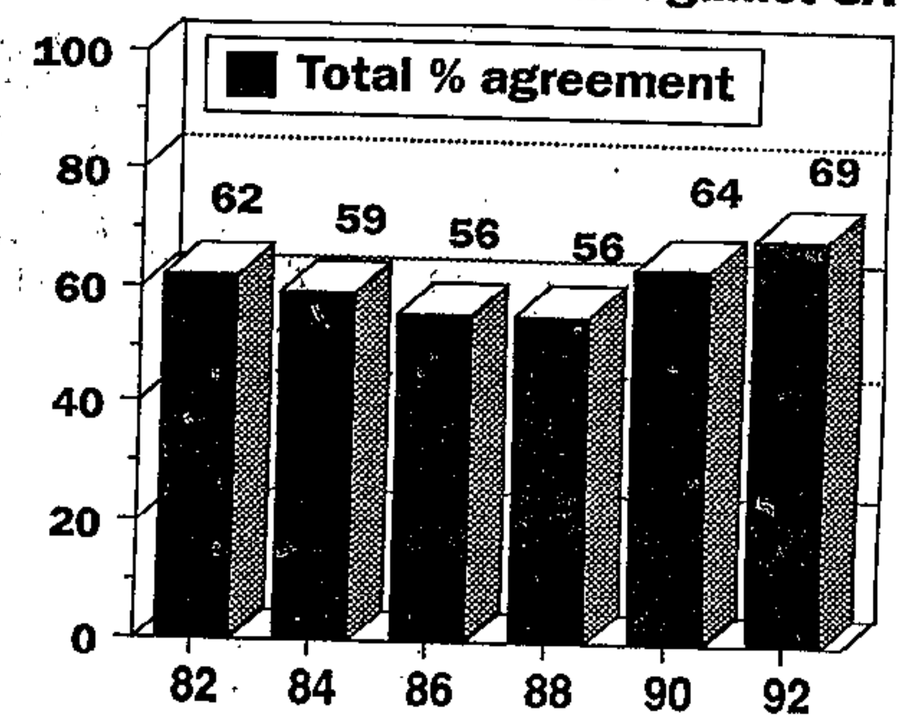
Negotiate with ANC



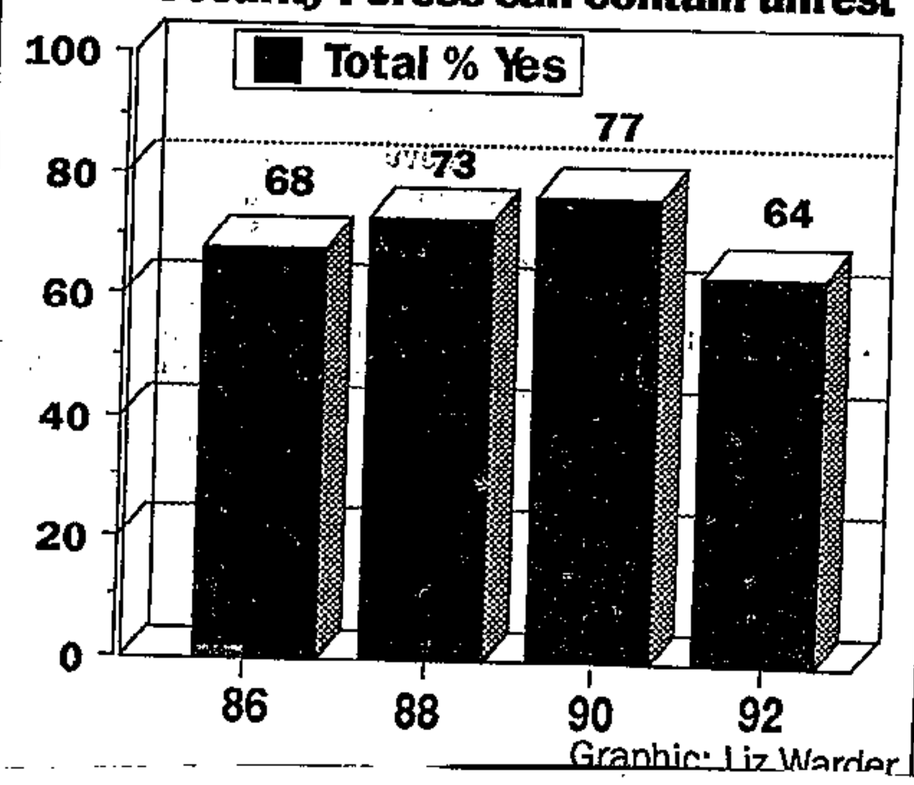
Blacks in Parliament (sharing power)



Black South Africans may not be loyal in the event of war against SA



Security Forces can contain unrest



Graphic: Liz Warder

solution. But, and it is a very big but, once concepts such as majority rule and organisations such as the ANC enter the picture, a very different perspective emerges.

Consider the following findings, most of which show no meaningful alteration in pattern from the earlier surveys:

- The loyalty of black South Africans is highly suspect.
- The ANC retains much of its "total onslaught" image and continues to be intensely disliked and distrusted.
- The perception of a communist threat to South Africa remains.
- Support for black participation in Parliament remains only lukewarm, particularly among Afrikaners.
- The spread of ANC influence must be stopped.
- Black South Africans should not be encouraged to buy property in white suburbs.

Yet at the same time the survey found that the large majority of white South Africans believe that only negotiations can bring peace, and only equal rights can stop the violence and unrest.

However, attitudes towards issues such as mixed schools appear to have softened considerably, with the vast majority of whites now ready to accept the concept of a single education system.

These contradictions are not that difficult to reconcile. White South Africans want peace and stability and they clearly believe that only a negotiated political settlement can make this possible — but only as long as such a settlement has as little as possible to do with the ANC and even less to do with the SA Communist Party.

An interesting — but disturbing — finding was that while most white South Africans believe that a negotiated settlement was a precondition for peace and stability, they did not necessarily believe that a settlement would deliver the goods. It is disturbing because it implies that white South Africans have little real confidence that the constitutional negotiations will stop the violence. If such a belief persists, it could undermine what little support they have for continuing the process.

BUT it is the white view of the ANC and SACP which remains the most disturbing. Given that between them the ANC and SACP command massive support, the alarm bells should be ringing quite loudly. White South Africans are clearly trapped in a "controlled reform" mode (as opposed to "real change") and expect political change to leave them as unaffected as possible. As long as these attitudes prevail, the constitutional negotiation process faces a very rough road.

While wanting peace and stability and conceding that the only viable path towards such objectives is a political settlement, white South Africans seem unwilling to allow a "level political playing field".

A massive 72 percent of those who responded to the survey said something had to be done to stop the spread of ANC influence. This lack of a democractic culture (which amounts to "let us decide who black South Africans should vote for") implies that democracy still faces many obstacles here.

Added to this is the finding that white South Africans retain a deep distrust of their black countrymen and question their loyalty. And, according to the survey, this level of distrust has increased since the 1990 unbanning of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress, SACP and other mainly black political organisations.

It is quite clear from this response that white South Africans have a very distinct idea of what constitutes "South Africa" — it is white-ruled, free-market-oriented and Eurocentric. Any challenge to those ideas is regarded as disloyalty to the country as a whole.

Again the indications are that the mind-set of white South Africans is such that it is not even able to comprehend that South Africa is an African, not European, country, that the majority of its population is black and that the vast majority of those who live in Greater South Africa (including the bantustans) have derived little or no benefit from the free-enterprise system.

This contention is supported by the findings regarding "friendly" and "hostile" world leaders and nations. United States presidents Reagan and Bush and British prime ministers Thatcher and Major have constantly emerged as white South Africa's most popular leaders and countries. The Soviet Union, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and President Mugabe,

STAR 5/9/92

(504A)

TOO many of the questions contained double/triple negatives ("no I do not support the statement that the SADF should not be deployed in the townships"), but as surveys go, the SAIIA series has tended to be one of the best and most reliable around.

On the subject of political party preferences it was a pity that the SAIIA survey did not attempt to canvass the extent of white support for the ANC, SACP and others. Such data would have been invaluable.

- "What Do We Think? — A survey of white opinion on foreign policy issues, No 6", analysed by Anthoni van Nieuwkerk and Andre du Pisani, SA Institute of International Affairs, Johannesburg, 1992.

- *The author is a political analyst at Kaplan and Stewart Inc Stockbrokers and is completing a PhD in political studies at the University of Leicester in England.*

STAR 5/4/92

(304A)

A saviour for Europe

WHITE South Africans are a long way from accepting the implications of a transition to full democracy and have retained a 'total onslaught' view of the ANC. These are among the major findings of the latest biennial survey of white South African attitudes ~~conducted by the South~~ African Institute of International Affairs. GARY VAN STADEN reports.

THE LATEST SAIIA survey into white attitudes — conducted regularly since 1982 — highlights the fears and insecurities of a society in transition where "old fears have been reinforced and new ones created".

The survey findings — if an accurate reflection of white South African thinking — hold disturbing implications for the negotiation process and indicate that the behaviour of rugby fans at the recent international at Ellis Park was merely the symptom of an alienation which runs far deeper.

A careful examination of the latest data leaves the reader with a strong impression that white South Africans want political reform on their own terms and are waiting for President de Klerk to pull something out of the hat which will "save" them from majority rule. This is particularly true of Afrikaans-speaking whites who, the data shows, opposed (and still oppose) direct negotiations with the ANC.

The March referendum results may seem to contradict that finding, but only at first glance. The referendum sought the support of white South Africans for continued negotiations in a very broad sense — and the survey indicates a similar willingness to find a peaceful

Namibia and President Nujoma (included in the 1992 survey only) have consistently emerged as the least popular. It would not be very far off the mark to assume that black opinion may totally reverse that order.

WHAT we clearly have is two "South Africas", depending on whether one is black or white — and that too does not bode well for the future, particularly since both "South Africas" cannot continue to exist side by side.

White South Africa's deep mistrust of countries such as Mozambique and its belief that "hostile" black-ruled states should be denied food exports do not exactly dovetail with ANC and other mainly black political organisations' views of regional integration and development.

President Mugabe has over the years become less of a "demon" to white South Africans, but many still believe he constitutes a threat to "South Africa" — the question is, which South Africa?

Adding to white South Africa's anxiety over the political transition is the fact that the survey found less confidence in the ability of the SADF and police to contain violence and unrest. The 1992 survey recorded the lowest figure yet (64 percent) for those who still believed the security establishment could keep the lid on the political situation indefinitely.

On a general level the survey findings paint a fairly grim picture of a white South Africa struggling to come to terms with the political sea-change which began in February 1990. It is clear that the ANC and other organisations will have to contribute to helping them acquire a more positive mind-set. It will not go away by itself, and as long as it remains, the transition process will be in some danger.

Lever just waiting to be pulled

Star 5/9/92

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

(304A)

THE national security adviser to George Bush has outlined plans to intervene decisively to shore up and nurture fledgling democracy in SA. But it is up to SA to make it happen.

IMAGINE if our poor bruised and exhausted country woke up suddenly one morning, looked out of the window and saw this sight. Houses, lots and lots of them, being built for the homeless. Health care being provided to the sick who before just had to die slowly. Massive resources pouring into education for barely educated children. Training on offer for the barely trained or wholly untrained.

Imagine if on that bright morning bigwigs from the World Bank were walking around busily, calculating the amounts they were about to release to help us dig ourselves out of our deep trough of deprivation.

If a top-level trade and investment mission from rich countries like the United States and its allies had just landed at Jan Smuts; if the doors of the International Monetary Fund had swung open to us again; if investors were queueing up to be part of the unexpected miracle that was the new South Africa — the country that defied all the dictates of irrational human history and sorted itself out, a prototype for a new world order that worked.

In fact, we should not be imagining such unlikely delights. We should be demanding their delivery.

The measures described above are not the bathtub musings of an incurable South African optimist. They are considered promises from someone much, much more important: Admiral Brent Scowcroft, national security adviser to George Bush. In a letter from the White House so positive and optimistic that it would bring a relieved tear to the eye of the most depressed South African, Scowcroft has written to Congressman Howard Wolpe setting out the US's plans to intervene decisively to shore up and nurture fledgling democracy in South Africa.

Listen to him: "We remain hopeful that the current cycle of violence and the negotiating impasse can be overcome. We are convinced that the establishment of a nonracial interim government will occur. When it does, it will be a watershed event, and we must be prepared to move rapidly. This will call for new steps by the US and our allies.

"A commitment by the international community to assist a democratic South Africa would be a strong incentive to achieve the sustainable economic growth it needs to meet black expectations."

Scowcroft then goes on to detail multimillion-dollar projects and initiatives "under way or under consideration" and ends off with a ringing declaration of faith in the future of our far-off country. This is not, to say the least, the dominant approach in current state-of-the-nation dinner-table conversations around South Africa circa September 1992.

What's the catch? There is one, of course, but it's of our own making. Throughout his letter, Scowcroft makes it abundantly clear that none of the revitalising goodies the US has in mind for us will be delivered unless one thing happens — the installation of an interim government.

He is sitting in his office in the White House with his hand on a big lever — but he will not pull it until we have done the blindingly obvious, and got our political act together to the limited extent of having in place a transitional structure representative of all South Africans, not just some of specific colours.

One of the most disheartening aspects of our faltering transition is that South Africans are still locked in the world of short-term victories and defeats, wholly unable to look beyond the particular fight of the day.

Whites in particular — and this is demonstrated unanswerably by Gary van Staden's research published in this newspaper today — see interim government as a threat to be staved off, the beginning of the end.

In fact, interim government is the only rational way forward, and it is a *sine qua non* for progress. The inexorable logic of the reform process is that black South Africans must be empowered; interim government is the essential first step.

We are stopping Brent Scowcroft and others like him from pulling their aid levers because we have failed to pressure our politicians into overriding their selfish concerns and doing what needs to be done, now.

Only a fool or a romantic would suggest that international help, like manna from heaven, will sort out for us the mess we have spent centuries making. And, as far as whites are concerned, only the most wilfully credulous will believe Pik Botha when he hints that change can mean staying the same ("I am not saying the NP can win, we will win").

Change is going to be painful for pampered whites, but the Scowcroft letter shows it can bring practical — let alone moral — benefits if we work with it rather than against it. We need all the foreign goodwill we can get, and we need it desperately.

In the course of this week, like so many other weeks in our recent past, the politicians have been dancing around each other but refusing to touch in public. The lesser-known truth is that, Codesa or no Codesa, negotiations are proceeding at a very encouraging pace. I just hope Admiral Scowcroft's attention-span will outlast our public pettifoggery.

(304A) ARG 5/9/92

Sharing the load of government

Federalism is essentially about the constitutionally entrenched division of powers and functions between central government and the regions. It requires a written, detailed constitution which specifies the distribution of powers and functions. Within a federal system each region becomes a political arena in its own right and so can become a significant power-base for politicians and parties. An analysis by Professor DAVID WELSH, Democractic Party delegate to Codesa.

WHETHER South Africa should have a federal or unitary government is currently the subject of debate. A crucial feature in making this decision is to establish whether South Africa lends itself to federalism.

The fact that racial or ethnic groups are not geographically concentrated may cast doubt on South Africa's claims to be regarded as a "federal society". South Africa's geographical scale, however, may provide a different reason for considering federalism as appropriate.

For 30 years federalism has been the policy of the Democratic Party and its predecessors, having been adopted by the Progressive Party in August 1962. More recently, other political organisations have come out in support of federalism or regionalism while others, notably the ANC, have strongly opposed proposals aimed at limiting the powers of central government.

We therefore need to ask what degree of consensus is necessary before a constitution-making body opts for either a federal or unitary state.

South Africa enjoys no broad-based agreement that a federation is desirable and there is no real mobilisation on a federal basis for a federal state.

However, Codesa reached substantial consensus on the need for effective regional government and all parties accepted that the development regions demarcated by the Development Bank of South Africa should be the basis of future regional boundaries. Differences concern the extent to which power should be decentralised to regional governments.

Federal and unitary forms of government are not necessarily polar opposites but should be seen as a continuum. Federations vary considerably in the extent to which they are centralised, although in developing countries federations tend to cluster around the centralist end of the continuum.

If we see political culture as a key variable in this debate, it is crucial to note that, within the context of South Africa's constitutional debate, a democratic political culture hardly seems to exist. In this regard, South Africa's long history of authoritarian control by a minority and, for the past 44 years, by a single party, has created a political culture in which winners believe they are entitled to take all.

If maximum control by a single party over the central government and most or all of the regions is considered harmful to the development of a stable democracy in South Africa then, by definition, whether the system is formally unitary or federal is, largely, irrelevant. The wider diffusion of power would have to be sought by other means, such as through coalition governments.

It is important that the constitution reduce the stakes of political battles. Strong and effective regional governments could be one way of achieving this. But to be strong and effective they will have to possess significant powers. There is no inherent reason why regional governments should not control, or share co-ordinately with the central government, the Democratic Party's suggested list of regional powers — health, local government, licensing, town planning, local taxation, nature conservation, domestic tourism, roads, education, police, prisons and land settlement.

It goes without saying that a justiciable bill of rights would serve as a watchdog on the activities of all levels of government. It would also be perfectly feasible for regional governments and the central government together to agree on a set of nationally-binding guidelines that would be required to underpin regional policy-making and administration.

Bringing government closer to the people is an aim widely shared among political organisations in South Africa.

Officials drawn from regional and local communities and responsible to them are likely to be more responsive and sensitive to their needs, and aware of local peculiarities. How laws are implemented is often nearly as important as which legislative body enacted them.

A major problem with any proposals for regional government in South Africa is the huge disparity of wealth and resources among the potential regions, however the boundaries are drawn.

Regional disparities are a common source of discord in federal systems; poorer regions feel cheated and richer regions resent being regarded as milch cows for the poorer ones.

There is, however, no conclusive evidence to suggest that federalism as such makes the problem of reducing the disparities more difficult; nor, indeed, that regional disparities are less serious in unitary systems than they are in federal systems. Morever, there is no conclusive evidence to suggest that economic growth is curbed by governmental decentralisation. It may even stimulate growth.

We have no way of knowing what the future holds for South Africa; whether current majorities and minorities will become largely entrenched with fatal results for the integrity of a democratic system. Strong and effective regional government may go part of the way towards reducing the potential dangers which face us. Minority parties which lose out at the centre may enjoy significant representation at regional level. Strong regions may place limitations on the potential tyranny of a party determined to gain total control.

Although federalism has sometimes sheltered unjust regional governments, it has more often served as a bulwark against hegemony.

D F Malan 'will be renamed'

ARG 5/9/92

JOHN YELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

FORMER National Party prime minister Dr D F Malan was leader of a "neo-nazi regime" and Cape Town's airport will be renamed when an ANC government comes to power, veteran ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala told cheering University of Cape Town students.

The fiery leader of the ANC's Natal Midlands branch and senior member of the ANC's national executive received a rapturous welcome and two standing ovations from several hundred students yesterday.

He had been invited by the South African Students Congress (Sasco) to talk on mass action.

In a tough yet humorous speech, Mr Gwala took swipes at the Pan Africanist Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and IFP leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the National Party government, Codesa, the Press, capitalism and big business in South Africa, the United Nations and the European Community.

Describing Jan van Riebeeck as "a rogue and a thief", Mr Gwala said: "He was no hero. Comrades, we are going to make a real history, a people's history."

Referring to Dr Buthelezi, he said: "No one has a democratic right to practise tribalism — that is not democracy."

Political power was not transferred, and there was no room for the "chicken-hearted", he argued.

"It (political power) is won, it is fought for," he said to loud applause. "Those who fear to fight must go to church and pray for their sins."

The ANC wanted to establish a new, equitable society, Mr Gwala said.

"Let us not look at people in terms of colour but in terms of merit and what they can do."

Asked about violence in Natal and Inkatha's role, he replied: "There's no violence in Natal — there's a war of liberation."

Jaap: Nats won't get HNP votes

ARG 8/9/92

Political Staff (304A)

THE Herstigte Nasionale Party would fight the National Party at the ballot box should a one-person-one-vote election take place, HNP leader Jaap Marais has vowed.

Voting for the NP at such an election to fight the ANC would be like voting for the ANC as there was no difference between the two, he said.

Opening the HNP's 23d congress in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Marais reiterated that the HNP would not take part in the government's "federalism" conference on Monday.

"If we don't talk to the ANC, why should we talk to the NP? There are just as many communists in the NP as in the ANC."

Interim rule will attract some 'goodies'

(304R)

ARGT 5/9/92

PERSPECTIVES

Things could be so much better in South Africa — if only we could get our act together. There's a lever in the White House, waiting to be pulled, writes political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON**

IMAGINE if our poor bruised and exhausted country awakened, looked out of the window and saw this:

Houses, lots and lots of them, being built for the homeless ... health-care for the sick who previously died slowly ... massive resources pouring into education for children ... training for the barely trained or wholly untrained ...

Imagine if on that bright morning big-wigs from the World Bank were walking around, calculating the amounts they were about to release to help us dig ourselves out of our deep trough of deprivation.

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Listen to him: "We remain hopeful that the current cycle of violence and the negotiating impasse can be overcome. We are convinced that the establishment of a nonracial interim government will occur.

"When it does, it will be a watershed event and we must be prepared to move rapidly. This will call for new steps by the US and our allies. A commitment by the international community to assist a democratic South Africa would be a strong incentive to achieve the sustainable economic growth it needs to meet black expectations."

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One of the most disheartening aspects of our faltering transition is that South Africans are still locked in the world of short-term victories and defeats, unable to look beyond the fight of the day. Whites in particular see interim government as a threat to be staved off, the beginning of the end.

In fact interim government is the only rational way forward, and it is a *sine qua non* for progress.

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What whites fe

JOHANNESBURG — The latest SAIIA survey into white attitudes highlights the insecurities of a society in transition where "old fears have been reinforced and new ones created".

The survey findings, if an accurate reflection of white attitudes, have chilling implications for the negotiation process and indicate that the behaviour of rugby fans at the recent test at Ellis Park was merely a symptom of an attitude which runs deeper.

A careful examination of the latest data leaves the reader with a strong impression that whites are willing to accept some form of reform on their own terms and are waiting for President De Klerk to pull something out of his hat which will satisfy them from a majority rule. This is particularly true among English-speaking whites who, the data shows, oppose negotiations with the African National Congress.

The March referendum results are a case in point. The referendum sought the support of whites for the kind of reform process which De Klerk is now ready to accept the concept of a single unitary state with a strong central government.

Consider the following findings, most of which show no meaningful alteration in pattern from earlier surveys:

■ The loyalty of black South Africans is to reconcile.

These contradictions are not that difficult

White South Africans want peace and stability, but are willing to support a guided political settlement can make this possible — but only as long as such a settlement has as little as possible to do with the ANC and as little as possible to do with the Nat Party.

■ The perception of a communist threat to South Africa is still very widespread.

■ Support for black participation in parliament remains only luke warm, particularly among Afrikaners.

■ Support for the ANC remains strong among Afrikaners.

■ Support for black participation in parliament and the ANC is not based on a belief that whites must share power with black South Africans because they believe it is morally right. It is disturbing because it implies that the constitutional negotiations will stop while South Africans have little confidence that the negotiations can produce a democracy that can stop the violence and unrest.

An interesting, but disturbing, finding was that whites must be persuaded to the addition for peace and stability, they did not necessarily believe a settlement would deliver peace and stability.

Added to this, the survey showed that black South Africans have little confidence that the negotiations will produce a democracy that can stop the violence and unrest.

Seventy-e "let us de" continuing the process.

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What whites fear most

(304A) ARG 5/9/92

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JOHANNESBURG. — The latest SAIIA survey into white attitudes highlights the insecurities of a society in transition where "old fears have been reinforced and new ones created".

The survey findings, if an accurate reflection of white South African thinking, hold disturbing implications for the negotiation process and indicate that the behaviour of rugby fans at the recent test at Ellis Park was merely the symptom of an alienation which runs deeper.

A careful examination of the latest data leaves the reader with a strong impression that white South Africans want political reform on their own terms and are waiting for President De Klerk to pull something out of the hat which will "save" them from majority rule. This is particularly true of Afrikaans-speaking whites who, the data shows, oppose negotiations with the African National Congress.

The March referendum results may seem to contradict that finding, but only at first glance. The referendum sought the support of white South Africans for continued negotiations in a very broad sense — and the survey indicates a similar willingness to find a peaceful solution.

However, once concepts like majority rule and organisations like the ANC enter the picture, a different perspective emerges.

Consider the following findings, most of which show no meaningful alteration in pattern from earlier surveys:

■ The loyalty of black South Africans is highly suspect;

■ The ANC retains much of its "total onslaught" image and continues to be intensely disliked and distrusted;

■ The perception of a communist threat to South Africa remains;

■ Support for black participation in parliament remains only luke warm, particularly among Afrikaners;

■ The spread of ANC influence must be stopped; and

■ Black South Africans should not be encouraged to buy property in white suburbs.

Yet, the survey found that the large majority of white South Africans believe only negotiations can bring peace and only equal rights can stop the violence and unrest.

However, attitudes towards issues like mixed schools appear to have softened considerably with the vast majority of whites now ready to accept the concept of a single education system.

These contradictions are not that difficult to reconcile.

White South Africans want peace and stability and they clearly believe that only a negotiated political settlement can make this possible — but, only as long as such a settlement has as little as possible to do with the ANC and even less to do with the SA Communist Party.

An interesting, but disturbing, finding was that, while most white South Africans believed a negotiated settlement was a precondition for peace and stability, they did not necessarily believe a settlement would deliver the goods.

It is disturbing because it implies that white South Africans have little confidence that the constitutional negotiations will stop the violence. If such a belief persists, it could undermine what little support they have for continuing the process.

White South Africans are trapped in a "controlled reform" mode (as opposed to "real change") and expect political change to leave them as unaffected as possible. As long as these attitudes prevail, the negotiation process faces a rough road.

While wanting peace and stability and conceding that the only viable path towards such objectives is a political settlement, white South Africans seem unwilling to allow a "level political playing field".

Seventy-two percent of those who responded to the survey said something had to be done to stop the ANC's influence. This lack of a democractic culture, which amounted to "let us decide who black South Africans should vote for", implied that democracy still faced many obstacles in South Africa.

Added to this is the finding that white South Africans retain a deep distrust of their black countrymen and question their loyalty. And, according to the survey, this level of distrust has increased since the 1990 unbanning of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress, SACP and other mainly black political organisations.

It is clear from this response that white South Africans have a distinct idea of what constitutes "South Africa" — it is white-ruled, freemarket-oriented and Eurocentric. Any challenge to those ideas is regarded as disloyalty to the country.

Again, the indications are that the mind-set of white South Africans is such that it is not even able to comprehend that South Africa is an African, not European, country, that the majority of its population is black and that the vast majority of those who live in greater South Africa (including the "homelands") have derived little or no benefit from free enterprise.

This contention is supported by the findings regarding "friendly" and "hostile" world leaders and nations.

United States presidents Reagan and Bush, and British prime ministers Thatcher and Major have constantly emerged as white South Africa's most popular leaders. The Soviet Union and Mozambique, Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe and Namibia's President Sam Nujoma have emerged as the least popular.

It would not be far off the mark to assume that black opinion would reverse that order.

What we clearly have is two "South Africans", depending on whether one is black or white — and, that does not bode well for the future, particularly since both "South Africans" cannot continue to exist side by side.

Woman boss for UN's team in SA

304A

ARG 5/9/92

MIKE LITTLEJOHN
Weekend Argus Correspondent

NEW YORK. A Jamaican senior official of the UN Secretariat will head the world body's observer operation in South Africa and serve as Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's principal representative.

The official is Ms Angela King, who is serving as director of the staff administration and training division in the Office of Human Resources Management at UN headquarters in New York.

Ms King is due to arrive in Johannesburg towards the end of September.

However, an advance party of a dozen UN observers is expected to arrive in South Africa next Wednesday or Thursday under the leadership of Mr Ismat Steiner, a Tanzanian, who will serve as Ms King's deputy.

Mr Steiner saw UN service in Namibia.

The secretary-general's first choice for the post in South Africa was Mr Ferdinand Mayhrofer-Grunbuhel of Austria, who is of the same rank as Ms King, but his duties at the UN office in Vienna were said to be too important to permit his release.

Ms King will head an observer mission of at least 50, the bulk of whom are expected to be in place by the end of the month.

If Ms King recommends that this number is too few to do a proper job, Mr Boutros-Ghali is empowered to expand the operation.

The advance team will be deployed in Johannesburg and Durban.

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ANC: Meyer speaks out

(304A) CT 8S/9/92

PRETORIA. — The ANC in refusing to return to full negotiations had not accurately reflected the progress made in talks between the ANC and the government, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Mr Meyer said the ANC's national executive committee had disregarded the progress made with ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on the release of so-called political prisoners, the continuation of violence, the carrying of dangerous weapons, and the hostel question.

"During our discussions it was admitted that the government has taken far-reaching steps with regard to violence-related issues," Mr Meyer said.

On constitutional issues the government and the ANC had committed themselves to constitutional continuity, he added.

Mr Meyer said the issue of political prisoners was also constructively addressed with emphasis on the resolution of the position of disputed prisoners.

"The ANC's unwillingness also to address the principle of amnesty is actually the problem."

The NP on Thursday night expressed its disappointment at the ANC's decision not to return to the negotiation table, blaming the move on hardliners.

The DP, commenting on the ANC's decision against a resumption of the negotiation process, said all was not lost.

The ANC's refusal to resume negotiations, has been welcomed by Azapo — which also urged the congress to cut informal links with the government. — Sapa

Federalism talks may be in secret

CT 5/9/92 Political Correspondent (204A)

MOST of Monday's federalism summit, which the government has called "to stimulate open debate" on regionalism, could take place behind closed doors.

President F.W. de Klerk's opening address to the conference at the Presidensie in Pretoria on Monday afternoon will be open to the media.

However, the SA Communication Service said yesterday the delegates themselves would decide on the day of the conference whether or not they wished proceedings to be open to the media.

Earlier this week, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Tertius Delport, said the "only aim" of the conference was to subject the standpoints of the NP and other parties advocating federalism to public evaluation.

He said this would prove "once and for all the ridiculousness of the assertion that federalism is an instrument of clinging to power".

The government's chief negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said he expected Monday's conference to take the form of an "introductory discussion".

Codesa in deadlock but . . .

(304A)

ARG 5/9/92

Good progress behind scenes

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ALTHOUGH formal talks are still deadlocked after a week of dramatic political developments, negotiations aimed at agreement on interim government are moving ahead rapidly at a less public level.

It emerged this week — after a crucial ANC executive meeting, a National Party congress, and the visit of a troika of European Community foreign ministers — that hard bargaining between the major players is accelerating even though Codesa's meeting rooms remain empty.

The ANC and the government have vacated the negotiating table, but this week put forward important new negotiating positions. While refusing to return to full-fledged talks, the ANC NEC released a "Transition to Democracy" document which sets out possible steps for getting the transition moving again.

And the government, which has expressed optimism throughout the week about an imminent "breakthrough" in the stalled reform process, has provisionally agreed to certain elements of a constituent assembly. President De Klerk said his negotiating strategists had "not been idle" since the breakdown of Codesa 2.

Speaking in Bloemfontein this week Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the further delay in the resumption of multiparty negotiations was not necessarily all bad.

"Maybe it provides us on both sides with an opportunity to strengthen the (negotiation) process, to make sure that once we get back to the table, things will stick," he said.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zac de Beer said the ANC's NEC statement of Thursday seemed more encouraging than discouraging and indicated that the government and ANC had gone some way towards agreement on a constituent assembly. The fact that Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa were still talking meant that negotiations were continuing.

The ANC has injected new life into the peace process with draft "legislation" to lead the country from the present system to a democratic South Africa. The draft document, to be discussed by the ANC and its allies, the SACP and Cosatu, provides for:

- The abolition of the tricameral parliament, the distinction between own and general affairs, the presidency and the President's Council.
- The participation of homeland citizens in transitional arrangements.
- A single chamber parliament comprising 400 representatives elected on the basis of one-man, one-vote elections.
- Parliament to act as a constitution-making body and a legislature.
- A constituent assembly adopting the constitution by a two-thirds majority.

Dr De Beer said the ANC's draft Bill for the transition was "certainly a basis for discussion and might help us to make progress".

While supporting certain elements in the draft document, Democratic Party MP for Houghton Tony Leon said: "Weighed in balance, the ANC proposals on a constitution-making process will give comfort to those within its ranks who support the militant tendency and who argue that power is to be attained as quickly as possible rather than as a result of deliberative agreement and consensus reaching."

Speaking at the National Party's Free State congress this week, President De Klerk said his party and the government have been meeting other Codesa participants, as well as the Pan Africanist Congress.

And crucially, after its marathon three-day meeting, the ANC national executive committee reaffirmed the organisation's commitment to a negotiated settlement.

European foreign ministers, led by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, on a two-day visit to South Africa re-stated their support for the negotiations process.

Mr Meyer said the government and ANC came close on Wednesday — the final day of the NEC meeting — to an agreement which would restart negotiations but he and Mr Ramaphosa had run out of time before the end of the NEC meeting to seal a deal which would re-start multilateral talks.

Some observers say the Codesa breakdown has had the ironic effect of "streamlining" negotiations at a crucial point — when breakthroughs are needed in order to move into the phase of practical implementation of transitional arrangements. They say Codesa was too unwieldy and bloated to push through macro-negotiating issues and got bogged down because of the structure which gave all participants equal power irrespective of the size of their constituencies.

De Beer looks on the bright side

CARINA LE GRANGE
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ALTHOUGH refusal of the ANC to return to the negotiation table sparked some criticism, the Democratic Party was optimistic.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer welcomed the NEC decision that ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa would continue to talk to Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

Dr De Beer said it was important that such talks continued. He added that he hoped that the National Party would respond positively and constructively to the ANC.

But the NP condemned the fact that the ANC had "once again" allowed hardliners to stand in the way of immediate resumption of talks.

ANC proposes a freedom blueprint

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE ANC national executive committee has adopted a legal and constitutional framework — the Transition to Democracy Act, 1992 — to lead the country to a democratic country.

The draft document also deals with "guaranteed rights and freedoms for free political activity" which go some way in addressing the government's insistence on a Bill of rights in an interim constitution.

It calls for the abolition of the tricameral parliament, the distinction between own and general affairs and the presidency and the president's council.

Federalism to be aired next week

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk's summit on federalism on Monday is aimed at proving that federalism is not an instrument for clinging to power, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister, Mr Tertius Delport has told National Party's Free State congress.

Mr Delport emphasised that the purpose of the meeting was to open the debate on federalism and "not to take part in the opportunistic formation of groups".

Democracy for South Africa in three years?

South 5/9-9/9/92 (304A)

TRANSITIONS usually go through three stages — liberalisation, democratisation and socialisation, according to the Old Mutual/Nedcor scenario.

Liberalisation involves unbanning organisations, releasing political prisoners and allowing competition for political support.

Democratisation is the development of democratic processes, institutions and structures, including a new constitution.

Socialisation is a delicate stage, involving the development of a political culture necessary to support democratic structures.

Working in 1990, the team predicted liberalisation would last until late 1994 or early 1995, when the next general elections are due.

Despite the expectations of transition before then, it seems 1995 is indeed the government's target date now.

The team said transition should be underpinned by agreement between the main parties, the ANC and the National Party. This implies a takeover of power, especially revolutionary, is not on the agenda, nor is the maintenance of power by the present government.

They took 1995 as the turning point between the period of transition and the establishment of a new order, called The New Habitat.

They distinguished High and Low political roads. The High road led to democracy, but ~~had two~~ possibilities:

- a democracy with no economic growth, like Peru, which could not generate economic growth or meet socio-economic needs;
- a democracy based on a high level of economic growth that could meet the socio-economic needs and aspirations of all South Africa.

The Low road led to either an authoritarian regime with no economic growth which cannot meet socio-economic needs; or an authoritarian regime that can meet some of socio-economic needs and aspirations.

This made the team realise much more had to be done during the period of transition than manage political issues. If the country was to have a chance of meeting a High road scenario, major social and, above all, economic change had to be made immediately.

'Screwy' Pik has got his sums all wrong

South 5/9 - 9/9/92 (304A)

By Quentin Wilson

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha has come in for criticism over remarks he made during a National Party congress in Bloemfontein on Tuesday.

Botha claimed the NP would win a democratic election.

Professor Tom Lodge, of the Wits University politics department, described the remarks as "screwy" and "remarkably silly".

Botha predicted that if proper elections were held in about a year's time, the NP could become the majority party if it were to gain another million supporters.

Botha boasted that the NP could already rely on the support of three million whites, 1,5 million Coloureds and 500 000 Indians. Part of Botha's equation was the one million votes he expected Inkatha to net.

This would give the NP a haul of seven million ballots which would, in the event of his predicted 70 percent poll, secure the NP's place as the dominant political party in South Africa.

But there are gaping errors and wrong assumptions in his analysis, according to political observers and players.

Lodge said: "His maths is all screwy. He is expecting an incredibly high poll among whites and an incredibly low poll for blacks. In the past, no more than 80 percent of white voters cast their vote and when they do they never all vote for the NP.

"He ignores the possibility that other white parties might contest a future democratic election and it is also racist to assume tht the ANC will pick up all the black votes.

"Even though the NP are relying on Inkatha to do their job, it is highly unlikely that the IFP will be able to bully and coax more than half a million black voters into their camp.

"They can certainly curb their expectations in the Coloured community as well. While the Labour Party seems more and more inclined to throw their lot in with the ANC to remain on the gravy train, so will many Coloured voters.

Lodge predicted the best possible NP case scenario would involve the votes of two and a half million whites; one million Coloureds; a generous 500 000 Indians and Inkatha's projected haul of 500 000 blacks.

"My guess is that if the NP are very lucky, they could possibly end up with five million votes, which gives them about a third of the total. I think this would be good because I believe in political systems where there is a strong opposition party — I think it will be good for Pik Botha and the whole country if he led an opposition party for a while," he added.

Mr David Gant, chairperson of the DP national executive, was also quick to burst Botha's bubble.

Gant said that NP talk of an "election victory" confirmed the DP's belief that the NP was incapable of leading SA to a peaceful multi-party democracy."

He argued the NP would do well to obtain 30 percent of the total vote.

"The inference that the IFP and the NP will form some sort of alliance to win a majority in the forthcoming election confirms that the NP is leading this country into a dangerous state of political bipolarisation.

"The powerbloc forming mode of the NP strengthens the DP's belief that the NP's forthcoming conference on federalism is a rally of anti-ANC parties and justifies our position to attend the conference as independent observers only," he said.

The ANC were also not particularly impressed with Botha's comments.

Mr Carl Niehaus, ANC spokesperson, said: "We think his analysis reflects a deep-seated racism that has been the hallmark of NP politicians. They are just adding to the climate of misinformation when they lump all whites, Coloureds and Indians together and assume that everybody in these population groups is in the NP camp. His calculations are grossly inaccurate — as a democratic election will show."

Mr Willie Mostert, who does demography research for the Human Sciences Research Council, said there are roughly 22 million people over the age of 18 in South Africa, including the TBVC states.

Of these potential voters, Mostert estimated that there were about 15 million blacks, four to 4,5 million whites, 1,7 million Coloureds and 700 000 Indians.

NP recruitment drive — in farm lorries

(304A)

South 5/9 - 9/9/92

By Justin Pearce

FARMERS and National Party officials transported De Doorns farmworkers to an NP meeting last week in a bid to recruit "coloured" NP members in the area.

The workers were brought to the Hex River Hotel, some of them in farm lorries. At the hotel they were given refreshments and encouraged to vote for or join the NP.

"Some people didn't understand what was going on and went along, but those who knew what was happening didn't take part," said De Doorns resident Mr Samuel Malotana.

Local NP organiser Mr Charl Palm said the meeting was primarily to recruit new members.

"We made sure that people were invited individually, and in writing. We used the facilities at the hotel and hosted the people to the best of our ability."

Palm said that while the NP had provided transport for some of the workers, certain farmers had also helped out by making their farm vehicles available.

He reported that 1 124 people attended the function, of whom 716 joined the NP.

"The meeting was aimed at the coloured community because we have been recruiting whites for years but people of all races came along.

"It is a very valuable thing to me that people can reach out to one another in this way."

While Palm emphasised that nobody was forced to come to the meeting, Malotana claimed that "where I live, the farmer was angry because we didn't want to go".

Mr Anele Nyembe, a member of the De Doorns Residents' Committee, also claimed certain farmers had "forced" their employees to join the NP.

"One of them said to his workers 'you are coming with me to the hotel' and they didn't know what was going on."

ANC and AWB youth meet in seminar

Youth leaders may conclude one day that the deep divisions on the political front might have been unnecessary, judging by the high degree of consensus at a National Youth Conference on Peace and Reconstruction over the weekend. A SOUTH correspondent reports.

South 5/9 – 9/9/92

THE polarisation of people in South Africa did not take long to manifest itself at a two-day seminar organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and attended by 13 different political groups from South Africa, including the homelands.

Yet the conference was important for several reasons. It brought together not only the youth of the Codesa-partners, but also two rightwing groups: the AWB Youth and the recently-formed Afrikaner Jeugfront (AJF), the youth of the group which broke from the Conservative Party.

This unprecedented broad spectrum of political groupings encouraged further discussion, be it bi-lateral or in similar and even wider forums.

The youth representatives almost unanimously endorsed a call for the resumption of talks and/or the restructuring of Codesa in order to reach an early interim settlement leading to elections for a constituent assembly.

The AWB, though, made it clear from the start that they were mandated to state their views, not to discuss or negotiate their position.

Observers at the conference, including church and cultural organisations, saw their participation as a landmark and noted the significance of them hearing their views debated, while also hearing views different to their own.

The AFJ declared their willingness to keep talking about their aims for self determination and the formation of a Volkstaat.

Other participating parties were: the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), the NP Youth Action, the Inkatha Youth Brigade, the DP Youth, the Intando Yesizwe Party Youth League from KwaNdebele, the Labour Party Youth, the Dikwankwetla Youth League from Qwa-Qwa, the Inyandza Youth Congress of Kangwane, the Ximoko Progressive Party Youth from Gazankulu, the African Democratic Movement's Youth from the Ciskei and the United People's Front Youth League.

YOUNG IDEAS: Political armies are out, private ones are in

Four issues were discussed in commissions on Saturday: Democracy, Peace and Reconciliation, Economic Growth and Development and Education.

Although the democracy group, facilitated by Prof Willie Esterhuyse of Stellenbosch University, reached consensus on the processes leading up to a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly, a heated debate on federalism could not resolve deep divisions between major parties on this issue.

In the economics commission, led by Prof HW Vilakazi from the University of Zululand, substantial agreement emerged on many issues, specifically the need for redistribution of wealth, although debates on nationalisation, job creation and sanctions showed deep rifts between parties.

The education commission reached the biggest amount of consensus, although the right of teachers to strike was a point of contention.

The commission noted the "necessity for educational control on local levels", with entrenchment of regional identities of education, like language.

Outstanding features of the commission on Peace and Reconciliation were, in the delegates' words, the "willingness of all parties to display tolerance for the views of others while presenting, often vigorously, their perceptions of reality and political beliefs".

Agreement was reached on the causes of violence and the requirements for ending it. The ANCYL objected to clauses stipulating the urgent need for the disbandment of "private armies", preferring to call them "political armies", which includes the SADF.

The movement's youth, backed by other groups, dissented from the view that there was a "revolutionary atmosphere" in the country.

At the end a strong signal was sent to political leaders to resume talks as soon as possible.

In the last session it became evident the youth could not escape the rifts already carved on the political arena by their seniors and history. Powerplay and blockforming came to the fore as NP and ANC rallied their allies to support them. The DP remained non-aligned.

But Simon Ntombela of Idasa's Durban office stated at the end that the fact that such a broad spectrum of people could agree to disagree, made the conference a success, while other observers noted many representatives seemed to break through the "smokescreen of ideological language to address real issues".

Some ANCYL delegates even characterised their experience as a "spiritual liberation; breaking down barriers between 'us and them'".

Idasa focus on democracy

BOOK Towards Democracy: Building a Culture of Accountability in South Africa (304A)
EDITOR André du Toit
PUBLISHER Idasa
PRICE R26,00

South 5/9-9/9/92.

A CONFERENCE on "Responsible Democracy" was held in January 1990 in Cape Town by Idasa.

It involved plenary meetings, parallel sessions and group discussions in six areas — government and the public sector; the professions; press; business and labour; judiciary; and extra-parliamentary politics.

This book includes most of the papers delivered, an edited version of panel discussions and an analysis by André du Toit of the thorny issues involved in accountability.

Soon after the conference, President FW de Klerk made his February 2 announcements leading to the "new South Africa". In the light of this, says Du Toit, the timing of the conference meant it was overtaken by the new developments.

But events of the past two years have shown that the issues addressed in this book have grown in importance and will be crucial to democracy here. In essence, this book is a conceptual exploration of the concept "accountability".

AMANDA GOUWS

Six Labour men set to join the DP

(304A)

(Cape Metro)

S Times 6/9/92

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

SIX Labour Party members, including former Ministers Mr Chris April and Mr David Curry, are set to join the Democratic Party next week — bringing to eight the number of MPs who have resigned from the party within the past two weeks.

The MPs who are expected to defect to the DP are Mr Clifford Nasson, MP for Bokkeveld and the chairman of Labour's Boland region, Mr Errol Gordon, MP for Berg River, Mr Neville Padiachy, MP for Genadendal and Mr Barend Andrews, MP for Rawsonville.

A source close to the six confirmed yesterday that they had all gone to their constituencies "to get a final mandate" to join the DP.

So far only Mr Sam Louw, MP for Rust Ter Vaal, has joined the ANC but sources say there is a possibilty that a few more may follow him. The other resignation was Mr Peter Klink, MP for Liesbeeck, who says he will continue in Parliament as an idependant.

The latest resignations brought Labour a step closer to its inevitable disintegration and beleagured party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse now faces disappearing into the political wilderness.

Yesterday Mr April, the former Minister of Health and Welfare, told of his "trauma" in leaving "my dear friend" Rev Hendrikse but he said it had became clear that the LP "had lost all credibility" when it lost to the NP by a majority of 2 500 votes in the Diamant (Kimberley) by-election.

He joined the DP because of its "unblemished record of fighting for basic human rights and putting the plight of the voteless first".

"Nevertheless I salute Allan as a man of great courage who has done more than most to hasten the dismantling of apartheid," Mr April said.

Political parties meet tomorrow for a round table on a possible federal form of government for South Africa. The Democratic Party's TONY LEON will be an observer at the meeting

Federalism the gate to freedom for new SA

304A

S/Times 6/9/92

SUDDENLY, federalism, long suspected of lacking any political sex appeal, looms centre stage in the political debate. In the sort of macabre tribute which vice occasionally pays to virtue, the NP has organised tomorrow's indaba on the very topic that it so recently rubbished.

However, it is to be hoped that the concept of federalism does not suffer simply because it is embraced by politically incorrect sources.

The ANC's opposition to federalism is based on smoke and mirrors. It decries the concept in public yet basically accepted it, or the fundamental tenets of it, during the proceedings of Working Group 2 at Codesa. Its opposition is probably based on a shrewd calculation of power reality. It estimates that it might just win an election at national level, but most certainly will not capture control of every region in the proposed federal carve-up of South Africa.

Uncertain

The root idea underpinning federalism is that the citizen will be free even if the state is not. This means creating a government structure where checks and balances predominate. In the memorable words of Olive Schreiner, possibly the pioneer of federalism in South Africa: "The walls of each (federal) state are so many barricades, each one of which must be broken down before any oppressive domination can absolutely succeed; and behind any one of which a successful resistance may take place when others have fallen."

In other words, if the federal society can create and entrench countervailing sites of authority, then the danger of the omnipotent centre can be checked and curtailed.

The main argument against federalism is that it will represent some sort of glorified Bantustanisation of South Africa. It is specifically the fear that a federation could result in the reinforcement, rather than the reconciliation of, the existing racial divide which has led to its prima facie rejection by many major players in the liberation struggle.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In its recent study, which conclusively supported federalism, the South African Law Commission noted that, if the nine "development regions" are used as the demarcation for a federation in SA, then whites will not constitute an absolute majority in any region.

The boundaries of that demarcation, in fact, cut across homeland boundaries and create sufficiently small units to allow real federal powers to be exercised on a basis which is meaningful to each citizen. On the other hand, the same boundaries are sufficiently large to allow effective government to be exercised coherently.

Federalism represents the most likely compromise between a specific system of racial checks and balances on the one hand and the demand for majoritarian rule on the other. Equally, it addresses the uncertainty underlying the transference of absolute power from a minority to a majority which has caused hesitation and resistance to negotiating a new constitutional dispensation for SA.

The Democratic Party has championed a federal option for SA because we believe in maximising individual access to government and allowing greater participation by the electorate in decisions affecting their life choices. Federalism will also multiply the sites of political power and competition. This will prevent politics from becoming a win/lose, zero-sum game, by allowing "losers" at the central government level.

Other objections to federalism are based on concerns about economic inequalities between regions; or that abuses at one level of government will be repeated at other levels. Mechanisms for avoiding these pitfalls must be included in any federal resources to the regions.

The establishment of a constitutional court can adjudicate on the competing claims of regions or in regional disputes with central government.

An electoral system based on proportional representation will also serve to ensure the wishes of the electorate are most accurately reflected in the composition of the legislative bodies, and a Bill of Rights will protect the rights of citizens against infringement by the government or any ethnic or interest group.

Genuine

The only hope for SA is for new and transcending alliances to be created. Compartmentalising real and meaningful political power into effective units of government will, hopefully, create common interests based on new loyalties. This is the only viable alternative in preventing our political institution from being manipulated.

Those who reject the federal argument must offer a more viable set of proposals which will bring peace and unity to South Africa. I believe the most significant difference in the constitutional debate is the division between the expedient democrats, who support democracy only because a general election in a unitary South Africa will almost certainly bring them to power, and the genuine democrats who are committed to something more durable than that.

'Bugger up' ANC – Buthelezi

THE ANC had to be stopped in its tracks before the future was destroyed, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing the Inkatha Youth Brigade at Emandleni Matleng Camp in KwaZulu, Buthelezi warned the youth that unless they "bugger up the ANC, they are going to bugger up you and your future".

The ANC was totally committed to the seizure of power and the youth would have to take action for survival and democracy in the face of failing peace initiatives.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of trying to seize power clothed in the "superficial trappings of the ANC democratic cloth" and called on the Inkatha Youth to "politically annihilate" the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto weSizwe.

Authoritarian parties such as the ANC and SA Communist Party had a new brand of leadership which would "ride on the backs of the impoverished, screaming socialist slogans while they themselves live off the fat of the land".

The ANC was responsible for the campaign to isolate the country as well as for lost markets and lost employment. C/Press 6/9/92

Buthelezi also accused the ANC of "manipulating Codesa" in its efforts to seize power.

The ANC's mass-action campaign was aimed at intimidating the government sufficiently to make it a "conniving partner" to be used in the ANC's ascent to power.

"The ANC and its allies will go on to make SA ungovernable and to force the resignation of the State President by the end of the year."

Inkatha leaders were being killed almost every second day in an attempt to break the power of Inkatha as opposition.

"I now say: enough is enough. Let every member of the Youth Brigade hear me when I say that the ANC has to be stopped in its tracks before the future is destroyed," Buthelezi said.

Inkatha was the only party capable of halting the ANC.

The Inkatha youth had a vital role to play in action for survival and democracy by participating in self-protection units – Sapa

ANC kisses Codesa goodbye

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week gave the moribund Codesa its kiss of death.

As the ANC adopts a more hardline position, the organisation has virtually declared negotiations to be between itself (including the Cosatu/SACP alliance) and the government.

As a sop to the other parties, it is suggested that a multi-lateral forum be established. However, this forum must not be allowed to undermine agreements between the government and the ANC alliance.

This new position is contained in a document reproduced in the *SA Labour Bulletin*.

Some of the proposals are already being implemented. Tomorrow sees the opening shots in the attempt to oust Ciskei strongman, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Brig Gqozo, KwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope are the three main homeland leaders the alliance aims at unseating.

A boycott of PAYE (Pay-as-you-earn) tax is likely to be launched next month.

The ANC proposals also put paid to any hopes for the revival of a Patriotic Front which includes the PAC and Azapo. The document says the mass-action campaign exposed the "opportunism and ineffectiveness of a number of political formations (PAC, Azapo etc) whose main mission has been to compete with the ANC alliance rather than taking on the regime".

The document also proposes action against banking giant Standard and Anglo American Corporation, which are considered "major financial supporters" of the Bophuthatswana homeland.

More mass actions are also called for, leading to fears that the next three months could see serious social upheavals.

It is unlikely that Azapo and the PAC would form part of any multilateral forum whose brief is to rubber-stamp agreements between the ANC and the government.

Seven strikers wounded in hospital clash

By THEMBA KHUMALO

TENSIONS over a three-month healthworkers' strike peaked at Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg on Friday when security guards shot striking workers trying to enter the premises.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) officials claim the guards intended to kill the strikers, as none were shot in the legs.

Nehawu shopsteward Siphiwe Mabaso, who was one of seven workers wounded, said the trouble started when a delegation of 15 strikers tried to persuade the guards to open the hospital gates or call a senior hospital official to talk with them.

"We asked the guards to let us in, but they became arrogant and threatened to shoot us if we didn't go away." C/Press 6/9/92

About 600 striking workers had come to hear the outcome of a meeting between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Nehawu, Mabaso said.

After police manning the main hospital gate refused the delegation entry, the group went to another entrance, manned by hospital security guards.

Mabaso said the guards suddenly opened fire, wounding several workers in the head. Mabaso was shot in the head and shoulder.

"When I tried to get treatment at the hospital a white policeman chased me off the premises," said Mabaso.

Hillbrow hospital superintendent, Dr Norman Smith, refused to comment about the incident and referred City Press to TPA headquarters in Pretoria, where a spokesman was not available.

■ Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the TPA is to launch an investigation into the shooting at the hospital. TPA director general Andre Cornelissen said: "I urgently appeal to the relevant parties to remain calm. An attitude of confrontation would benefit nobody."

Police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer confirmed that a shooting involving a security guard and protesters had taken place at the hospital.

Maboa is Ventersdorp's Nat with a mission

By DAN DHLAMINI

AS you walk into his tiny office in the Afrikaner heartland of Ventersdorp, you are greeted by a small South African flag on his cabinet.

The flag which caused controversy when waved during the All Blacks/Springboks rugby game, is a symbol of honour in Frances Maboa's office.

Maboa, a school inspector who hails from Soweto, is a proud card-carrying member of the NP and his office is situated in the centre of AWB territory. (304A)

The confident Maboa told City Press last week that he had his reasons for joining the National Party. C/Press 6/9/92

"I joined the NP last year in Potchefstroom. I think it is my democratic right to associate with whoever I wish to. I made my choice and it has paid dividends both for me and my black brothers in the field of education," said Maboa.

He said when he came to Ventersdorp in 1989, he realised that all farm schools were owned by NP members and they were willing to do more for black pupils.

Maboa said that initially town planners did not make provision for schools, so he fought for the redesigning of the township plan to include two primaries and a high school.

He said Thuto Boswa, the only high school in Tshing township, will be officially opened on September 9.

Maboa said besides building a number of classrooms at existing farm schools, some farmers, all members of the NP, have pledged to build more schools on their farms to ease the transport problems for pupils.

"I am convinced that because we belong to the same party these people are going all out to help me, and my people benefit from this," said Maboa.

His wife and children do not belong to the NP.

He said he did not have any quarrels with black liberation movements and was not influenced by anybody to join the Nats.

Pro-federalists for Pretoria mini-summit

By SEKOLA SELLO

C/Press 6/9/92

(304A)

A MINI-SUMMIT of parties and organisations that support the ideas of federalism and strong regional government in a future SA takes place in Pretoria tomorrow.

The meeting, called by State President FW de Klerk, has been interpreted by Pretoria's major opponent in constitutional talks, the ANC, as a ganging-up against it.

Although Pretoria has denied the charge, the Democratic Party, which sees itself as the champion of federalism, has also cast doubts on the government's intentions.

Explaining why the party will attend the talks as an observer rather than a fully-fledged participant, DP leader Zach de Beer said: "To judge from such information as we have been able to obtain, the conference will have the character of a rally of those Codesa parties generally opposing the ANC."

Although the reason stated by the government for calling the meeting is to draw federalists together, there is little doubt that there are other reasons behind the indaba.

The ANC virtually collapsed Codesa II when it withdrew in June. This showed how fragile the edifice was and reflected poorly on the other participants.

For some time now there has been talk, particularly from Inkatha, that the ANC must not be allowed to hold the constitutional talks to ransom.

However, the government is aware that any constitutional settlement that does not involve the ANC is bound to fail, and so has resisted proposals for a go-it-alone option.

The ANC has tried to scuttle tomorrow's meeting by trying to persuade some of the participants of the futility of such talks. However, it does not appear as if the organisation has had much success in this regard.

Apart from Inkatha, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments are certain to attend. The Dikwankwetla Party of the tiny Qwa Qwa homeland has also confirmed it will be attending.

Giving reasons for attending, a Dikwankwetla spokesman, JS Phatang, said attendance does not necessarily mean support for De Klerk but "we feel that we are supporting a good cause from whatever camp it may come".

According to Phatang, the party supports federalism because it is the "only option for a heterogeneous and multi-cultural society such as ours" and because "the examples of the USA, Canada, Germany and Switzerland, to name but a few, have proved beyond all doubt how effectively and democratically a federal form of government functions".

Other participants are the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie, composed of MPs who broke away from the Conservative Party, and Solidarity and the National People's Party from the House of Delegates.

Secret ballot is most democratic system

C/Press 6/9/92 (304A)

INSTITUTE FOR mpd MULTI-PARTY DEMOCRACY

This is the ninth in a series of articles by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy on the various tenets of democracy.

IN a democracy the importance of the right to vote cannot be over-emphasised.

Perhaps one of the most important responsibilities of a citizen in a democracy is to ensure that he/she exercises this right every time there is an election of a new government, a provincial government, a city council, a school committee, a ratepayers' association or a village council.

Although voting is normally a voluntary activity, some countries pass laws which make it compulsory for all citizens to vote.

Various voting systems are used all over the world but there is general agreement that the most democratic of all of these systems is voting by secret ballot.

Voting by secret ballot: This system emphasizes the fact that how a citizen votes is a private and personal matter which should not be known by the general public. Voting by secret ballot ensures only the voter knows whom he/she has voted for.

Safer system

This helps to prevent intimidation or hatred. For example, if Mr Gumede did not vote for Mrs Shange and Mrs Shange is aware of this, she could intimidate Mr Gumede.

The procedure of voting by secret ballot is as follows:

- The voter goes to a polling station where voting is taking place. This could be a school or any other public private building designated as a polling station.
- On arrival at the polling station, the voter is then given a piece of paper which is called a ballot paper which he/she will use to vote. On this ballot paper there are names of various political parties or the names of various candidates standing for election. The format of the ballot paper depends on the electoral system that is used.
- If the voter has to vote for names of people, all those names will appear on the ballot paper.
- The voter then goes into a private booth, and using a pen he/she puts a cross opposite the name of the candidate of their choice.

In cases where a voter cannot read or write, symbols are sometimes used. These symbols could be different animals or just different colours. If for instance the voter supports the Christian Democratic Party and the party's symbol is an elephant, the voter will then put his cross opposite the picture of the elephant. In such cases, party symbols are widely publicised so that every voter knows which symbol represents which party.

- After putting the cross opposite the name of the party or candidate he/she supports, the voter then folds the ballot paper and puts it into a box called the ballot box.
- After voting, all ballot boxes are sealed and are escorted by police to the place where votes will be counted.

All these procedures are aimed at ensuring every citizen's vote is secret.

Voting by a show of hands: This system is used mainly in elections for positions in organisations. People who support a particular candidate show this by raising their hands which are then counted. The candidate who received the majority of votes is the winner.

Intimidation

Democratic practice now demands that even in small non-government elections, citizens should rather use a secret ballot because it is the most democratic and it eliminates the possibility of intimidation.

Where voting is by a show of hands, it is easy for candidates to see those who are raising their hands as well as those who are not raising them.

Voting by queuing: In some African countries, candidates who are standing for election assemble in a public place like a sports field and the voters who support a particular candidate are expected to stand in a queue behind that candidate. The candidate who has the majority of voters standing in his queue behind him is then declared the winner.

Once again, like voting by a show of hands, this voting system denies the voter the necessary privacy and anonymity.

It is thus clear that the most democratic voting system at the moment is voting by secret ballot.

WHAT SA CAN EXPECT: More golden handshakes for security hawks; the PAC at the party

THE DE KLERK CAMP ... FW, KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo. They will push for federalism as negotiators get down to the nitty-gritty of a new constitution for SA. Breakaway Conservative Party MPs could also join this faction.

THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE ... ANC leader Mandela, Jay Naidoo of Cosatu and SACP's Chris Hani. The ANC-led mass action campaign temporarily healed the rift between the negotiation-orientated leadership and the increasingly restive and dissident lower echelons.

Back on speaking terms

Argus 6/9/92

(304A)

But there are new rules, additional players and a new political landscape

THE government and the ANC are edging back to the negotiating table with some new players, new rules and against a new political landscape.

Dominating National Party tactics will be State President FW de Klerk's new four-pronged political strategy.

■ He will clean up the leaders of the security forces (as far as this is within his capabilities) and prepare them for an era of joint control under an interim government; welcome foreign expertise in a complete reorganisation of the police force; and give Judge Richard Goldstone wide powers in his United Nations-backed investigation into the SADF and SA Police. The most reactionary generals in both the military and the police will be quietly phased out through early retirement.

The idea of a classic purge is probably wishful thinking: much more likely is a series of resignations, transfers, and retirements. However, the security establishment's influence over De Klerk has lessened since the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

■ He will mobilise political support for the concept of federalism and buttress the position of those leaders (such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei) who are insisting on regional boundaries and powers being agreed upon in principle before a detailed constitution is drawn up by an elected body.

According to SADF defector Gert Hugo, Gqozo's Ciskei Defence Force together with the African Defence Movement have been tutored by Military Intelligence into playing the same anti-ANC role as Buthelezi's KwaZulu police and Inkatha Freedom Party.

A mini-summit of government's political allies on the federal issue (planned for this month) could broaden the existing coalition of forces gathered around the NP. Meanwhile the ANC's vague commitment to "strong regional government" conceals widely different approaches in the organisation's ranks.

■ He will try to use the opportunity created by the ANC-initiated UN involvement to demonstrate that the government is willing to abide by international norms, while the ANC is unable to bring township militants into line with UN recommendations.

Once the question of political prisoners and an amnesty has been settled, Pretoria could then regain some of the international ground lost since Boipatong.

■ He will accelerate the NP's shift into election gear on a platform of power-sharing. If necessary, he will call a non-racial referendum to mobilise support for the power-sharing concept as against an immediate transition to majority rule.

De Klerk and the government intend also to assume a higher media profile along the lines of the White House and State Department operations in the United States. David Steward, ex-director of the South African Communications Service (formerly Bureau of Information), was given the job of the government's first official spokesman. He will attend Cabinet meetings as well as De Klerk's meetings with national and international leaders and will speak directly on behalf of the government.

He will arrange weekly press conferences at ministerial level and will react on De Klerk's behalf to news as it develops. Casper Venter remains De Klerk's media liaison officer, but Steward will play the Larry Speakes/Bernard Ingham role.

■ The investigation into the death of eastern Cape black community leader Matthew Goniwe and three of his colleagues in June 1985 has brought the security force issue to a head.

It is understood that De Klerk has already taken the necessary steps for the early retirement of Gen Christoffel "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, head of MI, who is said to have sought authorisation from Pretoria for Goniwe's "permanent removal from society", and other military and police generals identified with the third force, including Jacques Buchner, on secondment from the SADF as Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, and a host of senior officers.

Gen Lothar Neethling, the controversial SAP forensic chief whose name came up in the context of allegations by police hit-squad informant Captain Dirk Coetzee about poisons being brewed to kill ANC members, was quietly retired in the week ending August 22. Vehemently denying Coetzee's allegations, Neethling has made clear his outright opposition to a democratic settlement in SA. "Peace must be declared by decree in SA and not through democracy," he said.

De Klerk is also studying a letter from British criminologist Dr Peter Waddington, who was commissioned to write a report on police handling of Boipatong. In a 50-page report, Waddington said the police had displayed "serious incompetence" in their organisation and procedural structures.

Waddington also sent a four-page letter to De Klerk through diplomatic channels in which he proposed a purge of the police high command.

RAPID progress has been made in the government recent talks with the PAC to persuade it to join the negotiation process.

The talks are intended to culminate in a summit between De Klerk and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu in Zimbabwe soon.

This could also be a political breakthrough for De Klerk in Pretoria's frosty relations with Harare and an opportunity to hold the first-ever talks with President Robert Mugabe.

The breakaway of five rebels from the right-wing Conservative Party, under the restrained and throughtful MP for Potchefstroom, Andries Beyers, will introduce a new ally for the federal school although the rebels have not yet made the formal transition from confederalism to federalism. Federalism might also be the issue to cause the Democratic Party to switch from its tenuous association with the ANC-led patriotic front to the NP alliance.

De Klerk's intelligence advisers have advised him to go on the offensive and exploit the current strains within the ANC and, more particularly, within the tripartite alliance of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party. Nevertheless, the ANC's mass action campaign was a seminal event that temporarily healed the rift between the negotiation-orientated leadership and the increasingly restive and dissident lower echelons.

THE IMPACT of the ANC's mass action campaign on the current balance of forces was significant:

■ It re-accredited the ANC leadership with the rank-and-file, albeit only temporarily.

■ It significantly boosted the organisation's morale and empowered grassroots members.

■ It increased pressure on the government over political violence and the urgency of joint control of the security forces.

■ It heightened awareness of third force and covert SADF operations and probably encouraged a further spate of revelations from sources such as Hugo and murdered eastern Cape farmer Andries de Villiers.

■ It placed the issue of an amnesty firmly on the political agenda of the pending interim government.

■ It persuaded a significant section of the business community to support a Charter on Peace, Democracy and Reconstruction, signifying the emergence of a broad consensus between organised labour and industry and laying a foundation for a social contract to be negotiated at the Economic Forum.

■ It reinforced the independence and political clout of the ANC-aligned Congress of South Arican Trade Unions, strengthening its demand to be represented directly at the negotiations.

■ It created a unique opportunity, too, for the UN to introduce a pilot monitoring scheme and demonstrate that international involvement, even on a modest scale, can help to create the climate necessary for a return to negotiations.

THE DOWNSIDE of mass action, however, is that the ANC has played its last card: with the "armed struggle" and sanctions effectively eliminated as pressure points, the ANC's constituency has been brought closer to the negotiating table. The ANC has been consolidated around a more collective style of leadership and the authority and stature of its president, Nelson Mandela has been reduced.

This became evident when the National Working Committee on August 12 took the extraordinary decision that there should be no more Mandela-De Klerk one-to-one meetings and that future contact should be between ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

But the opportunities that opened for the ANC through mass action will be short lived if it cannot capitalise on the situation soon by extracting new concessions from the government. To allow the prevailing deadlock to continue holds more dangers than advantages for the ANC. – *Africa Confidential*

De Beer: Progress possible

CT 7/9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE prospects for progress in constitutional negotiations were looking better than they have been for months, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said at the weekend.

"The Nats and the ANC are talking to each other, apparently with a serious intention of seeking agreement on a new constitution," he told a meeting on the Natal South Coast.

However, he conceded that the negotiating process was still in "a very fragile condition".

He said the DP was not prepared to become part of any attempt to rally the forces of either the NP or ANC camps.

"South Africa needs an independent democratic party of the moderate centre," he said.

Speaking yesterday in Mamelodi, Dr De Beer said the ANC remained "in bed" with the communists, whereas the DP saw itself as "the very ideological opposite".

The DP would not take part in today's federalism conference because it was being seen as a rallying of anti-ANC forces, Dr De Beer said. — Sapa (304A)

Shadows over FW's summit

(304A) CT 7/9/92

THE government's summit on federalism kicks off in Pretoria today against a background of likely conflict on the Ciskei border and non-participation by the Democratic Party — a long-time campaigner for federalism.

Cabinet ministers maintain the conference is not a ganging-up on the ANC and Patriotic Front and are confident there will be a good show of support.

Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo will be absent because of the threatened march on Bisho, but it is understood he may send a delegation.

The afternoon summit will be opened by President F W de Klerk at 2 and, depending on what delegates decide, will continue behind closed doors, ending in a news conference at 5.30.

It is understood the government will present more details of its proposals on regionalism and try to get the other parties to agree that these could represent the framework to be taken to the constitutional negotiations table.

No other parties have been asked to present formally their viewpoints on federalism, but government ministers have said these will be discussed.

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Dr Tertius Delport has been developing the government's position, portions of which he presented at the NP Free State congress.

Apart from the NP and Inkatha, none of the other major political role players will be involved in the summit. — Own Correspondent

ANC-govt slanging hinders talks

(304A) CT 7/9/92

FAILURE to agree on the release of political prisoners and amnesty has resulted in slanging matches between the ANC and government that could reduce chances of rapprochement.

Negotiators in both camps say public criticisms may put a damper on progress made by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The government source said the two sides were "terribly close" to reaching agreement, but there was not enough trust for the ANC to give the go-ahead.

The ANC source said full bilateral talks would have been likely had the government advanced on prisoner release.

The NEC had refused to take Mr Meyer on trust and wait until last Friday — two days after its meeting ended — for the cabinet to decide on the issue.

Had the government agreed to the ANC's demand on this, the organisation would have taken on trust its intention to act on violence and secure the hostels.

It is understood Mr Meyer agreed to a phased release and was prepared to accept that amnesty for government officials be left to an interim government.

However, he insisted on doing the deal immediately and said a blanket amnesty should also apply to security forces.

The ANC expected as a goodwill gesture the release of identified prisoners.

The ANC opposes linking political prisoner release to a general amnesty for state officials whose crimes would not then be disclosed. — Own Correspondent

(364A)

DP member 'closet Nat'

DEMOCRATIC Party MP Mr Tony Leon and his "fellow closet Nats" were one of the main reasons for the defection of five MPs to the ANC, independent MP Mr Jannie Momberg told an ANC meeting in Bellville yesterday.

Mr Momberg was responding to Mr Leon's attack on the ANC's interim proposals for democratic elections.

"Mr Leon is an extremely arrogant young man", Mr Momberg said. — Sapa CT 7/9/92

ANC gets some new deadlines

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC has launched its own newspaper in the eastern Transvaal. B/DAY 7/9/92

The Congress is edited in Nelspruit by ANC official Jackson Mthembu, who said it was not only a mouthpiece for the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP alliance, "but for those communities who are without water, those communities who have no vote, those communities who are under a constant threat from gangsters, the SAP and the SADF".

However, the newspaper also contains a mock voting form, featuring the ANC, AWB, Azapo and other parties as contenders.

It notes: "As we are continuously breaking and rolling the skull of apartheid, let us build our branches into strong electoral constituencies. Our recruitment drive is not only aimed at increasing membership but canvassing more votes for victory.".

HRC's Coleman says business must act 'to save its economy'

B/DAY 7/9/92

RAY HARTLEY

UNCONTROLLABLE violence and economic decline were pushing the government extremely close to conceding to majority rule, newly elected Human Rights Commission national chairman Max Coleman said last week.

"They will only take the decision to agree to elections when the pain of holding on exceeds the pain of letting go," he said.

Coleman said in an interview he believed business could play a vital role in ending the violence by putting pressure on government to accept majority rule.

"The business community probably hold the key to the whole thing. It's their economy that is going down the drain."

He said government's planned conference of parties favouring federalism was a strategy designed to retain regional powers because they would not win a democratic election.

A behind-the-scenes battle between the political and security arms of government was inhibiting the state's ability to end violence, he said.

He accused the security establishment and Inkatha of a campaign to destabilise the ANC and its allies to weaken their bargaining power at the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the HRC defended itself against recent attacks on its impartiality by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As a human rights body, its brief had always been to disseminate information about the observance or violation of human rights by the "apartheid state".

"We agree then ... that our perspective is one of bias against apartheid," it said.

"But it would be ludicrous to suggest the HRC has a need to invent or distort the human rights record of the aparheid state when the record is already so prolific in its detail."

Federalism summit to kick off amid conflict

BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

GOVERNMENT's federalism summit is set to kick off today amid a background of a likely conflict on the Ciskei border and the non-participation of the DP — long time federalism campaigner. B/DAY

Cabinet Ministers are adamant the conference is not a ganging-up on the ANC and the patriotic front and are confident that there will be a good show of support at the Presidensie in Pretoria. 7/9/92

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo will no longer attend the summit because of the threatened march on the Bisho capital but it is understood that there may be a delegation from his territory.

The summit is planned to be the first of a series planned on regionalism and federalism and appears to be government's endeavour to show that it is not sitting back while the ANC is refusing to resume constitutional negotiations.

The afternoon summit will be opened by President F W de Klerk at 2pm and then, depending on the decision of delegates, it will continue behind closed doors ending in a news conference at 5.30pm.

It is understood that government will be putting forward more detailed plans of its regionalism proposals and trying to get the other parties to agree that this could represent a framework for negotiations.

It is known that Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport has been hard at work in the past weeks developing government's position. He presented portions of this at the NP Free State congress and will probably repeat this in more detailed terms.

Apart from the NP and Inkatha none of the other major political role players will be involved in the summit.

Public slanging widens gap

B/DAY 7/9/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

FAILURE to reach agreement on the release of political prisoners and an amnesty has resulted in public slanging matches between the ANC and government which could widen the possibility of rapprochement.

According to senior negotiators in both camps, the latest public criticisms cast around are likely to put a damper on the progress already made by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The government source said the two sides were "terribly close" to reaching agreement, but there was just not enough trust for the ANC to give the go-ahead despite the constructive relationship built between the two chief negotiators.

"This is a pity and the latest round of public posturing is going to weaken that trust further and make it more difficult for the two to move forward quickly," he said.

The ANC source said full bilateral talks would have been on the cards had government moved forward "on one crucial point rather than expecting us to accept them at their word".

Apparently Ramaphosa and Meyer had come close to clearing the prisoner obstacle, but on a crucial point the ANC had been told to wait until last Friday, when Cabinet could meet to decide on the issue. This was waiting two days after the NEC was due to end its meeting, requiring the ANC to trust Meyer would deliver.

The NEC refused, seeing Meyer's request as provocative.

The ANC source identified the crucial issue as the prisoner release programme and said had government agreed to the ANC's demand on this, the organisation would have taken on trust its intention to act on violence and secure the hostels.

Phased

Because both parties are bound by confidentiality, the exact point on which Meyer required the go-ahead from his Cabinet is not known.

But it is understood Meyer had agreed to the release of the remaining 400-odd political prisoners in a phased manner on the basis of categorising types of crimes. He was also prepared to accept that the amnesty for government officials be handled by an interim government.

However, he was insisting on doing the deal now and if there was a blanket amnesty for the ANC then this should apply to government's security forces as well.

The ANC expects a gesture of goodwill in the form of a unilateral release of identified prisoners. This would demonstrate government's sincerity and seriousness.

However, government negotiators, and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in particular, say the release of categories of prisoners who are still being held will require specially negotiated agreements.

Many of the "so-called political prisoners" were in fact common criminals trying to introduce political motives for their actions.

"We just cannot sell this to our people," the government source said. "If there is to be a closing of books, it will have to be on both sides."

If ANC operatives such as Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride must be released, then prisoners like Church Square mass killer Barend Strydom would also have to go free. Such drastic releases could only be done under the terms of an agreed amnesty for serious crimes not covered by the accords reached so far.

The ANC says it finds government's proposals with regard to violence and the release of political prisoners inadequate.

51 hurt as concert-goers go on rampage

on developing strategies to alleviate the has welcomed its launch.

Skills training to get down to business

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — A non profit-making company has been formed to co-ordinate the funding of the 127 technical colleges in SA.

Vocational Education Development Company (Vedco) chairman and Wingfield Technical College principal Alan Jackson said it was hoped that a high-powered team of top businessmen would agree to sit on Vedco's board of directors.

He said the reason for the formation of Section 21 company Vedco was the expected growth in vocational training in future. A huge educational backlog had developed which would require substantial funds to address.

Jackson said there was a serious need for fundraising on a national scale as the state was already contributing the most it could afford on education.

Colleges would have to help fund future projects.

He said technical colleges had been stigmatised in the past and a marketing drive to change attitudes away from the obsession with academic education was also required. B/DAY 7/9/92

An amount of R26m would be needed for immediately identifiable projects, he said.

The Federal Commitee of Technical College Principals had been talking with technikon principals in the attempt to achieve a greater degree of mobility between technical colleges and technikons.

Sanlam donated R10 000 to Vedco on the weekend to assist with its start-up costs.

MGA

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ADV 172/92

Yogic flyers 'to levitate Codesa back on track'

CHARLIE PRETZLIK (304A)

THE Natural Law Party, which believes in meditation to cure political ills, begins recruiting in earnest in SA this week but already it is pushing for an invitation to the next Codesa. B/DAY 7/9/92.

The three-week-old SA branch is the newest of more than 30 branches worldwide. Deputy leader Richard Broom said the support of more than 50 000 South Africans had already been mustered. He said 350 people a week were signing up.

A cornerstone of policy was yogic flying, an advanced form of transcendental meditation whereby people, sitting cross-legged, could rise 80cm off the ground in a state of bliss. Stick at this for long enough and you should be able to fly anywhere, meditators claim.

"Within a week of gathering 1 000 yogic flyers in Pretoria we could have Codesa back on track and boost the JSE by at least 10%," Broom said.

The key, he explained, was to have the square root of 1% of a population flying together. With that you could "raise that population's consciousness, make them think more clearly and get them to take more intelligent decisions".

He said the party had evidence to support its claims.

"Over the past 20 years we have dropped groups of yogic flyers into trouble spots around the world, like Lebanon and Iran, and observed a significant decrease in the level of violence as a result of our meditation."

But no problem could be solved without raising the level of national consciousness.

"If you can do that, then the problems will solve themselves."

Broom conceded that it might take people a while to get to grips with some of his notions, but he was confident that "within months" yogic flying and "consciousness creation" would have sunk in.

ANC plan to drive a wedge into the Nats' alliance

B/DAY 7/9/92. 304A

PATRICK BULGER and ALAN FINE

FORMAL constitutional negotiations remain at a standstill, but the process of political alliance building is intensifying. Today's NP-convened federalism conference is, whatever NP leaders may say, designed to consolidate the group which will sit opposite the ANC at the negotiating table.

One key participant will not be at the conference. Ciskei's Brig Oupa Gqozo will instead be directing operations in his capital Bisho, where an ANC-organised march aims to spoil the NP's alliance-building party.

The ANC has high hopes that the march, and the appeal to Ciskeian security forces and public servants to come "onside", will spell the end of Gqozo's rule. (The referendum proposed by the SA Council of Churches as an alternative to the march could arguably have the same effect.) Before Gqozo decided not to risk leaving town on the day of the march, ANC organisers had optimistic visions of the military leader not being able to return to his seat of power later today after the federalism conference.

ANC strategists also envisage Gqozo's downfall as just the beginning of a series of events which will displace, or at least undermine, the NP's key black allies and hence weaken its bargaining position. Therefore, while limited negotiations continue, mass action will carry on, this time focusing on the margins of the NP alliance.

At an alliance summit meeting on August 23 the ANC and its allies examined the mass action campaign and how it could move forward. Owing in part to the success of the march on Bisho last month — about 50 000 attended — the ANC Border region approached the summit with a proposal that the campaign against Gqozo and homeland leaders be elevated to a national issue.

ANC spokesmen argued that, because the homelands are part of SA, the lack of free political activity in their borders affects the ANC's national organising capacity.

According to the SA Labour Bulletin's interpretation of that meeting, the alliance decided to target Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu.

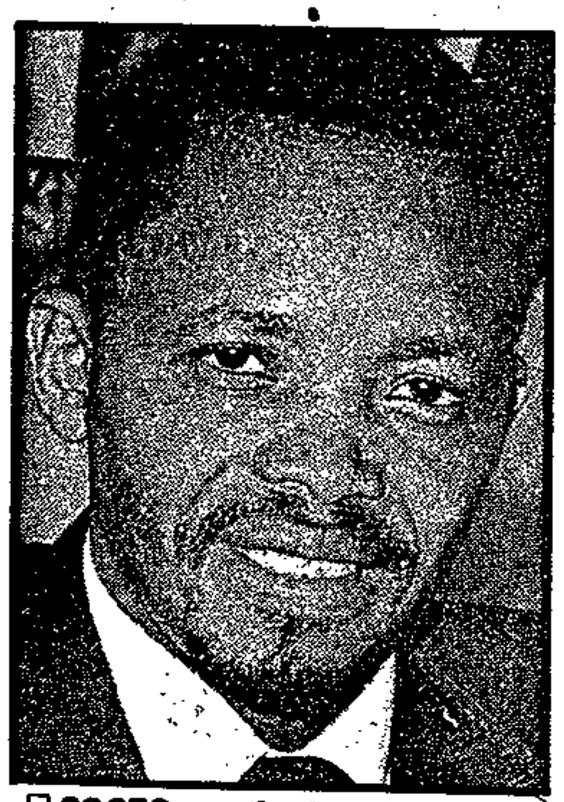
"In part we need to decide whether to go for them all equally at once or whether we first mount a major national campaign against Ciskei in particular. We also need to consider actions against major financial supporters of Bophuthatswana, like Anglo and Standard Bank," the alliance proposed.

In other words, while the August mass action campaign had shown conclusively that Pretoria was immune to a Leipzig strategy, its satellites may not be.

ANC NEC member Raymond Suttner, involved in organising today's march, describes Gqozo as the "weakest link" in the chain of black political figures who are, actually or potentially, the NP's electoral allies. He is unelected, there is resentment in his security forces towards the white command structure, and he is highly unpopular among the civilian population, the argument goes.

"Part of our build-up is an appeal to Ciskeian security forces and the public service to come over to us. This could mean the collapse of the Ciskei's public administration," Suttner believes.

But he is not yet making any firm predictions. "The ANC's Ciskei initiative is a germ, an embryo, of a process, although not a process whose completion we can yet see. But it is, therefore, more than just a Border initiative. If Gqozo goes, (Lucas) Mangope would be our obvious next target," argues Suttner.



□ GQOZO ... the 'weakest link'

The ANC also sees the campaign as a way of maintaining the strategic initiative, by forcing President F W de Klerk into making an uncomfortable choice now, rather than at his leisure. "At some stage De Klerk would have had to choose whether allies like Gqozo were worth their trouble. Now he will be forced into making that decision now. Can he afford a bloodbath as the price of maintaining that alliance, or is Gqozo becoming more a liability than an asset?" Suttner says.

But the ANC's alliance-building strategy (and alliance-breaking strategy where the NP's allies are concerned) is not limited to the old blunt instrument approach of mass action. The proposed Transition to Democracy Act — published by the organisation on Thursday — would, if made into law, remove the entire legal and constitutional base of potential NP allies.

It would achieve this through the simple devices of redefining SA according to its 1910 boundaries, limiting regionalism during the interim period to the old provincial system and replacing the tricameral Parliament with a single 400-member national assembly to serve as an interim legislature and constituent assembly.

These steps would eliminate the independent homelands and the legal basis for the administrations of Mangope and Gqozo. They would subsume the self-governing homelands and their administrations and poli cal leadership, such as KwaZul Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Qw Qwa's Kenneth Mopeli, under t four provincial administrations a central government. And they wou eliminate the Houses of Represen tives and Delegates, their politic leaderships (the majorities allied the NP) and their administration

This feature of the ANC's tran tional proposals is therefore likely be contested bitterly.

The only way these groups wou be able to remain representati would be through election to t national assembly. A few, most no bly Buthelezi, would probably elected. But it is unlikely that t parties of the bulk of NP-align homeland and House of Delegat politicians would succeed in obta ing the requisite number of votes be elected by proportional represe tation — unless they were giv space on the NP list of candidat Members of the NP majority in t House of Representatives are, course, already there.

The same would apply to hom land and tricameral politicians the ANC's patriotic front camp they, too, would lose their historic constitutional and legal base. B says Suttner, those leaders are n perturbed: "They have committ themselves to a single SA. The ba of the alliance is agreement on future which would alter their soc base. They recognise that their exi ing base would disappear."

Some of the homeland leade who have allied themselves to t ANC may have done so through co viction, but others have done so b cause of a reluctant assessment th the old game is up, and any hope of political future will depend on t ANC's largesse.

Not all have assessed present c cumstances in the same way. Buth lezi, Mangope, Gqozo and others b lieve that they will be able, throug strongly federalist alliance with t NP, to retain at least some of t ethnically based regional powe they enjoyed under apartheid.

And that, in essence, is the basis the divide between the old homela and tricameral politicians.

LETTERS

FW to lift veil on plans for regional rule

ARG 7/9/92

(304A)

Political Staff and Sapa

PRESIDENT De Klerk is expected today to shed more light on National Party proposals for strong regional government when he opens the "federalism" conference in Pretoria.

The conference has attracted more than 10 parties and organisations — but has also aroused suspicion as a gathering of forces opposed to the ANC.

The Democratic Party rejected an invitation to take part, with party leader Dr Zac de Beer describing the conference as "a rally of Codesa parties generally opposing the ANC". The DP will, however, attend as an observer. The ANC has also declined to attend.

The Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie are taking part, making their debut in the negotiations arena.

Mr De Klerk's proposals for regional government are keenly awaited, because a Law Commission report last year said that regionalism could not preserve the ethnic interests of whites.

It is believed that the government referred to the report when it drew up its proposals, but it is thought unlikely to have been influenced by its conclusions, as it has clearly distanced itself from racism .

The Law Commission said that whites did not constitute an absolute majority in any of South Africa's nine development areas.

But, according to the report, coloureds, at 61 percent, constitute such a majority in the Western Cape, and if a federal or confederal system is implemented, they would be the king of the castle.

Blacks constitute a majority in seven of the nine regions.

The EC troika visit was more than symbolic, says Political Reporter **Kaizer Nyatsum**

Keeping all on their toes

Star 8/9/92 (304A)

IT WOULD have been easy — and fairly tempting — to dismiss the two-day fact-finding tour last week by the European Community's troika of Ministers as yet another of those unwelcome visits by self-righteous, know-all foreigners who think they have a panacea for South Africa's ills.

Apart from putting pressure on the Government and the ANC to resume negotiations soon, it initially appeared not much was going to be served by the visit.

Not only did the EC no longer have the sanctions sword which might have needed review — a point made strongly by The Times of London on the eve of the troika's departure — but it had also become a somewhat parochial, inward-looking community which put Europe first and removed Africa from the top of its agenda.

Why the mission then?

In an outspoken editorial, The Times said the EC troika — consisting of British Foreign Affairs Secretary Douglas Hurd, Danish Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jansen and Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Jose Manuel Barroso — had no business in South Africa.

"There are no EC troops in the region, nor is there EC aid that must be injected or withdrawn. There is no pressing role for the EC to perform in the intractable politics of black/white relations in South Africa.

"It is tempting to draw two conclusions from this trip, neither of them appealing. The first is that Europe still cannot quite believe that Africa is not its own backyard, that the politics of guilt have taken the place of the politics of colonialism.

"The second is that the EC will do anything and go anywhere rather than address its painful domestic agenda," The Times said.

But the troika's visit has been of greater importance than The Times and many others could have expected. At a time when Europe is pre-occupied with itself and its own economic and political problems, any attention given to South Africa is to be welcomed.

Increasingly Africa — associated in Europe and in the West with starvation, poverty, widespread corruption and military *coups de tat* — is being "marginalised" in world affairs, and aid to many countries in the continent is being made conditional on "good government", among other things.

Mr Hurd made it plain during the troika's visit here that Europe's interest in South Africa was not "a fleeting one". The EC, he said, had every intention of playing an important role in the country's transition to a full-fledged democracy.

This has at least two implications. While the EC becomes more and more inward-looking, it will do more than take a keen interest in developments here. When political stability is eventually attained and an interim government is in place, it could be expected that more investment could flow our way from the EC and its member-countries.

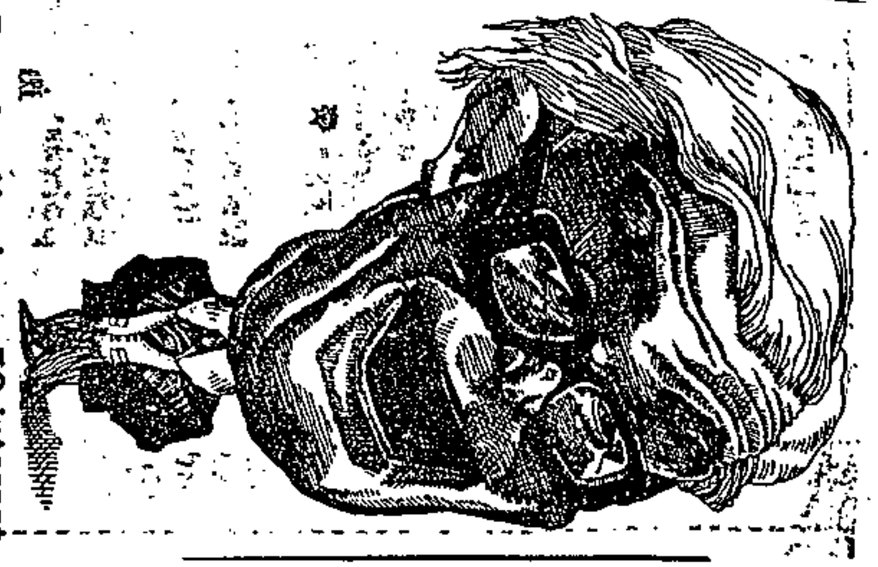
More importantly, however, is the fact that the EC can now be relied upon to gently prod and persuade key political players in the negotiations process, most notably the Government and its chief interlocutors the ANC. Although Mr Hurd repeatedly said South Africa's problems were for South Africans to solve, he would no doubt have urged the ANC and the Government to make sure negotiations resumed soon.

There is another level at which the troika's visit was important. By agreeing to send 15 observers to South Africa to work in tandem with observers from the United Nations and the Commonwealth, to second representatives to the Goldstone Commission's five commissions and to help in the training of the South African Police, the EC is indirectly helping Pretoria meet some of the key demands made by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

The involvement of the international community in the monitoring of violence is a demand made by both the ANC and the PAC, with the latter organisation going as far as arguing that negotiations should be chaired by "neutral" bodies such as the UN, the Commonwealth, the EC or the Organisation of African Unity.

As PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke observed after meeting the trio in Pretoria on Thursday, the EC delegation "understood the issues" here. Its visit, therefore, must have gone some way towards propelling the pace of behind-the-scenes *detente* to get the deadlocked negotiations resumed soon.

But while in the past Pretoria has always been the villain — and therefore had a lot to do "to clear the decks" before negotiations could begin — that perception is no longer as pervasive as it once was abroad.



Douglas Hurd ... EC interest in SA not just fleeting.

Indeed, the ANC and the PAC could expect to be rapped on the knuckles equally hard — albeit privately — as Pretoria if they were perceived to be the ones retarding the pace of negotiations.

Like the Government, they will have to *earn* the international community's support by appearing as reasonable as possible.

And the EC troika's visit will have helped drive that message home. □

7 provinces in 'new SA map'

(304A) CT 8/9/92

Govt unveils 'blueprint' regional future plan

PRETORIA. — A map consisting of seven provinces — with full reincorporation of the TBVC states — was presented to the conference on regionalism yesterday as a suggested point of departure for local, regional and national negotiations.

The "technical, non-political report" was drawn up by the Constitutional Development Service and did not have the status of a government document, said President F W de Klerk.

In addition, the report was not a "blueprint", not prescriptive, and the agenda open, the president said.

The report suggested that regions, referred to as autonomous provinces, should each have their own constitution, drafted within an entrenched framework provided for in the national constitution.

Provincial cabinets should be established to exercise executive power.

The provincial assembly might elect a premier to chair the provincial cabinet. A two-thirds majority votes in the cabinets should be sufficient for decision-making.

The legislative power of a province should be entrusted to a single-chamber provincial assembly.

Where the need existed, special provision could be made for the representation of traditional institutions.

Provincial assemblies may effectively be elected proportionally from multi-member electoral districts.

Electoral districts could correspond geographically to development areas within regions.

Development might be promoted and administered in the development areas by non-political councils made up of community (including traditional) leadership.

In the map a large part of Transvaal, the Witwatersrand, Natal, the Free State, Transkei, including parts of the Eastern Cape, the Western Cape region and the north-western Cape form the seven provinces.

The suggestions as contained in the report on regional constitutions are described as realistic and viable and should be considered in negotiations.

The report suggests the functions of the national government should be defence, national security, foreign affairs and constitutional planning.

Functions of regional government would include education, health, police, welfare, roads, water, cultural affairs, agriculture, finance, taxation and commerce and local government.

Mr De Klerk did not refer to yesterday's shooting incidents at Bisho.

Parties like the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress did not attend the conference.

● Reporters at the conference picked up news on their radios and via telephone calls of the Ciskei shootings. The news slowly leaked to delegates at the conference, and distracted them.

As the conference continued, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said he was aware of the serious situation in Ciskei.

He and Mr De Klerk left immediately after Mr De Klerk's address, apparently to discuss the shootings. — Sapa

Panic breaks out . . . ANC marchers flee as Ciskei security forces open fire on them outsi

'Crucial turning point in struggle'

Staff Reporter STAR 8/9/92

The Bisho tragedy "marks a crucial turning point in the current phase of the struggle for democracy", the ANC said yesterday.

In a hard-hitting statement released shortly after the shooting, the organisation charged that Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President de Klerk would have to assume responsibility for the "popular anger" that would undoubtedly follow the killings.

The killings were unprovoked and the lives of the Ciskeian troops were never in danger, said the statement, released by the ANC's department of information and publicity.

The claim that the troops were fired upon by the demonstrators was "a brazen lie" that was contradicted by witnesses.

According to the ANC statement, the killings started "with a controlled burst of automatic fire lasting more than two minutes, followed by a second burst of

● To Page 3

JSE gains take afternoon dip

Gains on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday morning were pared back in the late afternoon following the news of the Ciskei shootings. STAR 8/9/92

The Industrial Index was nine points weaker at 4102 and the Overall Index four points off.

Dealers said the killings should depress the market for most of the week. One dealer said buyers would pull out of the market until there was more clarity, but there was no panic selling yet. — Finance Staff.

ANC didn't do its job – De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius STAR 8/9/92
Political Correspondent

The shooting in Ciskei could have been avoided if the ANC had adhered to the Goldstone Commission's guidelines for mass action, President de Klerk said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing delegates at the start of his summit on federalism, he said that from the "fragmented" information available, it seemed that the conditions for the march laid down by the magistrate had not been adhered to.

Later at a press conference, Mr de Klerk was asked directly who was to blame for the killing.

He said that although information was still "somewhat fragmented" the ample video material available indicated that the ANC marshals "didn't successfully

● To Page 3

Auditor-general is made autonomous

B/DAY 8/9/92

304A

THEO RAWANA

THE office of the auditor-general would become an autonomous entity under the authority of Parliament from next year and not form part of the public service, Deputy Finance Minister Theo Alant said yesterday.

Addressing the 7th annual convention of the Association of Black Accountants of Southern Africa (Abasa), Alant said the restructuring would be carried out to ensure the accountability of state departments and that public funds were not misappropriated.

Speaking on the theme The State and the Financial Custodianship — the Right of the People to Know, Alant said the auditor-general was the elected representative's "umbilical cord" in terms of his moral and statutory accountability and keeping the public abreast of developments.

Government had a statutory and moral duty to govern in such a way that social justice values prevailed, Alant said.

"To ensure accountability, a myriad of checks and balances have been enshrined in the various levels of government.

"This might appear sometimes to lead to the so-called 'red tape' syndrome; but this is at times an unfortunate but necessary evil to ensure, as far as is humanly possible, that public funds are not misappropriated," he added.

"If you take into account that the auditor-general is responsible for auditing 32 central government departments (including the three own affairs administrations), four provincial authorities, 780 local authorities, 22 agricultural control boards, 37 RSCs, six self-governing states and approximately 140 other statutory institutions, funds, accounts and museums, the enormous responsibility resting on the auditor-general becomes evident," the Deputy Minister said.

Kyalami to pre-burn parking lot

ADRIAN HADLAND

KYALAMI race organisers would pre-burn grass and would station fire engines in the track's car park to prevent a recurrence of the weekend fire which damaged or destroyed 42 cars.

Motor Racing Enterprises CE Dave McGregor

"We had cut and raked the grass before the race and it's hard to believe a fire could have started from what was left," he said.

Police spokesman Capt

in four minutes.

Midrand Town Council spokesman Matthew Temple said the town's fire services had received a call at 1.19pm on Sunday and had arrived at the car park by 1.24pm. He added some delay had been experienced

Fear not the Democrat bearing new SA policy

B/Day 8/9/92.

304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

WITH America's presidential election now headed into its final lap, which outcome would serve SA's interests better: another four years of George Bush or the return, after a 12-year absence, of the Democrats led by Bill Clinton? Or does it really matter all that much?

Pauline Baker, formerly of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, now with the Aspen Institute, and long seen as aspiring to the State Department's assistant secretaryship for Africa under a Democratic administration, suggests that Clinton would make few changes to current US policy.

The Democrats, she says, are basically happy with the way the Bush team has been handling things. Its even-handed, multilateral approach, its balance on the question of violence, its aid programme and its stress on negotiations all have broad support. Despite the occasional flash of rhetoric on Capitol Hill about Bush's "premature" decision to end sanctions, "the differences between the parties are very minimal".

Baker expects them to remain that way unless there is some major breakdown in SA. Otherwise, the only departure she would recommend would be one of priority. She thinks SA should be accorded more.

Of course, in terms of US policy towards Africa generally, SA is already pretty near the top of the totem pole. It is now the largest recipient of non-emergency aid on the continent, and everyone agrees that it is a critical engine of growth for its neighbours to the north. But Baker believes it should get special attention in the global context as well.

In a world increasingly riven by ethnic cleavages and savage nationalisms, SA, more than anywhere else, has "the capacity to serve as a laboratory of racial harmony". The fact that after all the vicissitudes of the past 300 years, the "dominant political thought" in the country is "still non-racialism" is "quite an achievement" — and one that must be nurtured as a model. How SA deals with "the conjunction of First and Third World economies and cultures", how it "wrestles with the division between rich and poor", may also teach important lessons, Baker believes.

If these are the themes of a Clinton administration, and if it continues the hardnosed Bush approach of refusing to take sides while stressing certain economic and constitutional principles, a Democratic victory will be just as useful an outcome for SA as a Republican one.

Clinton, if Baker's analysis is correct (he himself has said little), will not revoke the present administration's policy of encouraging US investment, though he may be marginally more open to retaining social reponsibility requirements. He will maintain, if not increase, present aid levels. Nor is he likely to veer from current policy on SA access to the IMF and World Bank — that funds will be available once an interim government is in place.

As for state and local sanctions — endorsed in both the Democratic Party platform and Clinton's own foreign policy position paper — he will go with the flow, just as Bush has done. The fact is these sanctions are beyond Washington's purview.

Everyone, except perhaps ambassador Harry Schwarz, recognises that local disinvestment and selective purchasing ordinances will start to be repealed when the ANC itself specifically gives the word, and not before. The point was definitively proved by the California state assembly last week, which would exempt US companies engaged in humanitarian, drought-related efforts only after receiving written approval from Shell House.

Baker's soothing words notwithstanding, don't count on a transition to Clinton being seamless.

Bush, Secretary of State James Baker and Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen have done a fine job of removing SA from domestic contention while at the same time making a substantial contribution on the ground. They have used the prestige of superpowerdom well to prod, reassure, assist and educate all the major players without arousing any serious ill will.

They have used the lifting of sanctions and like inducements to help move the government in positive directions. They declined to shun Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and so avoided fuelling civil bloodshed. Equally, and often despite the best efforts of former ambassador William Lacey Swing, they have played an important role in pulling ANC president Nelson Mandela and his colleagues back from many of the alliance's more fanciful ideological solecisms. It is to their credit as much as his that Mandela did not exploit the coincidence of last July's Security Council session with the Democratic convention to score points at their expense.

New boys will be new boys, however, and a Clinton administration, well intentioned though it might be, must be relied upon to try to reinvent the wheel with the help of State Department professionals anxious to prove their fealty. Even though, as Baker acknowledges, this particular wheel is in little need of modification, Democrats, no longer in the wilderness, cannot be expected to avoid the temptation.

The result is that a lot of misbegotten signals may be sent in the early months, embittering whites, scaring investors, enraging Inkatha and giving elements of the ANC the sense that with the party of Randall Robinson, Ron Dellums and human rights lawyer Gay MacDougall in power, the balance of international forces may have shifted back in their favour. Not a useful mix at this stage.

Should Clinton win, the best hope is that he should swiftly name Congressman Stephen Solarz his Secretary of State. It's not beyond the bounds of possibility.

Solarz, generally reckoned the Democrats' smartest foreign policy voice in the House, has had his seat redelimited from under him in the name of perfecting racial proportional representation, and may well be available after next Tuesday's congressional primary, in which he has been obliged to run for an officially Hispanic seat.

An ardent supporter of the Gulf war, Solarz is in the Clinton, neo-moderate, new generational mould. As far as SA is concerned, he has the virtue of knowing and caring about the subject deeply without cant or illusions. He is the only senior member of the House who makes a point of attending hearings on SA and who has had the guts to show open irritation with Robinson, the windier members of the black caucus and even the ANC. Were he secretary, his long dormant plan for a massive, multilateral SA aid package conditioned on genuine democracy and a real commitment to market economics might finally be realised. One could also expect him to be serious about the conditions.

That is important because unseriousness about such matters, and a willingness to take ANC propaganda at face value, are what SA has to worry about most from a Democratic administration, especially while it is finding its feet.

LETTERS

Sowetan 8/9/92

ANC to march on consulate

THE ANC's PWV region is to march on the Ciskei consulate in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, today to demand the replacement of Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo following the Bisho massacre.

A spokesman for the region, Mr Ronnie Mamoepa, said the march would begin at the organisation's headquarters in Plein Street.

The consulate will also be picketed tomorrow. There will also be a lunchtime meeting at the City Methodist Church in Pritchard Street on Thursday. - *Sapa*.

Minister Kriel blames ANC

HAD the ANC acted within the guidelines laid down for the march, the Bisho massacre that claimed at least 24 lives would not have happened, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel said last night.

Sowetan 8/9/92

Speaking on SABC's TV news, Kriel said the blame for the massacre had to be laid squarely on the shoulders of the ANC. - *Sapa*.

Labour Party slams FW

(304A)

THE Labour Party has blamed President FW de Klerk for the bloodshed at Bisho.

The party called for an immediate transfer of power to a government of national unity.

The LP expressed its condolences to the families of those killed and injured.

"Their deaths, like those of thousands of South Africans, must not be allowed to have been in vain," he said. - *Sapa*.

Sowetan 8/9/92

Bisho shootings 'deplorable'

The National Party deplored yesterday's Bisho massacre.

Saying it sympathised with those affected, the NP said the incident was a result of the ANC's "provocative actions". - *Sapa*.

Killings were at 'random'

THE firing on "unarmed protesters in Bisho was unprovoked, random and sustained", Cosatu said last night.

"Nothing could conceivably justify this senseless and brutal massacre. According to all reports received so far, the marchers were peaceful." - *Sapa*.

Sowetan 8/9/92

NUM outraged by shootings

THE National Union of Mineworkers has condemned "the wanton killing of peaceful marchers by security forces of apartheid" in Bisho.

The union said it was "outraged by this massacre and our souls go out to the families of those gallant fighters for peace, democracy and justice". - *Sapa*.

De Klerk calls for a 'fuller' summit

(304A) ARG 8/9/92

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has called for a fuller two-day summit on federalism under a neutral chairman.

He made the call at the close of the one-day federal conference organised by him in Pretoria.

The conference was overshadowed by the shootings of ANC marchers in the Ciskei.

Mr De Klerk left the conference room soon after the start to confer with Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, and returned later with news of the killings. He expressed his regrets and sympathy.

But he declared the conference a success and obtained the permission of delegates for the government to call together a steering committee to organise a fuller two-day conference on federalism under the chairmanship of a "prominent person outside party politics".

He said he hoped parties which had not attended yesterday's conference would attend the two-day summit.

Its aim would be to build a broader consensus on federalism and give greater direction to the federal debate.

Mr De Klerk assured delegates that the aim of yesterday's conference was not to "involve you directly or indirectly in any political alliance or association" and that the government still intended including all major parties in negotiations.

He hoped yesterday would be written down in history as the day when the "constructive forces in South African took hands and made progress towards a negotiated solution".

The conference was attended by all the pro-federal parties at Codesa, as well as the Conservative Party and the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie, which broke from the CP recently.

The Democratic Party attended as an observer, although Houghton MP Tony Leon addressed the conference, as did Professor Carel Boshoff of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting.

DP grows as six LP defectors sign up

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON 9/9/92 CT

THE Democratic Party yesterday became the second largest party in Parliament after six former Labour Party MPs joined the party.

The defectors said there was a "large group" within the LP anxious to join the DP.

The six new DP MPs are the former LP national chairman and own affairs minister Mr David Curry (Pniel), former minister Mr Chris April (Outeniqua), former regional chairman of the LP for Boland Mr Cliff Nasson (Bokkeveld), and MPs Mr Neville Padiachy (Genadendal), Mr Errol Gordon (Berg River) and Mr Barend Andrews (Rawsonville).

Introducing the newcomers to the party at a press conference yesterday, DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said: "This is a massive step forward for the party and for its strategy to take a lead in bringing about a strong, non-racial party of the democratic centre."

Churches push for referendum

Ciskei leader prepared to test support

(304A)

B/DAY 9/9/92.

PATRICK BULGER

BISHO — Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo — under pressure to resign after his troops opened fire on ANC marchers on Monday, killing at least 28 people — told church leaders yesterday he would accept his support being tested in the homeland.

Church leaders, who held a vigil for the dead yesterday, are engaged in negotiations on several fronts to get Gqozo to agree to a referendum.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu telephoned President F W de Klerk on Monday night to get his support for the referendum. A church source said De Klerk had not yet responded. The ANC agreed on Sunday to a referendum.

"While Gqozo is able to say he is prepared to test the will of the people, he was not in a position to say that will be in the form of a referendum," SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane said after leading a three-man delegation to visit Gqozo after a fuller church delegation had held talks with him yesterday.

Chikane said negotiations were being conducted around a possible referendum question. He said Gqozo would not commit himself to a timeframe, although church leaders were proposing a poll within six weeks. Chikane said only a referendum would ease the tension in the homeland.

Gqozo, quoted on Ciskei Radio, said he would be prepared to hold a referendum if his winning it meant full UN membership and international recognition.

Border Council of Churches executive member Simon Gqubule told reporters Gqozo was "highly emotional and angry" during the talks. He said Gqozo had said his soldiers did not have time to think about what was happening when they opened fire on unarmed marchers.

SA police and troops maintained a heavy presence in the King William's Town area bordering Ciskei yesterday.

Police vehicles blocked the road at the border to prevent about 5 000 marchers who had stayed overnight from crossing into Ciskei. They formed a cordon around ANC president Nelson Mandela when he arrived at the site of the shootings to lay wreaths.

Mandela said: "What happened here was not just the action of a bantustan leader. There were bigger forces behind him."

He told a news conference that "Bisho will rank alongside Boipatong on that roll call of infamy that recounts the past two years of F W de Klerk's incumbency". He said De Klerk's emphasis on strong regional government outside a democratic process and within the context of the homelands had signalled to repressive structures that they could do what they liked to entrench their authoritarian rule.

Mandela demanded an independent investigation, the removal of Gqozo and the installation of an interim administration, the repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity, and the removal of SA military intelligence officers.

He said government had a responsibility to create a climate for free political activ-

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Ciskei

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ity in the homelands as well as in SA. He said the killings were a serious stumbling block towards negotiations.

SA and Ciskei police visited the scene of the killings and appeared to have begun an investigation into their circumstances.

Meanhwile, ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday he did not expect to be fired on when he led marchers out of the stadium towards soldiers concealed ahead.

B/DAY 9/9/92

"I always considered that they might open fire but frankly it took the whole leadership by surprise. No, I thought they wouldn't dare open fire."

Sapa reports the African Democratic Movement, which was formed by Gqozo, yesterday deplored the shootings but said it regretted the ANC decision to go ahead with the march, "with no apparent respect for human life and dignity".

☐ Gqozo has not fled Ciskei and has no intention of doing so, he told Sapa in a telephone interview from his home in Bisho last night.

"I have no reason and no intention of ever abandoning my people. I am absolutely not going to give credibility to the non-democratic methods of the ANC and SACP and their mass action by fleeing."

Asked whether the SA government had put any pressure on him since the massacre, Gqozo said: "No. I don't believe the SA government will do that."

● See Pages 3 and 4

Boost for DP as group of Labour MPs joins ranks

(304A)

STAR 9/9/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Six Labour Party MPs and the party's entire Boland region defected to the Democratic Party yesterday as the DP's campaign to build a strong centrist party gathered momentum.

The MPs were former Minister's Councillors David Curry and Chris April — both old stalwarts of the LP — and Cliff Nasson (Bokkeveld), Neville Padiachy (Genadendal), Errol Gordon (Berg River) and Barend Andrews (Rawsonville).

DP national chairman Ken Andrew hailed the move as a "major step forward for the Democratic Party and its strategy to take a lead in bringing about a strong, nonracial party of the democratic centre".

The decision by these "prominent public representatives and activists" to join the DP reflected the desire of millions of South Africans who had rejected both the NP and ANC.

"Our new members will provide valuable leadership qualities and much-needed political muscle in areas where the DP is under-represented, and will help in the process of transforming the DP in style and substance," Mr Andrew said.

The DP was now the second-largest party in Parliament and was engaged in a massive recruitment drive to build support to at least 10 percent of the adult population and to recru prominent leaders.

A major media campaig was planned and a nationa fund-raising campaign with target of R13 million was unde way, Mr Andrew said.

Mr Curry said the LP ha been formed when coloured could join only coloured partie Future elections would b fought on nonracial lines an LP members were now joinin other parties which reflecte their views.

The six MPs had joined th DP to strengthen the politica centre and reduce polarisation he said.

Mr Andrew said the grea danger facing South Africa wa polarisation between two powe blocs, "the system" versus "th struggle".

This would cause extremism, hostility, intransigence, violence and instability.

The shooting at Bisho on Monday offered clear evidence that the confrontation between the NP and the ANC inevitably led to violence and that South Africans dared not allow their future to be decided exclusively by these two parties.

The tragedy underlined the need for a strong centre party untainted by violence, corruption or racism to defuse the confrontation between the NP and the ANC and bridge the divide between haves and have-nots, Mr Andrew said.

Ciskei message: sure-fire weaving of a basket case

STAR 9/9/92 (304A)

Allister Sparks

THE Ciskei bloodbath signals one stark message: unless we can cut short the deadly spiral of political gamesmanship that our major organisations are engaged in, this country is doomed.

We shall sink into a quagmire of internecine squabbling where the developed world will abandon us as just another no-hope basket case, to be sent occasional food aid when famine threatens, as in Somalia today, but otherwise to be left to its own miseries.

We are rushing towards that kind of disaster with the heedlessness of the Gadarine swine. We who have the finest prospect in all the world of developing the first truly nonracial society, an African democracy that could pull this continent out of its economic and political mire and become an interlocutor between the First and Third Worlds.

Why?

This column has made the point before that the fundamental problem bedevilling our transition from apartheid to democracy is that our major political players are electioneering and negotiating simultaneously — and the two activities are not compatible.

Our problems begin with the fact that President de Klerk, having crossed the Rubicon on February 2 1990, has never been able to face up to the implications of his own act of courage.

He has not been able to accept that the inevitable consequence of that act was that South Africa would be ruled by its black majority. And that the black majority would almost certainly be represented, at least first time round, by the ANC — a movement once perceptively described by Ton Volsoo, then editor of Beeld and now head of the powerful Nasionale Pers group, as "the National Party of the black man".

With a curious kind of repetitive self-delusion, the Nationalist Government has imagined it could thwart that inevitablity, that somehow it could remain in control itself, if not directly then through the old colonialist technique of indirect rule.

One has seen the delusion evolve over the years. Pik Botha backed his shirt on Bishop Muzorewa in the Zimbabwean election. He was confident the bishop would win at least half the Shona votes and be able to form a coalition with Joshua Nkomo and Ian Smith to take over the government, so keeping out Robert Mugabe's majority party which Pretoria saw as the Marxist menace.

South Africa poured millions into the bishop's campaign, which flopped ignominiously. When it comes to liberation elections, people vote for the party they see as their liberators.

Undeterred, the South African Government did the same in Namibia, backing Dirk Mudge's Democratic Turnhalle Alliance to win against Swapo. It poured even more money and mounted an even greater destabilisation effort into that campaign, and though again it didn't succeed it did well enough for the Nats to convince themselves that with a bigger, craftier campaign they could succeed in South Africa.

So we have the indefatigable Pik now predicting that the National Party is going to win a majority in South Africa's first post-apartheid election. It matters not that his prediction is wildly unrealistic; what counts is that the National Party has persuaded itself that this is possible and is concentrating all its efforts on a strategy designed to bring it about.

That, I am now finally convinced, includes — just as it did in Namibia — a campaign to destabilise the ANC, combined with the building of a political alliance similar to the DTA.

The drive to achieve this has become the Government's overriding concern, and as the campaign gathers momentum the ANC is responding with an anger verging on paranoia. The interaction of the two has thrust us into a premature election campaign of unrestrained ruthlessness that is rapidly destroying any prospect of a negotiated settlement.

The attempt to form a local DTA was evident in De Klerk's convening of a conference on federation in Pretoria this week — an opportunistic attempt by a party that has historically despised the idea of federalism to build an anti-ANC alliance out of the homeland and tricameral detritus of the apartheid system.

The strategy finds its most cynical focus in Ciskei. This is probably the most solidly pro-ANC region in the whole of South Africa, yet the Government is trying to lock it into its DTA alliance through the egregious Oupa Gqozo and his white-officered army. It has sponsored a new "opposition" party, the so-called African Democratic Movement, which has a seconded Military Intelligence officer as its secretary.

This Machiavellian activity in the ANC's heartland invites retaliation, which is why the ANC launched its mass march against Brigadier Gqozo on Monday.

But that, too, was a mindless act. The ANC doesn't need to storm the Bastille in Ciskei: it needs only to wait for an election and Gqozo will go the way of all corrupt political flesh.

This drives one to conclude that the Ciskei march was not so much an act of local democratic protest as part of a larger strategy, to strike first at the weakest point in De Klerk's alliance and then move on to the others — Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu.

In other words, the start of a series of "Leipzig options" to overthrow the Government's DTA satellites.

Which means it, too, was part of an electioneering strategy.

This electioneering has got to stop. There is only one way to stop it — that is to have the election now and get it out of the way. Get rid of the surrogates and pretenders. Establish who the true representatives of the people are, who speaks for whom, and when the need for contestation and back-stabbing is over let them get down to the business of negotiating a constitution in an atmosphere where they can afford to make concessions to one another.

Only then can we start to heal the wounds of this bleeding nation. □

Homelands issue a major obstacle to resuming talks, warns ANC

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, in the wake of the Bisho killings, has identified the homeland issue as a major stumbling block in the way of resumed constitutional talks.

As government negotiators struggled to evaluate the repercussions, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would say only: "This will have a major impact on negotiations." Government will issue a comprehensive statement today on the prospects for negotiations.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday reincorporation of the homelands and the removal of Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo were prime obstacles to resuming constitutional talks.

Two months ago the ANC set 14 conditions for the resumption of talks.

In a separate statement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said Gqozo had to be removed as head of Ciskei and an interim administration "established immediately" in consultation with all parties.

Niehaus said: "The whole issue of reincorporation of the homelands has moved right up the agenda. Gqozo is running wild and it has now become a matter of urgency to remove him." The ANC would tell President F W de Klerk he had the power to remove Gqozo and he must do this "even if it does mean more violence".

He did not rule out demands for economic sanctions and said government and business, which had kept the administration afloat, would have to assess if they wanted to continue bearing the responsibility of association with Ciskei's ruler.

Meyer said reincorporation had been comprehensively dealt with at Codesa and all parties were in broad agreement that this would happen in a phased and orderly way, and would include plebiscites.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the ANC alliance had failed its first test of democratic politics, showing it could not deal with opposing political views and was intolerant of minorities.

The NP rebuked the ANC for "callous disregard for all human life", saying its attitude betrayed the hardline communists' strategy to bring the country to its knees and seize power by force.

DP leader Zach de Beer said reports of DP comment on the Bisho killings were oversimplified "in such a manner as to cause resentment in some quarters, which is not justified".

He repeated his criticism of the ANC leaders for deliberately putting marchers at risk, knowing there was always real danger to their lives. However, he also blamed the NP government for the tragedy to the extent that it continued to subsidise and support the homelands. And he criticised the Ciskei government for ordering troops to use live ammunition without any attempt to use non-lethal measures.

● See Page 8

Is South Africa racing on the road to secession and subdivision, asks **R W John**

When water can't flow uphi

STAR 9/9/92

(304A)

UNTIL recently, of course, such things were simply not allowed in Africa: the OAU insisted on the sanctity of colonial borders and the international community had supportively intervened to throttle secessions in Biafra and Katanga. But times have changed. Djibouti's secession from Somalia is now universally recognised, as is Eritrea's from Ethiopia.

The international community has found it easy enough to accept the division of the USSR into 15 states, the splitting of Yugoslavia into four and of Czechoslovakia in two. So while the world might blanch at the idea of recognising a racially defined Boerestaat in South Africa, other forms of secession would now probably succeed.

Discussion of those other forms of secession immediately brings to light a paradox: those who oppose federalism often do so on the ground that they fear a process of Balkanisation into autonomous states, but actually the dynamic works in an opposite direction.

The more federal the constitution ultimately adopted, the less likely secession will be — for regional elites will then have control over their own local patronage networks, will feel secure in their autonomy, and will still have a powerful interest in staying within a united South Africa in order to benefit from the greater financial resources of the central government.

But the corollary also applies: the more a centralised, unitary state model is adopted, the more likely secession becomes. Nothing, in other words, would so promote the disintegration of South Africa into several states as the arrival in power of a radical, centralist regime dedicated to achieving just the opposite.

One reason why this is so is simply the natural diversity of the country. Until now that diversity was artificially minimised by restricting full membership of the political kingdom to only one seventh of the population. Now that equal citizenship is to be conferred upon all, full political account will have to be taken not only of seven times as many people as before, but of a population which is far more diverse — ethnically, religiously, socially and linguistically — than before.

Nowehere else in the world has the democratic government of so large and various a population even been attempted without resort to federalism. In that context those who argue that the best road to a democratic South Africa lies through a unitary state are, in fact, arguing that here alone water can flow uphill.

For democracy to succeed in a unitary state the populace has to have a high degree of homogeneity and there has to be a considerable degree of social trust, a confidence that certain basic rules of the game will be accepted by all groups.

The more diverse a population, the harder it is for that trust and confidence to exist. Partly this is just because people find it easier to trust people who are like themselves. But it is also because when some real difference — language, for example — separates population groups in a unitary state, the minority group(s) tend to feel they are at the mercy of an unrestrained majority.

This produces a pervasive sense of insecurity which, if not accommodated, will tear any state apart. Federalism is simply a way of accommodating those insecurities by providing autonomous arenas within which minorities can enjoy self-expression and security.

There is no doubt that in these terms, South Africa is an extreme case. Insecurity is a fact of life and a fact of history for its minorities and its African majority alike. Given this history it is, actually, quite peculiar that the case for federalism still has to be made for this, of all countries. And history is powerful; everybody would, no doubt, like to have trust and confidence in everyone else, but the fact is they don't.

The really terrible danger is that the battle will be won by the forces of centralisation on the one hand and intolerance on the other.

The portents are there: take, for example, three random events of the last month — the pressure exerted against the eastern Province press by the Port Elizabeth ANC, the attempt by Numsa to exert similar pressures on the Sowetan, and the violent student action on the University of Durban-Westville campus which prevented the registration of a pro-Inkatha student organisation.

Such events "prove" to the whole spectrum of minorities that the old Adam of single partyism remains strong within the "liberation movement", whatever the leadership may say.

When individuals are faced with prospects as bleak as this they are prone to emigrate; that is, to commit their own individual act of secession. We should not be surprised if the communities and political parties that remain behind begin to think the same way.

It seems unlikely that the rioting students of UDW and the marching files of Numsa or the PE ANC realise they are helping drive others towards the T-junction of federalism or secession, but that is, of course, precisely what they are doing. □

● *R W Johnson is a Rhodes Scholar and don at Magdalene College, Oxford, and a commentator on South African affairs for the Times of London, the Independent, and New Statesman. He is currently on sabbatical at Natal University, Durban.*

The bumpy ride since 1948 . . .

ARG 9/9/92

(304A)

Sapa-Reuter lists the main events in South Africa's chequered recent history.

THE killing of up to 28 ANC supporters by troops of the Ciskei is the latest milestone in modern South Africa's troubled history.

Following is a chronology of the main events since the National Party took power in 1948 and began instituting apartheid policies that led to creation of the homelands:

1950 — Government adopts key laws which will underpin apartheid rule: the four main race groups must live in separate areas, all children must be registered by race at birth, sex between whites and other races is outlawed.

1960 — Sixty-nine people killed during an anti-apartheid protest at Sharpeville, triggering a wave of international revulsion at white rule. The government declares the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress anti-apartheid movements illegal.

1961 — The ANC, now operating underground, launches a guerrilla campaign.

1964 — Nelson Mandela and senior colleagues, including Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, are sentenced to life in prison for resisting white rule.

1976 — Riots break out in Soweto in protest at government ruling that Afrikaans be used in black schools. Unrest spreads throughout country, leaving hundreds of demonstrators dead.

1978 — P W Botha, who later moves cautiously to dismantle some apartheid laws, takes over from John Vorster as prime minister.

1983 — The United Democratic Front, a broad alliance of anti-apartheid organisations, is founded as surrogate for ANC.

1984 — Bloody battles erupt in Natal between the UDF and the Zulu-based movement Inkatha. Rivalry between Inkatha on one side and the UDF and later the ANC on the other spreads to townships around Johannesburg and fuels township wars that kill at least 13 000 blacks in the next eight years.

1985 — The ANC launches "people's war" aimed at making South Africa ungovernable. Riots erupt in Soweto and other townships in the Johannesburg area, spreading throughout the country. The government imposes a partial state of emergency and eventually quells the riots with mass arrests and tough police action. Foreign investors start a disinvestment drive.

1989 — Botha has a stroke and is replaced as president by F W de Klerk who wins general election on reformist ticket.

1990

February 2 — President De Klerk tells parliament the National Party intends scrapping apartheid. He announces the unbanning of about 30 political groupings, including the ANC.

February 11 — Mandela is released from prison.

May — ANC and the government meet in Cape Town. Parties agree to remove obstacles to negotiation: the release of political prisoners, the indemnity of political exiles, a joint commitment to end township violence.

August — The ANC agrees to suspend its 30-year-old armed struggle, the government agrees to scale down emergency laws.

1991

June — Parliament repeals laws segregating residential areas along racial lines and reserving 87 percent of the land for the 14 percent white minority. It also repeals race classification.

November — Preliminary talks attended by the government, the National Party, the ANC and other groups agree that power-sharing talks, named the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), should start the following month.

1992

March 17 — White referendum, called after by-election successes by pro-apartheid Conservative Party, gives De Klerk overwhelming mandate to continue constitutional negotiations.

May — Codesa deadlocks on question of federalism, supported by the National Party but rejected by the ANC.

June 17 — Inkatha supporters raid Boipatong township south of Johannesburg, killing 43 people in pro-ANC community.

June 19 — Mandela announces ANC breaking off Codesa talks because government not doing enough to end township violence.

July — ANC and Communist allies launch mass campaign aimed at toppling three anti-ANC homeland leaders and De Klerk.

Sept 7 — About 60 000 ANC supporters march on Ciskei homeland to oust "government puppet" Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Ciskei troops open fire.

ANC action plans rile the Right

STAR 10/9/92 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

ANC plans to launch mass action at right-wing-controlled towns have infuriated far-right parties, which yesterday threatened violent reaction and called on whites to take the law into their own hands if necessary.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging warned of "greater bloodshed than at Bisho or Boipatong" if the ANC conducted illegal mass action in Conservative Party-controlled towns.

Last night, the ANC said it took "the strongest exception" to the AWB's threats.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said the organisation remained committed to peaceful protest.

"However, we will not be blackmailed by bellicose threats aimed at the destruction of free political activity," it said.

The ANC would not let its right to peaceful democratic protest be eroded by "a fundamentally undemocratic organisation such as the AWB".

In a statement, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said the AWB itself would act if the Government failed to prevent illegal ANC mass actions in white areas.

And HNP law and order spokesman Oscar Hartung called on whites to mobilise themselves to resist the ANC plans, and to take the law into their own hands, if the Government did nothing to protect lives and properties.

He said that after Bisho it was clear that the ANC had not abandoned its armed struggle and it was astonishing that the Government had not punished the ANC.

The ANC stressed that the aim of its campaign against conservative towns was to "secure free political activity".

Earlier, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC's national executive committee had decided last week to launch mass action against institutions which inhibited free political activity, including KwaZulu, QwaQwa and right-wing-controlled towns.

He stressed, however, that the ANC had only decided in principle to target right-wing towns and had not drawn up any specific plans.

No towns had been identified and no dates set.

● The white supremacist Boere Kommando yesterday warned in Hendrina that it was preparing itself and its allies to ward off what it termed an expected violent communist onslaught against towns and farms.

In a statement, the Boere Kommando said its people had a right to self-defence if the Government was incapable of protecting them.

In an apparent reference to this week's ill-fated ANC march on Ciskei, the group said it strongly objected "to the Government allowing our country to be used as a basis for attacks on neighbouring countries".

Tough response to massacre: 'Communists have taken ANC in tow'

Peace talks — before

STAR 10/9/92 (304)

By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatsumba

President de Klerk last night effectively suspended the Government's participation in constitutional negotiations — already stalled by the ANC — saying the Government could not negotiate while the ANC-led alliance was "fomenting instability, revolution and violence".

Mr de Klerk said the Government remained committed to a negotiated constitution. He called for an urgent summit between Government and ANC delegations led by himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela to find ways of stopping the violence.

Mr de Klerk addressed a press conference in Pretoria after a Cabinet meeting to discuss Monday's Bisho massacre in which up to 28 people were killed when Ciskei security forces opened fire on ANC marchers demanding homeland leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's removal.

Deliberate

In a tough response to the massacre, Mr de Klerk again condemned the ANC for not sticking to National Peace Accord guidelines in its march on Bisho, and said it was quite clear that communists had "taken the ANC in tow" and were deliberately undermining constitutional negotiations.

But he also, for the first time, condemned the Ciskei government and said that if the ANC and the Ciskei government had fully honoured their Peace Accord obligations, "nobody would have died at Bisho".

He announced that the Government would be meeting all the homeland authorities which control security forces to ensure a "uniform, effective and responsible" handling of protest marches.

The Government had also approached the Goldstone Commission to investigate the massacre and had asked the National Peace Committee to convene an urgent meeting of all Peace Accord signatories to review the accord and find new measures to stop violence.

Asked whether the Government was withdrawing from constitutional negotiations, he said: "I'm saying that negotiations must now be at leadership level." This did not rule out communication between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr de Klerk said four issues should be on the agenda of the top-level meeting between the Government and the ANC:

- The problem of violence.
- The role "conflict-creating mass action played in the transition to democracy".
- The ANC's "violation" of the Peace Accord.
- Other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

He said the aim of the new methods which the Government would be examining to control mass action were:

- To ensure that the right to protest peacefully and lawfully was maintained.
- To ensure that exercising that right should not lead to the disruption of society, disregard of the rights of others, or to violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) would today consider Mr de Klerk's request for a meeting with the ANC.

Mr Mandela, who visited the scene of the shootings on Tuesday, returned to Johannesburg with Mr Ramaphosa the same evening to chair the NWC meeting.

A well-placed ANC source said Mr Mandela was "quite angry" about the turn of events in Ciskei.

He said Mr Mandela was likely to persuade the NWC to add the removal of Brigadier Gqozo from office to the ANC's 14 demands.

The ANC's national executive committee last week decided not to return to full-scale negotiations until its 14 conditions had been met.

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FAX

NP supports distribution of wealth programmes

By JACKO MAREE, MP

THE National Party believes in the maintenance and extension of a free-market system with minimum official interference. All South Africans should be helped to achieve their inherent potential themselves rather than be sustained by way of handouts. The Government's aim should be to establish equal opportunities for all and to ensure that citizens participate in the economy on an equal basis.

The National Party is nevertheless not callous about the plight of the under-privileged and supports distribution of wealth programmes, provided such programmes are fair, justifiable, well planned and acceptable to institutions such as the IMF. We endorse fully the manifesto announced by the State President on February 1, 1991 stating that "the resources of the State should be fairly used for the common good with special regard to the socio-economic backlogs existing in the country".

The National Party has actively supported steps undertaken to redistribute wealth such as the establishment of regional services councils which transfer wealth from rich to poor municipalities; the expansion of a progressive system of income tax; the cumulative increase over recent years, in the social services component of the national budget, which now makes up 40%; the establishment of the independent Development Trust in mid-1990 with a capital of R2 bn; the allocation of an additional R2 bn and the further allocation of R1 bn recently to overcome backlogs: the commitment of R1 bn for socio-economic development and the appointment of a Land Commission to determine land losses through apartheid legislation.

The National Party believes that upliftment of the under-privileged communities should furthermore be sought in:

- The public service (where a more balanced population make-up must be created, coupled with career security, norms and strict merit considerations).
- Better education.
- The promotion of land ownership.
- The provision of low-income housing.
- Electrification, small and primary business development programmes, progressive taxation, privatisation and similar schemes.

The National Party's willingness to redistribute wealth and to uplift the poorer communities must not be taken as support of all policies with that objective. We are opposed, for instance, to socialistic affirmative action policies because they do not judge the individual on merit, qualifications or talents, but allot preferential treatment to racial or ethnic groups as compensation for past discrimination for temporary discrimination.

JACKO MAREE: NP is opposed to socialistic affirmative action policies because they do not judge individuals on merit.

Upliftment

The National Party is furthermore strongly opposed to these socialistic affirmative action models because:

- They are based on race. This runs counter to the vision of a non-racial New South Africa. No political party can be taken seriously when it says that it strives for a non-racial state then bases state policy on a concept where race classification is the criteria. Instead of making race irrelevant as a constitutional determinant, it elevates it as an important and sustained norm. Put simply, one cannot fight racism with racism.
- They are based on group upliftment and not individual upliftment. This has tended, world-wide, to increase intergroup rivalry and conflict.
- They benefit only the elite. It is a world-wide phenomenon where similar policies were introduced, partly due to the absence of a means test, which has resulted in benefits for the wealthy within the preferred group.
- They germinate into a permanent feature. Temporary programmes are repeatedly extended — for example a five-year programme introduced in Pakistan in 1949 was recently extended to 1994.
- They are experienced as tokenism.
- They lack an honest rationale in that one generation should atone for the inherited guilt of an earlier generation which oppressed a particular race.
- They seek to integrate a disadvantaged majority into a small First World society with the result that wealth will be so dissipated as to affect economic growth negatively.
- They discriminate in reverse. An equal opportunity society is irreconcilable with socialistic affirmative action models.
- They raise expectations that cannot be met. SACOB, for example, has estimated the remedying of racial inequalities of R52 billion. Economic reality put these affirmative action proposals in perspective.
- They hamper competitiveness, discriminate between people in the workplace, undermine discipline; impact negatively on the economy and must be avoided.

□ *Mr Maree is director of the National Party's Federal Information Service.*

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CT 10/9/92

SA nearing zone of intensive care

STAR 10/9/92 (304A)

Stanley Uys reports from London

FOR a Government that for more than four decades furiously resisted foreign interference in its domestic affairs, Pretoria suddenly has become remarkably accommodating. Soon you will scarcely be able to turn a street corner without bumping into a foreign observer.

A very good thing it is, too. In the aftermath of the Ciskei massacre, particularly, South Africa needs all the help and guidance it can get. It can stop pretending, too, that the observers are there just to observe. If they can mediate or conciliate or in any way assist the warring sides to find their way out of the mess they are in, they should be free to do so.

At least South Africa is not in intensive care yet, with a UN peace-keeping force flown in to patrol no-go zones.

There are 12 such peace-keeping forces in the world at present, and if there is one more Boipatong or Ciskei, the clamour will go up for a 13th force to be sent to South Africa. The UN has done as much peace-keeping in the past four years as in the past 40. This is the way of the world these days, and may there be more of it.

Before long, there may be 50 UN observers in South Africa and some 15 from the European Community. In May, a five-member team from the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was admitted, the Commonwealth has sent its emissaries, and the National Peace Committee has invited ex-President Kenneth Kaunda and ex-President Julius Nyerere to mediate in the remorseless conflict between the ANC and Inkatha.

Less realistically, the ANC has proposed that the new Southern African Development Community (ex-SADCC) should intervene as a regional monitor to assist in the transfer of power to the black majority (a faint hope), and some OAU members, against internal opposition, want the organisation to create a Bureau of the Summit to intervene in continental conflicts. Involvement is now the name of the game.

The arrival of foreign observers in South Africa has taken place with the consent of both the Government and the ANC — because there is common cause both among the observers, and also between them, the Government and the ANC, to keep negotiations on track until a settlement is reached. It is a fairly unique situation, and one South Africa should make the most of.

Not only are the numbers of foreign observers increasing, but the ambit of their involvement is widening. By invitation, a British criminologist, Dr Peter Waddington, has delivered a report that may well turn out to be a catalyst in dealing with the whole question of violence. The Government is also showing a willingness to allow its policemen to be retrained by foreigners.

Sceptics ask what useful purpose foreign observers can possibly serve in South Africa. The answer should be obvious: South African politics have become a kind of spaghetti junction, and a neutral observer may be just the kind of person to help unravel it. But then both sides must play by the rules. There are influential figures in both the National Party and the ANC who resent the intrusion of foreign observers and they should not be allowed to make these observers feel unwelcome.

The function of foreign observers, it seems to me, is to ring-fence the political disputants, and then gradually tighten the ring. They can do this without transgressing South Africa's sovereignty (President de Klerk has acknowledged that their behaviour so far has been circumspect) or by showing partisanship against the ANC (the ANC, after all, was primarily responsible for inviting them).

Britain's Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd spelt out some of the priorities as foreign observers see them: time is not on South Africa's side, there is a limit beyond which a sliding economy will not easily recover, for recovery to begin there must first be a political settlement, the starting point for such a settlement is to deal with township violence, and Inkatha is just as crucial for successful negotiations as the ANC are.

These priorities are well known to South Africans, but the specific function of the observers (through the UN, EC, etc) can be to keep telling the warring sides to keep their eye on the ball. Actually, there are no loopholes through which either the ANC or the Government can escape. Sooner or later, the fence will close around them.

This is the overriding mission of the observers — to get the Codesa parties (and others) back to the negotiating table. And now that they are in the country they should not easily go away, however inhospitable the climate may become.

The wording of the Security Council resolution on the pivotal issue of violence is their marker: they will remain involved in the matter until a democratic, non-racial and united South Africa is established. □

People the pawns in politicians' cynical war games

B/DAY 10/9/92 **PATRICK BULGER**

THE Bisho massacre illustrates just how thin is the line that separates negotiations from outright war, and raises questions about the level of morality which accompanies political conduct in SA today.

The march was the subject of intense negotiations involving the ANC, the Ciskei government and the security forces of both SA and Ciskei. But in the excitement of the moment, the ANC's protest march dropped its civil rights pretensions and became a poorly co-ordinated attempt to overthrow the Ciskei government.

Chicken- and egg-like, it is difficult to apportion blame. Apartheid gave SA the Ciskei homeland and its leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. Were it not for apartheid, there would not have been 28 corpses lying around Bisho's stadium on Monday. Were it not for Ciskei's soldiers the shootings would not have taken place. In other words, the Bisho tragedy becomes a typical SA situation in which individuals are spared the blame. It is the system that is at fault.

The ANC, with the backing of prominent church leaders, refuses to accept that its engaging in certain protest actions can lead to disaster. The right of peaceful protest in a society in which the majority do not have the vote is accepted as inalienable, regardless of the unique circumstances in which we find ourselves.

The ANC, convinced unshakeably of the rightness of its cause, lays the blame for the shootings with President F W de Klerk. But what of the soldier who pulled the trigger, what of the commander who gave the order? What of the role played by ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils in leading unarmed people towards a line of soldiers lying concealed with cocked weapons? In a situation in which the system is blamed, the perception is created that individuals themselves are beyond reproach — it is circumstances and institutions that are at fault. In this moral murkiness, personal responsibility is not at issue.

This, of course, is the thinking at play in societies at war. The deaths of men, women and children and the destruction of others' lives is insignificant. After all, it would be an eccentric history book that actually printed the names of the lowly deceased.

It is difficult to dispel the feeling that SA's people are being shortchanged by their politicians who profess a commitment to negotiations and yet engage in actions compatible only with a society at war.

In the Bisho context, if the objective of the exercise was to attempt a danger-ridden overthrow of Gqozo, could one not argue on a theoretical level that people should in fact have been armed if there was a strong possibility that they would be fired upon?

Kasrils argues in retrospect that he did not think the soldiers would fire upon unarmed protesters in the presence of senior ANC leaders and the world's Press. For a military man — Kasrils was prominent in the ANC's armed struggle while in exile — this was a naive assumption. A soldier approached by a throng of people who may or may not be armed, has little option but to save his own skin or risk being relieved of both his rifle and his life.

Such, however, was the ANC's belief in the disillusionment of Ciskei's soldiers, that its senior leaders came to believe their own propaganda. If anything, the Ciskei soldiers appeared to open fire with more than a dash of relish. Did the ANC's intelligence department not bother to inquire as to the loyalty or otherwise of Ciskei's soldiers?

The Bisho killings have grave consequences for the success of a peaceful transition in SA. The ANC, unable to achieve its objectives at the negotiating table, has now incorporated mass action into its long-term strategy, reasoning that the De Klerk government is deaf to reasonable demands. On a national level, the ANC's commitment to negotiations will not be worth the paper it is written on if peaceful tactics can be replaced by gung ho military adventures as and when it suits the movement.

ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils, right, describes the Bisho massacre to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

Is one to extract from the Bisho experience the following lesson: that the ANC is prepared to negotiate, that it is prepared to go to court to gain permission for a march and will abide by the court's ruling only up to that point at which its aims are suited? Is SA to be led into a situation in which agreements are reached between political opponents not because they have finally agreed to set aside their differences but because the agreement provides a launching pad for the attainment of hidden agendas?

The predominant perception among ANC leaders is that the government has its back to the wall — without the right to govern and surrounded by security forces of questionable loyalty to the government of the day. Unlike at Bisho, the ANC dare not allow itself to be deluded into believing the propaganda of its more excitable comrades cocooned in the school of struggle politics.

It may as well be said outright that the De Klerk government has no intention of relinquishing power in a manner that would leave it without a say in a future government. To the extent that the ANC and its allies are committed to the exercise of Leninist political principles — negotiating on the one hand, undermining on the other — the De Klerk government and its security forces will not let up on the covert war that is being conducted against the middle-level alliance leadership. Political cynicism cuts both ways.

Decades of apartheid have served to discredit SA's institutions — its courts, its security forces and indeed the very idea of authority.

Either we accept this state of affairs and begin rebuilding SA's institutions using the peace accord and the Goldstone commission as foundations, or the insidious slide towards a society at war will continue and accelerate. The ANC has a major role to play in both instances, and in the aftermath of Bisho must surely question whether the tactics it is employing serve not only to pluck the golden goose that is civilised society of its plumage, but actually kill the bird.

To be sure, the breaking of a rule — namely the foolhardy sprint at the soldiers from the stadium at Bisho — is not a capital offence. The Ciskei government left a long section of the stadium fence unmended before the event so that by the time the marchers arrived at the fence that was supposed to constrain them, they found it did not exist. That fence should have been there and the minutes it might have taken to break it down could have provided time for reflection, for a dissipation of adrenalin.

This is not to nitpick for the sake of it. The transition to democracy in SA cannot afford to go off the rails because fences are not mended. Factors like these will occur again and again. There is not a single detail that can be overlooked, not a single precaution that can be taken must be ignored.

The deaths of 28 unemployed peasants leaves a bitter aftertaste. In this depressing scenario, is it too much to ask our politicians to fight their own battles?

FW wants talks over violence

304A

Sowetan 10/9/92.

BISHO BLOODBATH Government proposes meeting to talk about rolling mass action:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE GOVERNMENT WANTS an urgent high-level meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss ways of ending the violence.

And in a television interview last night, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said such a meeting could not take place in a vacuum and that a firm basis for it had to be established first.

"The Government must first remove the existing obstacles to the establishment of democracy in the country before such a meeting can take place.

"If such a meeting fails, there is no hope for this country," Ramaphosa said.

The Government called for the high-level meeting between itself and the ANC following Monday's massacre in Bisho when at least 28 people died and about 200 injured.

Addressing a Press conference after a crucial Cabinet meeting yesterday, De Klerk said the tragedy at Bisho had shocked everyone in South Africa.

Responding to speculation earlier in the day that the Government would withdraw from talks with the ANC, he said (Government) remained "committed to a new, negotiated and fully democratic constitution".

"Related to that is that elections will have to be held as soon as possible. However, we have reached a new point at which violence is making the realisation of these ideals increasingly difficult to attain.

"It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily," De Klerk said.

A meeting of the National Peace Committee is to be called "as a matter of greatest urgency" where all the signatories of the Peace Accord could be present, and the Government would hold talks, too, with all its departments which have security forces under their control.

About the proposed high-level meeting with the ANC, De Klerk said discussions would include the role which "conflict-creating" mass action played in the transition.

NEWS Anger at failure to condemn Ciskei killing ● MPLA, Unita agree on peace project

GUNS TO GRINDING ... Factory director Yuri Bolshakov stands before cases of land mines in Balakirevo, Russia and holds a newly-made meat grinder and samples at the factory site. Conversion of military industry to civilian production caused the dismissal of half the factory's 8 000 workforce.

ALLAN EDWARDS
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GETTING MARRIED?

FW's promises are questioned

Sowetan 10/9/92 (304)

■ DE KLERK DOUBTED Australian Prime Minister alarmed after Ciskei massacre:

CANBERRA -Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating said yesterday that President FW de Klerk's failure to condemn the Ciskei massacre put in question his commitment to ending violence and apartheid.

Keating said the SA Government must make sure the perpetrators of the massacre, in which Ciskei troops on Monday killed at least 28 and wounded about 200 ANC supporters, were brought to justice.

"The president's failure to condemn the massacre puts in question his commitment to eliminating political violence and the structures of apartheid which Ciskei represents," Keating said. De Klerk and his ministers have blamed the unruly behaviour of ANC demonstrators for the shootings.

Keating on Tuesday called in South African ambassador David Tothill to tell him of Australia's "horror" at the killings.

Australian trade unions yesterday began attempting to block deliveries to the South African embassy.

The six-member picket lined up with anti-apartheid banners outside the gates of the huge white-painted Canberra embassy to persuade the driver of a parcels van to drive off without making his delivery.

"We have set up the picket line to prevent the delivery of goods and services to the embassy," Charles McDonald, secretary of Canberra's Trades and Labor Council, the umbrella body for local unions, said after a council meeting.

He has asked the Australian Council of Trade Unions to pressure the Australian government into reimposing certain sanctions, such as a ban on sporting links.

The world tires of endless African calamity, reports **Hugh Roberton** from Washington

US goodwill begins to wane

STAR 10/9/92 (304A)

SOUTH Africa's political violence has become so commonplace that only the most exceptional instances — Boipatong and, most recently, the massacre at Bisho — are reported in even those American newspapers which pride themselves on their international coverage.

The smaller massacres which occur in Natal, and the weekend bludgeonings and necklacings in the Vaal triangle, which cumulatively account for vastly more deaths than the Boipatongs and Bishos, are almost invariably ignored, even by black-owned newspapers and radio stations.

This growing indifference is part of a trend which embraces virtually all of sub-Saharan Africa. The region is slowly being written off by influential Americans at all points on the political spectrum as a hopeless mess of violence and corruption, where disease and famine have become the entrenched natural order and where decades of generous US aid has produced precious few results.

There may be those in the government and the ANC who would contest this view, who would argue that Americans remain deeply concerned and eager to help. But they are only partly right, and ever decreasingly so, for there are some ominous trends to the contrary.

It is an open secret at the State Department, for instance, that a huge cutback in the US diplomatic presence in sub-Saharan Africa is now imminent, with some accounts suggesting that entire embassies will be closed in countries with a population of less than 5 million. The studies now being done, and written about in specialised publications, talk of more than 70 diplomatic posts being eliminated and many more development aid posts being cut.

The US presidential election is in full swing, but neither candidate has bothered to make a definitive statement on Africa, let alone South Africa. The public, as the polls show, couldn't care less — and that goes for most black American voters as well. To some extent the end of the Cold War — during which Africa was an intense arena for superpower rivalry — is a reason for the change, but similar diplomatic retractions are not on in the pipeline elsewhere in the world.

One of the most distinguished Africa analysts in the US, Professor Carol Lancaster of the Foreign Service School at Georgetown University, had this to say in a recent assessment:

"US interest in helping poor countries worldwide to improve their economic wellbeing appears to have weakened greatly in recent years. There is some satisfaction with our past successes (for example, Korea and Taiwan). There is discouragement and frustration with our failures, above all in Africa.

"And there are signs of impatience and fatigue on the part of the US public towards recurring disasters in that unfortunate part of the world.

"Although the past may be a poor predictor of the future aid policies towards Africa, current trends do suggest a likely evolution of the US role in the region. Aid to Africa will decline in dollar and percentage terms. In addition to the possible elimination or merging of some USAID missions, there is a clear prospect that a number of diplomatic missions, unable to justify their existence and expense in the face of budgetary stringencies and demands for resources in other parts of the world, may be closed down or reorganised.

"It seems likely the US diplomats will play less of a role in trying to shape events in the region or — more important — helping Africans to resolve conflicts among themselves."

Can South Africa emerge as an exception in this morass of disillusionment? The country, after all, boasts of being the powerhouse of the continent, where Africa's renaissance and salvation might begin.

There remains tremendous goodwill for South Africa in the US, and a sense of a deeper involvement and commitment than now exists for most other countries on the continent. But with each massacre, patience is eroded. And nothing is eroding it faster than the glib assertions of innocence and the devious apportionment of blame by spokesmen for both the Government and the ANC.

The threat to South Africa's relations with the US, as much as Africa's as a whole, is the "fatigue" of the American public with endless disaster — massacres, wars, famines, corruption. In the end it is all South Africans who bear the consequences and it will matter very little who the culprits were if the last hope for Africa evaporates in the US. □

Plea to ANC

CT 10/9/92 (304A)

By BARRY STREEK and ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night made an urgent plea for Mr Nelson Mandela to meet him in a face-to-face summit to prevent the country drifting into uncontrolled violence.

Inside:

OUPA GQOZO WARNS ANC NOT TO PROVOKE CISKEI

See PAGE 2

Mr De Klerk's call came against worldwide alarm at the Ciskei bloodshed and indications that the ANC is preparing for further mass action, including a march on the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi.

The Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday continued to slide with the all gold index falling by 4,2%, spurred by foreign investors selling out in the wake of threats to the stability of the homelands. The overall index dropped to its lowest level in 12 months.

The SA Chamber of Business last night said the country was "at the crossroads".

In a grim statement, Sacob president Mr Hennie Viljoen said the country either "demonstrates its real commitment to peace and stability or it continues down the path of conflict and violence".

The ANC said last night that it would not respond to Mr De Klerk's call until its national working committee had completed its post-Bisho deliberations later today.

Mr De Klerk also announced that additional troops were being sent to Ciskei to guard installations and prevent looting.

He said an SA Communist Party faction in the ANC was determined to derail negotiations.

"It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence is dealt with satisfactorily," he told a press conference in Pretoria after yesterday's cabinet meeting.

"The vortex of violence in which the ANC/SACP

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From page 1

Ciskei

CT 10/9/92 (304A)

is continuously involved is sucking the entire country ever deeper into it."

Mr De Klerk said the ANC alliance's good faith in negotiations was suspect but stressed: "I am prepared to lead the government delegation myself and urge Mr Mandela to do the same in respect of the ANC delegation.

"Both I and Mr Mandela should be involved directly in this discussion."

The government did not like military governments in Ciskei, Transkei and Venda but would like to see these replaced by civilian and democratically elected administrations as soon as possible.

However, this had to happen in an orderly and constitutional manner.

Mr De Klerk said in reply to a question that he was not empowered by the SA constitution summarily to remove Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and his government because this would dishonour existing agreements and "throw value systems out of the window".

- Brigadier Gqozo yesterday defiantly warned of a repeat of Monday's massacre if the ANC-/SACP alliance continued to provoke the Ciskei government and its security forces.
- ANC PWV spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said a broad coalition of political and community groups would be convened by the ANC before the month end to spearhead action against Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

Let us talk says FW

Sowetan 10/9/92. (304A)

FACE TO FACE State President seeks meeting with Mandela to find a solution to the country's violence:

THE government wants a high-level meeting between State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss ways to end the violence.

De Klerk, addressing a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday, said it was not possible to negotiate constitutional issues until the question of violence had been dealt with satisfactorily.

Reacting to De Klerk's call, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said such a meeting could not take place in a vacuum. He said a firm basis for a meeting must be established first.

See story page 2

Clampdown on 'revolutionaries'

FW calls for crisis meeting with ANC

304A

B/DAY 10/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

PRETORIA — President F W de Klerk put constitutional negotiations on the back burner last night, calling instead for an urgent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela to resolve violence.

He told a news conference at the Union Buildings that he was taking strong action to deal with the violence and isolate "leaders and revolutionaries who continue to cling to violence".

Agreeing with the ANC that meaningful negotiations could not happen while the level of violence was so high, De Klerk asked the ANC to help — through talks — to find ways of resolving it.

He did not, as indicated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Monday night, threaten to suspend talks. He said the preparatory talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa could continue. But he said it was time negotiations were upgraded to a leadership level.

De Klerk said: "It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily.

"A meeting between government and the ANC has to take place urgently at leadership level now.... I am prepared to lead the government delegation myself and urge Mr Mandela to do the same in respect of the ANC delegation."

De Klerk also announced three other courses of action government was initiating to quell violence. These were:

☐ That the national peace committee convene, within days, a meeting of the peace accord signatories so that parties' responsibilities could be reviewed and additional measures to help end violence could be worked out;

☐ That government would hold talks with all its institutions with security components to ensure uniform, effective and responsible action, within the framework of agreed codes, on public marches. Government would call all self-governing territories to an urgent meeting on this, and negotiate simultaneously with the TBVC states on the issue; and

☐ That government was seeking clarity on the causes of the Bisho killings and getting the Goldstone Commission to assist.

De Klerk said it was increasingly clear that the communists in the ANC were making deliberate attempts to render further constitutional talks impossible. "The vortex of violence in which the ANC/SACP is continuously involved is sucking the entire country ever deeper into it."

According to news reports, he said, the rules laid down for the Bisho march were deliberately contravened, with prominent communists reportedly leading the breakaway group. Similarly, according to news reports, the peace accord was also breached by the Ciskei government. "That is condemned by us as well," De Klerk said.

The fact remained that the ANC, under the leadership of the SACP, could not escape the responsibility for having planned the Bisho march in the knowledge that there was a serious risk of violence, De

☐ To Page 2

De Klerk

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Klerk said.

He said government was not able to continue constitutional talks and could not meet its obligation to the country and the other negotiating parties while "the ANC alliance or any other grouping is doing all it can to foment a climate of instability, revolution and violence". The ANC alliance's good faith in negotiations was under suspicion, he said.

"We have to concentrate now, as our first priority, on eliminating violence and everything that instigates violence and instability," he said.

☐ The ANC said last night De Klerk's statement would be tabled at its extended national working committee meeting today, for an in-depth response.

It said, however, that at face value government seemed to be offering "more of the same". "The view of the ANC that needs no discussion is that mass action is not conflict-creating. It is the denial of free political activity by all kinds of government-supported petty tyrants that creates conflict."

● Comment: Page 6

Mandela urged: 'Join in summit and seek rapid end to violence'

ARG 10/9/92

FW quits negotiations

304 A

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has effectively suspended government participation in constitutional negotiations — already stalled by the ANC — saying the government could not negotiate while the ANC alliance was "fomenting instability, revolution and violence."

He said the government remained committed to a constitution, but would not negotiate until violence had been resolved.

He called for a summit, led by himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela, that would end violence. He wanted examination of the role of the ANC's mass action campaign.

Mr De Klerk was speaking after a cabinet meeting at which Monday's Bisho massacre was discussed.

The ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) met today to discuss reaction to Mr De Klerk's statements.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said a statement could be expected this afternoon.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said today that everything depended on the ANC. All efforts at contact between government and the ANC had been disrupted by events at Bisho.

Mr Meyer and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the ANC, had meetings recently.

The ANC suspended talks after the June 17 Boipatong massacre, listing 14 demands dealing primarily with resolving violence before it would return to the negotiating table.

In a tough response to Monday's Bisho massacre, Mr De Klerk again condemned the ANC for not sticking to Peace Accord guidelines in its march on Bisho and said it was clear that communists had "taken the ANC in tow" and were deliberately undermining negotiations.

But he also, for the first time, condemned the Ciskei government, saying if the ANC and Ciskei government had honoured their Accord obligations "nobody would have died."

He said the government would meet homeland authorities which controlled security forces to ensure a "uniform, effective and responsible" handling of marches.

Cabinet was read Rubicon speech

304A

ARG 19/9/92

WILDERNESS. — Former State President Mr P W Botha said there were no Cabinet objections to his "personally finalised" Rubicon speech delivered in Durban on August 15 1985.

He was reacting in a faxed statement from his retirement home to news reports claiming that he plunged South Africa into a political and financial crisis by revising the now-notorious Rubicon speech.

Mr Botha said that, before delivery, he read his final draft to his Cabinet colleagues at a meeting at the Union Buildings.

Nobody at the time raised any objections to the delivered speech, but shortly before he was to speak in Durban, there suddenly appeared speculative reports in local and foreign media about what he was going to say.

This week, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha allowed the publication of the original version of the Rubicon speech of which he said he was the author.

According to Mr Pik Botha, had his original version been delivered, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela would have been released from prison five years earlier, while the original phrase "crossing the Rubicon", which also appeared in the final version, would not have been stripped of its intended meaning.

Mr Pik Botha's speech was used by Dr Daan Prinsloo in a biography of Mr P W Botha. — Sapa.

NP meet on disquiet over FW?

Political Correspondent

THE National Party's parliamentary caucus last night began gathering for a "bosberaad" this weekend to discuss rumblings in the party and the crisis facing the country at a remote holiday resort in the Eastern Transvaal.

Sources said there was increasing unhappiness among some senior members of the party at President F W de Klerk's leadership style, particularly his handling of the ANC.

It is understood some party members believe Mr De Klerk has not been pro-active enough in dealing with a constant stream of demands and threats emanating from the ANC.

An example is the recently announced restructuring of the police force, which allowed the ANC to shoot down the reforms as "too little, too late".

The way this was handled, the argument runs, gave the impression the government was buckling to ANC pressure rather than seizing the initiative and high moral ground.

The negotiations impasse and looming violence would probably also be discussed at the "bosberaad".

Also on the agenda would be the legislative programme for Parliament when MPs convene for a special short session in October. (304A) CT 11/9/92

Advertisement

COLOUR ENLARGEMENTS FOR CHOIRS, SPORTS TEAMS, WITH NAMES!

ETC. . .

by Ian Walker

Photomax, In Shell House

'NP toady' boycotted

CT 11/9/92

DURBAN. — Seven councillors boycotted the mayoral induction in the city hall here yesterday.

The boycott was in protest at the election as deputy mayor of Mr Johan Krog, leader of the National Party caucus on the council.

The seven said he was not eligible for the post because he had been on the council for only just over a year.

"He's an NP toady," they said.

In his induction speech Mr Krog said he was aware of the criticism being levelled against him.

"But I intend to make up for my lack of experience through approaching things in a businesslike manner," he said.

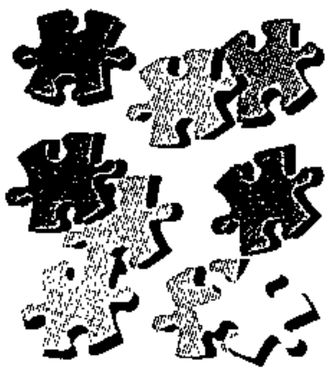
The formal election of Mrs Margaret Winter as mayor was greeted by cheering and ululating from a row of colourfully-clad black women.

FEDERALISM

A way to live together

(304A) FM 11/9/92

Critics say government is resuscitating apartheid in federal plans



The Bisho massacre occurred on the same day President F W de Klerk was attempting to extend and deepen support for the idea of federalism. And so, through a tragic irony, the ANC's spurning of the summit — attended only by government and its allies — appeared to lend credence to its position that Pretoria's idea of federalism is simply the old homelands policy adorned with socio-political jargon.

This is doubly unfortunate — for not only will the conjunction of events impede constitutional debate, it could obscure and imperil the aims of federalism itself, feeding mass clamour for a centralised, powerful State.

Federalism — which *Collins* defines as the division of power between a central and several regional governments — is intended to accommodate ethnic diversity, not feed its fires. It is palpably apparent that SA needs a political system which will not further divide those whom apartheid has rent asunder; but which will have at its centre a common, unifying loyalty.

Such an ideal may be immensely difficult to achieve. The federalism summit was not meant to do more than sketch the outlines of a post-apartheid political order — and De Klerk himself (responding to Bisho) pointed out that he had not installed Oupa Gqozo or the other homeland military dictators. But this is, of course, a trifle disingenuous — De Klerk has inherited responsibility for the homelands and he cannot simply wish them away.

He has financial leverage over them, for example — a fact which underscores the extent to which the homelands were never genuine components of a federal system. The National Party's conversion to the concept of entrenching more autonomous regional government is sadly belated. And it seems based on the notion that federalism will limit the extent to which an ANC-dominated government could proscribe Afrikaner or other aspirations in at least some regions.

The Nats, who imposed apartheid through vigorous centralisation — and progressively usurped provincial powers — cloak this idea in the democratic and economic language of devolution.

While their argument is not without merit, it naturally arouses suspicion of other motives. "One might be forgiven some cynicism about these recent converts," said Helen Suzman in a recent address. She went on: "Nevertheless, one should welcome the change in policy by the government, for federalism indeed offers a way in which SA can accommodate the diversity of its 35m-40m people."

It is certainly better than civil war. If the crisis surrounding the Ciskei can be resolved, this should allow the debate over federalism to resume more rationally. It cannot do so in the present climate.

Long before the advent of the "new SA," Pretoria had conceded that the homelands had become an administrative nightmare. Since they were geographically founded on ethnicity, they made no economic sense. In an attempt to sort this out, a number of development regions were defined which cut across boundaries. In certain cases, the regions overlapped more than one homeland as well as parts of the common area. There was some imaginative planning.

This move represented an inclination towards federalism based on economic realities — whereby, for example, Natal is considered as a unit rather than an ethnic patchwork quilt. It could yet prove persuasive. (In the case of Natal, of course, it would also have to satisfy Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulus.)

The ANC, for its part, had begun to indicate less aversion to the idea of regional autonomy, though federalism remains to it a means of frustrating the democratic and wealth redistribution it envisages. It can point out that among the main supporters of federalism at the Pretoria summit were the breakaway Conservatives, who want their own white statelet where, logically, racist local laws would prevail over federal law. This simply won't fly.

In principle, all the groups at Codesa (the CP wasn't there) have accepted the concept of regionalism. "There are too many interests to reconcile unless you have regional government," comments Tony Leon of the Democratic Party.

KwaZulu's Buthelezi ... *regionalism provides balance*

There is a strong argument that had this country been a federation from 1910, rather than a union, the Nats would have found it more difficult to impose apartheid. They might then have realised earlier that their own survival could not be guaranteed by denying basic human, political and economic rights to the majority.

But if not then, why now? The answer is that the Nats eventually realised that their own survival had to be predicated on participative and not exclusive government. Just *how* participative is what is at issue.

"If we're going to start with a clean slate," Leon says, "then it must be acknowledged that the government failed not only because of race, but because of the over-concentration of power — and that power was easily abused."

Federalism is so important to both sides that it caused the breakdown at Codesa 2, say observers such as Suzman. The government wanted a constituent assembly to require a 75% vote for clauses regarding regional government. The ANC stuck to its 70% offer. Those five percentage points on that one issue deadlocked the entire convention.

Many constitutional proposals unveiled at Codesa recommend devolution to smaller geographic units: the Nats and ANC each suggested about nine or 10 regions and the DP favours as many as 15. The question is in essence a matter of the extent to which central government is prepared to guarantee clearly delineated devolved powers.

The ANC, the SA Communist Party and some of the homeland leaders argue that regional powers should be enacted by legislation, rather than set out in the constitution. At its national conference in May, the ANC said: "Parliament shall determine what powers the regions should have ... provided the overriding authority of the central parliament is recognised."

The idea of federalism certainly isn't new. Zach de Beer says the DP and its predecessors have supported the concept for more than 30 years; there was at one stage a Federal Party. And, back in 1973, Donald Woods, former editor of the *Daily Dispatch*, convened a conference on federalism in East London that attracted six homeland leaders, including KwaZulu Chief Buthelezi, and representatives of the PFP and coloured and Indian communities.

The conference declared at the time that "the federal form of government, embodying autonomous states free of racial exclusive-

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ness, is most likely to create the conditions under which (a full life with dignity, opportunity and justice under the Rule of Law) will be achieved." Simply put, it was a means of limiting apartheid. The mistake now is to see it as a means of limiting democracy.

Inkatha supports federalism, in that it promises:

- ☐ Checks and balances — legislative, executive and judicial branches keep an eye on each other and regional and national governments have separate powers;
- ☐ Appropriate devolution — nothing should be done on the national level that can be done at local level;
- ☐ Responsiveness — local leaders understand local conditions better than national ones;
- ☐ Protection of the individual — cultural, linguistic and ethnic rights are better protected by allowing for the diverse expression of values; and
- ☐ Participation — there is a greater opportunity for grassroots politics by the greatest number of citizens. And even if a party is defeated at the national level, it may still win state and local elections and regroup to fight subsequent national elections.

The words "checks and balances" do not appear in the US constitution, though together they make federalism work in that successful nation. For instance, Congress makes the laws, but the President can veto the legislation. If the members of each house of Congress muster a two-thirds vote, they can override the President's veto. And the members of the Supreme Court, who are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, can declare laws unconstitutional.

On another level, each of the 50 states has the right to impose other than Federal tax on its residents; to set education standards; to determine public holidays. If two-thirds of both houses of Congress want a constitutional amendment, it still has to be passed by three-quarters of the state legislatures.

On yet another level, local municipalities within the states have the right to levy municipal rates, decide on zoning regulations, employ their own teachers and police officers — and name city streets.

For Bertus de Villiers, head of the Human Science Research Council's Centre for Constitution Analysis, the classical model defines federalism too narrowly. He has no problem with, for instance, the national government laying down guidelines for regional authorities on how they should prioritise their spending.

But that is anathema to supporters of the classical model. They feel that if residents don't like the rules, they should have the right to vote with their feet, which would be a moot point if the central government had overall power. People should have the right to seek a better life. Why else did the NP institute influx control but to prevent that from happening?

Frances Kendall, a long-time proponent of Swiss-style federalism and its practice of regular referendums in the 26 regions, says the more the better when it comes to regions. Her organisation, Groundswell, recommended more than 20 in its submission to Codesa and that they could be based on existing magisterial districts because they are nonracial and contain administrative infrastructures.

While debate on such matters is effectively on hold because of the breakdown of Codesa — and subsequent strains on negotiations arising out of mass action and responses to it — an emotive opposition to federalism is growing among the ANC's supporters.

In a letter to the *Sunday Times* last October objecting to a story that portrayed a shift in the ANC toward federalism, Zola

De Klerk at summit ... *an inherited responsibility*

Skweyiya of the ANC's constitutional committee said: "The negative results of federalism in countries like Nigeria, India, Yugoslavia and, recently, the Soviet Union have left an indelible negative impact on our assessment of federalism in multinational countries. It seems to encourage ethnicism."

He added: "Federalism seems to work in countries with a homogeneous population" and he cited the US as an example — even though the US is famous for being the melting-pot of immigrants. In fact, a quarter of the population of New York City and Los Angeles are foreign-born.

On the Right, Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party claims that Yugoslavia is proof that federalism is bad news. But Yugoslavia's problems resulted from centralisation of power rather than its dispersal. The Serbian-run central government, partly for religious and economic reasons, is fighting to keep the regions from controlling their own destinies.

The same goes for Nigeria, which calls itself a federal republic though it has been ruled by the military since 1983.

In essence, the detractors of federalism fear that it means propping up homeland dictators or forcing members of ethnic groups to live together. But federalism does not imply a weak set of laws. All people, no matter where they live in the country, would still be covered by the constitution and a Bill of Rights.

Other critics of a federal system for SA say the US is different because the states were already demarcated when the constitution was written. Yet only 13 of the 50 states existed then; vast regions were owned by foreign governments. And, as Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence and the third President, said: "Were not this great country already divided into states, that division must be made."

The ANC is also worried — correctly — that federalism means a limit to its power. Skweyiya has said the ANC rejects decentralisation because it is seen as "a strategy to retain privilege." Does that mean the ANC would like to take over that privilege? Would it like total control of the purse strings, for example?

But all tax expenditure is politically motivated. Densely populated urban areas filled with potential voters always get more attention (and money) than their poor, sparsely distributed country cousins. One of the reasons Inkatha favours federalism is that Natal/KwaZulu accounted for 14,7% of GDP in 1989 but paid 17,4% of the country's taxes. Naturally, the party doesn't see that changing in its favour under an ANC unitary state.

Another criticism levelled at federalism is that lopsided distribution of natural and man-made resources ensures that some regions will always be rich and others poor. But what about Hong Kong, a rocky island that imports all its water? Its people have one of the highest per capita incomes in the world — because of government non-intervention. It doesn't prohibit imports or impose exchange controls: two favoured devices of the Nats and the ANC.

Most South Africans are poor because they have been restricted by apartheid laws from gaining wealth. Those laws generated poor or non-existent schools and onerous licensing requirements aimed at restricting entrepreneurs.

If proportional representation is considered more democratic than the Westminster system of government, then it should follow logically that federalism, by devolving powers of government and the right to tax, is a further development along that path.

It can also be argued that the extent to which the ANC can bring itself to support federalism is a measure of the extent of its support of democracy, rather than majoritarianism or the crude acquisition of power for its own sake. For the essence of liberal democracy is that it does not attempt to obliterate in the political process those of differing views and aspirations.

Federalism can be a means of nurturing that ideal. ■

AFTER BISHO

FM 11/9/92.

A dark age

The killings at Bisho are a triumph for the forces of unreason and bitterness which stalk our increasingly desolate land. On one side, leaders of the ANC and SACP took their followers to their deaths; on the other, fearful and volatile soldiers loyal to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo appear to have fired indiscriminately.

How could such a thing happen? Here are a few reasons:

☐ The confrontation with the security forces of the Ciskei was deliberate. It was part of the mass action campaign aimed at overthrowing those homeland leaders hated most by the ANC: Gqozo, Lucas Mangope and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Elsewhere — in KaNgwane and Transkei, for example — local rulers who side with the ANC are not threatened;

☐ This focus on vulnerable homelands — Gqozo has cracked down on ANC structures in his territory — arises because attempts to rattle central authority in marches on cities and the occupation of public buildings have not succeeded. The homelands are the soft underbelly of the white-dominated State, as the ANC sees it. But dictators like Gqozo are known to resort to brutal methods when they come under threat; and

☐ Government has wrung its hands over the homelands for too long. Its consistent attempts to give them political credibility — so that all were negotiating participants at Codesa — did not rest on an organic reality. It rested on ethnic theories, huge subventions from the SA taxpayer and, indeed, military intervention when one of its favourites (Bophuthatswana's Mangope) appeared about to fall.

Ciskei — where Gqozo seized power in 1990 — lies in the heartland of ANC/SACP support. Once he set himself against the ANC, the probability of violent confrontation loomed. Now that it has happened — and in such vivid and awful images seen worldwide — the repercussions could be considerable. Certain attitudes are going to be hardened.

A profound responsibility rests with Nelson Mandela. He must make plain whether he is a hawk or a dove: does he want to negotiate or fight? After all, the whole issue of the homelands had been on the Codesa agenda — and it was the ANC which walked away from that.

Government's choice is whether to pursue negotiations — and end up pleading — or prepare to handle more violence.

It may have no choice. If the telephone line between the Union Buildings and Shell House is severed and De Klerk and Mandela no longer talk to each other, even by proxy, moderates on both sides could well be radicalised.

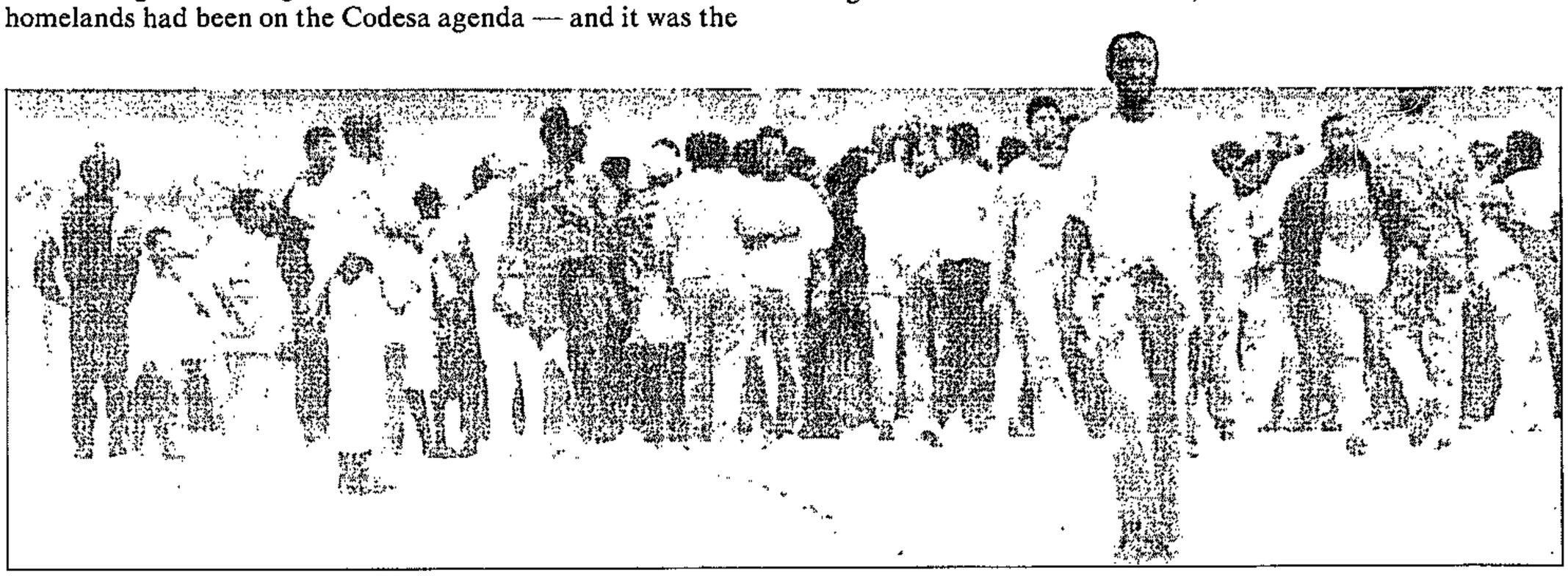
The ANC — for a while, at any rate — could be overtaken by a sort of Ronnie Kasrils madcap triumphalism. On government's side, there would be less turning of the other cheek and more emphasis on the use of the security forces to keep law and order — despite an inevitable intensity of criticism.

Needless to say, such a supersession of the moderates will have dire consequences for the economy. Less than ever will foreign investment be attracted to these shores; more people will struggle for a livelihood in a climate of contraction; township services will further deteriorate and emigration increase. SA will have embarked upon the low road to perpetual instability and destitution.

As the *FM* has pointed out in the past, the world does not wish this to happen. Countries such as Britain and Portugal have no capacity to absorb the hundreds of thousands of passport holders who earn their livelihoods in SA. A stable, wealth-creating SA would hold out inestimable benefits for Africa as a whole — a continent which estimates suggest will be alone in the world by the end of the century in growing poorer.

But since the major world economies are driven by free-market principles, investment in SA will always be conditional on stability and democracy. Today the world is prepared to feed Africa, but not to throw money at it.

What the world community can do for SA is to offer mediation. The principle of such outside assistance has already been accepted by government and the ANC. It would now make good sense for this process to be expanded. And the next time a figure such as Cyrus Vance says that negotiations had better resume, we need to believe him. ■



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THE BISHO MASSACRE FM 11/9/92

The mob edges closer

Events leading up to Monday's massacre at Bisho raise serious questions about the willingness of SA's political leaders to negotiate a constitutional agreement.

The three main groups — the National Party, the ANC alliance and Inkatha — appear more committed to power plays aimed at a future election than the creation of a democratic platform on which to contest the election.

The Bisho killings mean the prospects of negotiations being resumed soon are now even more remote. A further round of exploratory talks between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has been cancelled — apparently at government's request.

On TV this week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said government would have to reconsider whether it could negotiate with the ANC while it was dominated by the SA Communist Party. The possibility of pushing ahead without the ANC has been discussed during NP think-tank sessions, but has not been regarded as a serious option up to now.

The situation may change if the ANC steps up mass action and refuses to compromise on pre-negotiational demands. Robert Schrire of UCT's Institute for the Study of Public Policy told the *FM* recently that an attempt to reach a settlement without the ANC may become an option for government — if talks become deadlocked to the extent that there's no chance of either side budging further on major issues.

It may then be possible — but not desirable — to mobilise enough non-ANC support within SA to push through a federal option. As long as the elections are democratic, nonracial and free and fair, it's possible that the international community will tolerate, if not fully accept, the new government (*Current Affairs* July 31).

Even before the Bisho incident, government was taking a tough line. Last week's Free State Nat congress showed no sign of reconciliation. Senior spokesmen, including Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel, led a bitter onslaught against the ANC and Pik Botha boasted that the NP would win the first democratic election.

In KwaZulu at the weekend, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged the IFP Youth Brigade to "bugger up" the ANC to prevent the organisation taking over the country. And in response to ANC alliance threats to march on Ulundi and unseat Buthelezi, Inkatha spokesman Gavin Woods warned that if it did so the organisation would receive a "sound thrashing."

The strategic thinking behind Monday's ANC march is difficult to understand. It can't be equated to the previous round of mass action, which was aimed at making strong but peaceful political statements by taking grievances into city centres.

The Bisho march was confrontational from the outset. Its aim was to overthrow Ciskei's military dictator Oupa Gqozo and occupy his capital. The ANC was repeatedly warned by churchmen, politicians and peace negotiators of the potential for bloodshed, yet went ahead.

Taking cover at Bisho ... *no-one benefits*

In that sense, the organisation must accept much of the blame for the massacre. But other parties are also guilty. The failure of leaders to put the future of SA ahead of sectarian interests shows how intellectually ill-equipped they all are to cope with the massive challenges facing the country.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew says too many political leaders are only considering the narrow interests of their parties rather than the pressing need for peaceful negotiation and democracy in SA. He says this is reflected in Buthelezi's attitude towards the ANC; the SA Communist Party's role in the Bisho march; and even government's federalism conference this week, which was perceived as anti-ANC.

No-one benefits from what happened at Bisho. The anarchists who believed a street mob could overthrow a petty homeland despot and then move on to the Union Buildings were proven hopelessly wrong by Ciskei's lightly armed defence force. How they hope to challenge the might of the SAP and SADF is beyond comprehension.

Nevertheless, alliance radicals appear to have gained the upper hand, as was predicted following the failure of CBD mass action six weeks ago to wring any major concessions from government (*Current Affairs* July 31).

The real reason for ANC opposition to Brigadier Gqozo's rule is clear — he doesn't toe an ANC line and is an obstacle to the organisation's efforts to mobilise in the homeland. He also offers a means of getting at De Klerk in a way that makes it difficult for De Klerk to respond effectively, because of the absurd fact of Ciskei's constitutional independence.

Gqoza is condemned as Pretoria's puppet. His removal by De Klerk is expected to be added as a prerequisite to the resumption of negotiations. Yet, in theory, De Klerk cannot simply "remove" him; this is the mad harvest of grand apartheid.

The ANC has no apparent problems with either Transkei or Venda, also ruled by military men who seized power undemocratically, but who are very pro-ANC.

Despite the killings, Ciskei-style mass action is expected to spread quickly to other homelands — KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana in particular.

The SACP appears to have played a significant role in organising and leading Monday's march. Eyewitness accounts show that the SACP's Ronnie Kasrils headed the defiant charge by a small group of marchers towards the waiting Ciskei troops. Considering the repeated threats by SACP spokesmen during the previous few days to oust Gqozo and occupy Bisho, it seems that the Kasrils manouevre was a well-planned and deliberate contravention of the restrictions placed on the marchers by a Ciskei magistrate.

But it's not clear at what level the militant approach is being co-ordinated.

Pik Botha blames the SACP. He may be right.

Apart from Kasrils's action on Monday, SACP secretary-general Chris Hani took the lead in drumming up support for the march during a whistle-stop tour of Border townships last week.

Strong and militant SACP leadership could seriously undermine the standing and influence of moderate ANC figures — and raise the possibility that, in effect, the ANC

cont →

80c PWV (90c OUTSIDE PWV, NATAL R1) FRIDAY SEPTEMBER 11 1992

Scene set for top-level talks on violence

ANC agrees to summ

STAR 11/9/92 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatsumba

The ANC announced last night it was prepared to take part in a summit on violence at top leadership level with the Government.

The surprisingly conciliatory decision was made after a two-day meeting of the national working committee (NWC) to discuss the ANC's reaction to Ciskei's shooting of up to 28 ANC marchers on Monday.

A meeting between the ANC headed by its president Nelson Mandela and an SA Government delegation led by President de Klerk could soon be on the cards, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

The decision followed an invitation by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday for a top-level meeting of Government and ANC delegations — led by himself and Mr Mandela — to discuss violence.

Mr de Klerk effectively suspended the Government's further participation in constitutional negotiations pending resolution of violence.

The Government, under increasing foreign pressure to bring Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo into line after the Bisho massacre, said it was now ready to use "coercive measures" against him.

More reports — Pages 3 and 13

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded this warning to the Ciskei leader at a press conference in Pretoria last night and also announced that he had invited the United Nations to step up its presence in SA to try to end political violence and get talks back on track.

The ANC's decision to attend a summit on violence pleased observers who had feared an uncompromising reaction.

Earlier foreign governments had urged the ANC to attend the meeting and not to put impossible demands on the Government — such as the removal of the Ciskei leader — as a condition for resuming negotiations.

They urged instead that the ANC should call for the Government to pressure Brigadier Gqozo to allow free political activity in Ciskei. Mr Botha's threat to use coercive measures — possibly financial sanctions — against Ciskei was seen as helpful in this regard.

The contest between the ANC and the Government to win international favour in the wake of the Bisho tragedy heated up yesterday as Mr Mandela interrupted the NWC meeting to brief ambassadors, and Mr Botha announced that he had taken the Bisho row to the UN.

He said he had written to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to persuade the UN Security Council to condemn "provocative" ANC actions — like the Bisho march — which led to loss of life.

Mr Botha stressed that he was calling for the UN to play more than just the observer role it has so far played in the SA conflict.

He also warned at the press conference for media and diplomats that coercive measures would be taken if the Ciskei government rebuffed SA Government attempts to persuade it to use more enlightened methods to control protest marches.

He did not specify the methods, but Government sources said they could start with financial sanctions.

Mr Botha was referring to Mr de Klerk's announcement that he would call together all homeland governments to ensure that they handled marches in an "effective and responsible" way.

Mr Botha said he had written to the UN secretary-general urging him to send a representative to South Africa as soon as possible to help strengthen the National Peace Secretariat.

Mr Botha suggested that the UN representative attend, as an observer, the special meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord which President de Klerk called for on Wednesday to improve measures to curb violence.

The UN representative should also enter into discussions with the main political players to help end violence and remove obstacles to negotiation.

In his 20-page letter to the UN secretary-general, Mr Botha slammed the ANC for deliberately ignoring the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission's guidelines and the conditions imposed by a magistrate for the Bisho march.

He said the ANC had targeted Ciskei for mass action, not because it did not allow free political activity, but because it was anti-ANC.

Mr Botha added that incidents like the Bisho massacre in which ANC members were victims attracted worldwide publicity but the world virtually ignored massacres of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

Cheeky cub . . . Ntombi seems to be shaping up as her mother's successor. Picture

White lioness missing

By Jullenne du Toit

Whitey, the famous white lioness of the eastern Transvaal, has disappeared.

But her two-year-old cub Ntombi appears to be shaping up as her successor, and could now be the only white lion in the area.

Whitey, who would be about 11 years old now, has not been seen for two months, said Megan Cesare of Motswari game reserve, near Hoedspruit in the eastern Transvaal.

"We don't know what has happened. She could have been poached ... maybe she has just passed on."

Ntombi, a cheeky, robust young lioness, is showing dominant tendencies, just like her mother, who was matriarch of the 14-strong pride. The recessive gene which makes certain lions white at birth also seems to make them larger. "This gives them a bit of an edge as youngsters," said Mrs Cesare.

Many of the white lions, originally from the Timbavati game reserve, are in zoos all over the world.

Prices squashed

LABOUR PARTY

Crumbling act

304A

Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, once the most numerically powerful opposition group ever to face the National Party in parliament, crumbled further this week when six MPs quit to join the Democratic Party.

Among them were two of Hendrickse's staunchest allies, David Curry and Chris April. The LP is now left with only 17 MPs in the 85-seat House of Representatives (HoR). After the first tricameral election in 1984, the LP held 80 seats. The party was effectively broken last year when a concerted Nat effort wooed most LP MPs and forced it into opposition in the HoR.

So far only one LP MP has quit to join the ANC, though a few of those remaining have strong ANC leanings. They include Hendricke's son, Peter, and son-in-law, Desmond Lockey.

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One MP who joined the DP, Cliff Nasson, says the majority of MPs still in the LP are keen to join a centrist party like the DP while a smaller group is likely to go to the ANC.

For Curry, joining the DP was like coming home. He was a member of the old Progressive Party until the now repealed Prohibition of Political Interference Act prohibited non-racial political parties.

The DP's Ken Andrew says the addition of

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the six MPs makes the DP the second-biggest party in parliament and strengthens the base from which to grow.

"We are determined initially to build our support to at least 10% of the adult population and, in the process, to recruit leaders of national and local prominence." ■

Tolerance stressed as 4 feted

STAR 11/9/92 (304A)

By Stan Hlophe

Only liberal values could save South Africans from the prevailing conflict, Professor Wimpie de Klerk said last night.

These values included constitutionally guaranteed individual rights, a fully democratic political system and the rule of law.

Professor de Klerk, a political anaylist and commentator, was the guest speaker at the Four Outstanding Young South Africans (Foysa) banquet in Johannesburg.

He said the controlling values, which he referred to as political liberalism, were contained in the principle of equal consideration of interest and equal respect for all human beings.

He warned that the melting pot would not work in South Africa because it had failed in all pluralist countries.

"We must learn to be tolerant in South Africa — this is the highest liberal value. The different races, cultures, ethnic and political groups must tolerate and respect one another," Professor de Klerk said.

These are the Foysa winners, who were selected for their achievements in their careers and community work:

- Thomas Motswai (28), an established sculptor. He is deaf and a teacher at the Kutlwanong School for the Deaf on the East Rand. His work has been exhibited internationally and locally.
- Vivian Reddy (39), managing director of a Natal company which he formed in 1979. It employs 220 electricians and technicians and specialises in shopping centres, hospitals, schools and industrial projects.
- Dr Max Price, senior research officer at the Centre for Health Policy in the Community Health Department at the University of the Witwatersrand. He is also acting medical officer for the Diepmeadow City Council.
- Kumaran Naidoo (27), the youngest regional director of the SA Council for Higher Education (Sached). Under his leadership, Sached in Natal convened one of the most successful adult education conferences in South Africa and this led to the formation of the Forum for Adult and Continuing Education.

SA calls in UN

(304A) CT 11/9/92

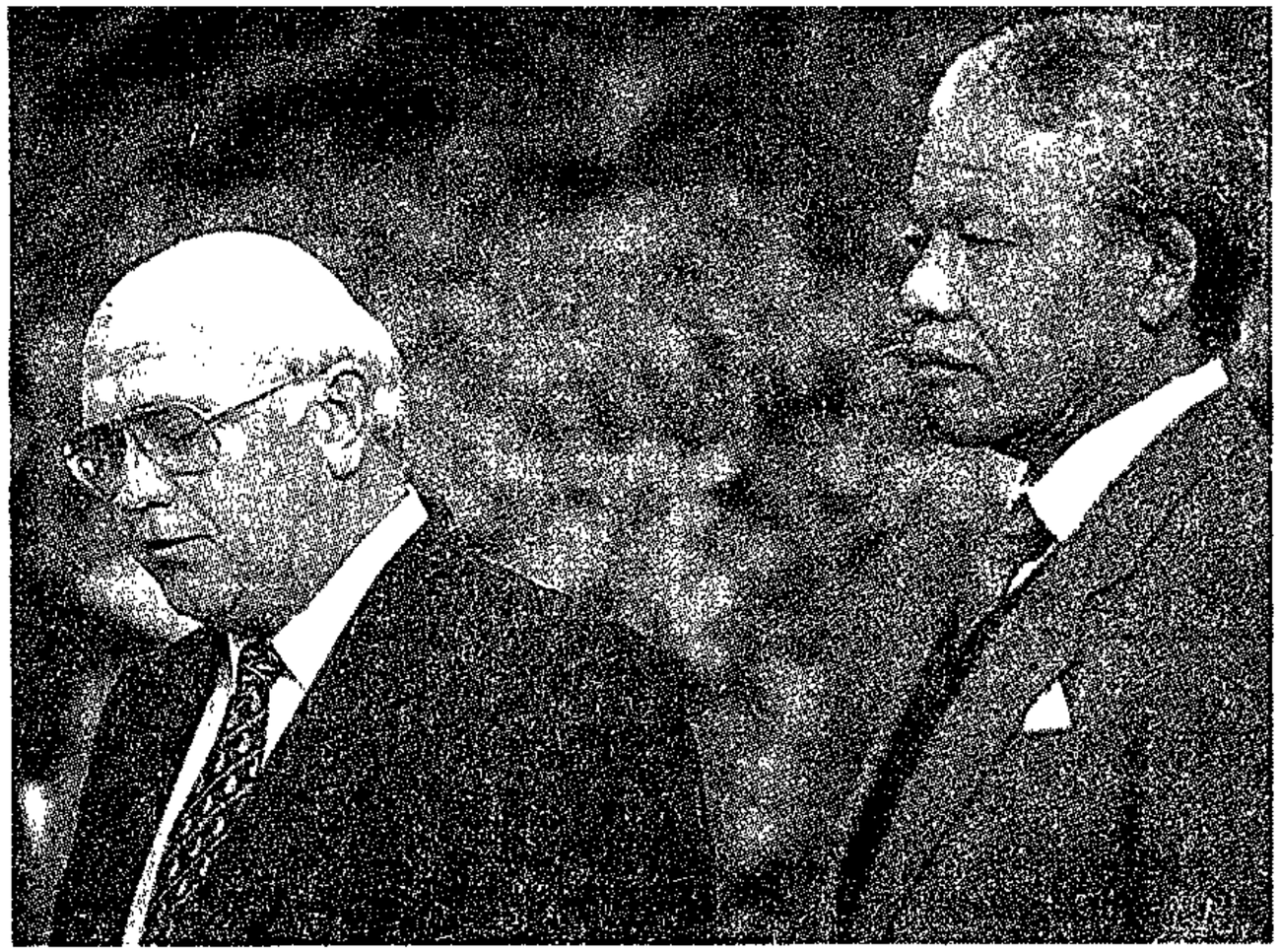
ANC says yes to FW's talks plea

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA last night asked the United Nations for a mediator to resolve the country's spiralling violence and stalled negotiation process.

The appeal for direct international involvement signifies a major shift in government policy. "The wheel has come full circle," Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha told a news conference in Pretoria.

The announcement came as the ANC gave a qualified yes to President F W de Klerk's call for an urgent summit with Mr Nelson Mandela.



TALKING AGAIN ... The ANC last night gave a qualified yes to President F W de Klerk's call for an urgent summit with Mr Nelson Mandela after relations between the two men broke down.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa emerged from a marathon national working committee meeting to announce: "The ANC is prepared to participate in the summit suggested by Mr De Klerk."

However, he insisted that the government "should address the obstacles standing in the way of negotiations" and that the summit should be preceded by practical steps about the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, securing township hostels and the release of political prisoners.

The call by Pretoria for UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to upgrade the UN role from a monitoring to a mediating role amounts to an official admission that it needs outside help to break the political logjam.

"We do not envisage an observer's role only but (rather) help and involvement in discussions in an effort to curb violence and remove obstacles to negotiations," said Mr Botha.

He had never believed that the government would, in his lifetime, ask the UN to play a mediating role and said it must be indicative of a "turnaround".

"Our own people have an antagonism against the UN and must be made to understand that things have changed since the end of apartheid and that many countries are no longer our enemy," Mr Botha said.

"Hopefully, this UN representative will be able to get negotiations back on track so that we can soon move forward as soon as possible towards true democracy after months of deadlock, mudslinging and violence."

He said the Bisho tragedy "makes one feel that there is not much of a future for us if this is the way we conduct politics".

The minister emphasised that the decision to upgrade UN involvement in South Africa did not mean that the world body would be involved in matters like writing the South African constitution.

Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew commented last night: "Given the levels of mistrust that exist in ly between the National Party and the ANC, it is essential that a mutually acceptable mediator become involved."

The government's letter to Mr Boutros-Ghali also said it had asked the signatories of the Peace Accord to meet "within days" and suggested that the secretary-general's representative attend.

Mr Botha also told the press conference the government was prepared to "take steps of a coercive nature" if Ciskei did not agree to uniform measures to deal with mass action.

But he was sharply critical of the role played by the ANC and particularly the SACP in instigating violence and undermining negotiations in South Africa.

In its turn the ANC condemned what it called the premeditated murder of its supporters in Bisho on Monday and said the primary responsibility lay with the De Klerk government.

Mr Ramaphosa said there was an urgent need to remove Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to establish an interim administration in the territory, free political activity in the area, to remove all officers seconded to Ciskei by the Pretoria government and to repeal of Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which prohibited free political activity.

Meanwhile, Sapa-Reuter reports, the Security Council yesterday deplored the killing of 28 demonstrators and the wounding of nearly 200 others "by security elements in South Africa" on Monday and emphasised the responsibility of the South African authorities for maintaining law and order.

The council statement, issued after closed-door consultations on a wide range of topics, said the members of the Security Council "reiterate their grave concern at the continued escalation of the violence in South Africa.

'Failure would spell disaster'

ANC ready to meet govt on violence

B/DAY 11/9/92

(304A)

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC is prepared for a delegation led by its president Nelson Mandela to meet a government delegation headed by President F W de Klerk — but has warned of possible disaster for SA if the meeting fails to produce results.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC's national working committee which considered De Klerk's invitation to Mandela on Wednesday for discussions on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in Johannesburg last night that the ANC was "ready, willing and prepared to start with the process of preparing for the summit".

A working committee statement said: "A meeting between delegations of the ANC and the government ... could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence. But it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results.

"The ANC is prepared to participate in a summit between ANC and government delegations led by Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk. However, such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations through the present channel existing between the government and the ANC, as well as practical steps in relation to the demands made by the ANC."

The failure of such a high-level meeting would take the country "irretrievably backwards", the statement said.

Ramaphosa said government would have to take practical steps to show it was serious about meeting the ANC's preconditions for a return to talks.

At present, formal contact between the ANC and government is restricted to a channel of communication between Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The statement said government now seemed to realise that constitutional negotiations could not proceed meaningfully with the current levels of violence.

"This realisation must mark the beginning of practical actions on the part of the government to address the demands of the ANC and to implement the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, for instance, on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of some hostels as launching pads for attacks against communities.

"We trust, too, that the government will take immediate steps to release remaining political prisoners," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the demands referred to in the statement were the 14 which the ANC had placed before government when it pulled out of constitutional talks in June.

Ramaphosa said the removal of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo "who is an obstacle to the creation of a peaceful climate of political activity is a question that is now firmly on the agenda".

He said the ANC would put "the question of Gqozo" to government.

The working committee also called for the security forces of homeland governments to be restrained.

"The steps announced by President de Klerk about consultations with the 'self-

☐ To Page 2

Violence

B/DAY 11/9/92.

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

governing' and 'independent' bantustans regarding policing and other security matters must lead to a reining in of the repressive functionaries of the apartheid government," the working committee statement said.

The committee meeting also considered the events at Bisho, but did not mention whether mass action would be pursued in attempting to bring about political change in the other homelands.

Its statement said, however, that "the actions of administrations in Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and other areas are in direct conflict with the provisions of the national peace accord, the Goldstone commission and recommendations of international experts on policing and mass protest".

Federal autonomy perfects democracy

B/DAY 11/9/92 (304A)

ALBERT BLAUSTEIN

FEDERAL systems are not all equal, nor are meanings of the expression "self-determination" always the same. On the contrary, they differ enormously.

Inkatha is proposing a federal state based on the principle of regional self-determination. The Inkatha proposal is entirely different — in terms of content, vision and political culture — to anything the ANC is talking about.

The ANC advocates diluted forms of decentralisation, which will preserve the mostly exclusive role of the unitarian central goverment.

Self-determination, as advocated by Inkatha, is the right of the people to choose their destinies, form their own governments and adopt their own laws and regulations. The people represented by Inkatha are exercising this right by wishing to be part of the SA republic and by demanding a federal form of state.

Self-determination — or autonomy — is a fundamental principle to ensure long-term successful co-existence and development for several regions in an organised society. This is not meant as apartheid or separate development, but rather as common and mutual development of all regions within a structure which respects and protects the cultural, linguistic, religious and social differences of each region while promoting social and economic development and protecting human, social and political rights.

Autonomy is both territorial and personal. Local or territorial autonomy for states, regions, provinces and local jurisdictions means forms of independent organisation and government. The powers of these governments are not unlimited, and may range from zoning and education to the organisation of a state militia.

Personal autonomy involves the right of the people to govern themselves without governmental interference, or in co-operation with the government. There are different types of personal autonomies: the parent-teacher associations to govern schools, and the contractual autonomy to regulate one's own interests in financial and commercial matters, are two examples.

Autonomy is the strongest means available to defend and promote freedom, liberty and individual rights, to train the people in democratic participation, and to preserve cultural, linguistic, ethnic identities and backgrounds.

Autonomy prevents the development of authoritarianism and widespread corruption, all of which are possible only in centralised and unitarian states.

Local governments are far more efficient and just than centralised governments, as they are closer to the people they govern, more sensitive to their needs and more accountable to them.

Local autonomy involves a system of checks and balances which perfects and ensures democracy. It also ensures that a major political party or formation cannot be completely excluded from the democratic process, as it is likely that different major parties are going to be in power at the same time in different regions.

Inkatha believes that local autonomy must be the rule, not the exception. Only those functions of government which cannot be adequately exercised at local level are to be exercised by the central government. All the residual powers should be vested in the state government, not in the central federal government. The powers of the state government should be exercised when possible through regions and local governments. The constitutions of the states shall indicate which functions are to be exercised by the various regions.

The central federal government shall be entitled only to those functions and powers listed in the constitution. This type of federal system is used in Germany and the US, among others.

The ANC wants to maintain the inherently undemocratic, oppressive and inefficient centralised system of government. This decision seems to be based on political greed and neglect for the needs of all SA's people.

The ANC seems to dislike the participation in democratic process, and envisages a state which can be easily taken over by one party, can be staffed with a central, ever-growing bureaucracy which can easily be appointed on the basis of centralised political clienteles.

The ANC's vision is for a state capable of controlling and taking over the whole of society — conducting centralised nationalisation programmes and mass-standardisation programmes to break down any inconsistent linguistic, ethical, social, cultural or religious formation. The ANC's vision is for a potentially totalitarian state.

☐ **Blaustein is emeritus professor of law at Rutgers Law School, New Jersey, and was an Inkatha delegate at Codesa.**

REVIEW

IF YOU want your sense of the possi-

of murder, comes close to the audi-

DP leader Zach de Beer, left, and MPs Lester Fuchs and Tony Leon, right, at a DP strategy meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

B/DAY 11/9/92

DP 'to mobilise millions of moderates'

THE DP yesterday lashed out at the government and the ANC, and said it would seek to mobilise the millions of South Africans who desired a moderate centrist political solution.

(3044)

Beginning with a march in Johannesburg next week, the DP would seek to gain the active support of "ordinary people ... sick and tired of the violence".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer told a meeting the ANC and the government were "squabbling like naughty schoolboys" while violence continued.

Government had sought to blame the ANC for the talks breakdown without taking into account its own history.

Criticising the revolutionary element in the ANC, he said SACP leaders like Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils gave the impression in the Ciskei that they had rejected negotiations. De Beer said President F W de Klerk had to get rid of the homelands, but had to act pro-actively. Transvaal leader Tony Leon said a SA led "by the Gqozos and the Kasrils of this world ... is to descend down the slope to anarchy". But the DP believed some of the ANC's 14 demands had merit, he said. — Sapa.

DP reveals plans for peace drive

By Louise Marsland

STAR 11/9/92

The Democratic Party yesterday unveiled plans for a nationwide peace campaign aimed at mobilising ordinary South Africans who were "sick and tired" of violence.

The campaign will kick off with a peace march in Johannesburg next week under the banner "Peace now, negotiation now".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said there were "millions" of people who supported a moderate, centrist approach to South Africa's problems.

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 11/9/92 (304A)

The sense of talking

In its eagerly awaited statement on "the way forward" last Friday, the ANC's national executive committee endorsed proposals for "the intensification of the mass action campaign." The focus:

☐ Measures to achieve democracy through an elected, sovereign constituent assembly without delay;

☐ Practical steps to deal with the violence;

☐ The immediate release of political prisoners;

☐ Free political activity in all parts of the country, including KwaZulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and rightwing controlled towns; and

☐ Socio-economic problems including soaring food prices, housing and workers' rights.

Details of the programme of action were to follow in due course. However, word was already out that there would be a massive march into Ciskei the following Monday, in a "final push" by the ANC alliance to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

It seemed obviously timed to coincide with and deflect attention from President F W de Klerk's Pretoria conference on federalism, which Gqozo was expected to attend.

Before the march on Ciskei turned into a disaster (as some had feared and predicted it would), the ANC also "reiterated its commitment to the process of a negotiated settlement." But it placed the onus for meeting its preconditions squarely on the "regime," which "still lacks the political will to take immediate and visible steps to stop violence."

Based on Ramaphosa's report on his "contact" with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, the NEC agreed "unanimously" that government's responses to the ANC's demands were "unsatisfactory on the key issues of violence and the release of political prisoners." There was no real fuss over Ciskei and the others.

Another hopeful sign amid this sullenness seemed contained in the NEC having "noted that the regime has now gone a long way

Ramaphosa

breaking mechanisms;

☐ Function democratically by arriving at decisions with certain agreed majorities; and

☐ Be elected within an agreed predetermined period.

This important though provisional achievement was "attained through the struggles of the people of our country," said the ANC — obviously convinced of the dividends that can flow from mass pressure employed as an arm of negotiations, following last month's "peace and democracy" stayaway.

Meyer

Further cause for optimism about talks resuming (even as protests were on the go) seemed implicit in the ANC's unveiling of a draft "Transition to Democracy Act" (TDA). This is meant to serve as a framework for the transitional period pending adoption of a new constitution; and to address government concern at a legal and constitutional vacuum in the interim.

The TDA — which NP and government leaders are studying and will respond to fully in the spirit of negotiations — abolishes the present parliament, the distinction between "own" and general affairs, the all-powerful presidency, the President's Council and other features of the tricameral system.

It envisages that the TBVC homelands will simultaneously make appropriate provisions for reincorporation into the new SA. Provision is made for the people of these areas to take part in all transitional and further arrangements, including elections.

The ANC's transitional law envisages a parliament consisting of a single chamber made up of 400 "women and men" elected on the basis of one person one vote of equal value, by citizens (including homelands) aged 18 and over. An electoral law will provide for proportional representation.

Parliament will perform two functions:

☐ It will act as the constitution-making body; and

☐ Act as the law-making body during the transition from the time elections have taken place until the installation of the first new government under the new constitution.

It will be defined in this way (constituent during this phase will be made up of representatives of parties which have won 5% or more of seats in proportion to their number of seats in parliament.

A clear decision-making formula, including time frames and a deadlock-breaking formula, is called for.

Thus, when parliament sits as constituent assembly it will adopt each article of the constitution and the whole document by a two-thirds majority — and it must do so within nine months.

If 67% can't be mustered in that time, a new procedure comes into play. First, fresh elections are held to create a new constituent assembly, which will have only six months to pass a new constitution.

If the second assembly can't cut it, "then a constitution enjoying the support of a simple majority of the constituent assembly shall be put to the people for approval by way of a referendum at which the constitution must enjoy a majority of 55% to be adopted."

If this also fails, a fresh election will be held for a third assembly, which shall have the power to adopt a new constitution by a simple majority.

In addition to the TDA, the ANC says various other measures will be necessary in the interim, to give legal effect to agreements designed to level the playing field and guarantee free and fair elections. They will provide for certain structures to be set up prior to elections — for example, a multiparty commission to control security forces.

On regional and local government during the transition, the ANC believes that the whole issue of demarcation of new regions, and the distribution of powers, functions and structures is the prerogative of the constituent assembly. Pending this, the present provincial system, with appropriate adjustments to include the homelands, should be retained.

The DP's Tony Leon, in a preliminary response, said some of these proposals are a blatant negation of generally accepted democratic principles. Simple majoritarianism, which the ANC plan boils down to, is no guarantor of constitutional democracy. Institutional checks and balances must be entrenched to underpin the new constitution, says Leon; and the ANC is allowing a period of only 17 months for a new constitution to be drawn up before it is agreed by a simple majority of 50% plus one.

cont →

FM 11/9/92 (304A)

Further, to collapse the constitution-making and legislative processes into one body could be very dangerous. A single chamber for constitution-making was one thing, but not to have an Upper House elected on a different basis from the Lower, to check and balance legislation is a dangerous omission, he added. Nor was Leon happy about the State President being elected by a simple majority of the national assembly; the president should be answerable to and elected by a far greater percentage of the population.

The DP, however, supports certain other proposals in the draft TDA: guaranteed rights and freedoms — though the list is not exhaustive; scrapping of own and general affairs; and the provision for a multiparty transitional Cabinet (which the DP thinks should be extended into the new parliament). The DP also believes that the ANC proposals on a new national anthem and symbols display considerable sensitivity.

On the flag, the ANC has its own proposed design — but leaves open the question of whether a new one should be introduced in the interim period or await resolution by the constituent assembly.

Similarly with the national anthem — though the ANC proposes substituting the word anthem in the existing constitution for "anthems" and inserting the words "Nkosi sikelel iAfrica and" before "Die Stem."

Will all this come to pass in some form? It depends on whether the ANC doves prevail over the hawks, in the wake of the Bisho massacre. ■

Federalism 'won't work'

B/DAY 11/9/92

STELLENBOSCH — Federalism was impractical for SA, as a central government would have to be in a position to implement macro-economic stabilisation policies, the University of Western Cape economic research project's Philip van Ryneveld said yesterday.

He told the congress the need for stabilisation policies would reduce the extent of discretion wielded by "subcentral" authorities over tax and expenditures.

"Many are worried about the potential of the ANC to embark upon inflationary macro-economic populism. But few seem to recognise the extent to which federalism of the kind many are calling for would undermine the capacity of anybody to exercise effective management — which is the key to macroeconomic stabilisation." (304A)

Scene set for hope summit

Ministers discuss ANC's response as signs point to fresh talks soon

ARG 11/9/92

(30144)

TOS WENTZEL
and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

THE government is today considering the ANC's conditional acceptance of its invitation to a peace summit, amid signs that contact between the two sides could soon resume.

As President De Klerk chaired a meeting in Pretoria of the government's policy group on negotiations, senior government sources said the ANC response was seen as a "smokescreen" in preparation for the resumption of contact.

They said the most important point was that the ANC had expressed its willingness to resume talks.

The ANC has emphasised that such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations through the present channel between it and the government, as well as practical acts in relation to its demands.

This points to talks soon between ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

The ANC said in a statement that the government seemed to have realised that constitutional negotiations could not proceed meaningfully with current levels of violence.

In what appeared to be some of the ANC's conditions, the statement said:

"This realisation must mark the beginning of practical actions on the part of the government to address the demands of the ANC and to implement the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission, for instance, on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of some hostels as launching-pads for attacks against communities.

"We trust too that the government will take immediate steps to release remaining political prisoners."

The statement said "a meeting between delegations of the ANC, led by Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk, could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence, but it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results".

It also reiterated demands for the removal of Ciskeian military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the establishment of an interim administration in the area; the removal of officers seconded to the Ciskei by the government and companies involved in covert operations; and an independent inquiry into the Bisho massacre.

The government, under increasing foreign pressure to bring Brigadier Gqozo into line, said it was ready to use "coercive measures" against him.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha sounded this warning to the Ciskei leader last night and said he had invited the United Nations to step up its presence in South Africa.

Godfather refuses NP

W/Mail 11/9 - 17/9/92

(304A)

By BAFANA KHUMALO

THE National Party, in a pre-election recruitment drive, is fishing for "the Godfather of Soweto" — Godfrey Moloi — as one of its possible allies in the township. But he is not biting.

The party invited Moloi to an August 27 meeting to plan a strategy for its expansion in Soweto.

Moloi said he had been invited but did not go because he "was busy". He added that he was not "interested in these things. I am a businessman, not a politician. I like peace. I don't like politicians, because they like blood."

Moloi has had a flamboyant past, rising from bootlegger during the days of the infamous Liquor Act to the status of businessman, nightclub proprietor and founder and benefactor of the annual Soweto Marathon. He has written two volumes of autobiography.

The NP seems to have identified Moloi as one of the people who could help the party win members in the black community.

"We don't just go in to a community without meeting the leadership," said NP chief assistant secretary Coetzee Bester. The NP was "sensitive to the differences that exist in the various communities" and from these meetings a strategy is formulated.

Asked whether the NP saw Moloi as a person who might help the party expand into the black community he said the NP "invites all kinds of people to its planning meetings", people it thought would want to be involved with "this winning team".

Moloi is not interested in joining this "winning team", or any team, for that matter. Asked whether he was surprised to get an invitation from the NP, he said he gets "invitations from all organisations, ranging from the African National Congress right through to Inkatha". This one was no different from the others. Asked about his attitude to the NP, he said "I thank them for trying to dismantle apartheid." Grudges "only delayed things".

"If politics did not mean blood perhaps I'd be interested but it means blood in this country," he said. He dislikes politics so much that he has imposed a ban on the wearing of clothing with political insignia in his club: "These breed animosity among my patrons."

Blood and tears

(3044) Gagadhem W (in W/Mail) 11/9 - 17/9/92

By David Beresford

ONCE again the crackle of gunfire in South Africa has thrown into question the entire future of the sub-continent leaving political analysts desperately trying to gauge the consequences of a massacre, which are as predictable, and as difficult to predict, as the path of a ricocheting bullet.

Perhaps the most significant impact which the Bisho massacre will have is on the African National Congress itself, which — despite its public face of outrage — must be suffering some misgivings in its leadership at the strategy which led its supporters (and some of their leaders) into the Ciskei guns.

The thinking which took them there is well-known and to some extent understandable. In the face of deadlock in the constitutional negotiations and with the realisation that the status quo always benefits those in power, the ANC had to develop political leverage. Their strength being in numbers, they had to mobilise crowds. Requiring a focus for their mobilisation, they turned almost predictably on the weak points in what might be described as the enemy alliance — Pretoria's homeland puppets of whom Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, a creation of South African military intelligence and its proxies, was a prime example.

But by taking the mobilisation across the border, from the demonstration of power to the attempted exercise of it (the declaration of the organisers that their intention was to occupy Bisho and force the resignation of the brigadier) they were engaging in brinkmanship of a kind which must be questioned, if with hindsight. They were making that mistake familiar to the hunters of Africa, of cornering a quarry and rendering the hunt doubly dangerous.

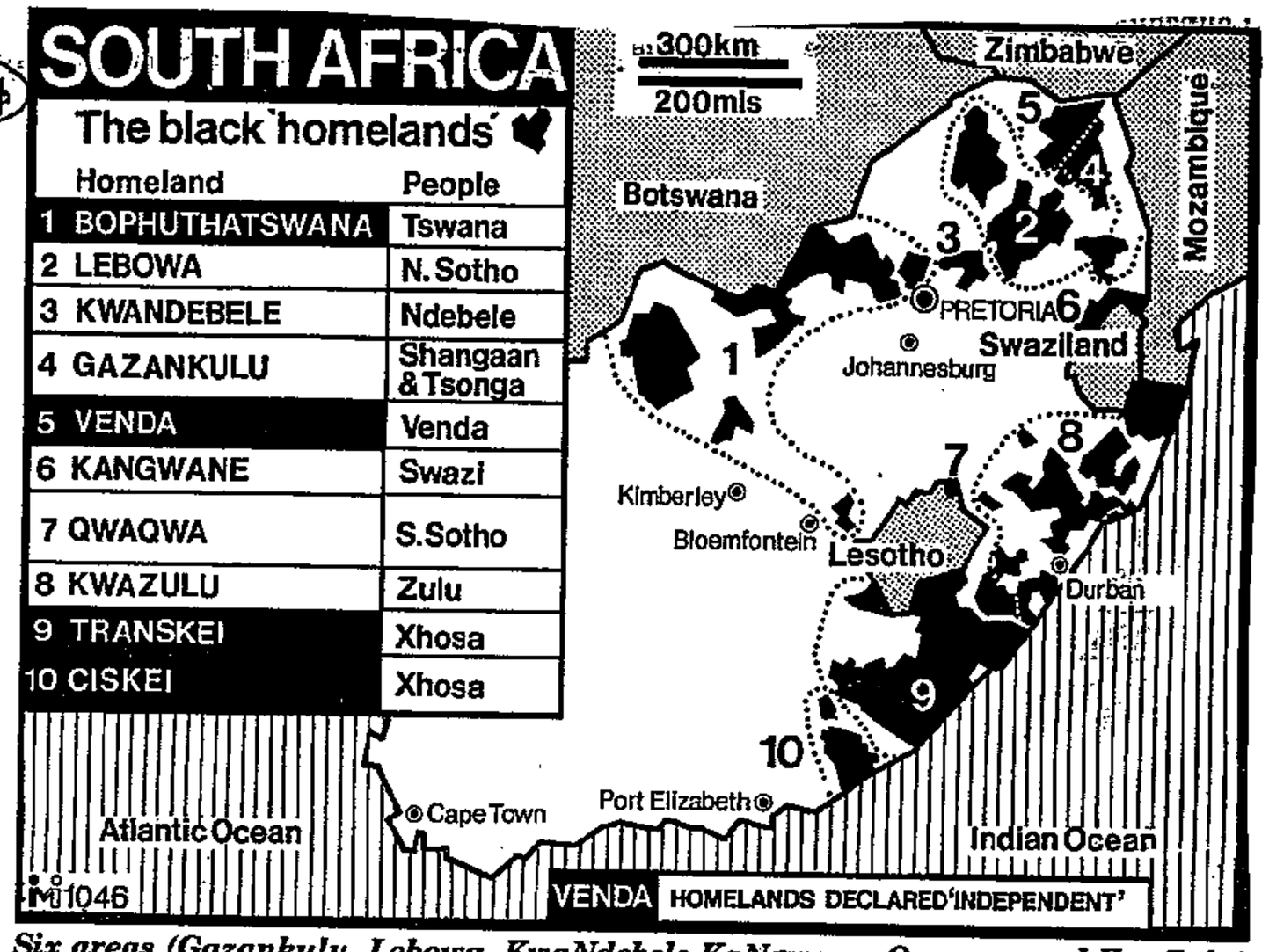
It is also unfortunate for the ANC, if only in propaganda terms, that those who took the lead in organising the Bisho march — the likes of Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner — are also prominent members of the South African Communist Party. Despite the line constantly trotted out by government politicians, there is no evidence of a communist-nationalist split in the ANC. But it is a line for which more ammunition has been provided; it will be only too easy to present the Bisho march as the work of frustrated revolutionaries, romantics of the gun determined to provoke a situation which will facilitate a call to the barricades of which they have been robbed by negotiations.

Among the ANC's supporters such arguments will carry no weight; just the opposite. And that is the problem for the leadership and the price they (and the country) will have to pay for Monday's events, over and above the lives and pain of the dead and the injured.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the government were on the brink of another significant negotiating breakthrough before the massacre took place. Political insiders insist that it was a matter of weeks — and some face — saving theatre — before the deal would have become apparent. It requires little in the way of imagination to picture the frustration now felt by Nelson Mandela, who has been so anxious to break the deadlock that he has had to be specifically prohibited by his national executive from engaging in personal contact with government ministers.

But Mandela, above all others in the ANC leadership, will appreciate the impossibility of now being seen to reach a settlement, in the face of the popular fury in the townships which pays little attention to the distinction between the brigadier and president, between puppet and puppet-master. In the longer term, emotions will no doubt subside and the path towards a settlement re-open. But it is at that point that the path of the ricocheting bullet becomes so difficult to assess.

There is a possibility that Brigadier Gqozo, a product of the P. W. Botha era, will be dumped by F. W. de Klerk for the sake of peace and a deal. It would be easy to do — the brigadier (who has previously shown himself vulnerable to whispers in the ear from his South African military advisors) only has to be persuaded that his life is dependent on his submitting himself to the popular test of a referendum on reincorporation. It is a test he would undoubtedly lose and the administration of the territory would return to direct rule from Pretoria, presumably with the approval of the ANC.



Six areas (Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele KaNgwane, Qwaqwa and KwaZulu) are now designated as self-governing states. A further four (Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda) are regarded as independent republics by the South African government but are not recognized as such by the UN.

It would be the sort of refreshing move that the world has come to expect from President de Klerk. But there are indications that divisions within his own cabinet — reinforced by white perceptions (as always so different from those in the townships) that the massacre was all the ANC's fault — may make it a difficult path for him to follow.

What also has to be assessed is the psychological impact which the massacre could have on other homeland leaders. At the weekend there was a massacre which went largely unnoticed by the South African press as well as the international media — as ever (some would say) when the victims are the members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Twelve delegates were shot dead on Friday night last week by gunmen while on their way to a conference of the Inkatha Youth League. It was an incident which had the bellicose chief declaring on Saturday that it was time to "bugger up" the ANC, a fantasy which on Monday he saw brought to realisation by a man whom he must regard as by far his inferior in the warrior stakes.

Gunfire, say those who have experience of pulling the trigger, has an addictive effect. In addition it offers the appearance of an easy way out for men already addicted to power — men such as Brigadier Gqozo himself, Chief Buthelezi, and the Bophuthatswana leader, "President for Life" Lucas Mangope, who must have been feeling increasingly threatened by the bi-lateral negotiations which have been taking place in secret over the last few months between the ANC and the government. It is in their reaction to the events in the Ciskei that ricochets could find unintended targets.

BISHO: THE LATEST ROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA'S NEGOTIATIONS BY MASSACRE

Homelands move to top of the agenda

W/Mail 11/9 - 17/9/92. 304A

The Bisho killings present the ANC with a unique opportunity for an assault on the homelands — but the option is fraught with danger.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON** *and* **MARK GEVISSER**

THE Bisho shootings have presented the African National Congress with its sharpest dilemma yet.

Will it pursue mass action to bring political freedom to the homelands, even at the risk of more bloodshed and an evaporating possibility of resumed negotiations?

In the wake of the Bisho massacre the government is more vulnerable on the homelands issue than ever before. It is under mounting international pressure to pull the plug on its embarrassing surrogates — even though this would mean sacrificing vital members of a potential election front.

The actions of both the government and the ANC around the Bisho confrontation have been dictated by one overriding concern: the building and maintaining support for an upcoming election.

Also at issue are opposing conceptions of a future South African state. While the ANC favours a strong central state, the government is committed to maintaining the homelands as allies in promoting a federal option. The massacre coincided with President FW de Klerk's Pretoria summit for pro-federalist organisations.

At the National Party Congress in Bloemfontein last week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha stated that an NP-led alliance could win 51 percent of the vote, with the help of homeland leaders.

At the same time, the ANC has become increasingly aware that time is running out if it is to campaign successfully for constituent assembly elections in homelands which have systematically stifled free political activity.

In the past, the ANC has been slow to support mass action in the homelands, despite frequent calls from local activists in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. But escalating repression in these areas in an era when electioneering has already begun has prompted a renewed strategy.

There are already moves to extend the Bisho strategy. The ANC staged a peaceful march in QwaQwa this week, while an alliance march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho is tentatively scheduled for September 19.

Alliance leaders stress that the aim is not to take control in the earmarked homelands but to create the conditions for open political activity. And if that means deposing tyrants like Gqozo and Mangope, then so be it: "Getting rid of these leaders and achieving free political activity cannot be separated," commented ANC head of political education Raymond Suttner.

Added senior South African Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin: "We can't go into elections in places where lack of free political activity continues to be a reality. That is why it is imperative that we open up the political space. This is designed to normalise the political situation, not raise the political temperatures."

Countering Botha's complaint at a press conference yesterday that the ANC had not targeted Venda and Transkei because they were its allies, Suttner said these homelands were being exempted from mass action "not because they are our allies, but because they allow a measure of political freedom. (Transkei military ruler Bantu) Holomisa has personally acquired a degree of popularity, precisely because he allows free activity."

The government has also employed, with renewed vigour, the age-old strategy of attempting to split the alliance by blaming the communist tail, once more, for wagging the ANC dog. De Klerk said on Wednesday that "the communists have taken the ANC in tow".

While Bisho has undoubtedly caused latent tensions between moderates and militants to surface, the decision to embark on a mass action campaign in the homelands, starting with Ciskei, was almost unanimous at last week's national executive committee meeting.

And, critically, the motivation to start a mass action campaign in Ciskei came from the ANC's regional and local structures — and was simply ratified, not prompted, by national leadership.

An ANC tactical blunder and the savagery of the Ciskei Defence Force led to 28 deaths. But, on one level, Ciskei activists got what they wanted: the homelands are now on the agenda, and the point has been bloodily made that negotiations cannot continue until there is some level of political freedom in homelands like Ciskei, kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

But at what price? At a leadership level, the issue was hotly debated at an extended National Working Committee pow-wow yesterday, and is so sensitive that a tight-lipped ANC president Nelson Mandela would not even divulge strategy to high-level diplomats at a briefing between sessions.

Some in the ANC are beginning to ask whether the politics of confrontation in places like Mmabatho and Bisho will ever lead to what the ANC really wants: referenda to demonstrate the support of homeland citizens for reincorporation.

It is highly unlikely that De Klerk will agree to referenda that will show ANC support even in supposed federalist-front strongholds such as kwaZulu and Bophuthatswana. He may offer a compromise — the right to organise freely in these areas while their current rulers remain in place.

Govt will block ANC takeover at all costs

W/Mail 11/9-17/9/92

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE government is convinced the African National Congress alliance has decided to use every tactic possible to bring all the homelands under its control in order to assume power when negotiations restart — and that it has no alternative but to resist this strategy.

It also believes that the Bisho massacre will look like a picnic if the ANC alliance takes its campaign to Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. Conflict would fan out through Natal and the Reef hostels would erupt.

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent a memorandum to United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to send a representative to hold discussions with key political players and to demand that the ANC and the South African Communist Party abandon "any further provocative actions".

In a hard-line document released at a Pretoria press conference, Botha charged that the ANC/SACP actions at Bisho and withdrawal from Codesa violated UN Security Council Resolutions 765 and 772. Mass action, he said, was "aimed at eliminating leaders of those parties who refuse to be cowed and intimidated by them".

He warned that the government was ready to use coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region.

One of the major spinoffs of the massacre, say government sources, is that levels of trust between the government and ANC have plummeted to a new low: they say agreements were reached at Bisho but the ANC leadership deliberately decided to break them.

They did not expect Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's troops to use live ammunition as the first line of fire, but ultimately Gqozo was in power, legally and politically, and it was his responsibility.

"It was a grab for power. The ANC wanted to change the chess board," one source said. "The ANC broke the agreed conditions and wanted to occupy Bisho. They should have known that Gqozo had his back to the wall. They wanted to oust him and they got their come-uppance."

The government believed the march was aimed at taking control of Ciskei and the occupation of Bisho was the first stage of a campaign to bring all the homelands under its wing. "After this, all other issues pale into insignificance. It could not be tolerated."

The source said the government had made a concerted bid to prevent conflict despite its scepticism about the real aims of the march.

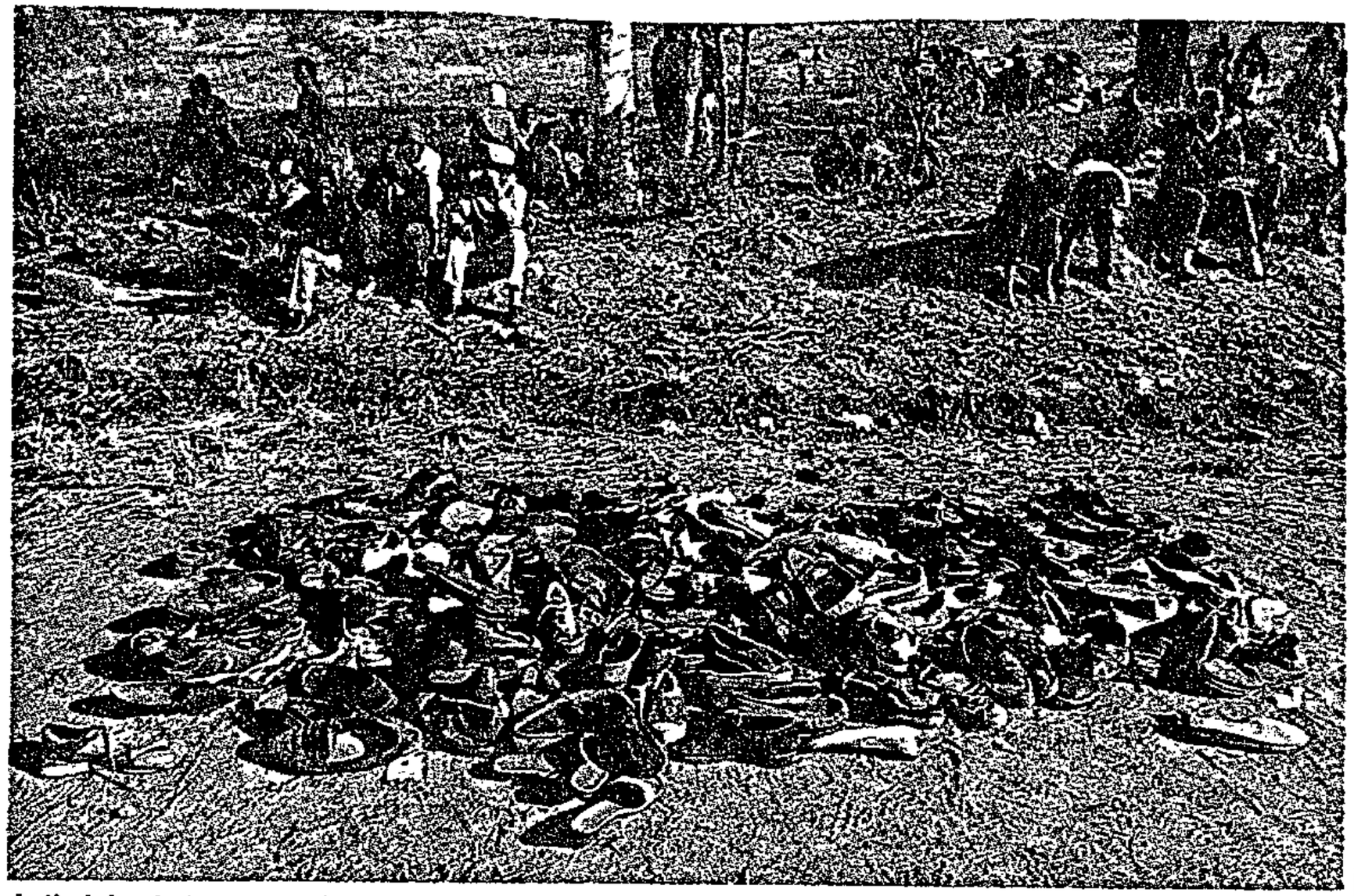
It sent representatives down a week before, the National Peace Committee was alerted, the minister of law and order and two deputy ministers were on hand, the ANC leadership was continually contacted, diplomats were briefed, and broad agreement was eventually reached, but these conditions were deliberately broken.

In the circumstances, it would be very difficult to restore reasonable levels of trust for meaningful negotiations to be resumed.

The sources also said Pretoria wanted to ensure that whatever happened, it would not be linked to the Ciskei government.

Botha had even phoned the SACP secretary general Chris Hani in the presence of foreign diplomats to reinforce the fact that it wanted to keep its distance from the Ciskei and persuade him not to force confrontation.

One source said the major beneficiaries of the massacre were those, on both sides, who did not want to see negotiations succeed. "Only two people, Gqoza and Ronnie Kasrils, had their planning right," the source said.



In their haste to escape the gunfire, fleeing ANC supporters abandoned their shoes Photo: SARAH PRALL

D-DAY FOR HOMELANDS

Symbols of a tragedy: The imaginary Ciskei border is marked by soldiers and wreaths

Photo: SARAH PRALL

SA's negotiations by massacre

W/Mail 11/9-17/9/92 (304)

Behind the showdown: Both sides have an eye on elections

THE African National Congress and the government are headed for a bloody showdown in the homelands. After this week's confrontation and massacre in Ciskei, the ANC is targeting President Lucas Mangope; the organisation has announced a plan to march on Bophuthatswana next Saturday. Tension is also building up between the kwaZulu government and the ANC.

The government yesterday signalled a hard-line determination to resist the attack on its homeland allies. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said ominously that the government was ready to use "coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region".

Both sides are driven by election strategy. The ANC sees it as essential to establish free political activity in these repressive areas before any voting campaign can begin. The organisation has also been under severe pressure from its members in these areas to do something about tough conditions in the homelands.

The National Party feels it has to defend its potential election allies if it is to survive a vote. Botha has said that with the help of homeland leaders, the NP can win an election.

At stake also is the government's notion of a federal state, with strong regions counterbalancing central government power. Without the homelands and homeland leaders, its federal option will be shortlived.

The ANC this week presented the government with a simple choice: either ditch your homeland friends, or shoot us.

The government and its allies chose the latter — setting the scene for a bloody confrontation that has little to do with the drive for peace, and everything to do with winning votes.

●See PAGES 2, 4, 5 & 19

Blushing bride enters Soweto

W/Mail 11/9-17/9/92

(304A)

The Democratic Party, like an eager bridesmaid, is going for the garter. But its hopes to catch a large black constituency are limited. By **GAVIN EVANS and PHILIPPA GARSON**

SOWETO Democratic Party leader Andile Mzaidume gets ready to address a spruce little meeting in Funda Centre on Saturday afternoon. He's nervous, he confesses, because he's never chaired a meeting before.

About 17 blacks and half that number of whites are perched neatly on chairs, listening intently, waiting for MPs Tony Leon and Lester Fuchs to talk to them on the issues of the day and tell them why they should join the DP.

At first blush the meeting seems to have more in common with a Bible study class than what one had come to expect of a township political event, but then the DP is a newcomer to Soweto.

Mzaidume admits the DP's recruitment drive in the country's largest township "won't be easy.

"There are lots of people sympathetic to the DP who would like to join. The problem is that most people are afraid to come out in the open." He has a point. Only three of the people *The Weekly Mail* spoke to after the meeting would divulge their names.

"They have to see the party is alive in Soweto. In time they'll want to come aboard as well," says Mzaidume.

Cesar Khumalo, 22, who signed up a year ago, explains he likes the African National Congress, but opposes its alliance with the South African Communist Party.

"It doesn't matter that we are small as long as we know our objectives for a new South Africa," he says.

Everybody seems to agree that the National Party has no growth potential in Soweto.

"The DP is a party of negotiation and non-violence. That's why I joined them," says Victor Khambule, who is unemployed. "The ANC is a violent party. They always want to propose mass action which people don't like. People are far too hungry. But the Nats are the party of apartheid. They will never get our support. People here are well aware they are suffering because of the Nats."

Fuchs kicks off the meeting on a hearty note: the time has come to recognise the DP as a party in its own right, not a dating agency set on marrying the ANC and Nats. "We are a player not a referee, a bride not a bridesmaid. We are confident that if our resolve is strong enough we can put the DP firmly on the map. Only our best efforts will ensure that democracy exists in the country."

For Leon and several other MPs, going it alone was not exactly first prize. Six months ago papers were written, and there was plenty of talk, in the direction of going into a new party together with the Nats.

That option was firmly quashed by the majority of DP MPs. And in the wake of further revelations about state involvement in violence, corruption and renewed evidence of NP duplicity on a range of issues, the debate is definitely over. Any doubts about this were dispelled by the party's refusal to participate in the NP's alliance-building conference on federalism on Monday.

The decision, however, has not been without its cost. It has been noticable, for instance, that the SABC has recently been all but ignoring the DP (a perception most starkly illustrated by an "all-party" debate on *Agenda* this week which included the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana government, but not the DP).

Even the DP's opponents now agree that under the leadership of Dr Zach de Beer the party has played an exemplary role in negotiations. In particular, De Beer, party chairman Ken Andrew and former leader Colin Eglin have won just about everyone's respect as politicians of integrity by putting forward workable compromises and scrupulously maintaining their independence.

"Of all the political organisations, the DP and its predecessors are the only ones who have tried to reconcile black aspirations and white fears, and that is what negotiations are all about," Andrew says. "We've been in that game for 30 years, and the positions we adopt are not based on power but on what is best for South Africa, so it's not surprising when the compromises reached are close to what we argued."

The problem, though, is the party has not been particularly successful in translating this into structures, organisations or any other indicators of solid support outside the white electorate. Despite its record of opposing apartheid, and the existence of a consider-able — and probably growing — constit-uency of black people who don't trust the National Party, hate Inkatha and are wary of the militancy, and communist links of the ANC, its township performance has been far from inspired:

De Beer is surprisingly frank on this point and acknowledges that few inroads have been made in the African or Indian areas.

"In the black areas we are pleased and surprised by the friendliness with which we are received. But very few people have shown an inclination to join us. The majority are definitely ANC. We appear to be everybody's second choice. We now have a few branches — in Mamelodi, Soweto and the east Rand, but we haven't done more than scratch the surface."

Their last major foray into the Indian communities was in the 1989 election when they won three of the nine seats they contested. Little has been done since then.

"In the coloured areas we've been more successful and things are going well. We have seven branches in the Cape Flats, three in Port Elizabeth and one in Johannesburg, and new ones are being launched weekly.

"The coloured community tends to be conservative. Most people are terrified of communism, so they're not attracted to the ANC, and most will not readily join the party which gave them the Group Areas Act.

"The polls showing massive Nat support are not necessarily accurate because a high proportion of the community fears the government and doesn't understand polls."

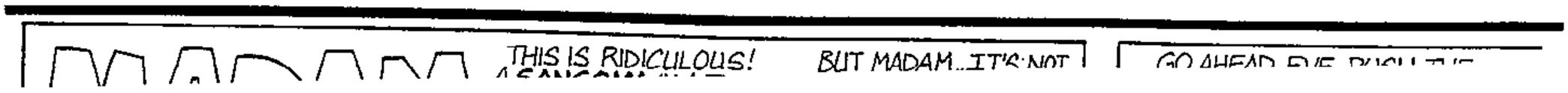
In all three communities, he admits, the problem is one of leadership. The party took a controversial decision by accepting (or rather carefully selecting) six former Labour Party MPs into its ranks. David Curry, Chris April, Cliff Nasson, Neville Padiachy, Errol Gordon and Barend Andrews are among the more credible of the "tri-cameral" politicians. This, the LP's recent dalliance with the ANC, combined with the growth of the coloured section of the NP, have made the issue less controversial. But it was a decision that wasn't taken lightly and De Beer notes that the DP's two most credible coloured stalwarts — Professor Richard van der Ross and Norman Daniels — were reluctant to accept the move.

In the African areas the party would love to attract the likes of Enos Mabuza and Oscar Dhlomo, but both are accumulating directorships and staying away from party politics.

The DP's problem is that despite its considerable non-racial potential it remains a party of well-off, largely English-speaking white people (who are not impressed by the party's poor peformance in running the Johannesburg and Sandton city councils).

De Beer, however, is far from pessimistic: "In 1989 we got the vote of 20 percent of the white community. After that we lost a lot to FW, but most have since come back because of the widespread disillusionment with FW.

"Right now we could not be sure of getting even five percent of the vote in a non-racial election, but our aim is to get between 10 and 12 percent. I think it's realistic."



CT 12/9/92 (304A)

Conference on election skills

Political Staff

NON-PARLIAMENTARY organisations will participate in a conference on voter education and elections at the University of the Western Cape next week.

Participants from a range of organisations will also be given training in election monitoring, codes of election conduct and electoral systems by experts from Sweden and the Philippines.

Summit (304A)

From page 1

our country and people demand of us — is that we should meet as urgently as possible."

Both government and ANC sources said yesterday that Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer were likely to meet early next week, but ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus was adamant that the two would not simply be discussing administrative details and the agenda for the summit.

He said the two negotiators would have to come to "a clear understanding" about banning the carrying of dangerous weapons in public, the hostels issue and the release of political prisoners. CT 12/9/92

"When the government makes a move we will have to judge how far it has gone towards creating suitable conditions for the talks to take place," he said.

"Failure in a high level meeting (between Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk) would take the country irretrievably backwards — it would be disastrous.

"Precise practical steps are first necessary from the government, otherwise the summit will take place in a vacuum with all the old problems creeping in," Mr Niehaus said.

However, a well-placed government source indicated that Pretoria had a different understanding of the circumstances under which the proposed summit could take place.

"We want the meeting on violence to be set up as a priority. Then if other related problems crop up they can be put on the table and dealt with too."

Meanwhile, the UN Security Council urged all parties in South Africa to co-operate in combating violence and to exercise maximum restraint to help break the cycle of violence in the country.

The Security Council statement called on the government, parties and organisations, and the Peace Accord structures to extend their full co-operation to UN observers in South Africa and enable them to carry out their tasks effectively.

Govt and ANC to work for summit

(304A)

CT 12/9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC yesterday began urgent preparations to pave the way for a peace summit between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The ANC's qualified acceptance of the meeting and the government's invitation to the UN to mediate in the South African conflict sparked widespread optimism yesterday that negotiations could soon be back on track.

The positive developments were described as "a relief" by the Democratic Party, "a ray of hope" by the National Party and as setting the stage for the resumption and broadening of constitutional negotiations by Transkei leader and ANC ally, General Bantu Holomisa.

Expectations

But as the UN Security Council urged all parties in South Africa to co-operate in helping to break the spiralling cycle of violence, the ANC last night tempered expectations by warning that the summit on violence could only go ahead once a climate conducive to a successful outcome had been created.

Earlier, Mr De Klerk formally welcomed the ANC's acceptance of the invitation, saying Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa "can now give attention to the determination of a date, the arrangements for the meeting, the agenda and other related preparations".

He said he would not comment on other "unwarranted points" made on Thursday night in the statement released by the ANC's national working committee. "What is now of critical importance — and what

To page 3

De Klerk not prepared to sell Gqozo down the river

Midweek Politics
By ANTHONY JOHNSON

(304A) CT 12/9/92

NOBODY thought the political jockeying for position ahead of South Africa's first non-racial poll was going to take place in terms of the Queensberry rules.

But the carefully calculated decision by the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance to force a make-or-break confrontation with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the brutal response from the military dictator's troops gives a chilling insight into the lengths some politicians are prepared to go in efforts to extend or secure their political turf.

In the run-up to this week's bloodbath, key ANC and SACP strategist Mr Raymond Suttner indicated that the alliance envisaged two possible outcomes of this week's showdown in Ciskei — both of them politically problematic for the State President, Mr De Klerk.

Either Brigadier Gqozo would "fall" or Mr De Klerk's homeland ally would allow his security forces to shoot at demonstrators, creating a Boipatong-type situation.

The stated aim was to force Mr De Klerk to choose between sacrificing Brigadier Gqozo, whose unpopular regime is propped up by South African taxpayers' money, or being blamed both at home and abroad for failing to stop a surrogate from perpetrating a massacre.

Risks involved

Mr Suttner, who was sent to the Border region to help manage the protest, conceded that there were risks involved in this two-track strategy, particularly given the warnings that violence might ensue.

But he believed that the balance of possibilities lay with Mr De Klerk reining in his ally and restraining the Ciskei security forces. He guessed wrong.

The announcement on the eve of the march by Chris Hani that the ouster of Brigadier Gqozo (the weakest link in the pro-government homeland structure) was only the first step — with other key government allies such as Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and kwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi next in line — no doubt helped to harden what the SACP boss described as "the battle lines".

Mr Hani added for good measure that Mr De Klerk was the ultimate target in the latest wave of mass action aimed at destabilising and overthrowing homeland governments who have tended to align themselves with the government at the negotiating table.

Power play

Mr De Klerk was clearly not prepared to sell the increasingly embattled Brigadier Gqozo down the river as this would send the wrong signal about his commitment to other government allies in the unfolding political power play.

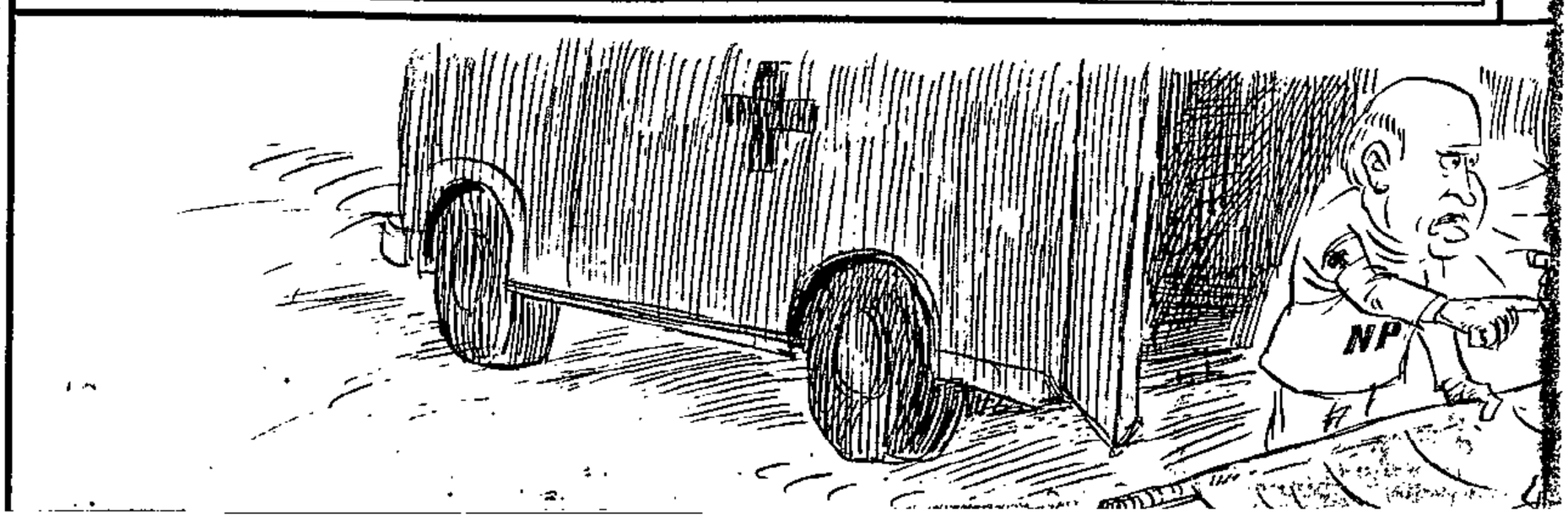
But he may yet come to rue the day he failed to exercise the sort of influence he undoutedly has over Ciskei's government to tailor its response to the Bisho protest to the demands of the situation.

After all, the only constituency Brigadier Gqozo, who came to power in a military coup in 1990, is beholden to is the South African Treasury.

Of course, the same can be said about his counterparts in Transkei (General Bantu Holomisa) and Venda (Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana) who have apparently been spared in the ANC's protest drive against undemocratic homelands because they are on-sides with the tripartite alliance.

But while the ANC can be criticised for the methods it is resorting to in a bid to consolidate its power base and weaken that of its major political rival ahead of elections, the lion's share of the blame for what happened outside Bisho will be laid on the door of Brigadier Gqozo — and, by association, Mr De Klerk's government.

Nothing can justify or condone troops opening fire, without warning, on tens of thousands of demonstrators because a handful of them deviated from conditions laid down for a protest march.



Dragged from the brink

STAR 12/9/92

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

THE Bisho massacre pushed South Africa to the brink of disaster and a return to the armed struggle this week — and jolted the Government and the African National Congress back to talks.

It took the slaughter of 28 ANC marchers by Ciskei military dictator Oupa Gqozo's troops to prod the two warring parties into agreement on a summit on violence — which would be the first meeting of full Government and ANC delegations in months.

The killings also sh[illegible]d the international community to turn [illegible] screws on both of them to get back to talks and to accelerate efforts to mediate in the conflict.

The United Nations responded within 24 hours to an invitation by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to dispatch a special envoy to address the violence, and teams of violence monitors from the UN and other international organisations are due to start streaming into the country from the weekend.

Special envoy Virendra Dyal is due to arrive in Johannesburg on Wednesday, preceded by an advance party flying in today. UN sources said special envoy Cyrus Vance, who visited South Africa recently, would have been sent had he not been deeply involved in the Yugoslavian peace effort.

See Pages 2, 3 and Undercurrent Affairs on Page 12

Officials working for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were hurrying to arrange a meeting between the two men to plan the all-important summit on violence which President de Klerk proposed and the ANC, rather surprisingly, accepted.

It is understood that Meyer may leave an important weekend strategy meeting of the National Party caucus to meet Ramaphosa, if this can be arranged.

De Klerk had impressed upon both parties the need for the meeting to take place urgently.

ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said the ANC's decision to attend the violence summit — despite the immense anger in the organisation over the Bisho killings — "reflected our concern that the country was sliding into the abyss. The killing was so shocking that I think it jolted people on both sides to their senses".

But it was a close and nerve-racking week for the country. After the Bisho slaughter it looked for a few days as though a return to the dark days of armed struggle and violent repression was imminent.

South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani virtually abandoned the route of negotiations in favour of armed struggle when he said Bisho had taught his people a lesson that only

TO PAGE 2.

P. T.O.

RAMAPHOSA: Mass action will go on but prepare for elections.

Bisho: SA's crossroad between Armageddon and Damascus

STAR 12/9/92 (185) (306A)

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

BISHO gave us a taste of Bosnia on Monday. For an excruciatingly long time political leaders stared into the black hole, angry enough to consider jumping in.

A REMARK made recently by a colleague has lodged itself in my mind, shouted louder with each disastrous development in the week just passed. The journalist, one of the most experienced and respected in this country, was driving with me to Pretoria to attend yet another Government briefing. The ANC had held its own that morning. Negotiations were going badly, the leaders' rhetoric had crossed the line between politicking and war talk, and neither side looked like giving an inch.

At dusk the familiar Ben Schoeman highway was busy, as always. Rows of cars, tightly packed, edged along on either side of the motorway island. Lights were coming on at filling stations and in houses dotted around the once-bare countryside which is now inexorably joining the cities of Johannesburg and Pretoria. Life was going on in ordered normality; the faces in the cars were serious and distant, thinking about the day's work, hurrying home to families, listening to car radios absent-mindedly.

My friend was unusually silent and gloomy, staring at the traffic intently. Eventually he spoke his mind. He had a strong sense of "incipient chaos", he said. Of how the social orderliness symbolised by thousands of commuters willingly obeying the same rules could suddenly disappear.

He made me think of highways in cities like Luanda and Dubrovnik, Beirut and Sarajevo, where the order of decades — even centuries — disappeared in a cordite puff, and never returned.

The citizens of those benighted towns didn't expect it, either. They are not so different from many of us, those middle-class commuters who found themselves catapulted by political catastrophe into an unthought-of life whereby the search for water and warmth became their highest priority. They found out that the "state of nature" is not something that passed with the previous, primitive centuries; it lies in wait for any humans who are foolish enough.

Since the miraculous turn of events in February 1990, I have argued as an article of faith that we South Africans are not so stupid as to throw away the political life-jacket that appeared in our hands so unexpectedly.

Having stopped short on the road to Armageddon, we would turn towards Damascus instead. Well, the earlier part of this past week tested that faith sorely.

It angers and frightens me, as I wrote several months ago, when politicians on all sides blithely repeat the great fallacy that there will be a negotiated settlement in South Africa "because there is no alternative". What they mean to say is that there is no *rational* alternative to negotiations. There are many forms of irrational alternatives, the most obvious being anarchy and civil war.

After all, we polyglot South Africans have no reason to regard ourselves as being more civilised, and by implication more rational, than the people of what was once Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia, too, a negotiated settlement was on the cards, and difficulties in the process were put no higher than that: hiccups, stumbling blocks, obstacles to peace, all surmountable.

But in an apocalyptic instant — it is up to future historians to identify the precise moment of dissolution — the country put a foot over the abyss, and tumbled in. The carnage of Bosnia-Herzegovina is the result, and the world seems powerless to pull it back to where it was so very recently.

"The people" look back at the frustrating period of negotiations, complete with alternating deadlocks and breakthroughs, as a political paradise lost.

Bisho on Monday gave us a taste of Bosnia. For an excruciatingly long time — four days to be exact — political leaders stared into the black hole, unwilling to step back for fear of accusations of cowardice, and angry enough to consider jumping in. Blame was apportioned without nuance: it was either all their fault, or all yours. For the first time since 1990, both sides expressed doubt that a negotiated settlement was possible at all. In their different dialects, both sides breathed words of war.

It would not take a lot to start a war here; a real one, not one confined to isolated and poor pockets inhabited by black people who paid the most for the construction of apartheid and are now paying the most for its dismantling. I don't think we realise just how close we came this week to unleashing that nightmare.

The Government could have said: "To hell with the ANC, we will impose a new system without them," and the ANC could have said: "To hell with the Government, we march on Ulundi."

Hello Bosnia with African place-names.

By yesterday the politicians had drawn back. We must be thankful, but watchful. The ground around the edge of the abyss is dry and brittle. It held our weight this time, but there was the sound of crumbling. We must not test the strength of that edge again. We must choose a surer footing far, far back.

Costly 'Own Affairs' may be scrapped

S Times [Cape metro] 13/9/92 (304A)

STATE President F W de Klerk is planning to phase out unwieldy and expensive "Own Affairs" departments by merging compatible functions under single administrations in an attempt to cut costs.

This is believed to be one of the key decisions taken at the NP's parliamentary caucus held at an isolated venue in the Eastern Transvaal, which ends this morning.

The "Own Affairs" decision, which will have far-reaching implications for government in South Africa, will be "kept under wraps" until Parliament reassembles on October 12.

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

However, it is understood Mr De Klerk asked for — and was given — the go-ahead to amalgamate functions of a similar nature under one chief director, instead of the present three.

Informed sources confirmed that high on the caucus "agenda" were cutbacks in the bloated State bureaucracy and trimming of the fat in political departments.

This follows the gloomy picture of the poor state of the ecomomy in the country painted last week by Finance Minister Derek Keys, who undertook in a policy statement to cut real government expenditure by three percent in the coming financial year.

To bring this about it may be necessary to cut the size of the public service by five percent, which would save up to R1,4-billion.

Civil servants, including teachers, would be able to opt for retirement at 50, provided they have at least 10 years of uninterrupted pensionable service. Final details of how such options will work are expected to be released this week.

Public servants have expressed fear that their benefits would be commensurately scaled down to their disadvantage should they accept voluntary early retirement.

But sources revealed that the government was "anxious" to offer them golden handshakes in the form of one-off retrenchment packets which will include condonation of up to an additional five years' service for the purpose of working out individual gratuities and pension benefits.

Agony

In the case of government departments, staff would also be culled and although the "tricameral" arrangements of "own affairs" are constitutionally entrenched and cannot be changed without a two-thirds majorities in each House, the reduction in staff and consolidation of workloads can be streamlined "without much agony" a source said — provided Mr De Klerk secures the power to do so by decree.

Mr De Klerk may, through amemdments to relevant Acts in the October session, be given the power to change the present departmental structures and, for instance, have one chief director instead of three "own affairs" chief directors, each with a "separate" entourage of underlings.

It is estimated that there are currently about 600 000 public servants and the five percent cut envisaged by Mr Keys would amount to the culling of about 30 000, including teachers.

Increase

Central Statistical Service figures show that this financial year the government's wage and salary bill for central government departments, "general affairs" and "own affairs" departments comprising the tricameral system — as well as the provincial administrations and the homelands — will amount to R26 billion.

At the end of the last quarter of 1991, 753 000 people were in the employ of central government and the provincial administration — an increase of about 18 000 over the same period of the previous year.

'Own affairs' due for the scrapyard

(304A)

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

STATE President FW de Klerk is planning to phase out "own affairs" departments by merging compatible functions under single administrations in an attempt to cut costs.

This is one of the subjects under discussion at the NP's parliamentary caucus, which ends today at an isolated venue in the Eastern Transvaal.

The "own affairs" decision, which will have far-reaching implications for government in South Africa, will be kept under wraps until Parliament reassembles on October 12.

Informed sources confirmed the implementation of cuts in the bloated state bureaucracy and the trimming of fat in political departments were high on the caucus's agenda.

This follows the gloomy economic picture painted last week by Finance Minister Derek Keys who, in a policy statement, undertook to cut real government expenditure by three percent in the coming financial year.

To bring this about, it may be necessary to cut the size of the public service by five percent, which would mean a saving of up to R1,4-billion.

One of the main purposes of the NP talks was to address sagging morale and frustration among a section of the NP caucus.

They complained that the NP leadership was losing the political initiative to the ANC.

S/Times 13/9/92

New rou The Star EL

STAR 14/9/92 (304M)

Federalism is the next terrain of the constitutional struggle. Recent developments in Government and ANC thinking suggest a dour battle, writes Political Correspondent PETER FABRICIUS.

AS THE national debate on federalism intensifies, ANC and Government thinking on this subject — the most important issue on the agenda for constitutional negotiations — is diverging.

The Government is tending towards a smaller number of provinces, each with a large degree of political and financial autonomy.

The ANC is heading towards a larger number of development regions, with little or no political or financial autonomy, governed and funded from the centre.

The divergence seems to have started at Codesa 2 in May when the ANC and Government, although not really close, were probably as near as they ever had been and hopes were raised of a growing consensus.

The Government was proposing that the country be divided into nine second-tier units — following the boundaries of the development regions — each with its own legislature and government.

The ANC proposed 10 regions, roughly equivalent to the Government's. Although it was clear that the ANC wanted the regions to have nothing like the autonomy the Government desired, it accepted that the regional structure should be enshrined somehow in the national constitution.

Since then both Government and ANC thinking has been evolving, largely apart, although the Government, at least, is starting to reflect aspects of ANC concerns about federalism.

At its policy conference shortly after Codesa 2, the ANC threw out the 10-region plan and sent its development and constitutional advisers back to the drawing board.

Their thinking since then has been towards a greater number of regions — perhaps between 15 and 25 — divided largely by development status.

Each would have only administrative (and not political) functions, with a degree of accountability for setting development priorities and implementing development policy.

Meanwhile, at President de Klerk's federal conference last week, his constitutional advisers unveiled a draft "technical" plan for a strongly federal SA, with seven autonomous provinces instead of the nine regions of the National Party's official plan.

The new map showed all 10 independent and non-independent homelands incorporated into SA and other shifts in boundaries to accommodate what the Government perceived as the present communities of ethnic/economic/political interest.

Natal and the Free State stayed the same. Transvaal's boundaries changed substantially. The Witwatersrand, including Johannesburg, was excised as a separate province. The new province of Transvaal included Pretoria, the present eastern and northern Transvaal platteland and the homelands of Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane.

Bophuthatswana, the rest of "white" western Transvaal and parts of the north-west Cape were joined to constitute a new province called North West.

Transkei and Ciskei were joined into a new province called Kei, uniting the Xhosa-speaking region.

The rest of the Cape remains as the seventh province.

The main reason for the divergence of ANC and Government views about the optimum number of regions is the sharp philosophical difference that separates them on the nature of federalism/regionalism and the dynamics of development.

The Government sees federalism/regionalism mainly as a means to defuse political/ethnic conflict by dispersing political power.

The central government would perform only the functions of defence, national security, foreign affairs and constitutional planning, leaving all others to the region, including finance. The regions would have large powers to impose taxes, the ideal being financial self-sufficiency.

This would entail political structures in each province, including legislatures and new government departments.

It is largely to reduce the consequent proliferation of expensive bureaucracies that the Government has decreased the number of states from nine to seven.

Other political, ethnic and financial considerations also played a part. Where the present Transkei is cut in half by the boundaries of the Government's present nine regions, it retains its territorial integrity — and acquires Ciskei — in the new plan. This acccommodates the expressed concerns of Transkei leader General Bantu Holomisa about the bisection of his region.

The new North West province seems to have been conceived largely to please the informal white/black conservative alliance that has been struck up between Bophuthatswana and Conservative Party-oriented farmers in that area.

Pretoria has been excluded from the PWV area to become the focal point of the new Transvaal province.

By contrast, the ANC — since it does not envisage much (or any) political autonomy for regions — believes the number of regions can be increased without proliferating bureaucracies.

Its criteria for drawing regional boundaries are largely developmental — and its development philosophy is different from the Government's.

The Government's theory (to the extent that its regional boundaries have been influenced by development criteria) is to create mixed regions with a developed "node" at the heart of an undeveloped region.

The idea is that wealth of the metropolis/city/town at the nodes will trickle down to surrounding undeveloped regions.

The ANC's development advisers believe this theory is wrong, that "trickle-down" does not occur automatically, and that most "nodes" have enough to do, just developing their own black urban areas.

They suggest that regional units should instead be homogeneous areas of similar economic and development status. These regions should then bargain frankly for a fair share of development funding emanating from national assets such as mine taxes.

The ANC's regional boundaries are still evolving through a process of consultation, involving the organisation's regional structures.

Underlying these fundamental differences in Government and ANC regional thinking are some interesting similarities.

The new Government plan unveiled last week suggests that it is responding to the ANC's concern about the need for redistribution of money between regions. It proposes that funds should be channelled from rich to poor regions, according to an agreed formula.

The plan stresses the importance of regions promoting development and proposes that each region be divided into smaller development areas — which could correspond to the ANC's development regions, the ANC believes.

The plan underlines the importance of these areas by recommending that they also be the electoral districts. □

Conditions 'must be met first'

ANC spells out its terms for summit

B/DAY 14/9/92.

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC adopted a hardline attitude yesterday to President F W de Klerk's call for a leadership meeting on violence, insisting that government would have to meet its key demands in preparatory talks before a summit could take place.

Last week the ANC agreed conditionally to an urgent meeting between delegations led by De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss ways to end violence.

The ANC has refused substantive talks with government until there is agreement on the issues of the release of political prisoners, action on the hostels issue and a ban on carrying weapons in public. It now appears these demands are being made conditions for the De Klerk-Mandela talks.

A government source said yesterday the ANC could not claim political points from agreeing to the summit if it was effectively refusing to negotiate by constantly insisting on preconditions.

Despite the gloomy outlook, however, there was a glimmer of hope that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would find a way through the impasse — possibly as early as this week. Their first meeting following De Klerk's call will take place within two days.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said yesterday the summit on violence had to result in substantial agreement, but this depended largely on "adequate agreement being reached in preparatory talks" between Meyer and Ramaphosa. If there was not a successful conclusion to these preparatory talks, the summit "will not make much sense at all".

The three areas the ANC was insisting on having resolved were the release of political prisoners without linkage to amnesty, a ban on carrying weapons in public and steps to prevent the hostels being used to launch attacks.

Valli Moosa said if government was serious about the summit being used to resolve violence, it would accommodate the ANC's demands.

Meyer said he had not yet spoken to Ramaphosa since last week's call for the summit and had not been given the preconditions personally. They still needed to meet to assess their respective positions.

Another senior government source on the negotiating team said De Klerk's call was clearly in agreement with the ANC's demands to act forcefully and purposefully on violence. The summit was not about constitutional negotiations but specifically to work out ways of combating violence.

De Klerk had insisted on a top leadership meeting to ensure the major decision-makers on both sides would be involved in the talks and that any agreements reached would be binding.

The source said it was vital that delegates be influential and in a position to ensure agreements were carried out. "Otherwise it gets to be an exercise in futility with constant new demands being put every time the messenger goes back to his constituency," he said.

The key issue to be resolved is still the release of prisoners, with government understanding that the ANC requires visible

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Talks

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results to prove its decision to deadlock the talks has not been in vain.

Meyer, after studying the ANC's statement on Thursday when the organisation agreed to the summit, said it appeared "the issues they want resolved in preparatory talks are the same as those we did not have time to resolve in the last round".

He said the week before the Bisho massacre, he and Ramaphosa were close to reaching agreement following their first round of talks to remove the obstacles to full bilateral talks on constitutional negotiations. They had been in constant contact during the extended three-day national executive committee meeting but "just ran out of time and could not strike a deal".

Meyer was hopeful that as the issues had not changed there was a good chance of reaching agreement.

Government still maintained that because the remaining political prisoners could not be released in terms of the agreed definition, amnesty was the only way forward. This would have to apply across the political spectrum to avoid problems from sectors such as the security forces.

Government is prepared to allow this to be introduced on a phased basis with a certain level of disclosure of the deeds for which people are being forgiven.

It is understood that Ramaphosa and Meyer are seeking a new principle to apply to the prisoners which dispenses with previous conditions. The principle being mooted was that if the crime was committed with a clear political motive then the person could be excused.

Both sides are fairly confident that the hostel issue will not be difficult to resolve adequately and government hopes it can persuade the ANC on the issue of weapons.

The government source said they were hopeful a formula could be found to deal with the weapons, but a blanket ban was impossible.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to withdraw from co-operating in constitutional talks if government "succumbs to this pressure from the ANC/SACP demanding a ban on the carrying of cultural weapons at all times in public".

"I fear that will be the end of any co-operation in any talks they may have with us in the future," Buthelezi said.

He said that if government believed it could resolve SA's problems without "an input from the Zulu nation, let them proceed to ban our cultural accoutrements under all circumstances".

● Comment: Page 8

Aggrey Klaaste's

On the LINE

How Codesa turned out to be an unwieldly animal

Sowetan 14/9/92 (304A)

AS COMMENTATORS ARE RATHER panicky and are talking about the abyss and other hair-raising eventualities facing us, it is useful to give a more cautious, if sombre view of current events.

As people all around us lose their heads and put the blame on others, let us try and analyse the process up to and after Codesa.

A few months after the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political organisations, a startling political development was taking place.

There seemed to be, worldwide, the opening of closed political systems. A more intriguing movement in South Africa appeared to be the opening of space for debate between the Government and the African National Congress.

Black politics

A colleague described this new development in black politics in this fascinating way: He said there were a number of formations taking shape in black politics.

The first and most noticeable was what he called the optimistic left, a new grouping that was making deliberate if cautious moves towards talking to the Government. The ANC and its allies fell into this group.

At the opposite pole was what my friend called the optimistic right, made up of those black groups that had always been working with the Government, like the homelands and black local authorities.

The formation of an optimistic left resulted in tensions moving more fiercely to the left in black politics to create what my friend called the pessimistic left.

Taking this paradigm as a perspective might help show the pitfalls that the negotiation process faced.

> **'Mandela's popularity, charm and attraction is plainly quite powerful'**

The first obstacle was that the Government and the ANC took the main positions at Codesa, simply because they had started the 'toenadering' and also because they were quite plainly the most powerful parties.

This caused severe tensions to grow in left-wing and right-wing black groupings. The right-wingers, chiefly the Inkatha Freedom Party, panicked when they thought they saw a deal being struck between the state and their perceived enemy.

The groups to the left, the PAC and Azapo, were at first somewhat taken aback. They then entered the fray with gusto and undisguised delight by claiming that the ANC was selling out by speaking to the Government. It was rather difficult, almost impossible to speak of a Muzorewa option with Nelson Mandela as the centre-piece. Mandela's popularity, charm and attraction is plainly quite powerful.

The mega political shifts in the world could not be ignored. They were forcing local politics to take this inevitable direction, not just in South Africa but all over.

As a result of this clumsy but inevitable historic process, Codesa became an unwieldly animal. Among other extraordinary things it recognised or gave credibility to weak and unpopular homelands regimes and their tinpot leaders, like Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa (Contralesa), a group of no particular consequence.

This increased the attacks from the extreme left, who quite rightly said there could be no negotiation with leaders who were so obviously unrepresentative and definitely unpopular. For who was going to give credence to decisions made by such people, particularly decisions that would involve the country's future.

Tragedy, almost like in Classical Greek plays, began to weave its macabre spell and came to the "rescue" of more than one party. And perhaps the "rescue" eventually of the entire process.

I have always been against the revolutionary assertion that the tree of freedom should be watered with blood. For just too often it seemed the blood referred to belonged to ordinary people and not the intellectuals and leaders who mouthed these learned pronouncements.

In the saddest way ever, it seemed the blood spilt at Boipatong and now at Bisho might bring things to a head.

Unfortunate metaphor

To give the image an even more unfortunate metaphor, the playing fields are being levelled.

The realisation has come that the ANC and the Government, while they are the strongest contenders, cannot be the main parties at the negotiation table. Secondly, that while it is important to make the talks as representative as possible, it is not useful to have too many petty leaders with very little or no following to encumber the process.

Finally, it points to the importance of having at least the extreme left in black politics and the extreme right in white politics at the table.

Optimistic negotiators meet to pave

First step for peace

way for FW-Mandela summit on violence

304A

ANC rally

Political Staff

THE chief government and ANC negotiators met today to pave the way for a peace summit between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa was confirmed by government and ANC sources.

It is taking place just a week after the Bisho massacre and follows the ANC's conditional acceptance last week of Mr De Klerk's invitation to a summit.

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa indicated last night that a number of issues had to be resolved before the summit.

Mr Meyer said the ANC mass action campaign, the Communist Party's role in the ANC and the ANC's political intolerance were among the issues the government wanted to discuss.

He did not foresee difficulties in overcoming these obstacles, as he and Mr Ramaphosa had been close to agreement in earlier meetings, but he said he would not negotiate on the basis of demands.

Mr Ramaphosa said the government must address ANC demands for the release of political prisoners, a crackdown on hostels and a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons.

Carnage

These issues could be resolved in "one or two meetings" if the government was prepared to cross "the democratic threshold".

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC would not continue constitutional talks when "violence and carnage were continued by people in government circles".

Hopes for peaceful ANC marches against homeland governments were raised by the arrival in South Africa of United Nations observers and the Goldstone Commission's appointment of independent teams to investigate violence.

The teams may monitor the ANC alliance's planned march on Saturday on Bophuthatswana's capital, Mmabatho.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said that although his commission had no jurisdiction in Bophuthatswana, he would apply for permission to monitor the march, and he hoped the presence of monitors would "put a brake on people's conduct".

The vanguard of a 50-strong UN observer team, which will spend six months in South Africa observing political violence, arrived at the weekend.

The leader of the advance team, Mr Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, said his immediate objectives were to meet the signatories of the National Peace Accord and establish offices in Johannesburg and Durban.

Gqozo, Govt to meet over massacre

(304A) STAR 14/9/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government is today expected to propose reining in maverick Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, who is scheduled to meet the Government in Pretoria following last week's Bisho massacre.

It is understood that Brigadier Gqozo will not be asked by the Government to step down — indications are that the two sides will discuss the co-ordination of security in the eastern Cape, including Ciskei.

Government sources yesterday told The Star there was a feeling in Government circles that since the SADF has already been deployed in Ciskei, security in the region should be regulated.

Today's talks will focus on stability in the region. Since last Monday's shooting by Ciskei security forces, which left 28 dead and at least 200 injured, violence has increased dramatically in the Border region.

President de Klerk last week announced that his Government would discuss a uniform approach to the handling of marches with all homelands controlling security forces.

Later, Foreign Minister Pik Botha warned that the Government would contemplate "coercive measures" against Ciskei's government if it refused to agree to these proposed uniform measures.

The ANC has proposed that the funeral for the 28 victims be held in King William's Town on Wednesday. The date and venue will be confirmed later.

● Mr Justice Goldstone yesterday said news reports suggesting Mr de Klerk had requested Chief Justice B Pickard to abandon his inquiry into the Bisho shootings were incorrect.

"Judge Pickard himself decided it would be inappropriate for two inquiries to be held simultaneously," he said.

● Govt, ANC 'bargaining' on cards ● UN team arrives

Crucial week for talks

304A 14/9/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC's chief negotiators are expected to meet early this week to try to arrange the all-important summit on violence between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

By late yesterday ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — due to debate on SABC's "Agenda" programme last night — had not met and it became clear there would be bargaining before a date was set.

ANC sources yesterday said Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa first had to tackle the release of political prisoners, an end to violence, and the hostels issue before the violence summit could take place.

The summit was likely to have been discussed by the National Party caucus at its mid-recess meeting in the eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

Meanwhile, hopes for peaceful future ANC marches against homeland governments were raised by the arrival in South Africa of UN observers and the Goldstone Commission's appointment of independent vio- investi atin teams.

Monitors

Mr de Klerk last week said he would meet homelands controlling security forces to discuss uniform measures for marches.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said at the weekend he hoped the presence of independent monitors would "put a brake on people's conduct" at marches.

The vanguard of a 50-person UN observer team, which will spend six months in South Africa to observe the ongoing political violence, arrived at the weekend.

It is understood the ANC agreed to the summit after the Government recognised that constitutional negotiations could not proceed until violence had been curbed.

The leader of the UN advance team, Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, yesterday said his party's immediate objectives were to meet the signatories of the National Peace Accord and establish offices in Johannesburg and Durban.

The Johannesburg office will be run by the leader of the observer team, Angela King of Jamaica. Mr Steiner will work from Durban.

London seminar focuses on SA

SHARON WOOD

LEADING SA politicians, businessmen, bankers and economists will be debating the country's political and economic future at a one-day conference to be held in London this month. B/DAY 14/9/92

The high-powered conference, entitled SA's Future: Opportunities and Risks for Foreign Business and organised by leading UK research and consultancy firm Business International, is being sponsored by Standard Bank.

The conference aims to give insight into the latest developments in SA to potential foreign investors and exporters.

The economic situation will come under the spotlight of Finance and Trade Minister Derek Keys and ANC economist Tito Mboweni, while Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport and senior members of the ANC and IFP will discuss political issues such as the continuingviolence, a new constitution and an interim government.

Standard Bank Investment Corporation chairman Conrad Strauss will look at Johannesburg's new role.

National African Federated Chamber of Commerce and Industry deputy president Archibald Nkonyeni will examine the achievements and future propects of the black business sector.

World Bank principal economist on southern Africa Ataman Aksoy will give an international perspective on SA's "new beginning".

De Klerk combines top jobs

(304A)

ARG 14/9/92

Bid to improve communication

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

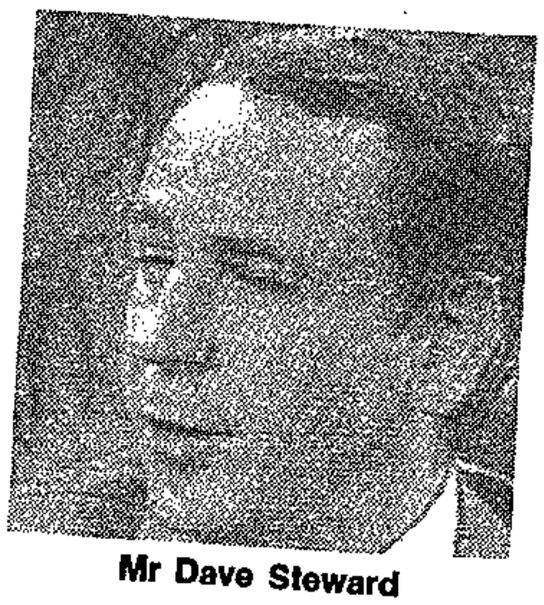
PRESIDENT De Klerk has moved to combine the post of government spokesman with that of the head of his department.

The move to appoint Mr Dave Steward, the present government spokesman, as director-general of his department is aimed at improving and streamlining communications with the media.

Mr Steward will succeed Dr Jannie Roux on November 1. Dr Roux, who held the post for 10 years, is to become an ambassador.

Mr Steward, who has been head of the SA Communication Service, which replaced the old Bureau of Information last year, said today that, in addition to running the administrative side of the president's department, his duties would be to provide background information to the media.

He would also have to co-ordinate government communications, arrange press conferences for leading government figures and provide communication advice to government structures. He would act as secretary of the Cabinet.



Mr Dave Steward

He said he saw the new job as one providing challenging opportunities in an interesting time in the country's history.

Mr Steward, who is 47, has been in the diplomatic and government communication services since 1968 when he started out as a cadet in the Department of Foreign Affairs.

He spent a considerable part of his childhood overseas.

He was born in Kenya in 1945. His father, Mr Alexander "Pot" Steward, was information officer in the South African mission in Nairobi at the time.

He went to school in England from 1955 to 1961 and in 1962 he went to the University of Stellenbosch — at a time when he could not speak Afrikaans.

After gaining a BA degree at the end of 1965 he was a journalist for a year until he joined Foreign Affairs.

He later served in Canberra and Ottawa before he went to South Africa's mission at the United Nations in New York in 1978. He was ambassador there in 1981 and 1982.

Later on he was involved in the negotiations on Namibia and Angola and in 1985 he went to the new Bureau of Information. In 1991 he was charged with setting up the new Communication Service along new lines aimed at advising government departments on communication services on a more efficient basis. It also involved the application of business principles in the information service.

This was to some extent modelled on the British Central Information Office.

ANC leader 'frightened' by state of economy

EXCLUSIVE

Mandela's olive branch

(304A) STAR 15/9/92

By Richard Steyn and Shaun Johnson

To "save the country from disaster" the ANC is eager to restart negotiations — and wants to make it as easy as possible for the Government to do so, ANC president Nelson Mandela has told The Star.

The Government need not make any new concessions to the ANC to get talks under way again, he said; it had only to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance on the issues of

● Interview — Page 13

hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

Mr Mandela made it clear that if President de Klerk delivered on earlier promises, the ANC was ready to talk again.

Speaking before his departure for Zambia, Mr Mandela said he was prepared to accept undertakings in good faith from Mr de Klerk on the three outstanding issues, in order to get South Africa "out of the quagmire".

Mr Mandela said that over and above the political crisis prompted by the Bisho massacre, he was deeply concerned about the state of the economy, following a report from Finance Minister Derek Keys.

He said the country had come "very near to a disaster" after the Bisho massacre, and that the negotiations deadlock had to be broken. He said that if the summit went ahead, the moves made by Mr de Klerk and himself could "save the country from that disaster".

The proposed summit could breathe new life into the stalled negotiations process, and the ANC remained committed to the National Peace Accord and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's guidelines for demonstrations.

Mr Mandela said in a wide-ranging interview with The Star: "If Mr de Klerk can just say to me: 'You have expressed your three concerns. I give you my undertaking that I will address them' ... I will be able to go back to my people and say: 'Look, he has met us. Let us meet him'."

During an extraordinarily frank discussion, in which he stressed that the credibility of negotiations had to be re-established by all politicians, Mr Mandela addressed several other issues. He said:

● Progress towards democ-

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Mandela's olive branch

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racy had to be made before it was too late to repair the economy.

● He believed Mr de Klerk's call for a summit was calculated to break the political deadlock.

● Mass action could fall away if there was agreement on interim government, and sanctions and isolation would then no longer be necessary.

● All sides in the country had to admit their errors and work together to ensure that tragedies like the Bisho massacre were never repeated.

● The installation of democracy in South Africa was the ANC's priority, and "for this, compromises become absolutely essential".

● Codesa was not dead, and did not need to be restructured in order to fulfil its functions.

● The business community should take strong positions during the transition, telling all politicians when they thought they were acting unreasonably. The ANC would work to inspire the confidence of the business community.

● Free political activity had to be ensured throughout the country, especially in homelands.

● The ANC was discussing what went wrong at Bisho, and would take appropriate action. Regional leaders had to ensure that their actions did not impact negatively on national politics.

Mr Mandela emphasised that South Africa still faced great difficulties — the most pressing being the continuing violence and loss of life — but he made it clear that his organisation wanted to follow the path of negotiation rather than confrontation.

Peaceful mass action was being used only because no other alternatives were available to the ANC, given the deadlock in negotiations.

Mr Mandela said he was coming under increasing pressure from ANC members who believed negotiations had not produced results, and said it was urgent for the sake of the country that the benefits of talks be obvious to all. This meant that a speedy transition to democracy was urgently needed.

Hooggenoeg mine. Picture: Dirk Nel

DP's march for moderates

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

STAR 15/9/92

The Democratic Party will stage a march in Johannesburg today to demand the speedy resumption of negotiations, DP acting southern Transvaal chairman Tony Leon announced yesterday.

The DP would call on employers in Johannesburg to allow staff time off to take part in the march.

The route had to be renegotiated with the Johannesburg City Council and the march will now start at the Library Gardens at 12.30 pm and proceed to the Civic Theatre in Braamfontein.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and various church leaders will address the Braamfontein meeting.

Mr Leon said although the march was organised by the DP, it was not party-political and was meant as an opportunity for all moderates "to send a powerful message".

He said the marchers' main demands were the speedy resumption of negotiations, and recognition that "only through open-ended discussions will we create a durable constitution" and that "Communist Party-style mass action and oppressive security responses thereto" had to end.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 15/9/92

Clear all obstacles, FW told

LUSAKA - ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela reiterated here yesterday that a meeting with the Government to resolve the deadlocked peace talks would not take place unless President FW de Klerk had accepted his organisation's conditions.

Mandela said De Klerk should release remaining political prisoners, ban the carrying of traditional weapons and post security guards at all hostels.

ANC, Govt thrash out problems

(30644)

■ **Preparing for a Mandela-De Klerk meeting:**

Sowetan 15/9/92

THE GOVERNMENT and the African National Congress met at a secret venue yesterday to prepare for a high-level summit between State President Mr FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

Although no formal statement was released after the meeting, it is understood that "relative progress" was made and three issues were dealt with: political prisoners, the violence and "dangerous weapons and hostels".

The Government was represented by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC by its secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. Both were accompanied by aides and legal advisors.

Yesterday's meeting was prompted by an invitation to a high-level summit De Klerk sent to the ANC "to discuss ways of ending the violence in the country" after the Bisho boodbath last Monday.

Ramaphosa said a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk could only take place after the ANC demands - the release of political prisoners, the hostel issue and the banning of dangerous weapons - have been met by the Government.

Five-year-old Mahlatse, dressed in her Sunday best, searches for her friends as she walks through the rubble where shacks once stood in Alexandra. The war between the ANC and Inkatha has devastated the township. Picture: AP

Residents reject govt conditions

WILSON ZWANE

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has agreed to declare the violence-ravaged section of Alexandra township known as "Beirut" a disaster area, but residents have rejected conditions for the declaration.

A source close to the Alexandra branch of the ANC said yesterday a letter was received from De Klerk last week in which he agreed to declare "Beirut" a disaster area. B/DAY 15/9/92

"But the President has set conditions, which we reject," the source said.

The source said one of the conditions was that residents in the area should apply individually to his office for relief aid.

"We reject this condition as it makes the receipt of aid very difficult.

"What De Klerk must do is to make funds available to the council — under whose jurisdiction 'Beirut' falls — which will, in turn, be in charge of how they will be channelled," he said.

Alexandra community leaders met Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel in April to discuss violence in the township.

Kriel was then asked to refer the community leaders' request that "Beirut" be declared a disaster area to De Klerk.

Kriel agreed and indicated he would visit Alexandra "soon" to examine the situation. But sources said yesterday he had not yet visited the township.

ANC official Paul Mashatile recently said thousands of residents had been displaced by violence and their homes had been looted.

De Klerk's office could not confirm or deny that he had declared "Beirut" a disaster area.

CP slams Verwoerd monument decision

PRETORIA — The CP said yesterday it noted with regret the decision by the Hendrik Verwoerd monument committee not to go ahead with the erection of a monument to the former prime minister on the planned Verwoerd Square in Pretoria.

Brits MP Andrew Gerber, CP representative on the committee, said the decision had been taken because, among other reasons, the executive committee believed the current political climate was not favourable for the erection of such a monument.

Gerber said the committee had discredited the principles for which it stood.

"The ANC/SACP alliance is now dictating to Afrikaners which of their heroes they may honour and which not."

Gerber said the honouring of national heroes, such as Verwoerd, who had worked diligently for the freedom of the Afrikaner, should in future be left in the hands of those who would not allow themselves to be intimidated or dictated to about their symbols, their festive days, monuments and national heroes. 304A

"Obviously supporters of the government no longer qualify."

Verwoerd's perspicacity regarding the freedom of various nations in their own areas would eventually triumph, he said on behalf of the CP. B/DAY 15/9/92

"He deserves recognition for the monumental work which he performed in this regard." — Sapa.

DP march is a foray into mass action

B/DAY 15/9/92 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

THE DP-initiated march for peace and negotiations today through the centre of Johannesburg marks the party's first foray into the controversial territory of mass action.

DP leader Zach de Beer and justice spokesman Tony Leon, formerly strong opponents of mass action marches because of the adverse effects on the economy and marches' propensity for violence, yesterday called on employers to allow their staff time off work for the march.

However, local DP city representative Jack Bloom said the march would be free of violence and intimidation and different from those of the ANC "because in our case there will be no toyi-toying".

Leon said the DP guaranteed that the march would be peaceful and free of intimidation.

He did not spell out how the organisers would ensure this, as it was open to all.

Many parties and organisations, including the Black Sash and the Five Freedoms Forum, will participate.

Leon said the march was the perfect mechanism for the ordinary man in the street to voice his demand and send a message to political leaders to get on with negotiations immediately, and also to move on towards creating peace.

"All parties must immediately reenter negotiations and recognise that only through open-ended discussions will we create a durable constitution," he said. This was the DP's most important demand, he said.

But he took a swipe at the SACP and the security forces in stating the second demand of the "March for Negotiations Now! Peace Now!" action.

He said: "Communist Party-style mass action and oppressive security responses thereto must end. These are jeopardising prospects for a peaceful future."

The march will begin at the Civic Spine's Library Gardens and proceed up Rissik Street to the Civic Theatre, where De Beer and International Pentecostal Church of SA president Frederick Modise will address the expected crowd.

Leon said the DP had called on employers in the CBD to allow their employees time off between 12.30 and 2pm.

Motorists who could not participate were called on to show solidarity by driving with their headlights on during the march.

The DP southern Transvaal executive resolved on Sunday that people should encourage all those who identified with the purpose of the march to wear a blue ribbon or to place one on their vehicles, Leon said.

Mandela on Zambia visit

B/DAY 15/9/92

LUSAKA — ANC president Nelson Mandela held talks yesterday with Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba in hopes of rebuilding an alliance diminished by political change.

"We are looking forward to closer relations with you," Mandela told Chiluba before their meeting in Lusaka. "It doesn't worry us if governments change . . . we are assured of your support in our struggle," he said.

Under former president Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia was the ANC's staunchest supporter in Africa, serving as the headquarters for its guerrilla leaders and giving sanctuary to thousands of South African exiles.

But after Chiluba came to power in elections last November his government established relations with SAand opened a trade office in Pretoria.

Relations with the ANC cooled as SAgoods poured into Zambia's shops and SA government officials were invited to visit the country.

Mandela is scheduled to meet again with Chiluba today. He also will visit ANC exiles yet to return to SA, despite government amnesty pledges — Sapa-AP.

Parliament set to scrap 'own affairs'

B/DAY 15/9/92. (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The first step towards scrapping the tricameral system of government is due to be presented to Parliament in legislative format at its short October session.

Government wants a functional amalgamation of all "own affairs" departments and those of self-governing homeland states under single central ministries.

Senior NP sources confirmed yesterday that such a plan was discussed and approved at the weekend when the party caucus met to review particularly the economic and constitutional crisis.

The rationalisation of departments was championed by Finance Minister Derek Keys, who repeated a presentation he recently delivered to the Economic Advisory Council which stressed the rising share of government expenditure as an unacceptably high percentage of the gross domestic product.

By comparison the share of private investment was plummeting and drastic measures were required to redress the balance.

Keys's proposed cut of around 30 000 public service posts forms part of his rationalisation proposals. He has said these proposals aim at trimming R1,4bn off the government account.

Party caucus sources said legislation was prepared and ready to be served before Parliament which would merge own affairs departments functionally but would leave the own affairs political structure in place.

The latter is to be scrapped once a new constitution has been negotiated.

NP sources said yesterday the plan to merge departments would probably include the six self-governing homeland administrations and that departments such as health, education, social welfare and housing would acquire a more regionally structured form of administration.

"The end of 'own affairs' is now on the way," one senior party member said.

The drafted legislation is expected to be passed without opposition at the special fortnight session of Parliament which starts on October 12.

The move was backed late yesterday by DP national chairman Ken Andrew who said SA could not afford, politically or economically, these apartheid legacies.

"The crisis in the economy and the ongoing controversy surrounding apartheid institutions such as the tricamaral parliament, own affairs departments, and the various homelands demand immediate and urgent attention," he said.

Andrew proposed a merger of the tricameral system into a single legislature abolishing "own" and "general" affairs, creating single government departments and reintegrating the homeland departments into existing central and provincial departments. — Sapa.

Buthelezi warns public servants

Own Correspondent

ULUNDI — KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned the estimated 100 000 public servants in his government to pledge their "undivided loyalty" or "get out".

In a tough statement last night, Buthelezi hinted that the region might secede, and intended to shape a country in which it would either be incorporated or excluded. He would explain to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali that, if necessary, KwaZulu would defy "even the UN" to claim its rightful role.

After the IFP's annual conference in Ulundi in July, Buthelezi said he found secession an "interesting option". B/DAY 15/9/92

"At this time, when South Africa is at the crossroads, we feel that the public servants of KwaZulu should make a decision on whether they are with KwaZulu or not," Buthelezi said.

The message evoked a sharp response from the ANC.

ANC southern regional publicity chief Dumisani Makhaye said last night the ANC was "horrified".

One of the main planks of ANC policy was free politicial activity not only for the ANC, but for the PAC, Azapo and the IFP. Buthelezi's remarks indicated he was more intolerant than government, he said.

ANC will not set new summit conditions

Let's talk:

RICHARD STEYN and SHAUN JOHNSON, Political Staff

THE ANC is eager to restart negotiations so that the country can be "saved from disaster", ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in an exclusive interview with The Argus.

The organisation wanted to make it as easy as possible for the government to resume talks, he said, and was not seeking new concessions.

All it wanted the government to do was to make good previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations envoy Mr Cyrus Vance on hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

Speaking before a visit to Zambia, Mr Mandela said he was prepared to accept undertakings in good faith from President De Klerk on these issues, in order to get South Africa out of the quagmire.

Over and above the political crisis sparked by last Monday's Bisho massacre, a report from Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys had left him deeply concerned about the economy.

The ANC leader said the country had come very near to a disaster following the massacre. If a peace summit went ahead it might be possible to "save the country from that disaster".

In a wide-ranging interview, Mr Mandela said: "If Mr De Klerk can just say to me, 'You have expressed your three concerns. I give you my undertaking that I will address them' ... I will be able to go back to my people and say, 'Look, he has met us. Let us meet him.' "

Pressure

Mr Mandela said he was coming under increasing pressure from ANC members who believed negotiations had not produced results, and said it was vital for the sake of the country that the benefits of talks be obvious to all. This meant a speedy transition to democracy was urgently needed.

EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW: Nelson Mandela is ready to talk again.

He also said:

- Progress towards democracy was vital before it was too late to repair the economy;
- He believed Mr De Klerk's summit call was calculated to break the political deadlock.
- Mass action could fall away, and sanctions and isolation would be unnecessary, if there was agreement on interim government.
- All sides had to admit errors and work together to ensure that events like the Bisho massacre were never repeated.
- Democracy was the ANC's priority and it accepted that compromises were essential.
- Codesa was not dead and did not need to be restructured in order to fulfil its functions.
- The business community should take strong positions during the transition, telling all politicians when they thought they were acting unreasonably.
- Free political activity had to be ensured throughout the country, especially in the homelands.
- The ANC was discussing what went wrong at Bisho, and would take appropriate action. Regional leaders had to ensure that their actions did not have a negative effect on national politics.

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'to save country from disaster'

Mandela

ARGUS 15/9/92

(30th)

Draft laws on interim rule to be unveiled

(30419)

ARG 15/9/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

DRAFT laws to prepare for an interim government of national unity, streamline the cumbersome and costly "own affairs" administrations and pave the way for democratic elections are expected before parliament next month.

The proposed legislation is also expected to include a mechanism to reincorporate Transkei, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Venda into South Africa.

The controversial Gambling Amendment Bill is also expected to come before the special two-week session starting on October 12.

The far-reaching draft Bills, which were discussed by the National Party caucus during its bush indaba at the weekend, are intended to convey — and give substance to — the government's keenness to get on with negotiations.

It is understood that additional "dummy Bills" have been prepared to match possible advances in the talks process. The advance preparations are intended to speed up a time-consuming process.

Sources say the most significant elements of the legislation are those dealing with creating a framework for an interim government of national unity, and creating a mechanism for reincorporating the TBVC states.

Given the absence of negotiated agreements on these issues, it is understood the legislation will provide a general framework. Details will be added as negotiations proceed.

There is also a possibility of changes to the Electoral Act, scrapping by-elections during the transition to a new dispensation, and preparations for a proportional representation system.

The first step towards scrapping the tricameral system of government is also likely, with plans to amalgamate all "own affairs" departments and those of self-governing homeland States under single central ministries.

This process is likely to affect the six self-governing homeland administrations and health, education, social welfare, housing and local government.

This is in line with the rationalisation of departments advocated by Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys, who is concerned that government spending forms an unacceptably high percentage of the gross domestic product.

Talks between ANC and government continuing

304A

ARG

Political Staff

TALKS between the government and the ANC, aimed at rescuing plans for a summit on violence, are continuing.

The chief negotiators, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and secretary-general of the ANC Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, met yesterday afternoon following a breakdown in the talks on Friday night and they are due to meet again this week.

Mr Meyer said today that the talks were continuing in an effort to find a basis for a summit meeting between President De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. "We are continuing to work on this."

Mr Mandela last week announced that the ANC would attend the summit if the government dealt satisfactorily with three problems — the release of political prisoners; curbing of dangerous weapons and securing of hostels.

Negotiations became bogged down on Friday night on the tough question of a general amnesty for political offenders of all parties.

The ANC spokesman said that, if there was sufficient movement, there was still hope for the start of a summit before Mr Mandela went overseas on September 30. He is to visit Pakistan and India for a fortnight.

The ANC has refused to accept a general amnesty — at least in the form required by the government — in exchange for the release of its remaining political prisoners.

In a joint statement last night, Mr Meyer and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee vehemently denied a report that Mr Coetsee wrecked a provisional agreement on political prisoners and general amnesty struck by Mr Meyer with the ANC on Friday. They said the information was apparently propaganda which was damaging the summit prospects.

"It is the ANC which is intransigent over the reasonable demand that all parties should be treated equally in terms of prisoner release," the statement said.

There was no conflict in the government about this viewpoint, it said.

"The ANC wants only its own people in custody to benefit.

The statement added that agreement had not been reached yet about dangerous weapons or hostels.

It is understood that Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa were heading for an agreement on a phased approach to the problem — ANC political prisoners would be released now and a general amnesty would come into effect only when a transitional government had been installed.

The summit on violence — which Mr De Klerk called for two weeks ago and the ANC accepted in principle — is the key to a return to multi-party constitutional negotiations.

Plea to FW

From page 1

BILLY PADDOCK reports that ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said last night that the ANC had identified at least 120 prisoners who clearly fell within the terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements on indemnity.

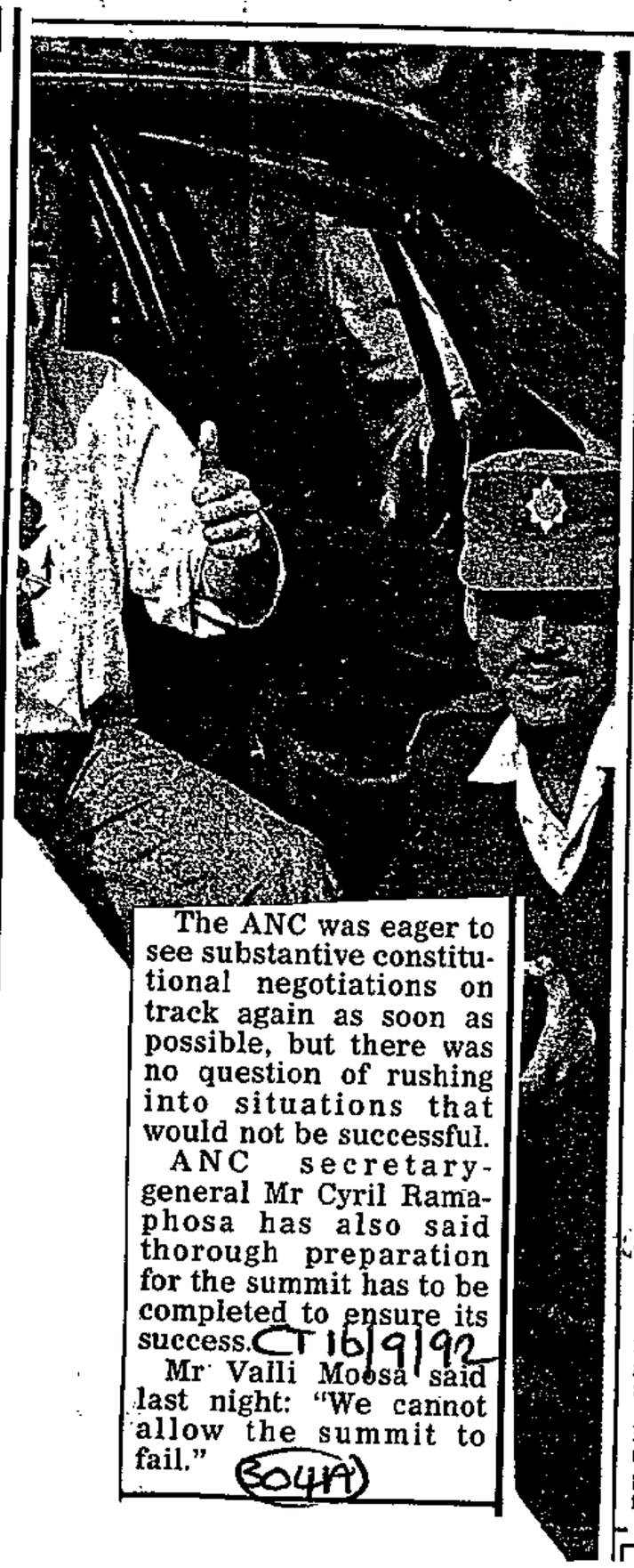
These had to be released immediately, and an agreed time-frame established for the rest to be freed, he said.

The ANC had also identified 18 hostels in the PWV they believed were being used to launch attacks on its supporters. Special security arrangements had to be made at these sites.

"We are happy to negotiate and compare our list of hostels, which we have given to the Goldstone Commission, with that of the government.

"Once we agree on a final list, we want to see the government acting immediately, by starting to fence off the hostels and upgrade security at the entrances to prevent weapons being taken in or out. We also want the hostels checked to ensure no weapons are being stockpiled," he said.

"We also want definite commitments on the blanket banning of the carrying of weapons in public before we can move on to the final phase — the summit on violence," said Mr Valli Moosa.



The ANC was eager to see substantive constitutional negotiations on track again as soon as possible, but there was no question of rushing into situations that would not be successful.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa has also said thorough preparation for the summit has to be completed to ensure its success. CT 16/9/92

Mr Valli Moosa said last night: "We cannot allow the summit to fail." (304A)

Mandela bid to get summit off ground

(304A) CT 16/9/92

Own Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela appealed last night for President F W de Klerk's help in creating conditions to get their peace summit off the ground.

APPEAL TO FW ... Mr Nelson Mandela

Arriving back in Johannesburg after a short visit to Zambia, Mr Mandela said an undertaking from Mr De Klerk on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of hostels and the banning of the public display of weapons would be enough to get the two leaders in face-to-face talks.

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time-frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," he said.

Mr Mandela indicated last night that he was facing pressure from within the ANC to maintain a hard line on talks with the government.

He said he hoped President De Klerk would give the undertakings which he said would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country".

Although the ANC has postponed its proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend, Cosatu has announced an escalation of mass action and the SACP has saluted the role mass action has played in obtaining government agreement on a constituent assembly.

It is believed that Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys's concern about the poor state of the country's economy has played a role in prompting the ANC leader to redouble efforts to break the negotiations deadlock.

Mr Mandela was reported yesterday as saying that if the deadlock continued the economy would be destroyed, making it impossible for a future government to address economic problems.

Mr Mandela has also had several meetings with business representatives in the past few weeks.

Mr Keys recently gave ANC economic planning department head Mr Trevor Manuel and others a detailed analysis of the extent to which major economic sectors had declined. Mr Manuel conveyed this information to Mr Mandela, who said it frightened him.

The Keys presentation was made at the recent launch of the Mont Fleur economic scenarios compiled by a widely representative team, including ANC economists, businessmen and academics.

The scenario, developed during discussions over 12 months at the Mont Fleur Estate near Stellenbosch, paints a picture of the gross domestic product (GDP) falling by 2% annually by the turn of the century if a generally acceptable government is not installed.

Mr Keys has said it is necessary to cut public sector consumption of GDP from its current 21% to 16% in the next four to five years, and boost private fixed investment to about 22% to produce annual growth of 3% or 4%.

Mr Keys said yesterday he was pleased economic realities were "starting to figure in the decisions of the major players in South Africa".

Sacob chief economist Mr Ben van Rensburg said the chamber welcomed "the obvious recognition by the ANC and Mr Mandela of the reality that the economy is a very determining factor in whether a political transition will be successful or not".

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Govt responds positively to Mandela interview

Boost for negotiations

STAR 16/9/92.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

New hope for a speedy return to negotiations has been raised by ANC leader Nelson Mandela's conciliatory remarks in an interview with The Star — and a positive response from the Government last night.

Mr Mandela's overture to the Government for a quick resumption of negotiations — welcomed by the Government and others as "positive and conciliatory" — has improved prospects for a meeting soon between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk to discuss the issue of violence.

This in turn is the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations, suspended in June.

The Government yesterday welcomed "the positive and conciliatory tone of many of the statements made by Mr Mandela in his interview with The Star on Monday.

"It trusts that this attitude will be reflected in the actions and statements of other ANC leaders as well," Government spokesman Dave Steward told The Star.

"In particular it hopes that it will be manifested in the talks which are currently taking place between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and which are aimed at bringing about a meeting between the State President and Mr Mandela

'Dogs killed by AWB instructors'

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

An Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member has told an animal rescue centre that he attended a weekend training camp where dogs were killed by instructors demonstrating the quickest ways to dispatch humans.

Anne Cronje of the Irwin Animal Rescue Centre in the Vaal Triangle said the distraught AWB member had attended a camp in Heidelberg last weekend.

The man, whose name will not be disclosed, was interviewed on tape, which was played back to The Star yesterday.

Mrs Cronje said camps were held every second weekend at Heidelberg.

The man and his family were horrified when three small dogs were killed in front of them in demonstrations by three different instructors.

He told chief inspector Stan Cronje of the Animal Rescue Centre that one dog's throat was slit, another was stabbed in the neck and a third strangled.

The man was so shocked that he telephoned AWB

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"It trusts that this attitude will be reflected in the actions and statements of other ANC leaders as well," Government spokesman Dave Steward told The Star.

"In particular it hopes that it will be manifested in the talks which are currently taking place between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and which are aimed at bringing about a meeting between the State President and Mr Mandela as soon as possible."

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa met for the second time in two days yesterday to try to set up a summit on violence, and are expected to meet again this week.

On his return from a trip to Zambia last night, Mr Mandela said the summit was "crucial" for progress in the peace process.

The Government should take the initiative by releasing political prisoners, banning the public display of dangerous weapons and fencing off hostels.

"I sincerely hope Mr de Klerk will carry out these reasonable demands and help me to convince everyone around me to meet," the ANC leader said.

Mr Mandela told The Star in the interview that "to save the country from disaster" the ANC was eager to restart negotiations and that the Government need not make any new concessions for this to happen.

It would be enough for it to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

He was deeply concerned about the state of the economy, following a recent report from Finance Minister Derek Keys which he found "frightening".

His remarks were welcomed by politicians and business organisations yesterday, although the IFP expressed reservations.

Mr Keys said he was "glad to see economic realities are starting to figure in the decisions of major players".

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew said Mr Mandela's "reasonableness and statesmanlike attitudes should be reciprocated

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(304A)

New hope for negotiations

STAR 16/9/92

● From Page 1

by everyone concerned about the well-being of our country".

National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe welcomed Mr Mandela's conciliatory tone but demanded action to back up his words.

"The fact that he has indicated that there are only three remaining outstanding issues to be addressed by the State President before the leaders can meet, and the more realistic terms in which Mr Mandela defines these issues, is progress indeed," Dr van der Merwe said.

SA Chamber of Business chief economist Ben van Rensburg welcomed Mr Mandela's "recognition of economic realities".

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry welcomed Mr Mandela's gesture and hoped other parties would respond similarly.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said steps to get back to negotiations were to be welcomed. But he did not think Mr Mandela's remarks represented a "sudden conversion to the politics of moderation and compromise". He attributed them to the negative local and foreign criticism of the ANC's "revolutionary agenda".

CP negotiating over new plan

PIETERSBURG — The Conservative Party was negotiating with "anti-communist" leaders such as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to lay the foundations for a confederal system, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said last night. (304A)

Revealing more of his plan for a commonwealth or confederation of southern African states in Pietersburg, Dr Treurnicht said the plan was receiving increasing support "outside CP ranks". STAR 16/4/92

Govt gears up for special session

Star 16/9/92 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Roelf Meyer . . . cautioned against premature speculation.

The Government is preparing a range of legislation for next month's short session of Parliament to prepare the statute books for transitional government.

Bills to set up a transitional executive, phase out the apartheid-based "own affairs" government departments and abolish further by-elections are those in the pipeline.

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday cautioned against premature speculation and said no announcements would be made until the Government had consulted other interested parties.

If Bills for the transition were tabled this year, they would be enabling measures which would be implemented only once agreement has been reached.

He stressed, though, that no final decisions had been reached and said speculation in the press this week was premature.

The speculation follows leaks from the National Party's caucus at the weekend at which Cabinet Ministers briefed MPs on their plans.

NP sources said the legislative programme could be firmed up at today's weekly meeting of the Cabinet.

The legislative package for the short session could include measures to set up a transitional executive comprising all the main negotiating parties to run alongside the Cabinet during the first phase of transition and to supervise the run-up to elections for a constituent assembly and interim legislature.

The legislation to abolish own affairs would enable the Government to phase out the system, starting with the integration of the separate white, coloured and Indian departments of education, agriculture, health, budget, and local government and housing.

It is understood that the Government intends maintaining the ministers' councils in each of the three administrations, at least for now.

Another proposed measure would abolish by-elections.

Leaders are electioneering while SA bleeds, says Zach

B/DAY 16/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

SA WAS bleeding literally and economically because the major political actors were delaying the constitutional process by electioneering rather than finding solutions to the talks deadlock, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday. (304A)

Speaking at the end of the DP-initiated "peace and negotiations" march through Johannesburg's city centre, he called for a coalition government of national unity.

"Our appeal to all political players in SA is: say and do what you know to be right and have faith in the people to follow you," he said.

De Beer said the delay in achieving a new constitution was caused by the ANC and the NP having trouble keeping their own supporters loyal while they positioned themselves for a future election.

"They are putting the cart before the horse — fighting an election before there is a constitution for which to fight an election."

De Beer said the parties at Codesa had signed a declaration of intent committing them to the essentials of a democratic constitution. They had to get on with that task.

Methodist Church Bishop Peter Storey said the main task was to stop violence and negotiate "before there is a bloodbath in SA".

He said he had told President F W de Klerk that he was a great communicator but always failed clearly to communicate whenever he discussed constitutional issues.

"It is time for De Klerk to declare in plain English an unequivocal commitment to elections for an assembly to draw up a new constitution.

"Why can he not just say there will be one-person, one-vote elections to write the constitution," he said.

Storey said violence was the stepchild of apartheid, which whites supported for years. Whites were also the first to take to violence to secure their place in the sun.

And despite all the changes in SA whites were still trying to dictate the pace of change, he said.

FW urged to give undertakings

Mandela calls for help on peace summit

304A

B/DAY 16/9/92.

PATRICK BULGER and PETER DELMAR

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night appealed for President F W de Klerk's help in creating conditions to get their peace summit off the ground.

Arriving back in Johannesburg after a short visit to Zambia, Mandela said an undertaking from De Klerk on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of hostels and the banning of the public display of weapons would be sufficient to get the two leaders talking face to face.

Mandela indicated last night that he was facing pressure from within the ANC to maintain a hard line in regard to talks with government.

Mandela said he hoped De Klerk would give the undertakings which would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country.

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time-frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," he said.

Although the ANC has postponed its proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend, Cosatu has announced an escalation of mass action and the SACP has saluted the role mass action has played in obtaining government agreement on a constituent assembly.

It is believed that Finance Minister Derek Keys's concern about the poor state of the country's economy has played a role in prompting the ANC leader to redouble efforts to break the negotiations deadlock.

Mandela has also had several meetings with business representatives in recent weeks.

Keys recently gave ANC economic planning department head Trevor Manuel and others a detailed analysis of the extent to which major economic sectors had declined. Manuel conveyed this information to Mandela, who said it frightened him.

The Keys presentation was made at the recent launch of the Mont Fleur economic scenarios compiled by a widely representative team, including ANC economists, businessmen and academics. The scenario paints a picture of GDP falling by 2% annually by the turn of the century if a generally acceptable government is not installed.

Keys has said it is necessary to cut public sector consumption of GDP from its current 21% to 16% in the next four to five years, and boost private fixed investment to about 22% to produce annual growth of 3% or 4%.

Keys said yesterday he was pleased economic realities were "starting to figure in the decisions of the major players in SA".

Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg said the chamber welcomed "the obvious recognition by the ANC and Mr Mandela of the reality that the economy is a very determining factor in whether a political transition will be successful or not".

"We hope that this will result in the calling off of further mass action which would result in further damage to the economy and loss of life," Van Rensburg said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa last night spelled out further details of the organisation's conditions for a summit between De Klerk and Mandela.

The ANC had identified at least 120

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Mandela

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prisoners who clearly fell within the terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements on indemnity.

They had to be released immediately, and an agreed time-frame established for the rest to be freed, he said.

The ANC had also identified 18 hostels in the PWV they believed were being used to launch attacks on its supporters. Special security arrangements had to be made at these sites. B/DAY 16/9/92

"We are happy to negotiate and compare our list of hostels, which we have given to the Goldstone commission, with that of government. Once we agree on a final list, we want to see government acting immediately, by starting to fence off the hostels and upgrade security at the entrances to prevent weapons being taken in or out. We also want the hostels checked to ensure no weapons are being stockpiled," he said.

"We also want definite commitments on the blanket banning of the carrying of weapons in public before we can move on to the final phase — the summit on violence," said Valli Moosa.

The ANC was eager to see substantive constitutional negotiations on track again as soon as possible, but there was no question of rushing into situations that would not be successful.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has also said thorough preparation for the summit has to be completed to ensure its success.

Valli Moosa said: "We cannot allow the summit to fail which is why we are insisting on these obstacles being resolved first. We are very worried that at the end of the summit neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President de Klerk should say that there was not much progress."

He said this would be a disaster for the country and would intensify the atmosphere of gloom and doom and even lead to greater conflict and tension.

In the past week ANC sources have consistently pointed out that the release of political prisoners is the single most important demand. They stress that when rank and file members see friends and relatives freed from jail and fences erected around hostels they will back a return to negotiations with government.

SA should aspire to German model of 'unitary federalism'

B/DAY 16/9/92 **PHILIP VAN RYNEVELD** (304A)

THE merits of decentralisation as a means of giving people more control over their lives and ensuring that public services are efficient and appropriately tailored to local conditions are widely accepted. However, the constraints on what powers can be devolved have not been clearly spelt out in the debate on federalism.

These include, firstly, the need for the authorities to be able to ensure sound macroeconomic management. A prerequisite for implementing effective stabilisation policies is that sub-central governments' autonomy over taxation, borrowing and spending must not clash with effective overall management.

Secondly, if markets are to operate efficiently, distortions must be minimised. Differences between regulations, standards and the structure of taxation across regions introduce distortions, inhibiting resources from flowing to best use. The more marked the differences, the more severe will be the distortions. Giving regions power to distort economic conditions in their favour is likely to have chaotic results which, in the long term, will benefit nobody.

Thirdly, related to this, is the need to co-ordinate redistribution nationally so that the burden of this intervention is spread evenly across the country. This restricts the room for manoeuvre that can be given to the regions not only in terms of progressive taxation but, more significantly, in the structure of spending.

It is the pattern of public expenditure, especially on social services, which largely determines the redistributive content of fiscal policy. In SA, the severe spatial mismatch between the location of resources and needs, largely resulting from apartheid planning, is a further reason why redistribution needs to be co-ordinated nationally.

Fourthly, given the inevitability of large-scale urbanisation in coming decades, urbanisation policies are required which enable consistent intervention both at the origin and destination of demographic flows. If regions are given the power to compete in making themselves as unattractive as possible to poor incoming migrants in the hope that migrants will go elsewhere, then implementing coherent urbanisation policies will be impossible.

These constraints limit significantly the autonomy that can be given to regions, rendering much of the thinking on federalism among government and its Codesa allies unworkable. Their proposals are particularly inappropriate given the staggering increase in the mobility of goods, people, services and information over the past two decades.

It is this increased mobility which has led to the creation, for example, of the single European market, and the need, troubling to many Europeans, to shift substantial policy-making powers from the level of the nation state to a co-ordinated, European-wide level. The Maastricht treaty is an important step in rationalising that inevitable process.

Against this background it becomes clear that, given modern economic conditions, it is inappropriate to think of regions in SA as mini-national governments. While only the volkstaters will admit it openly, it would appear that this apartheid paradigm still determines much of the thinking on federalism in government and among its allies.

Instead, the important policy-making focus of regions should be expressed collectively at the national level, probably through a second chamber, so that national policies are sensitive to regional variation.

Regions also have an important role in enhancing local control over how nationally determined policies are implemented, ensuring that they are well adapted to local needs. This requires regions to work closely with local authorities.

The German constitution has developed largely in this direction. The only area where the 16 German Länder have significant autonomy is over cultural issues. However, their influence over national policies through the Bundesrat — the second chamber — has increased over the years, and they have substantial responsibility for implementation of national policies. Germany is often characterised as a "unitary federal" system, a label well worth aspiring to in SA!

It follows that, if regions are required to enrich national policies and strengthen local control within the framework of these policies, then the seven regions recently unveiled at government's conference on federalism are too big. The same is true of the 10 regions proposed by the ANC's constitutional committee. (The proposal was not accepted at the ANC's May policy conference, pending further debate.)

Smaller regions are required to give voice to the different logic in life in different areas. The non-metropolitan areas need to be separated from the metropolitan areas so that the non-metropolitan voice is not swamped by the more vocal and increasingly large metropolitan populations in some regions.

By the same token, the capacity of the metropolitan areas to deal with massive population growth over coming decades will be impaired by a regional layer between them and the centre. Smaller regions can work more flexibly and intimately with the local level, ensuring that as much power as is feasible can be moved to this level.

Most revenue will have to continue being collected at national level with a large proportion being transferred to the regions and localities, much of it earmarked to ensure implementation is within the terms of national policies, but some of it unconditional.

An independent national finance commission should assist in ensuring this is done fairly, transparently and in a manner that enables clear planning and is not subject to arbitrary political interference. This is a much better way of getting resources into areas of greatest need than trying to link poor areas with rich ones within large regions and hoping this will ensure the required redistribution.

It is sometimes argued that having more, smaller regions — somewhere between 15 and 25 — would make government more expensive. However, if regional governments are not thought of as mini-national governments, this need not be the case.

Furthermore, having smaller regions would obviate the need for another level of government which, in the context of seven or 10 regions, would be necessary. Replicating national bureaucracies seven times over, as appears to be the intention in the new NP model, would be an enormous drain on state coffers.

Smaller regions would add variety to the country's politics and, in the short term, would reduce the potential for conflict in areas such as Natal by avoiding a winner-takes-all situation.

Substantial decentralisation is necessary to enhance democracy, as well as ensure that when problems arise responsibility does not always get passed to the centre, as this undermines the potential to maintain fiscal discipline. But this must happen within the framework of coherent national institutions.

The balance is a delicate one. For this reason it is a pity that the NP's political strategy is so dependent on an alliance with existing homeland leaders and other institutions spawned by apartheid, as this diminishes the capacity for reason to be brought to the design of perhaps the single most important element of our new constitution.

☐ Van Ryneveld is employed by the Economic Policy Research Project, University of Western Cape, which undertakes research for organisations in the "democratic movement". This article represents a personal view and should not be construed as ANC policy.

SPOT DESK

Dismantling the homelands is a difficult and dangerous task, argues **Patrick Laure**

'Puppet' label is misleading

STAR 16/9/92 (306A)

SOUTH Africa's constellation of "black homelands," conceived as the pinnacle of apartheid social engineering, is proving to be the most difficult aspect of the apartheid system to dismantle.

A whole range of apartheid laws — from the prohibition on interracial sex and marriage to the denial of freedom of movement and unfettered property rights to blacks — have been abolished with relative ease.

But dissolution of the ethnically based "homelands" is a more complex and dangerous task.

The massacre at Bisho, and the risk of more bloodshed in the event of ANC-led protest marches against the governments of Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, is clear evidence of that.

The main reason can be summed up in one word: empowerment. The homeland system has facilitated the emergence of black leaders, who — contrary to propaganda — are not mere puppets.

While they do not have the power of President de Klerk or ANC leader Nelson Mandela, they are not powerless. With varying degrees of skill and in different ways they have asserted their presence politically and given notice that, far from disappearing, they intend to play a role in determining the future.

One simple fact contradicts the popular view that leaders of the 10 "homelands" are marionettes manipulated by Pretoria: five of the 10 leaders have aligned themselves with the ANC.

The exercise of power by these supposed puppets against the wishes of Pretoria is not new:

- One of the first acts of Transkei after it became the first "black homeland" to be granted partial self-government by Pretoria in 1963 was to scrap "Bantu Education", the notorious system designed to perpetuate black servitude.
- Similarly, after Transkei became nominally independent in 1976, it scrapped a whole series of apartheid laws and, in defiance of apartheid ideology, turned itself into a non-racial polity.
- It is a matter of record that Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu — whom ANC propagandists depict as Mr de Klerk's proxy — thwarted the bid by apartheid ideologists in the late 1970s and early 1980s to pressurise all 10 of these quasi-states into accepting "independence".

Their aim, as the Status Acts which conferred nominal independence on four of these tribal homelands shows, was to deprive blacks of South African nationality on the pretext of conferring the nationality of their designated tribal homelands on them.

The most dramatic recognition that the men serving in these apartheid structures need not be Pretoria's puppets has come from the ANC itself: when Chief Buthelezi prepared to launch Inkatha in the mid-1970s, the ANC saw it as a vehicle which could advance, not retard, the cause of liberation and sought to influence its activities from abroad.

As Oliver Tambo, the ANC's immediate past president, has acknowledged, Inkatha was the product of an agreement between the ANC and Chief Buthelezi, who, as Mr Tambo has similary admitted, only assumed the reins of leadership in KwaZulu after consultations with the ANC.

The ANC-Inkatha partnership, as South Africa knows too well, ended acrimoniously, with the ANC accusing Chief Buthelezi of dressing Inkatha in ANC colours and building it "into a personal power base" and Chief Buthelezi riposting that the ANC's exiled leadership was trying to hijack Inkatha for its own ends.

Since then, and particularly since the release of Mr Mandela in February 1990, the ANC has applied, with conspicuous success, the same stratagem of winning "bantustan leaders" to its side.

Its allies include two leaders who came to power in military coups: General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel Ramashuwana of Venda.

Today Transkei is seen by some observers as an ANC fief, with its defence force allegedly providing training facilities, logistical support and weapons for ANC guerillas at the expense of South African taxpayers.

Venda, like Transkei, is a member of the ANC-led Patriotic Front. The ANC's wooing of Brigadier Ramashuwana, a South African-trained policeman, is an even more spectacular triumph.

Brigadier Ramashuwana's April 1990 coup, carried out to restore "law and order" and welcomed by President de Klerk as a bulwark against chaos, is suspected as having been instigated by South Africa's military establishment. The military's rationale, it is hypothesised, was to organise a coup by their own man rather than allow ANC activists to overthrow the enfeebled and incompetent administration of Venda's last president, Frank Ravele.

It is well known that Brigadier Ramushawana was jeered by ANC supporters shortly after he took power. The suspicions lingers that Brigadier Ramashuwana, having feinted towards the ANC to silence his opponents, is still Pretoria's man and that he may yet move in another direction.

President de Klerk, having lost the battle for Transkei, in part because of suspicions that Pretoria had sided with South African companies which were allegedly ripping off Transkei, has not been idle. He has drawn five "homeland leaders" to his side, in large measure by positing a future South Africa with strongly based regional governments. His five black allies believe or hope they will be able to wield power within strongly entrenched regional governments, instead of being overwhelmed by an ANC-controlled central government.

The competition between the ANC and the De Klerk administration for the loyalties of "homeland leaders" has strengthened their position. Neither the ANC nor Mr de Klerk dare ignore their wishes for fear of driving them into the opposing camp.

There is one more potent reason while their wishes cannot be ignored. All have men under arms. Four of these 10 quasi-states have their own armies. All 10 have their own police forces.

The leaders may be despised in some quarters as puppets. The guns of their security forces, however, are real, as Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's soldiers showed at Bisho on September 7. □

March leaders foolish, but not murderers

STAR 16/9/92.

(304A) (108)

Allister Sparks

A few things need to be clarified in the emotionally charged aftermath of the Bisho massacre. The first is to apportion responsibility appropriately. The second is to state emphatically that if we are serious about making a transition to democracy, we must accept there has to be free political activity and open electioneering in all parts of the country. A third is to note that there is a line between protest and insurrectionary action.

I have been appalled by the reaction of most whites, including, sadly, the leader of the Democratic Party, which has been to place the preponderance of blame for the massacre on the protesting marchers. They are accused of being irresponsibly provocative in a situation they should have known would lead to violence.

Which seems to me like blaming the lady for getting raped.

Did we blame the students for Tiananmen Square, for irresponsibly provoking the Red Chinese soldiers with their demonstrations? Or the Hungarian demonstrators for getting their people shot when they marched against the Russian tanks in Budapest in 1957? Or the American civil rights campaigners for provoking Bull Connor and his vicious dogs in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963?

We white South Africans have whinged for years about double standards but we have reached new heights of it ourselves these past few days.

It doesn't require a whitewashing of all the ANC and SACP demonstrators did at Bisho to see clearly where the overwhelming weight of culpability lies. There is nothing in this world that can justify opening fire with automatic weapons on an unarmed crowd and sustaining that fire, in two separate, premeditated bursts, for a total of six unspeakable minutes. That is a crime against humanity beside which any other act of provocation or negligence pales into insignificance.

That said, let us turn to the other points. If we are serious about the transition from apartheid to democracy, it is fundamental that there should be free political activity in all parts of the country.

One cannot allow political activity to be stifled in some areas — densely populated regions that together contain perhaps one-fifth of the total electorate — on the spurious grounds that they are "independent" or "self-governing" and that therefore the central Government cannot interfere.

Everybody knows the "homelands" have that phoney status only because of a discredited policy which is now being abandoned. For the Government to invoke the old policy to obstruct the new exposes it to charges of insincerity and expediency.

Any international monitoring team which comes for our first one-person-one-vote elections and finds that free political activity was not possible in the "homelands" will be bound to pronounce the elections not free and fair, as happened the other day in Ethiopia, for the right to electioneer freely is fundamental to the democratic process.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that the ANC was justified in mounting a mass action demonstration to protest against the repression of its right to free political activity in Ciskei.

Some Nationalists argue that the situation is just as repressive under the pro-ANC military regimes of Transkei and Venda. That is hard to judge, since I am not aware of large numbers of National Party or Inkatha supporters who have sought to stage mass action demonstrations in those territories. If they have, and if they have been prevented from doing so, then that should be condemned, for such is their democratic right.

Mass action, provided it is non-violent, is a legitimate form of democratic expression — particularly for people who are denied the vote and therefore have no other way of expressing themselves politically. Our courts, even the Government, have accepted that principle.

Nor does the mass action necessarily have to be law-abiding. Civil disobedience has long been accepted as legitimate in the face of injustice. As the great Christian philosopher, Saint Augustine of Hippo, wrote in the fourth century, an unjust law is no law at all. It requires defiance. That is why we honour the Christian martyrs and the Hungarian freedom fighters and the American civil rights campaigners.

Nor is it wrong if the mass action leads to confrontation and tension. Indeed that is its purpose. As the Rev Martin Luther King Jr wrote from his prison cell in Birmingham after being arrested for civil disobedience: "You may well ask, why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches etc? Isn't negotiation a better path?

"You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed this is the purpose of direct action. Non-violent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatise the issue that it can no longer be ignored."

That is why it was necessary to dramatise repression in the Ciskei and other "homelands".

What the ANC was not justified in doing, however, was to cross the thin red line that separates democratic protest from revolutionary action. The moment the decision was taken to try to storm the capital and occupy it until Oupa Gqozo agreed to resign, then the protest march became an attempt at insurrection. It was no longer just a demonstration to demand that Brigadier Gqozo open up the Ciskei to free political activity, it became an attempt to overthrow him.

There are times when revolution is justifiable. But not when you have foresworn it and committed yourself to a negotiated settlement. For then you call your own integrity into question.

This is where those who led the Ciskei demonstration erred. The moment they embarked on that charge towards Bisho they violated their own commitment. They yielded to the impulsiveness of the unreconstructed revolutionaries amongst them, and harmed their own cause by clouding the issue they had striven so hard and at such cost to dramatise.

It was wrong and it was foolish. But it was not in the same league as the crime of mass murder committed against them. □

Govt may change its plans

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government yesterday raised the prospect that it might drop constitutional legislation originally earmarked for next month's short session of Parliament.

The Minister of Constitutional Development and the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said no final decision had been taken on legislation that might be tabled on constitutional changes.

He added pointedly: "If legislation of this nature is indeed tabled, it will probably be of an enabling nature, with the view to implementation after further consultation."

Earlier, senior government sources had indicated that legislation to rationalise the own affairs and homeland administrations was on the cards.

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The National Party "bosberaad" at the weekend was also told that enabling legislation allowing for the speedy implementation of transtional executive structures would be introduced during the session.

Summit will be held soon says FW

CT 17/9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A CONFIDENT President F W de Klerk last night said the summit on violence with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela would go ahead in the near future.

Speaking at the Pretoria Press Club Newsmaker of the Year function, Mr De Klerk said all South Africans would vote in the next general election. By announcing this, he wanted to give a strong signal that "we have reached the end of the road of discrimination".

He expected to meet Mr Mandela in the "near future", as he believed progress was being made in setting up the meeting. CT 17/9/92

He was also confident that in addition to bilateral discussions with the ANC, all-party negotiations were imminent.

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CABINET STALLS ON ECONOMIC FORUM

See PAGE 5

He lifted the veil on the government's plans for legislation in next month's parliamentary sitting.

Steps the government would take included:

- Amending the Electoral Act to scrap all by-elections until a new democratic order had been installed.
- Removing the constitutional requirement that cabinet ministers within a year of appointment should become MPs. This would allow South Africans of all races to be appointed to the cabinet.
- Legislation to rationalise the functions of own affairs administrations into general affairs departments to eliminate duplication.

Mandela repeats summit pledge

(304B)

CT 17/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday reiterated his organisation's commitment to a summit with the F W de Klerk government subject to the State President's meeting three conditions.

The conditions involve the release of political prisoners, the control of hostels and the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

The ANC president was speaking after formally meeting the new United States ambassador to South Africa, Mr Princeton Lyman, at the organisation's headquarters here.

The talks with the US ambassador had also focused on the ANC's mass action campaign, about which President George Bush had apparently expressed concern.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had heeded the plea by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to postpone a planned march to Mmabatho and the National Working Committee would soon reach a decision on a march on Ulundi announced by the ANC's Natal branch. — Sapa

Talks, crime top bill at congress

(3047)

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CT 17/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The embattled negotiations process and the "tidal wave" of crime and violence sweeping South Africa will enjoy top billing at the National Party's Transvaal congress which opens here today.

Resolutions to be debated at the World Trade Centre over the next two days also reflect the NP's determination to be fully prepared for the country's first non-racial poll, probably next year.

The congress will also serve as a useful barometer of the NP's efforts to recruit support across the colour spectrum.

The congress takes place at a time when hopes have been raised for a speedy return to negotiations and delegates will be looking to government ministers to lift the veil on the latest state of play in its delicately poised talks with the ANC.

A number of resolutions are laced with ANC-bashing sentiments and reflect the fact that the NP has moved into election mode.

Much of the agenda reflects fears concerning the unrest, crime and threat to personal safety.

Summit date may be set this week

304A

STAR 17/9/92

By Peter Fabricius

Intensive negotiations to set up a Government-ANC summit on violence are continuing, with some hope that a date could be set by the end of the week.

Both the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee met yesterday when they were likely to have discussed the obstacles still impeding the arrangement of a summit.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela improved the mood for agreement when he said in an interview with The Star this week that he would be prepared to attend a summit on violence with President de Klerk if the Government gave the organisation assurances on the release of prisoners, a curb on carrying dangerous weapons, and adequate security around hostels.

Mr Mandela's remarks have put pressure on both sides to come to terms and led to optimism, at least on the Government side, that agreement could be reached this week.

Government and ANC delegations under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have had several meetings this week to try to resolve these issues.

The ANC has warned that the speed with which an agreement could be reached would be determined by the Government's response to its three demands.

Welcome . . . Deputy Minister of Law and Order Gert Myburgh (right) welcomes Unit at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. ● Report — Page 3

UK move rocks markets

By Magnus Heystek
Finance Editor

World financial markets were plunged into renewed crisis yesterday when the Bank of England increased its base lending rate from 10 to 15 percent in a desperate bid to prevent a formal devaluation of the pound.

The move sent shockwaves through currency and equity markets, including those in South Africa.

The 5 percent increase by the Bank of England came in two stages.

Yesterday morning the base lending rate was put up from 10 to 12 percent but when this failed to support the pound, it was further increased to 15 percent in the afternoon.

However, the move had little impact and sterling remained pinned to the floor.

According to international economists, the Bank of England now has no option but to formally devalue sterling. Any further increase in interest rates is likely to harm the UK economy, already in the midst of a severe recession.

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Elsewhere in Europe, Sweden increased its prime rate by a staggering 500 percent to 75 percent, in an effort to halt the slide of the Swedish kroner, and the recent run on the Italian lira continued.

The current bout of uncertainty on world currency markets was precipitated by the surprise cut in lending rates by the German Bundesbank.

Stock markets have also been badly affected by the volatile currency markets.

Yesterday's events in Threadneedle Street in London badly buffeted world bourses.

The All Share Index dropped 40 points to 3138, wiping out all of its gains earlier this week, and the Industrial Index dropped by 45 points to 4087.

Gold was the only beneficiary of volatile markets and was trading at around $349 an ounce after a morning fix of $346,20.

The Gold Index rose by 20 points to 913 and looks set to rise further in the face of extreme uncertainty on world markets, said analysts.

The rand slipped back against the US dollar and was quoted at R2,82 but strengthened against sterling to R5,28.

Pick 6 set to top R3-m

The Pick 6 pool at Turffon-

EXCLUSIVE

Draft of disastrous 1985 speech revealed

Secrets of the Rubicon

STAR 17/9/92 (304A)

y Patrick Laurence

he draft version of the isastrous 1985 "Rubicon peech" delivered by ıen-president P W Botha as surfaced — enabling outh Africans to see how ifferent the last few ears might have been if resident Botha had uck to the original text.

Foreign Minister Pik otha yesterday released the draft exclusively to The Star. He said he wrote the first version of "Rubicon 1" for President Botha, and that if it had been delivered in that form, ANC leader Nelson Mandela would have been released from prison five years earlier.

Mr Botha's draft "disappeared" shortly before President Botha delivered the revised and more conservative version on August 15 1985, dashing hopes of a major reform initiative. His "Rubicon speech" plunged South Africa into a political and financial crisis.

President Botha's actual speech, delivered in finger-waving defiance of world opinion, was interpreted as evidence of his unrepentant commitment to white rule and his determination not to submit to pressure for fundamental change. Expectations had been fuelled that he would use the occasion of the speech to signal a new, reformist era of South African politics.

A sharp fall in the value of the rand followed within days of the speech's delivery.

In the actual speech, made in Durban's City Hall and televised live in many world capitals, President Botha repeated his view that Mr Mandela was a communist and reiterated an earlier offer to release the ANC leader only if he personally renounced violence.

But Pik Botha told The Star that in his draft — which resurfaced only a few days ago via Daan Prinsloo, the man who is helping President Botha write his memoirs — the offer to release Mr Mandela was specifically not made conditional on his renunciation of violence.

The draft speech referred to "black leaders" approaching President Botha and informing him that they were convinced that Mr Mandela would not engage in violence if he were released.

Describing the unidentified leaders as "respected men", the draft then contained the following critically important paragraph: "If I can, from any of these leaders — or from Mr Mandela himself — receive satisfactory indications that he will conduct himself in a law-abiding manner I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release."

The essentia point is if the earlier version had been accepted, Mr Mandela would not himself have had to renounce violence — a condition which he had already rejected because, as he put it in February 1985: "Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts."

Quick election isn't that simple

STAR 17/9/92 (304A)

Cabinet Ministers are talking about a possible election within 18 months, but the electorate may not be ready by then. MICHAEL SPARKS reports.

...ting of the ... Youth Con... ...onal Develop... ...ning Minister ...oke of the possi... ...onracial election ...8 months.

...election is that im... ...any people who have ...ived of the franchise ... lives may still not be ... vote because they will ... no identification docu... ...ts.

...ne of the traditional tasks of ... political party has been to en... ...sure that voters were registered and their names appeared on the voters roll.

If the Government has its way, a nonracial election is likely to be run on the same principle as the referendum earlier this year, with voters having to show ID proving they were South African citizens older than 18 years.

Father Sean O'Leary, chairman of Education for Democracy — an umbrella organisation of various church and community groups working towards educating people about democracy — said it was not just a case of people getting ID documents. They had to learn what he described as "the new language of democracy", with concepts such as proportional representation as well as understanding about how a secret ballot worked.

This applied particularly to those in rural areas.

Many older people already had ID books, necessary to collect their pensions. But the younger generation was more suspicious of Government-issued documents, a hangover from the "dompas" or reference book which was one of the backbones of apartheid.

Father O'Leary added that the NP and the Democratic Party had already started campaigning in the black community, while there was a lack of urgency on the part of the ANC and similar movements.

NP Transvaal assistant secretary Chris MacPherson said speakers at every meeting were calling on "new voters" — a euphemism for blacks — to apply for their ID documents "so that they are not deprived of their democratic right".

Mr MacPherson said the methods used in Zimbabwe and Namibia were being studied closely. He said an election could also run on a basis similar to the referendum, where voters had only to show they were citizens of voting age.

According to some political analysts, the ANC attitude is that if a person can prove he is a citizen, by whatever means — even through sworn affidavits by others who are — he should be able to vote.

But ANC election commission chairman Popo Molefe said the issue of voter ID was "still subject to discussion and has to be decided during negotiations".

The DP is also sceptical about the use of ID books. DP executive director James Selfe said: "Nothing irritates a voter more than applying for one form of registration, only to be told a different one is needed."

He said the number of potential voters varied between 16 and 20 million, including those in the so-called independent homelands. Anywhere between 3 and 4 million of these had no ID documents.

If there was a regional element to the voting, as the Government was calling for, some form of voters roll would be required, said Mr Selfe.

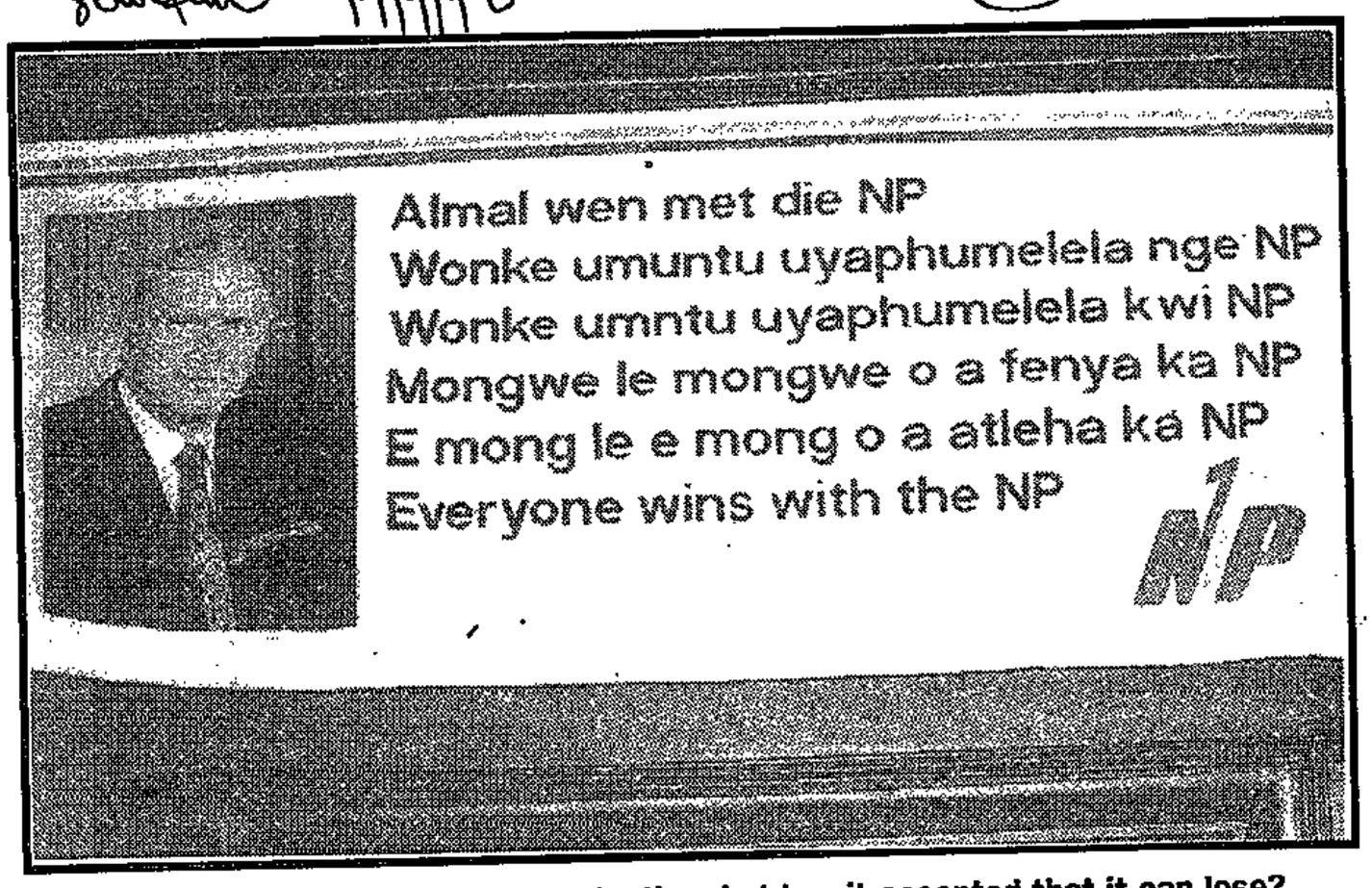
He added that because of the problems of applying for ID books, some form of election commission — with possible links to the Department of Home Affairs — would simplify the documentation for an election.

Father O'Leary said he was in favour of expediting registration, even if it meant some non-citizens voted, in the interest of getting the maximum number of eligible voters to the polls on election day. □

focus on talks

As the main actors on the political stage move tentatively towards talking to each other again, a crucial question looms - is De Klerk willing to relingquish power in an inevitable forthcoming democratic elections. *Sowetan*'s Political correspondent, **Ismail Lagardien**, assesses the new South African situation.

Sowetan 17/9/92. (304A)



The NP has a desire to win an open election, but has it accepted that it can lose?

TENTATIVE talks between the two main teams in South Africa's tenuous transition - the Government and the ANC - are under way, and foreign observers have landed.

In terms of the macro-political developments in South Africa, these are positive signals which could encourage political and economic stability, confidence and growth in the medium to long term.

The way things stand, agreements between the Government and the ANC during bi-lateral discussions this week could see the release of political prisoners, curbs on the carrying and displaying of dangerous weapons and greater security around single-sex migrant worker hostels, all of which could galvanise a new round of negotiations.

In terms of the prevailing thinking, such negotiations are expected to start with one or more high-level meetings between the top leadership of the Government and the ANC. They could go a long way towards the much-desired stability - particularly after the precipitous events at Boipatong in June and at Bisho last week.

But unknown factors abound.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, it seems, remains inexorably linked to much of the violence, as do South Africa's security forces.

Chances are that if the IFP is not, even as a gesture, invited into the centre stage, the violence could continue for a while.

The leader of the IFP, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, this week whipped up enough fear and loathing among his civil servants in Ulundi to see this country plunged into more violence and carnage.

The country's security forces, as well as that of the self-governing territories and the homelands, are similarly a dangerous and unpredictable factor.

It is, however, significant that Pretoria is at the political control panel of these uncertainties.

It is here, perhaps, where the international community, which is now (partially) represented in the country by the United Nations and Organisation for African Unity, could become invaluable.

The South African government has always contended that it was a sovereign state and that international intervention, in any form, was therefore uneccessary.

While accepting the dictum that South Africans had to solve South Africa's problems, opposition to the left of the Government never ceased to remind Pretoria of its illegitimacy.

That question will remain a moot point.

What is, however, a cause for great concern, especially considering the election-fever that is starting to spread in the country, is the fact that the political playing field has not been levelled.

The ruling National Party remains the Government and has its hands on every lever area of control in South Africa, which, at this critical and decisive juncture in the constitutional process, can influence the population.

To bolster this position, NP leader President FW de Klerk has taken three of Government's key people of the total onslaught era - two from security and one from propaganda - and placed them in a circle immediately around him.

The former deputy minister of Law and Order, and the person who headed the repressive National Security Management System of the mid-eighties, Mr Roelf Meyer, is now the Minister of Constitutional Development and De Klerk's key negotiator.

Backing up Meyer in Constitutional Development as his departmental director is his old colleague from the total onslaught era, the former head of National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard.

De Klerk has also taken Mr Dave Steward, who headed the notorious Bureau for Information, and made him the spokesperson in the State President's Office.

De Klerk's objective is sharing power that's what he explains negotiations in South Africa are aimed at.

The NP appears to be holding on to power by all means possible, until it is able to galvanise enough support to continue governing by whatever means possible.

A big question remains unanswered: Have the Nats accepted the cornerstone principle of a democratic system in which they can be voted out of office? It appears not.

Botswana date for PAC, Govt

304A

■ Pretoria accedes to demand for a neutral venue:

Sowetan 17/9/92.

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government will meet in Gaborone, Botswana, before the end of this month to discuss the PAC's full involvement in negotiations.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said yesterday the Government had finally agreed to his organisation's proposal for a neutral venue.

A member of the six-man PAC delegation which has twice held talks with the Government inside the country, Seroke said Pretoria had finally agreed to the organisation's demand that a meeting at the highest levels of both parties be held "in a neutral venue outside the country".

He said although agreement had yet to be reached on the date on which the meeting will take place, he was confident it would be held before the end of September or, at the latest, early next month.

Also still under discussion was who the "neutral chairman" would be at such a meeting.

"At first we were pulling hither and thither on the venue and finally we agreed on Botswana. The regime was suggesting the Ivory Coast and we were saying it should be in one of the Frontline states," Seroke said.

No drama expected at NP Transvaal congress

B/DAY 17/9/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE NP Transvaal congress, which starts at the World Trade Centre today, is once again set to be overwhelmed by events beyond the control of the ruling party.

There are no great expectations of President F W de Klerk making groundbreaking announcements as he did at congresses in the past two years.

At the party's Free State congress two weeks ago, De Klerk stayed for barely an hour and confined himself to giving delegates a general overview of the political situation.

Today, delegates' attention will be focused on talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa rather than on the congress agenda. The aftermath of the Bisho killings and the possibilities of an ANC march on Ulundi will also divert attention.

Meyer will be addressing the congress later this afternoon, but the secretive nature of his negotiations with Ramaphosa means he is likely to give only a vague indication of the progress.

Either De Klerk or Meyer is also expected to provide more clarity on enabling constitutional legislation which government is to put before Parliament next month.

On Tuesday Meyer gave some indications of government's plans for the special short session, but said it had not yet been finalised. Cabinet met yesterday and it is understood that the issue was discussed.

Meyer said any Bills to set up a transitional executive, phase out own affairs and abolish by-elections would only be of an enabling nature, to be implemented once agreement with negotiating partners had been reached.

Transvaal leader Pik Botha will speak at lunchtime today before officially opening the congress tonight. Other speakers will include Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport, who might sketch NP plans for federalism in a new constitution.

Also to be decided at the congress will be the changes to the principles in the NP constitution which scrap Christian nationalism.

PAC and govt set to discuss forum

PATRICK BULGER

THE PAC will take part in a forum in SA to plan elections for a constituent assembly, and intends meeting government in a neighbouring state this month to discuss the forum, says a senior PAC official.

B/DAY 17/9/92.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, who took part in the first three contacts in SA between government and the PAC after the PAC was unbanned, said yesterday Botswana was a likely venue for the talks that were being set up.

However, both Namibia and Zimbabwe had indicated they would be prepared to host such a meeting.

Ebrahim said that at his last meeting with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, government had agreed to the principle of meeting the PAC at a neutral venue outside SA and under a neutral chairman. Government and the PAC met in April this year in Abuja, Nigeria.

"We will be representing the position of the Patriotic Front aimed at creating a new and more representative forum which would pave the way for the establishment of an elected constituent assembly."

That forum would meet in SA, he said. (304A)

The Gaborone meeting, Ebrahim said, could still be convened as a summit between President F W de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu. However, at present it was envisaged as a meeting of delegations headed by Meyer and himself.

Govt and PAC to confer in Gaborone

Star 17/9/92

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Government will meet soon in Gaborone, Botswana, to discuss the PAC's full involvement in negotiations, PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke has told The Star.

A member of the six-man PAC delegation that has twice held talks with the Government inside the country, Mr Seroke said Pretoria had finally agreed to the demand that a meeting at the highest level be held "at a neutral venue outside the country".

Also still under discussion was who the "neutral" chairman would be.

The PAC, he said, had suggested that the chairman of the Frontline states, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, should chair the meeting. Pretoria was insisting that the head of state of the host country, President Quett Masire, should be chairman.

Mr Seroke said the PAC's delegation was likely to be led by the organisation's two deputy presidents, Dikgang Moseneke and Johnson Mlambo.

Practice poll puts voters in the know

Political Staff

MEMBERS of the ANC, PAC and Cosatu campaigned in an election yesterday in Bellville — and then cast their votes in secret.

The mock campaign was part of a Swedish-run four-day seminar on voter education and election procedures in preparation for South Africa's first democratic elections. CT 17/9/92

The 145 "voters" came from all over the country and were divided into five different political parties that did not represent any current SA groups.

A member of the Swedish delegation said the exercise went very well. (304A)

NP rank-and-file's pre-congress nerves

STAR 17/9/92 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Anxiety about crime, security, inflation and the transition to a new constitutional dispensation preoccupy the grassroots of the National Party, judging by the resolutions to be debated at the party's Transvaal congress starting today.

A strong conservative bias is evident in resolutions on issues such as the death penalty, parole for criminals, mass action, suburban crime and trade unions.

As at the recent Free State congress, some unease is evident among the party rank-and-file about the possibility of the Government making too many concessions during negotiations.

Resolutions from Delmas and Rustenburg stress the NP's policy of power-sharing in a new government and propose that active steps be taken to encourage the idea of strong regional government.

The public-sector corruption scandals earlier this year are reflected in a resolution calling for urgent attention on this matter to bolster the Government's image.

The Government is also urged to hand down adequate penalties to criminals, clarify the position of the death penalty, ensure dangerous criminals are not released too quickly, and counter the perception that judgments of the courts are valueless.

President de Klerk will address the congress, at the World Trade Centre, tomorrow.

We'll need nerves of steel — Andrew

B044 ARG 17/9/92

Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africans will need nerves of steel to survive the natural turbulence of transition, says Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew.

Speaking at a legal and tax conference in Paarl today, he said there was an urgent need for greater certainty in the country's political and economic life.

"Without certainty we will not generate the confidence or the investment to produce desperately needed economic growth and we will have to wave goodbye to peace and prosperity."

Mr Andrew said that after 40 years of apartheid "it would have been nice, but unrealistic, to expect that we could escape from severe turbulence in moving towards a truly democratic state".

South Africans would need nerves of steel and would have to learn how to "vasbyt" ... "but I believe we will get there, more or less in one piece".

Rubicon draft offered Mandela freedom in 1985

(304A)

ARG 17/9/92

PATRICK LAURENCE
Political Staff

NELSON Mandela would have been freed five years earlier if President P W Botha had delivered the original version of his disastrous "Rubicon Speech" in 1985, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha has revealed.

Mr Botha wrote the draft speech and has released its contents, which include an offer to release Mr Mandela that is specifically not conditional on his renunciation of violence.

In the revised speech, delivered in finger-waving defiance of world opinion, the State President repeated his view that Mr Mandela was a communist and reiterated an earlier offer to release the ANC leader only if he personally renounced violence.

Mr Botha's draft "disappeared" shortly before President Botha delivered the revised and more conservative version in the Durban City Hall on August 15 1985.

The speech, which was interpreted as evidence of his unrepentant commitment to white rule and his determination not to submit to pressure for fundamental change, dashed hopes of major reforms and plunged South Africa into a political and financial crisis.

It was televised live in many world capitals, since there were high hopes that he would use it to signal a new, reformist era. Within days, the rand's value plunged.

Mr Pik Botha told The Argus that in his draft, which has resurfaced via Daan Prinsloo, who is helping former President Botha to write his memoirs, the offer to release Mr Mandela was specifically not made conditional on his renunciation of violence.

It referred to "black leaders" approaching the president and informing him that they were convinced that Mr Mandela — eventually freed in February 1990 — would not engage in violence if he were released.

Describing the unidentified leaders as "respected men", the draft then contained the following critically important paragraph: "If I can, from any of these leaders — or from Mr Mandela himself — receive satisfactory indications that he will conduct himself in a law-abiding manner I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release."

The essential point is if the earlier version had been accepted, Mr Mandela would not have had to renounce violence — a condition he had already rejected because, as he put it in February 1985: "Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts."

In the interview with The Argus, during which he revealed the existence of the Rubicon draft, Mr Botha said the "respected leaders" referred to were Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Transkei's Kaiser Mantanzima.

Mr Botha said these leaders had at the time already given him the required "assurance" that Mr Mandela would not engage in violence.

The Foreign Minister said the draft speech also foreshadowed several dramatic developments, including the pending reincorporation of the TBVC states and the abandonment of the homeland policy generally.

The relevant part in the draft read in part: "... a fragmented South Africa cannot accommodate the aspirations of people whose lot is so inextricably woven together".

Mr Botha said of the missing first draft: "At last the situation can be clarified." He said the evocative phrase "crossing the Rubicon" appeared in both the draft and the delivered speech, but it was stripped of its intent in the latter.

One aspect of the "Rubicon" saga, however, remains unresolved: who, or what, caused President Botha to reject the early draft in favour of the tougher speech?

"That is a mystery which I cannot resolve," Mr Botha said. "But at last I have my record."

ARG 17/9/92 (304A)

Government ready to bring blacks into Cabinet

Political Staff

THE government is ready to prepare for an interim government by bringing in blacks at the highest level — the Cabinet — without it being necessary for them to be members of parliament.

There is provision for this in some of the legislation to be introduced at next month's short session of parliament, President De Klerk disclosed when he addressed the Pretoria Press Club.

He said it had been decided people should be allowed, on the basis of merit, to serve their country irrespective of race. The intention behind the move is clearly to have all groups, including the African National Congress, involved at the highest level in planning an interim government.

The ANC, which has often expressed misgivings about "co-option", today described as "unilateral and unacceptable" any attempts to restructure parliament or the government during next month's session.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "Having this session now is counter-productive. We believe the process is critical, and that means everything must go through a representative negotiating forum."

He did not believe the ANC's opposition to next month's two-week session would be a set-back for negotiations.

"We will express criticism, but the more important determinant for the pace of negotiations will be the discussions going on between (Minister of Constitutional Development) Mr Roelf Meyer and (ANC secretary-general) Mr Cyril Ramaphosa," he said.

Speaking last night, Mr De Klerk reaffirmed there would never again be a general election which excluded certain South Africans.

Speaking last night, Mr De Klerk expressed confidence that his all-important summit with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela on violence would happen "in the near future".

The summit on violence is the key for the return to formal constitutional negotiations. Mr Mandela this week said he was ready to attend the summit if Mr De Klerk gave him assurances that he would act on the three main issues — of political prisoners, security of hostels, and carrying of dangerous weapons — which the ANC considers obstacles to negotiations.

Mr De Klerk also confirmed that the government would table wide-ranging legislation at next month's parliamentary session to prepare for transition.

Quick election isn't that simple

STAR 17/9/92. (304A)

Cabinet Ministers are talking about a possible election within 18 months, but the electorate may not be ready by then. MICHAEL SPARKS reports.

If the Government has its way, a nonracial election is likely to be run on the same principle as the referendum earlier this year, with voters having to show ID proving they were South African citizens older than 18 years.

Father Sean O'Leary, chairman of Education for Democracy — an umbrella organisation of various church and community groups working towards educating people about democracy — said it was not just a case of people getting ID documents. They had to learn what he described as "the new language of democracy", with concepts such as proportional representation as well as understanding about how a secret ballot worked.

This applied particularly to those in rural areas.

Many older people already had ID books, necessary to collect their pensions. But the younger generation was more suspicious of Government-issued documents, a hangover from the "dompas", or reference book which was one of the backbones of apartheid.

Father O'Leary added that the NP and the Democratic Party had already started campaigning in the black community, while there was a lack of urgency on the part of the ANC and similar movements.

NP Transvaal assistant secretary Chris MacPherson said speakers at every meeting were calling on "new voters" — a euphemism for blacks — to apply for their ID documents "so that they are not deprived of their democratic right".

Mr MacPherson said the methods used in Zimbabwe and Namibia were being studied closely. He said an election could also run on a basis similar to the referendum, where voters had only to show they were citizens of voting age.

According to some political analysts, the ANC attitude is that if a person can prove he is a citizen, by whatever means — even through sworn affidavits by others who are — he should be able to vote.

But ANC election commission

chairman Popo Molefe said the issue of voter ID was "still subject to discussion and has to be decided during negotiations".

The DP is also sceptical about the use of ID books. DP executive director James Selfe said: "Nothing irritates a voter more than applying for one form of registration, only to be told a different one is needed."

He said the number of potential voters varied between 16 and 20 million, including those in the so-called independent homelands. Anywhere between 3 and 4 million of these had no ID documents.

If there was a regional element to the voting, as the Government was calling for, some form of voters roll would be required, said Mr Selfe.

He added that because of the problems of applying for ID books, some form of election commission — with possible links to the Department of Home Affairs — would simplify the documentation for an election.

Father O'Leary said he was in favour of expediting registration, even if it meant some non-citizens voted, in the interest of getting the maximum number of eligible voters to the polls on election day. □

SA leaders discuss summit problems

CT 18/9/92

By BARRY STREEK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday discussed the three key issues pinpointed by the ANC as standing in the way of a summit.

In a joint statement they said their two-hour meeting had dealt with the question of hostels and the Goldstone Commission's investigations in this regard, the issue of dangerous weapons, and the present debate regarding disputed political prisoners.

They gave no indication of what progress had been made, saying only: "The discussions were constructive and there was agreement on the need for further meetings."

304A

They also said talks had focused on the "unacceptable level of violence" throughout the country and on the security situation in Natal.

"Ways and means to address these issues were discussed in depth. Special attention was also given to the problems surrounding multi-party negotiations and the necessity of the resumption thereof as soon as possible," the leaders said.

Black majority in NP would bring security, Pik predicts

STAR 18/9/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

(304A)

The day when blacks became the majority in the National Party would be the day security prevailed in South Africa, Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha said last night.

At that stage, the majority of South Africans would then be supporting healthy economic and political policies.

He was delivering the opening address to about 800 people attending the NP Transvaal congress at the World Trade Centre near Jan Smuts Airport.

Mr Botha said the NP was the only truly multiracial party because it was the only one which catered to all people in all communities.

The majority of whites, coloureds and Indians would support the NP, he said.

Mr Botha said he had been astonished by the adverse reaction to his prediction.

It almost seemed as though a "new form of democracy" was being propagated.

"If you want to participate, you [illegible] be prepared to lose," he sa[illegible]

Irrespective of the results of the election, all polls agreed that the vast majority of all South Africans wanted the country to be governed jointly by F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

State hints at rapid interim govt

(304A)

CT 18/9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Dramatic progress on the first phase of interim government has been made — and the government last night predicted that an agreement was imminent.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer told reporters at the NP's Transvaal congress here that a deal could be struck on Transitional Executive Councils (TECs) within the next two days.

The government's chief negotiator also revealed yesterday that:

- The days of the homelands — the cornerstones of grand apartheid — are numbered.
- The three obstacles standing in the way of a peace summit could be resolved shortly: "I hope that an announcement can be made soon."

The TECs are designed to "level the playing fields" during the opening phase of an interim government in preparation for the country's first all-in elections.

Sources said the progress had been made in one-on-one talks between Mr Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

During yesterday's congress Mr Meyer said discussions with the ANC had at no point

PIK IS BULLISH THAT NATS WILL WIN ELECTION

See PAGE 2

From page 1

(304A)

Meyer

CT 18/9/92

come to a standstill "despite all the rhetoric from the ANC side".

He also disclosed far-reaching plans to clip the wings of the homeland administrations or reduce them to non-independent status.

Mr Meyer said constitutional changes envisaged by the government could result in the independent homelands — including the Ciskei — losing control of their defence forces.

An announcement clarifying the status of the Ciskei — and the future of its ruler, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — is expected within days.

Mr Meyer said the government was searching for a formula that would be acceptable to both the ANC and the IFP.

Mr Meyer said there was progress on the other ANC precondition to the summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela — the release of "disputed" political prisoners.

"We are prepared to look at these categories of disputed prisoners so that the issue can be removed because this has been going on for a long time," said Mr Meyer.

Govt plans to restructure police force

CT 18/9/92

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government envisages every major Metropolitan area in South Africa having its own city police force.

Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel told a press conference at the National Party's Transvaal Congress here that a "serious rethink" was necessary to completely restructure of the South African Police.

The new three-tiered model envisaged by the government would entail a city force, a regional force and a central force along the lines of the FBI.

The composition of the regional police forces would have to take account of existing forces like the KwaZulu Police. The greater Natal region might, for example, have a police force consisting of former KZP and SAP members from the region.

Sapa reports that Mr Kriel also proposed an extensive information campaign to educate voters about the nature of the secret ballot.

They had to be convinced that although people might tell them who to vote for outside the polling stations — they could not be interfered with inside the booth.

Earlier, Transvaal NP leader and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said that within a year "we could be very near an election".

Mr Kriel said the disbandment of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe, had to be negotiated because the country would be "better off without it".

He said that if political violence could be eliminated, the SAP would be in a better position to give attention to crime, rather than having to control mass action.

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They gave no indication of what progress had been made, saying only: "The discussions were constructive and there was agreement on the need for further meetings." (304A)

They also said talks had focused on the "unacceptable level of violence" throughout the country and on the security situation in Natal.

"Ways and means to address these issues were discussed in depth. Special attention was also given to the problems surrounding multi-party negotiations and the necessity of the resumption thereof as soon as possible," the leaders said.

Pik looks to black majority in NP

CT 18/9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
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JOHANNESBURG. — The day that blacks were the majority in the National Party there would be security in South Africa, NP Transvaal leader Mr Pik Botha declared last night.

"This is because the majority of South Africans will support healthy policies in the economic sphere and South Africa will become a strong country," the Foreign Minister told a public meeting at the formal launch of the Transvaal NP congress last night.

Mr Botha, who repeated his predicition that the NP would win the country's first non-racial election, said the majority of coloureds and Indians "will in time follow the NP".

He told an cheering 800-strong crowd in the World Trade Centre that "we are the only truly multi-racial party in South Africa".

"Irrespective of my predictions of an election result all polls agree that the vast majority of people living in this country will be governed jointly by the major players, including Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi."

Mr Botha said to a standing ovation that "the NP intends to, and will play, a decisive role in a free and tolerant new South Africa moulded from the flames — and not the ashes — of the past".

Turning to the negotiation process he said: "We are either doomed or destined to come to an agreement. I cannot say when but I believe it will come."

He believed there were enough moderate and responsible leaders in the ANC and in Inkatha who would see the necessity to come to an agreement.

"There is a longing in South Africa, a very strong desire, to live together in peace," he said.

Mr Botha challenged the ANC to throw off the yoke of communism.

"My advice to the ANC is throw off the yoke of communism for the sake of South Africa just as we threw off the Treurnichts and others."

The albatross of the communists would not go away and needed to be thrown off to allow the ANC to move forward, just as the NP could move forward only once it threw the Treurnichts and Harzenbergs off.

The NP admitted that it had made a mistake, but the ANC would not admit its mistake by staying with communism, said Mr Botha.

Nats not fazed by fuss over Stem

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party is not allowing itself to be fazed by the ongoing controversy surrounding the singing of Die Stem.

The 600 delegates to the party's Transvaal congress were provided with a copy of the lyrics along with the programme in the congress package yesterday.

And they ended proceedings after last night's public meeting with a full-throated rendition of the controversial anthem.

During debate from the floor earlier a delegate also paid tribute to Transvaal rugby boss Mr Louis Luyt's defiant decision to play the song before the Ellis Park test against the All Blacks.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer responded by pointing out that the Currie Cup was won by Natal ...

Another controversial national symbol, the flag, also featured at the congress. The NP's proposed programme of principles, distributed among delegates, stated: "The party recognises the national flag as the symbol of our own South African nationhood and of the Republic of South Africa."

Mandela's release planned for 1985?

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OWN AFFAIRS FM 18/9/92

False economies

(304A)

Government's apparent intention to scrap "Own Affairs" departments before the end of the year will be little more than cosmetic, unless the racially structured Ministers' Councils are disbanded and senior officials are integrated into the broader civil service.

The future of Own Affairs was discussed at the National Party's weekend caucus meeting in the eastern Transvaal. It seems that legislation may be introduced during next month's short parliamentary session to transfer the functions of existing Own Affairs departments to General Affairs administrations.

However, it is understood that the Ministers' Councils and senior management teams — including directors-general, chief directors and ministerial representatives — will remain in place to assist with the "unique problems and needs" of Own Affairs.

In the House of Assembly, General Affairs Ministers, such as Leon Wessels at Local Government and Deputy Ministers already double up on Own Affairs duties, but senior officials run the racially separate departments and are backed by six ministerial representatives.

Andrew

In the other two Houses there are 11 Ministers and Deputy Ministers, about 10 senior officials, four ministerial representatives and extensive support teams. The cost of maintaining the top echelons of the Own Affairs structure is estimated to be about R10m a year.

This means that unless administrative staff are retrenched on a massive scale, merely transferring them to General Affairs departments while maintaining the trappings of the current system will result in no savings.

But abolishing the Ministers' Councils at this stage — particularly in the Nat-controlled House of Representatives — would be politically difficult.

Government used the largesse inherent in the system to lure former Labour Party MPs into the Nat camp earlier this year with promises of promotion. To scrap those posts now could lead to a serious revolt in the House.

Scrapping of Own Affairs is a provision of the ANC's "Transition to Democracy Act" (*Current Affairs* September 11) and has long been demanded by the Democratic Party.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew says SA can no longer afford the continuation of "apartheid legacies. The duplication, wastage and corruption is costing hard-pressed taxpayers billions of rands each year; the unacceptability and unpopularity of these institutions provide focal points for further conflict."

Andrew says government should immediately take steps to convert the tricameral parliament into a unicameral legislature, abolish the constitutional distinction between "Own" and "General" Affairs and provide for single functional departments. ■

Govt merger 'can save R700m'

(30CA)

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — An immediate saving of R700m a year was possible from the dismantling of own affairs departments, DP finance spokesman Brian Goodall said yesterday. B/DAY 18/9/92

Latest figures showed own affairs departments employed 200 000 workers who earned about R7bn a year. A saving of at least 10% on both staff and staff earnings was immediately possible, he said.

He was reacting to an announcement by President F W de Klerk that he intended introducing legislation to merge own affairs administrations with general affairs.

Goodall said the move was long overdue. The failed own affairs policy had helped the public service grow into a monster.

The retrenchment of senior staff was inevitable. "And if government is really serious about rationalisation; then those at the top, including ministers and deputy ministers, will have to go."

Trying to squeeze redundant staff into other areas of the public service would defeat the purpose of the operation.

Goodall said, however, there were many functions being performed by the own affairs departments which would have to continue after rationalisation.

The House of Representatives had four Ministers — paid at the same level as House of Assembly Ministers — chairmen of the Ministers' Council and the budget, housing, local goverment and agriculture, health and welfare services, and education and culture.

The House of Delegates had a chairman of the Ministers' Council and Minister of housing, education and culture, budget and auxillary services, health and welfare services, and local government and agriculture.

Each house had a Deputy Minister.

'Talks failed to halt AWB'

RAY HARTLEY

POTCHEFSTROOM — A series of 11th-hour meetings between police, NP and AWB members failed to defuse potential confrontation on the eve of the "Battle of Ventersdorp" last August, the Regional Court heard yesterday.

Gen Lourens Malan, who was in charge of police operations during the clash which claimed three lives, said this in testimony in the trial of 15 right-wingers charged with public violence related to the incident.

He said police had met NP and AWB members the day before the massacre and warned lives could be lost, but he had not asked the NP to call off the meeting because this was a decision the meeting organisers had to make.

"I made a plea to (AWB leader) Eugene Terre'Blanche to use his influence to defuse the looming conflict between the AWB and the police. His reaction was that the President collected taxes from the residents of Ventersdorp and he had a right to attend the meeting to ask the State President certain questions."

A thousand policemen and a nearby army unit were mobilised to maintain law and order and to protect President F W de Klerk, who spoke at the meeting which was disrupted by hundreds of armed right-wingers, Malan said.

He said tens of thousands of rands had been spent on security for De Klerk.

Malan admitted he had not arranged to control traffic because it was "a small detail which I didn't think about".

Two of the dead were run over by vehicles during the conflict.

Malan later admitted no loudspeakers had been set up to inform passersby and protesters that demonstrations had been banned in the area around the hall.

He also said the tyres of a water cannon had been slashed, rendering it useless, and police had not been issued with gas masks.

The conflict came to a head when the town's electricity was cut off, firecrackers were thrown at police helicopters and police shouted to him that teargas and handguns had been fired at them, he said.

The trial continues.

New-look housing dept proposed

PRETORIA — The Housing Task Group has recommended the establishment of a restructured, nonracial housing department.

The restructured department would have jurisdiction over the entire country, including the self-governing states, trust areas and eventually the TBVC states should they be reincorporated into SA.

Addressing a seminar on Housing in SA yesterday, National Housing executive director Neville Krige said many of the deadlocks in the housing sector stemmed from current political differences and constitutional changes.

Other recommendations included the encouragement of private sector initiatives with regard to small housing loans, the dissolution of central government's housing-related development funds and the liquidation of fixed assets to the best advantage of the state.

The group also felt activities and assets of the local authorities loans funds should be transferred to the proposed Housing Finance Corporation, and the structure of the Development Bank of Southern Africa should be used to accommodate the corporation as a second development fund under a separate board of trustees. — Sapa.

Joint control of departments likely

B/DAY 18/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are set to reach agreement that legislation be tabled in Parliament next month to allow multi-party joint control over government departments.

B04A

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night after his address to the NP Transvaal Congress that an announcement to this effect was possible within the "next day or two".

At Codesa all parties agreed that transitional executive councils be set up in terms of a transitional constitution. Until now government has been unable to include this in its plans for the October session because it required the ANC's agreement.

In saying this, Meyer lifted the veil of secrecy to show he and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had been discussing more than the immediate obstacles to a summit on violence.

Meyer said President F W de Klerk had not announced this part of the plan for the parliamentary session because it had not yet been finalised. He was hopeful agreement would be reached soon.

Meyer also disclosed that government was negotiating with the TBVC and the non-independent states on rationalising their functions to allow central government to have joint control over them.

Independent homelands would have two choices — reverting back to self-governing

☐ To Page 2

Control

B/DAY 18/9/92

304A

status or having certain functions, such as police, defence and education reintegrated with SA, Meyer said.

He said that since April government had been having talks with the TBVC states to rationalise their defence and security forces into the SA forces.

Government was trying to reach bilateral agreements with homeland leaders before legislative action was taken.

Agreement with the ANC on legislation for the transitional executive councils would provide a carrot for homeland leaders to give up control of some functions as they would still have a say through membership on the executive councils.

Meyer also disclosed that solutions to ANC demands for hostels to be fenced and the carrying of dangerous weapons to be banned could soon be found.

The Goldstone commission recommendations and UN envoy Cyrus Vance's report had not fully considered the practical implications of a blanket ban on weapons.

He and Ramaphosa were involved in trying to isolate and identify the real problem area — which was not a single person on a hunting trip with a weapon but rather a group of people in a volatile situation provoking fear and violence. He believed the formula being worked on was reasonable and that the ANC could accept it.

POLITICS FM 18/9/92 (304A)

Can the centre hold?

The DP protest march through the streets of Johannesburg this week will probably do little to end the petty bickering between government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But it crystallised an increasingly prevalent view that mainstream political leaders have lost sight of their main goal — a negotiated settlement to the country's constitutional impasse. The aim of the march was to emphasise the need for peace and the resumption of negotiations and to demand that the "bullies of the Left and the Right" stop their political infighting and posturing.

There appears to be growing disillusionment, particularly within the besieged business community, with the performance of many politicians. The feeling was summed up by a delegate to a SA Chamber of Business regional conference in Stellenbosch last week, who stated cynically that "politics is too important to be left to politicians."

DP leader Zach de Beer says Tuesdays' march was neither an act of hostility nor a protest. It wasn't even a party-political demonstration. Instead, it was "an act of faith" by people who believed SA could succeed. He says radical change in SA would have been difficult even under the most favourable conditions. But with the domestic and international economies under severe pressure and in the face of "political opportunism and violence," change may appear impossible.

He says the "democratic centre" in which the DP stands believes the main task facing SA is to frame a new constitution that will be workable, just and acceptable to the vast majority of all South Africans.

"Progress towards the new constitution is being held up because certain of the major political actors are having trouble keeping their own supporters in position behind them and are having to take specific action to remedy that and because they are eager to position themselves advantageously for the inevitable election.

"They are actually starting to fight that election before we have the constitution in terms of which it will be fought. In a way, I can understand this behaviour, but it is causing a long and harmful delay while we bleed economically and literally every day."

De Beer appealed to political leaders to "say and do what you know to be right and have faith that the people will follow." Formulating a new constitution is the priority, followed by an election. However, De Beer believes a "grand coalition government of national unity" will serve SA best for the first few years.

"That should be our first prize, but failing that, at least let us get the constitution first and have the fight later."

But his pleas appear to be in vain. Though hopes that negotiations would soon resume flared last week, when the ANC accepted a government proposal for President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela to lead delegations to a meeting aimed specifically at ending the violence, the euphoria was short-lived.

The dismal performance of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on TV's *Agenda* programme on Sunday night confirmed that a return to the negotiating table remains a long way off. Instead of using the opportunity to instil confidence and hope into all South Africans, the two traded petty insults and mutual recriminations.

The "debate" was reminiscent of the party political duelling seen on TV during the referendum campaign; not one ounce of statesmanship shone through. Meanwhile the killing goes on and Cosatu raises the political temperature by announcing plans for city blockades and further economic disruption to force additional concessions from government.

Equally disturbing are indications that De Klerk is relatively undisturbed by the lack of real progress towards resumed negotiations. He is understood to be satisfied that international opinion is, on the whole, backing government and that the ANC is busy shooting itself in the foot. This suits the National Party, sections of which believe that the chances of an NP-led coalition winning a majority rule election will improve the longer the ANC fails to negotiate. But even if this assessment is correct (most observers reject it) the cost in lives and economic stability will be considerable.

Is there a way out? Suggestions that a new moderate coalition party may offer hope are gaining favour. But, like the DP, a new party espousing moderate liberal values is unlikely to draw much support at this stage. ■

UN envoy meets FW, Ministers

STAR 18/9/92, (3044)

UN special envoy Virendra Dayal met President de Klerk, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday to discuss ways of ending political violence.

Mr Dayal is scheduled to meet senior PAC members, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys and National Peace Committee chairman John Hall today.

● Report — Page 11

SA leaders to attend German indaba

Political Reporter (304A)

Some of South Africa's political heavyweights will attend an international conference on federalism in Germany next week.

The conference, entitled "Federalism between integration and secession: chances and risks of federal systems", comes at a time when federalism — often referred to as "regionalism" by the Government — has become the new buzzword.

Jointly organised by the Institute for Multiparty Democracy and the German-based Friedrich Ebert Foundation, the conference will be held in Hanover, starting on Monday and ending on Wednesday.

Those attending include ANC legal affairs head Zola Skweyiya, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport and Inkatha Freedom Party committee member Dr Denis Madide.

STAR 18/9/92

Pik looks to black majority in NP

CT 18/9/92

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The day that blacks were the majority in the National Party there would be security in South Africa, NP Transvaal leader Mr Pik Botha declared last night.

"This is because the majority of South Africans will support healthy policies in the economic sphere and South Africa will become a strong country," the Foreign Minister told a public meeting at the formal launch of the Transvaal NP congress last night.

Mr Botha, who repeated his predicition that the NP would win the country's first non-racial election, said the majority of coloureds and Indians "will in time follow the NP".

He told an cheering 800-strong crowd in the World Trade Centre that "we are the only truly multi-racial party in South Africa".

"Irrespective of my predictions of an election result all polls agree that the vast majority of people living in this country will be governed jointly by the major players, including Mr F W de Klerk, Mr Nelson Mandela and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi."

Mr Botha said to a standing ovation that "the NP intends to, and will play, a decisive role in a free and tolerant new South Africa moulded from the flames — and not the ashes — of the past".

Turning to the negotiation process he said: "We are either doomed or destined to come to an agreement. I cannot say when but I believe it will come."

He believed there were enough moderate and responsible leaders in the ANC and in Inkatha who would see the necessity to come to an agreement.

"There is a longing in South Africa, a very strong desire, to live together in peace," he said.

Mr Botha challenged the ANC to throw off the yoke of communism.

"My advice to the ANC is throw off the yoke of communism for the sake of South Africa just as we threw off the Treurnichts and others."

The albatross of the communists would not go away and needed to be thrown off to allow the ANC to move forward, just as the NP could move forward only once it threw the Treurnichts and Harzenbergs off.

The NP admitted that it had made a mistake, but the ANC would not admit its mistake by staying with communism, said Mr Botha.

Nats not fazed by fuss over Stem

Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The National Party is not allowing itself to be fazed by the ongoing controversy surrounding the singing of Die Stem.

The 600 delegates to the party's Transvaal congress were provided with a copy of the lyrics along with the programme in the congress package yesterday.

And they ended proceedings after last night's public meeting with a full-throated rendition of the controversial anthem.

During debate from the floor earlier a delegate also paid tribute to Transvaal rugby boss Mr Louis Luyt's defiant decision to play the song before the Ellis Park test against the All Blacks.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer responded by pointing out that the Currie Cup was won by Natal . . .

Another controversial national symbol, the flag, also featured at the congress. The NP's proposed programme of principles, distributed among delegates, stated: "The party recognises the national flag as the symbol of our own South African nationhood and of the Republic of South Africa."

Mandela's release planned for 1985?

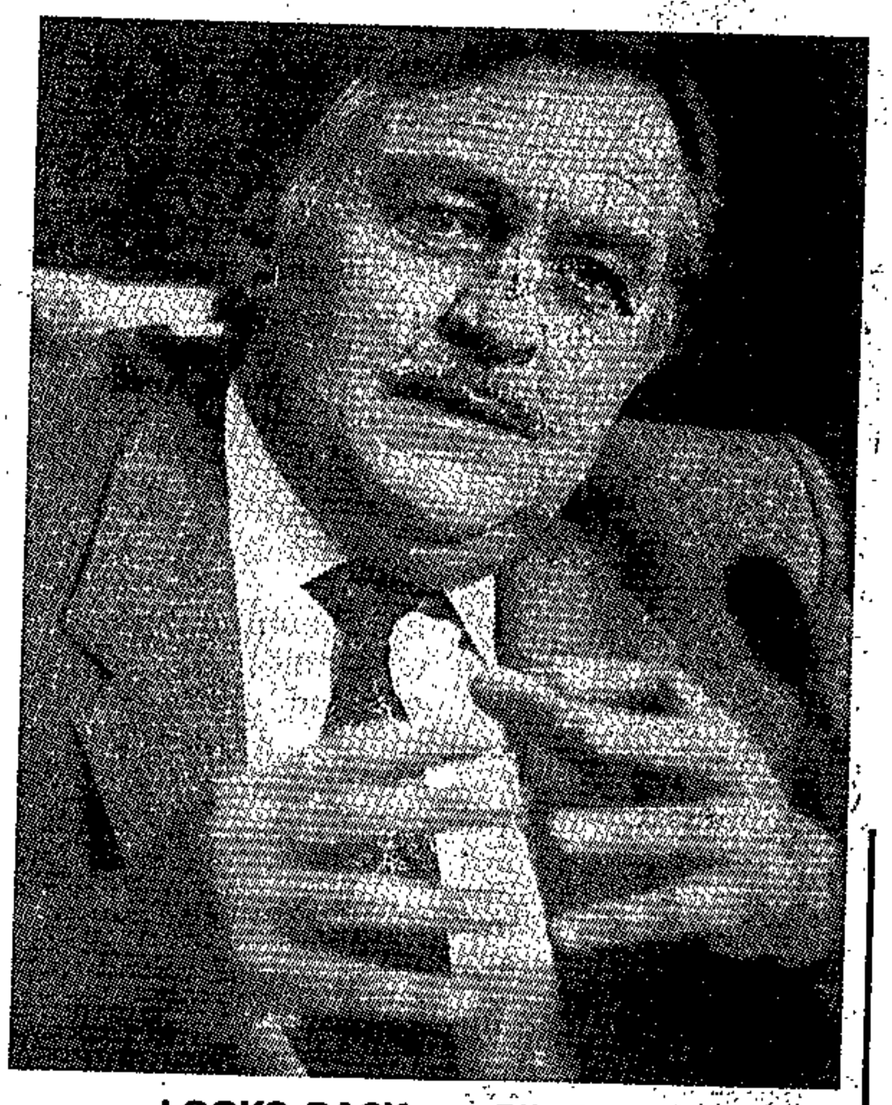
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela could have been released from prison five years ago if ex-president Mr P W Botha had accepted the draft version of the disastrous 1985 Rubicon speech.

A copy of the draft was released by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha — who had compiled the first version — to Johannesburg's the Star newspaper, which published it yesterday.

The disclosure of the draft caused a stir at the NP's Transvaal congress here yesterday, with some observers predicting that Mr Botha's bid to portray himself in a favourable light could backfire badly.

The draft referred to approaches made to Mr P W Botha by "black leaders".



LOOKS BACK ... Pik Botha

The draft contained the following paragraph:

"If I can, from any of those leaders — or from Mr Mandela himself — receive satisfactory indications that he will conduct himself in a law-abiding manner I will, in principle, be prepared to consider his release."

Instead Mr P W Botha delivered a harsh attack on Mr Mandela — describing him as a communist — and the ANC.

The original draft also suggested the reincorporation of the TBVC homelands into South Africa was imminent.

But on the night of August 15, 1985, Mr P W Botha — in the full glare of the international spotlight — delivered an unrepentant commitment to white rule. CT 18/9/92 (304A)

His defiant stand unleashed a series of crippling financial sanctions from which the South African economy is still battling to recover.

ARGT 18/9/92

FW raises hopes for peace summit

Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk today raised fresh hopes of an early meeting between him and Nelson Mandela.

He also launched a scathing attack on political leaders and groupings — including the ANC, the far right, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party — for "condoning or encouraging political violence".

Addressing the National party's Transvaal Congress at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg, Mr De Klerk said he had had "a penetrating discussion" with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday.

In spite of the Codesa deadlock, negotiations were continuing with friendly parties, he said.

The State President said there were "signs of a turnabout" in negotiations with the ANC about a summit on violence, the key to a return to formal constitutional talks.

The government and the ANC are very close to agreement on the three ANC conditions for the summit — the release of political prisoners, a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and greater security at hostels — according to sources close to the negotiations.

High-level delegations of the ANC and government met yesterday and another meeting is expected today, at which a date could be set for the summit. It could be as early as next week.

Mr De Klerk told the National Party congress today that the party and the government could not be blamed for the political violence racking the country and had "done what was needed" to end it.

He said the blame for the violence should be placed on "important political leaders who condone it or encourage it — either directly or indirectly".

These included the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, the PAC, the extreme rightwing "and even Inkatha", who assaulted, intimidated and murdered political opponents.

Violence was also invited through demonstrations and mass action as well as inflamatory rhetoric.

Reproaches directed at the NP by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer were pompous and unjustified.

By blaming the government and the ANC for the violence, Dr de Beer was whitewashing the ANC's disruptive behaviour.

Violence would come to an end only when all the leaders of all important political groupings rejected it "with conviction, also within their own ranks".

● Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday that legislation was being drawn up to clip the wings of the homelands, including the possible absorbtion of their defence forces.

The four "independent" TBVC homelands could become merely non-independent self-governing territories, he said, or certain of their powers — such as defence — could be surrendered to South Africa.

He denied reports that the government intended to appoint blacks in the cabinet under the present dispensation.

This was not the intention of proposed legislation allowing non-MPs to serve on the cabinet, Mr Meyer said.

The purpose was to legalise the position of Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys — who is not an MP — without holding a by-election.

The fixer who let out the genie

304A

As government and ANC agree to talk again in South Africa the policies and pragmatism of F.W. de Klerk come under scrutiny once more

Guardian/W (in W/Mail)

By Stanley Uys

18/9 - 24/9/92.

Drawing by Peter Clarke

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk was asked recently whether he could see light at the end of the tunnel. Taking another puff on his cigarette (he is a chain-smoker), he replied, smiling: "Light at the end of the tunnel? I can't even see the tunnel."

The story might not be as apocryphal as it sounds. De Klerk's entire reform programme, although underpinned by basic guidelines, has been played by ear. The trial of the past two-and-a-half years is littered with ingenious ideas that flowered briefly, and then died, unmourned even by de Klerk himself. He has no principled attachments to the options put on his desk — they are mechanisms that either work or don't.

Yet he exudes an underlying self-confidence: he believes whites and blacks in South Africa need each other — that without the one, there is no economic survival for the other unless you call sitting on top of a heap of rubble survival. So even if de Klerk does not know where the tunnel is, he knows it exists. It's just a question of finding the route.

This has been Afrikaner nationalism's extraordinary gift: the capacity to regenerate itself. One moment it shows all the signs of being down and out, and the next it is back in business. Maybe it is because Afrikaners do not have ideological hangups (except for Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who was Holland-born anyway). Self-interest is their lodestar, and it steers them where they please to go. An Afrikaner intellectual once said to me: "We had to try apartheid, just to show our people that it could not work." It's a breathtaking thought. Forty bloody years later, the architects of apartheid shrug their shoulders, and say: Well, that's over. What's next?

For a people who pride themselves on being tradition-bound, the Afrikaners' capacity to break with the past is remarkable. It is necessary to understand this capacity if de Klerk's measure is to be taken. Life can be easier for those unencumbered by tradition. De Klerk's own explanation for this Afrikaner gift is interesting. In an interview in 1987, he said: "The Afrikaner finds the typical European division of people into classes an alien phenomenon. This has been

processes, effect-diplomacy, and growing authority through balanced leadership and control."

Yet, within a year, de Klerk had legalised more than 60 restricted organisations, released Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, placed a moratorium on hangings, repealed the Separate Amenities Act, lifted most emergency regulations, limited detention without trial to six months, and gone on to topple even more apartheid pillars. De Klerk's "leap of faith" is that fundamentally and forever he changed the balance of force between the white regime and the black liberation movement. This is a genie that will never be put back into the bottle.

When one looks at de Klerk's life story, step by step, the man becomes less of an enigma. The key to understanding him is that he is a mainstream politician. There is nothing romantic about his reformism: he

scorn as simple duplicity. It was de Klerk who, sooner than most Afrikaners, read the writing on the wall. It can be said he was born to rule.

This is what South African editor Ken Owen argued when de Klerk took over from Botha as leader in 1989: "De Klerk, a man bred into privilege, educated for leadership, and trained for power, is a different breed of cat. Where President Botha is rough, he is smooth; where President Botha smashes, he bends; where President Botha confronts and rages, he yields amd mollifies. His career is a tale of compromises, of making the best of bad situations, of smoothing over difficulties."

Now 56, de Klerk came from a political family. His great grandfather was a Transvaal Senator, his grandfather stood twice (unsuccessfully) for parliament, his father became first a Senator, then a cabinet minister and finally president

the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly (where he consolidated his power base), NP leader in February 1989 (when Botha suffered a stroke) and state president in September.

Five months later, on February 2, 1990, he hit the world between the eyes with his speech in which he announced the new South Africa. Dr Johan Heyns, then Moderator of the NG church, called that speech de Klerk's "personal Rubicon," saying he thought a "miracle" had touched de Klerk's heart. But de Klerk denies any conversion on the road to Damascus: he had just read the writing on the wall correctly.

Botha had bequeathed him a government within a government waging what was little short of a reign of covert state terror — for which South Africa is paying the price today in murderous violence. De Klerk cut the State Security Council and the National Management System down to size and even before releasing Nelson Mandela from prison told senior police officers to stay out of politics. He would make this easier for them by not deploying them as "an instrument to attain political goals."

But just as Mandela's appeal to Natal's blacks to end the murderous Inkatha-ANC war by throwing their *pangas* (machetes) into the sea fell on deaf ears, so de Klerk's appeal to the police went unheeded, even though he tried to reassure them that "It is a question of methods. So, when in future we act in a more subtle way in matters which have, in the past, been handled in a heavyhanded way, it does not mean that we have changed our goal of creating a peaceful and civilised community where the rights of the minorities are safeguarded."

The rot had set in so deep that today, almost three years later, de Klerk is still not able to eliminate the orchestrated violence that has become the biggest single obstacle to government-ANC negotiations. He is closing in on the police and army generals, but very cautiously. He sacked 13 police generals this month (another six have reached retirement age), but there are a staggering 55 generals in a force of 114,000 men. Three blacks are to be promoted

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been a stumbling block in unifying our people." Absence of a sense of class not only unified the Afrikaners, but also, De Klerk implies, helped them to abandon apartheid. What he is suggesting here is that racism is a more flexible condition than class.

Certainly, with his ability to ignore the past and cut Gordian knots, de Klerk has been able to wrong-foot the ANC time and again. All the things the ANC thought it had in its gift—lifting sanctions, allowing Pretoria out of its international isolation, opening up doors in Africa — all this he has achieved on his own, with the ANC protesting helplessly that the pace is too fast.

Yet de Klerk has been, and to some extent still is, a political enigma. A mythology has been created around him that, like Batman, he arrived from nowhere to rescue a wounded and bleeding country. It is not that his family and career background were unknown; it was just that the watchers could find no political footprints.

When he succeeded P. W. Botha in 1989, first as National Party leader and then as State President, most friends and colleagues were complimentary about his personality and political skills. He was bright, he had a lawyer's sinewy mind, he was rational in argument, persuasive, a good debater and, according to his brother, "fair, friendly, and humble, even gentle". Helen Suzman, for 13 years the sole liberal thorn in the NP's parliamentary flesh, confessed she liked him; he was always courteous and approachable and kept his promises.

But most commentators who assessed his qualities as a statesman rather than politician got it wrong. One said that if de Klerk had a vision of a workable South African future, "he has managed to hide it behind his amiable mask . . . it is hard to say what, if anything, he believes in." A foreign correspondent wrote "there is now something of a consensus developing among political commentators in South Africa that he [de Klerk] is inherently more conservative than Botha."

Even Dr Wimpie de Klerk, NP newspaper editor-turned reformist, misjudged his brother. He expected no "leap of faith" from him, only "clever footwork, small compromises, drawn-out studies, and planning

ANC backs off from confrontation

RELIEF has greeted the ANC's decision to back off from a confrontation with the government over the Ciskei massacre, the death toll from which has risen to 29. Last week's decision represents a volte face by the ANC, which had adopted a hitherto resolute policy of no talks with the government following the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The move followed a rumbustious two-day meeting of the organisation's national working committee — effectively the country's shadow cabinet — to decide its reponse to the killings in the nominally independent homeland.The ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, are expected to meet this week to discuss an agenda.

Meanwhile Winnie Mandela has finally bowed out of the South African political arena, resigning all her leadership positions in the ANC with a characteristically emotional outburst at her "enemies". A rambling statement gave no clear indication why she had decided to go, other than saying it was "primarily in the interest of my dear husband and my beloved family".

stream politics among white and black South Africans alike. He is not interested in liberal gestures. For all his high-flown rhetoric, de Klerk, one suspects, knows that "nation-building" and "shared democratic values" at this stage are so much pie in the sky. Shared economics will hold the country together, or nothing will. This means, of course, that time is not on his side — a settlement must be reached soon with the ANC, so that economic recovery can begin before the political infighting reaches a point of no return.

Given the underlying common economic interest between all race groups, the exercise, as de Klerk sees it, is to strike the right balance between the groups. Quotations from his speeches since 1985, when he first began making serious reformist noises, show each reformist view nicely balancing a conservative one — in his long political career he has made remarkably few enemies. And since becoming state president, he has gathered around him a think-tank of high calibre advisers who make P. W. Botha's advisers look like knuckle-scraping primates.

This pursuit of mainstream politics explains most of de Klerk's tactics: the weaving, the contortions, the seeming contradictions — what too many critics

self joined the Jeugbond (National Party Youth), he was on the executive of the Afrikaner Studentebond (Afrikaner Student Union), vice-chairman of his university's Students' Representative Council and editor of the campus newspaper. And he married a professor's daughter.

De Klerk's university was Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education. There he took a barrister degree, winning a travel scholarship that took him to Britain. On his return, he practised both law and politics, becoming chairman of the National Party's local divisional council and chairman of the Transvaal Law Society in the Vaal triangle. He served also on the local educational council and became chairman of the Federasie van Junior Rapportryers (the junior wing of the secret Afrikaner society, the Broederbond).

On the same day that he was due to take the chair of Administrative Law at Potchefstroom University, he was asked to stand as a National Party candidate for parliament, so he became an MP in 1973, information officer of the National Party in the Transvaal in 1975, a cabinet minister in 1978 (holding various portfolios), Transvaal leader of the NP in 1982 (when right-wingers broke away to form the Conservative Party), chairman in 1985 of

defusal squad.

When de Klerk talks about "minority rights" he is at the heart of his political beliefs. He has no intention of transferring total power to the black majority. His formula is shared power and he has never budged from this determination. He refuses to accept black majority rule: he wants guaranteed representation in the government for whites, coloureds, and Asians.

Mandela accepts this principle. It was the thread of his famous Memorandum from Prison. Other ANC leaders accept it too, even the tough secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa. But whereas de Klerk wants minority representation entrenched in the constitution, many in the ANC are prepared to offer only voluntary representation. However, here again de Klerk is not dismayed. If whites and blacks need each other as much as he believes they do, he is sure a compromise will be found. He will tackle that hurdle when it comes.

The ups and downs in the government-ANC relationship will continue. Mandela once described de Klerk as "a man of integrity," then withdrew the compliment, and has now reinstated it — de Klerk once more is "a man with a vision." But de Klerk's nerve-wracking balancing act still has a long way to go. Even if the "moderate" ANC leadership are prepared to cut whites, coloureds, and Asians into a power deal, can they take their restive followers with them?

The fact that after Boipatong and Bisho the government and the ANC are still even talking to each other about resuming negotiations shows de Klerk got it right: the nine million-plus whites, coloureds, and Asians and the 29 million Africans need each other — they swim or sink together. This is the solid foundation on which de Klerk's strategy is based.

But it must be repeated that time is not on his side. With every Boipatong and Bisho, militancy in the black townships is racheted up another notch. The "moderate" ANC leadership is coming perilously close to the point where it may not be able to deliver the black constituency to the negotiations process, and if that point is reached, South Africa may just as well switch off the lights.

Pik: NP leads in West Cape

CT 19/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — There was no doubt that the National Party commanded a majority in the Western Cape, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said at the NP congress here.

Expanding on his optimism about an NP win in a future election, he said there was also strong support for the party in Lebowa, Venda, Gazankulu and Western Transvaal. — Sapa (304A)

Bill for blacks in cabinet

(304A)

PARLIAMENT. — A bill to allow the State President to appoint blacks to the cabinet was published yesterday.

It proposes that he be allowed to appoint ministers who are not eligible under the current constitution to be MPs.

The Constitution Amendment Bill is expected to be debated during the session starting on October 12. — Sapa

CT 19/9/92

3 million urged to get ID books

CT 19/9/92

PRETORIA. — An election could be held within a year, and three million potential voters — mostly blacks — without identity documents should acquire them to be able to vote, Home Affairs Minister Mr Louis Pienaar said yesterday.

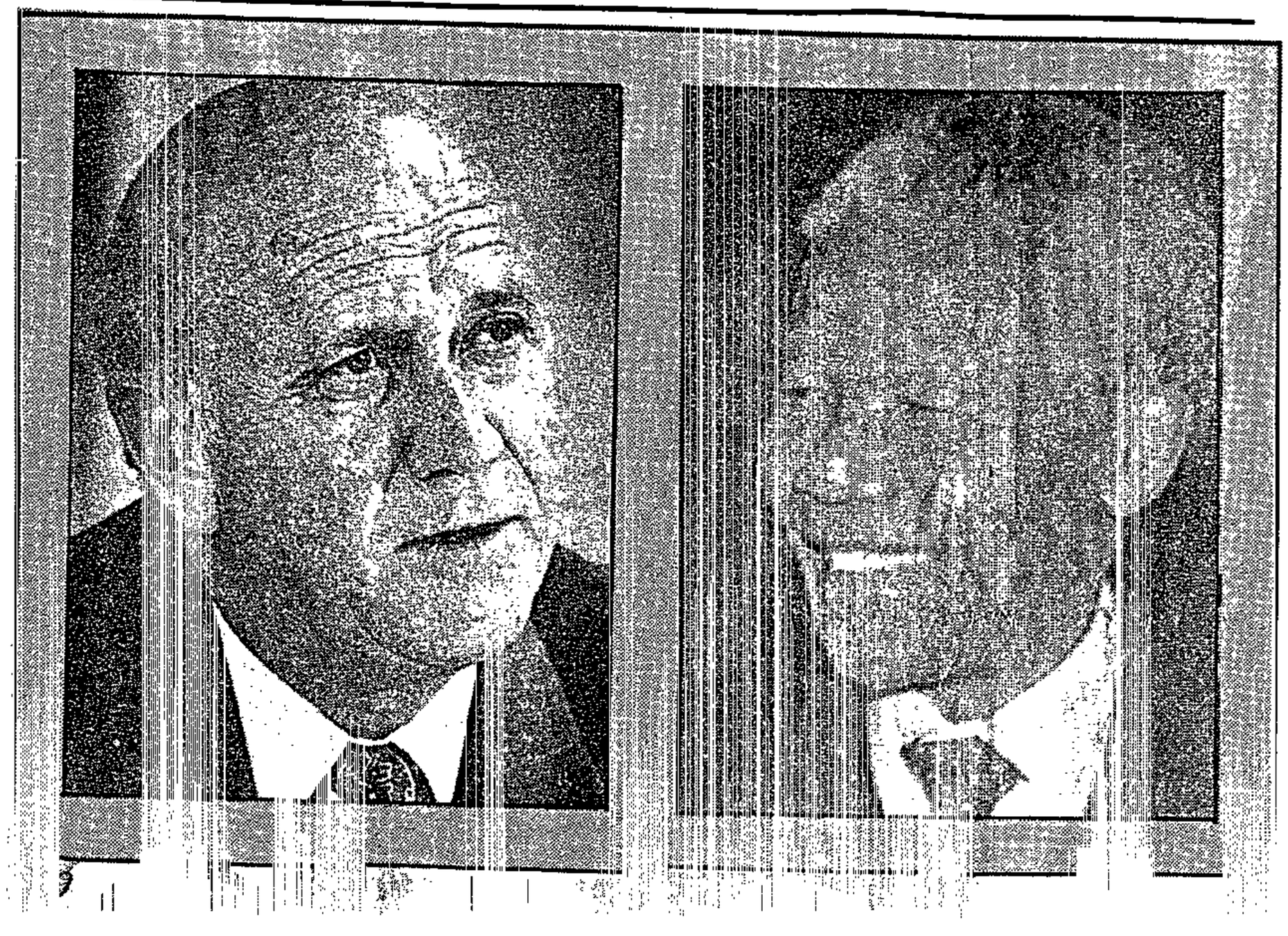
He said it was estimated there were 20,7 million potential voters in South Africa, including those in the TBVC states. — Sapa (30449)

POLITICAL STANCES: *Our politicians have suffered from an attitude problem since Codesa 2 and it has taken Bisho to shake them*

Hunt the chameleon

STAR 19/9/92. (304A)

BOTH the Government and the ANC have been painting harsh caricatures of each other since Codesa 2. Now that they are edging back to the negotiating table, the badmouthing is likely to be toned down, and the politicians will be ready to adapt their views when they sit down at their summit. But will ordinary people be able to forget what they've been told to believe? SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH look at the process of demonisation.



THERE is a joke doing the rounds in white suburbia, and it reflects a general state of mind. It goes: "Did you hear that the ANC has released a new calendar? January, February, March, March, March, March..."

Attitudes towards the onset of mass action are revealing of the still-racial nature of our political divide, and point to some of the problems yet to be overcome if that gap is to continue to narrow, as it began to do so encouragingly this week.

That the gap has narrowed is undeniable: both the Government and the ANC have recognised, as this newspaper argued in the immediate aftermath of the Bisho massacre, the gravity of the situation and the chilling potential for a slide into anarchy if leaders did not get back together and produce some results. So we have had an extraordinarily conciliatory intervention from Nelson Mandela, and a calm and thoughtful Government response.

This has made possible a speedy move towards the crucial summit on violence, which is in effect a structural tool for restarting the essential process of installing an interim government. At this stage of South Africa's transition, attitudes are all: if the leaders are genuinely looking for solutions, they will find at least some. South Africa's politicians have suffered from a terrible attitude problem since Codesa 2 in May, and it has taken Bisho to shake them out of it.

Of course the question to be

To illustrate the point further: Dr Jordan, the ANC's information chief, is regarded as a "hardliner" in the sense that he endorses tough action against a Government he does not trust. But at the same time he is one of the most convinced and articulate opponents of the SACP. It is more complicated than it seems.

The truth is that it is unwise to attach permanent labels to anyone in the ANC or SACP. They, like other politicians, adapt to changing circumstances. The ANC's "Mr Fixit", Steve Tshwete — regarded along with Thabo Mbeki as a leading dove — spoke in 1986 of taking the armed struggle into white areas. Mbeki was a longstanding member of the SACP politburo, and apparently the author of the slogan "Make the country ungovernable, make apartheid unworkable". Jacob Zuma was a prominent SACP member. SACP chief Chris Hani recently argued against the calling off of the Wallabies rugby test. And so it goes on and on.

Within the Government, there is a similarly labyrinthine set of conflicting views, not all of which are constant in terms of the individuals promoting them.

De Klerk, like Mandela, can be a hawk and a dove on consecutive days. This does not mean he has changed his mind on negotiating a new South Africa.

Pik Botha is the Government's finest political stormtrooper — but this does not

on violence, which is in effect a structural tool for restarting the essential process of installing an interim government. At this stage of South Africa's transition, attitudes are all: if the leaders are genuinely looking for solutions, they will find at least some. South Africa's politicians have suffered from a terrible attitude problem since Codesa 2 in May, and it has taken Bisho to shake them out of it.

Of course the question to be answered now is whether the improvement in mood can be sustained, and utilised to achieve firm agreements. This brings us back to mass action.

Put simply, there are today in South Africa two incompatible views of what the ANC is doing and why, and what the Government is doing and why. Unless these views can be softened and amended, conciliatory gestures will soon give way to war talk once again, and the impasse will be back with us.

The Government is promoting the view that communists within the ANC alliance have taken control, that hawks have defeated doves, and that the hawks do not want a negotiated settlement.

For its part the ANC is promoting the view that, while the Government presents a dovish image to the country and the world, its intentions are hawkish: Pretoria says it can't wait to move to democracy, but does everything possible to stop that from happening.

White South Africans, in general, believe the former to be true; blacks the latter. Something is to give.

Take the SACP-tail-wagging-the-ANC-dog argument. Mass action is seen as the revolutionary tool of the (communist) militants, and its continuation is taken as confirmation that the (non-communist) moderates have been defeated. According to this scenario, the ANC's opponents say the organisation is not fit to be negotiated with until the position is reversed.

In fact, these hard-and-fast labels, free of nuance, are not useful, and even a distortion. It is interesting to note that a wily negotiator like Roelf Meyer appears aware of this, even as his colleague Pik Botha expends his energy in convincing his followers that all the country's ills can be laid at the communists' door.

MAJOR PLAYERS: F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Pik Botha, Chris Hani, Roelf Meyer and Steve Tshwete. But who are the real hardliners and who are the doves . . . and are some of them a combination of both?

That there are differences in approach among individuals within the ANC alliance is undeniable. It would be implausibly unusual if this were not the case. Of course there are "hardliners" and "soft-liners". But, and this is an important qualification for all who wish to understand the actions of the ANC, this does not mean the "hardliners" are against a negotiated settlement as such, and it does not mean they are "hardline" on every issue.

As far as mass action is concerned, Nelson Mandela has repeatedly made it clear that this is a tactic which all ANC leaders believe in: it has, after all, been listed as one of the ANC's "four pillars of struggle" for several years, and will be relinquished only when apartheid's power structure gives way to an interim government.

Interestingly, ANC leaders are being labelled as "hardliners" according to their views on the role of mass action.

But Jeremy Cronin and Raymond Suttner — both members of the ANC national executive committee and SACP central committee — have argued against insurrection but in favour of mass action.

As Bisho showed, there are differences over how far mass action should be taken, and the style in which it is applied.

BUT some observers, including the London-based journal Africa Confidential, have interpreted the Bisho massacre as confirmation of the "ascendancy of militants within the ANC".

It is possible to argue that precisely the opposite is the case, and that many so-called "hardliners" are having second thoughts as a result of the bloodshed.

If one is stuck with immovable characterisations of individuals (he is a communist, therefore he is a hard-liner, therefore he is in conflict with so-and-so) it becomes very difficult to make sense of ANC moves and impossible to predict trends accurately.

In an interview this week, Mandela pleaded for a more sophisticated understanding of the internal dynamics of the ANC. "It is not correct to say that there is a conflict between 'radicals' and 'moderates' in the ANC," he said. "I'll give you an example. I started discussing the question of violence with Mr de Klerk before I was released from jail. I continued going to see him when I was released.

"By September 1990 I had given up hope. I was convinced that Mr de Klerk either had lost control over the security forces, or they were doing what he wanted them to do. I called a special meeting of the ANC executive and I said we should pull out of negotiations.

"Do you know who opposed me? Joe Slovo, Chris Hani, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils and others. They were the leading figures in persuading me not to pull out. They said 'let us give peace a chance' — this was Ronnie Kasrils's phrase! I was eventually convinced the majority were against pulling out, and I withdrew.

"In April 1991 I raised the matter again, and this time everybody was convinced that we had done everything in our power to persuade Mr de Klerk to stop the violence. So we agreed to suspend talks." Is Mandela a militant or a moderate — or both?

Mandela, like every politician, is of course concerned to keep internal conflicts out of the public domain. But the essence of his argument is that simple membership of the SACP is not positive proof that an individual is a "hardliner".

Within the Government, there is a similarly labyrinthine set of conflicting views, not all of which are constant in terms of the individuals promoting them.

De Klerk, like Mandela, can be a hawk and a dove on consecutive days. This does not mean he has changed his mind on negotiating a new South Africa.

Pik Botha is the Government's finest political stormtrooper — but this does not mean he is now reverting to the P W Botha camp.

Ironically, the Government was asked in the referendum campaign how it was possible to negotiate with the ANC which equalled the SACP.

It suited the Government then to say the SACP was a "dying force", yet five months later it seemed to view the SACP as a viable force capable of leading the ANC.

What we South Africans are beginning to come to terms with, and being baffled by, is prototype parliamentary democracy. We are not experienced in this matter, and we tend to assume that the politicians mean exactly what they say. This is a fatal mistake.

In order to survive and prosper, politicians must to an extent be opportunists. In South Africa they have spent the past months convincing their respective constituencies that their political opponents are a bunch of untrustworthy no-goods. In order to get the messages across they have simplified them ("De Klerk is a murderer", "Mandela is a commie stooge"), knowing full well that this is far from being the whole story. It is a dangerous tactic, but not an unusual one. The trick for the politicians is to know when to stop — badmouthing in Yugoslavia got out of hand, for example.

A negotiated settlement is still the most likely outcome in the South African saga, and we must not be surprised to find that on that happy day, both sides rapidly amend their stated views of one another. We must then also be prepared to forget what we were made to believe. You can imagine the conversations: "Ja, of course we had to say that. No hard feelings, hey?"

PW: No one opposed Rubicon speech

By BARRY STREEK

EX-PRESIDENT Mr P W Botha said yesterday that no member of the cabinet had objected to his "personally finalised" text of his 1985 Rubicon speech when he read it to them beforehand in Pretoria.

The former state president said in a rare statement that before its delivery in Durban on August 15, 1985, he had read his final draft to cabinet colleagues at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Nobody at the time raised any objections to the delivered speech, but shortly before he was to speak in Durban, there suddenly appeared speculative reports in local and foreign media about what he was going to say, Mr Botha said.

He was reacting yesterday in a faxed statement from his retirement home in the Wilderness to reports that Mr Nelson Mandela would have been released five years earlier if the draft written by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, had been the text of the delivered speech.

In Pretoria yesterday President F W de Klerk said he had no comment to make on this week's reports about the matter.

It was reported at the time that Mr De Klerk, then Transvaal leader of the National Party, was one of the cabinet members who persuaded Mr P W Botha to tone down the speech in case its reformist tone alienated white voters.

After the Rubicon speech, international sanctions against South Africa were tightened and foreign banks cut off loans and refused to roll over existing loans, causing a financial crisis for South Africa. (304A) CT 19/9/92

Mr Pik Botha's original draft was published on Wednesday after he had confirmed his authorship.

He said yesterday in an interview that Mr P W Botha's biographer, Dr Daan Prinsloo, had discovered his original draft and, after showing it to him, he had identified it.

Mr Botha said earlier this week that the original term "crossing the Rubicon", which also appeared in the final version, would not have been stripped of its intended meaning if the original draft had been delivered.

Mood lifts as central issues are tackled

REST IN PEACE: A guard of honour at the funeral for some of the 28 victims of last week's massacre at Bisho, which jolted the Government and the African National Congress back into action. ● Photograph: AP.

STAR 19/9/92.

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

304A

AFTER a week of intense horse—trading, South Africa is poised for agreements that will usher in the first stage of interim rule.

The depressed political mood of the past three months began to lift this week with a series of optimistic signals that resumption of negotiations was imminent.

The Bisho massacre last week jolted the Government and the ANC into action. ANC leader Nelson Mandela set a positive tone at the start of the week with an overture to President F W de Klerk for renewed talks.

Top negotiators from both parties met every day this week and cleared their weekend diaries in a determined bid to lay the foundations for a Government-ANC summit on violence.

Both sides hoped they would be able to hold the summit — the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations — as early as this week.

Apart from wrestling with the three issues the ANC says are pre-conditions for returning to negotiations — releasing political prisoners, controlling dangerous weapons and securing hostels — Government and ANC negotiators also seem to have tackled the central issue of transitional measures.

As a result, the Government is increasingly optimistic that at next month's special session of Parliament it will be able to pass legislation to begin the process of establishing interim rule.

This legislation would enable the appointment of a multiparty transitional executive council made up of representatives of the ANC, Inkatha, the Government and other negotiating parties once agreement was negotiated.

The new mood of optimism was evident at the NP's Transvaal congress yesterday, when De Klerk hinted at an imminent breakthrough in negotiations to set up the summit on violence.

He also suggested that legislation to set up a transitional executive council was under negotiation.

Less than a week ago it seemed unlikely that agreement would be reached in time to pass this legislation at the special parliamentary session in October.

A meeting between De Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday contributed to the optimism. The two leaders discussed the three obstacles to the summit on violence. Indications were that the problem of dangerous weapons was close to resolution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the congress good progress had been made in negotiations on the other two problem areas.

A the congress Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha put the party firmly on an election footing, setting a target of 12 months for the first all-in poll, and repeated his boast that the NP could win it.

However, he conceded that the legacy of apartheid and intimidation from rival parties were frustrating his party's efforts to spread its power base into black townships.

Women plan how to capitalise on their voting power in future SA

South 19/9-23/9/92. 304A

On Saturday, women from all walks of life will meet to begin writing a Women's Charter. **AMY WALDMAN** looks at why this is such a crucial time for South African women:

ONE IN every two South African women will be raped in her lifetime; a rape occurs every 83 seconds.

- Of 328 Members of Parliament, eight are women.
- There is one female cabinet minister.
- There are eight women on the ANC executive committee.
- There are 200 000 illegal abortions annually.
- There are no laws that specifically address sexual harassment.

But amid these gloomy facts there are, for women, two points of light. Fifty-one percent of the population is female, so in the face of democratic elections women's votes are an increasingly hot commodity. And South Africa's immediate future will see a new constitution.

The prospect of elections and a new constitution make the next year potentially historic for South African women.

The Department of Justice, for example, will announce soon that it has begun scouring the nation's lawbooks for evidence of discriminatory laws. An honest attempt to combat sexism? Maybe. But also an attractive campaign issue.

The question is how best to capitalise on these opportunities. The National Women's Coalition, initiated by the ANC Women's League last September, brings together women from over 40 national women's organisations, drawn from a diverse range of political, social, and religious orientations: ANC, IFP, the Rural Women's Organisation, Women for Peace, the South African Council of Churches, and many others.

The coalition aims to influence the writing of the constitution and ensure that a charter will guarantee the delivery of the rights articulated in the constitution.

At a recent Women's Bureau seminar on the "Role of Women in the New South Africa" academics and activists warned that constitution writing, coalition building and campaigning are not easy tasks.

"A parliament without women is as unacceptable as a parliament without black people," Democratic Party MP Dene Smuts said. "Women must begin organising within political parties" — to make sure their issues are addressed and their voices heard.

"Women need to ask political parties, 'What can you do for us? Why should we get on your bandwagon?'," said Sarah Christie of the University of Cape Town Law Faculty.

In the US, some are labelling 1992 the Year of the Woman, due to the unprecedented number of women running for office.

But it took national ire over the Judge Clarence Thomas hearings and threats to reproductive freedom to reach this point, and even then, Smuts noted, there may be only five women in a Senate of 100.

Women's equality must be written into a constitution's preamble, Christie said. A bill of rights must be narrowly phrased, or women may wake up and find themselves at the mercy of a loosely worded amendment. The charter in particular must address specific issues — child care, equal pay for equal work, sexual harassment — that cannot be incorporated into a constitution.

The history of South Africa's struggles for women's rights has been a largely divided one: white women fought for the vote, black women against pass laws and for the vote. Though the coalition seems to bridge the divides, several panellists stressed that race, religious and class differences cannot be ignored in a women's movement.

"Wealthy women aren't going to support a revolutionary class struggle that threatens class interests," said Rhoda Kadali of the University of the Western Cape.

"The differences among women are real — we cannot come together in a way that wipes out those differences," agreed Pregs Govender, coordinator of the Worker's College.

The gaps can be difficult to close, observed Beattie Hofmeyr of the ANC Women's League: "There is no easy access to women who live in villages, don't read or write, don't travel."

The charter wants particularly to address black women's issues — but even within that parameter, Hofmeyr said, "there are probably issues we will never agree on."

The example of black workers who went on strike on behalf of a white woman who had been sexually harassed proves, said Govender, that coalitions can and should be formed.

"The only non-racial institution in South Africa is patriarchy," Albie Sachs once said. Carla Sutherland of UCT's Equal Opportunity Research Project observed: "Men have been rewarded by patriarchy in unbelievable ways, and they are going to fight, kick and scream not to have to give it up."

Discrimination may be informal and covert, Sutherland said — from height requirements for policemen to age limits for adults applying for bursaries. Women have been channeled into low-status, low-paying jobs, she said, arguing that "affirmative action is not reverse apartheid or reverse sexism — it's a strategy by which employment equity is achieved".

UNITED: Coalitions of women's groupings across the political spectrum should be formed

Can SA look forward to some after-mass-action satisfaction?

STAR 19/9/92.

(304pt)

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

THE week has ended optimistically, just like it began. That's quite something to be able to say about South Africa in these times, and it is well worth repeating: A *whole week* in which hope outweighed dread. It is an indication of how low we had sunk that we are, correctly, feeling buoyant simply because the politicians are putting out signals of reason and responsibility. They've not acted upon them yet, of course, but the national psyche is being soothed.

There is now a chance that the De Klerk-Mandela summit on violence could take place within a matter of days. If it does not, we should all insist on knowing why not. Things are now somehow different in the aftermath of Bisho; that shame might be encouraging us to demand higher standards from those who presume to speak in our names.

But Bisho has created one unrealistic expectation among those outside the ANC, and it should be clarified before it leads to inevitable disappointment and another fit of depression. The fateful march did not mark the end of mass action, despite the calling off of the Mmabatho protest.

The ANC was fiercely attacked, and quite rightly so, for going beyond the bounds of peaceful demonstration and entering the realms of outright insurrection in Ciskei. The comparisons with the students of Tiananmen Square or the crowds which toppled the Romanian regime simply do not apply: neither group had entered into an agreed process of negotiations with its enemies, as the ANC has done.

In his interview with The Star this week Nelson Mandela indicated that this message had penetrated. We should expect him to make sure that the fatal line is never crossed again; the ANC has now seen in close-up the consequences of such recklessness, and it knows that tin-pot tyrants will react with deadly fusillades.

But this does not, and cannot, mean that the democratic right to peaceful protest has now been surrendered. It is a pity that protest is still a part of our lives, but that is because we are still far from being a democratic society, and those who haven't full democratic rights think that's a greater pity. Therefore they will insist on using the only means available to them, in the absence of the vote, to apply pressure on recalcitrants who refuse to allow free political activity.

IF the De Klerk-Mandela summit on violence does not take place within a matter of days, we should all insist on knowing why not.

Those of us who have no need to resort to demonstrations now would be foolish indeed to withdraw that right from others — it would justify similarly illiberal attitudes in some future society where power-balances had shifted. The establishment of free political activity in every area of the country is a *sine qua non* for democracy. There can be no free and fair elections if political "no-go" areas such as Brigadier Gqozo's Ciskei continue to exist.

From the ANC's point of view, this means that when someone like Chief Buthelezi threatens "civil war" if his opponents so much as dare to protest in his fiefdom, that is total confirmation of the need to protest. As a matter of principle, the ANC must have the right to organise its supporters in a peaceful, orderly and non-provocative demonstration anywhere it likes, and against whoever it likes.

But in exercising this right, the ANC assumes some important obligations as well. First and foremost, it has a solemn, principled duty to extend such freedom, in daily practice, to everyone else. This means that a peaceful march on ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, by whoever feels like it, is acceptable. It means that if the IFP or National Party want to set up a branch in Transkei, or Sebokeng, or wherever, the ANC must make sure that its members do not interfere with their opponents' rights.

I have said that the nature of protest must be carefully controlled: if you go to someone's stronghold with the stated purpose of "overthrowing" him, you have perverted the principle. The ANC has to draw the line and stay behind it.

There are other obligations, dictated by the peculiarities of our situation in this country rather than overarching principle. Mandela has accepted that the economy is in a parlous state, and has undertaken to protect it as far as possible from further damage. This view must impact on all decisions regarding mass action: organisers must at every turn ask themselves whether it is absolutely necessary, and how the desired ends can be achieved while causing the least damage to the economy, and avoiding potential outbreaks of violence.

All negotiating avenues must of course be utilised before taking to the streets.

Mandela said this week that all mass action could fall away when agreement is achieved on interim government. That is a bright prospect. He also criticised De Klerk for having agreed at Codesa to ensure political freedom throughout South Africa, and not delivering. This is manifestly true. We cannot expect a sudden end to mass action until these obstacles have been overcome, and we must look to a political summit, soon, to do precisely that.

Federalism 'in thing'

ARG 19/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Federalism was going to become the single most important political factor in the future, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday. (304A)

He was answering questions as leader of the Transvaal National Party at its congress here.

"I predict to you," he said, "that federalism will become the most important single political question. It will constitute a dividing line, a clear one.

"We, the NP, will support it strongly. The ANC will have to make up its mind." — Sapa.

IDs needed for election

(304A) ARG 19/9/92

PRETORIA. — An election could be held within a year and three million potential voters — mostly blacks — not in possession of identity documents should acquire them to be able to vote, Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said.

He said it was estimated there were 20,7 million potential voters, including those in the TBVC states.

Excluding the TBVC states, there were 17,6 million voters. About 12 million were black, 3,3 million white, 1,75 million coloured and 594 000 Asians.

Almost all whites, coloureds and Asians had ID documents, but only 78 percent of blacks possessed them.

"We should all be prepared for an election within the next year."

Transvaal Nats sound hopeful about impasse

(304A) ANG 19/9/92

ROBERT BRAND
Weekend Argus Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Although South Africa was in the throes of the gravest constitutional and economic crises since the unbanning of the ANC almost three years ago, the National Party's Transvaal congress struck a note of hope that the political impasse would be cleared.

The message from speaker after speaker at the congress, which ended at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday, was that South Africa would have its first nonracial elections within the next 18 months.

President De Klerk repeated his statement made earlier this week that there would not be another whites-only election.

"We cannot, we should not, we dare not have another election under the present constitution," he told congress-goers yesterday.

Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha, urging the congress to work for an election victory, said: "By next year this time we will be very close to an election in which all South Africans will vote."

National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais said: "We all know the present constitution's days are counted."

■ At the Transvaal congress of the National Party, speaker after speaker said South Africa would have its first nonracial elections within the next 18 months.

In briefings to the Press as well as speeches to the congress, Mr De Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer hinted that a summit meeting between Mr De Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela could be on the cards soon.

Both expressed cautious optimism that preparatory talks between Mr Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa were on the verge of a breakthrough.

The meeting — crucial for the resumption of constitutional negotiations — was proposed by Mr De Klerk shortly after the Bisho massacre, but the ANC accepted the invitation only conditionally.

However, the government was "prepared to discuss" all three preconditions set by the ANC and were close to resolving some of them, said Mr Meyer.

The preconditions were: The release of "political prisoners", the fencing of hostels and a ban on the public display of dangerous weapons.

Mr De Klerk said he had had a "penetrating" discussion with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday, and it was understood the issue of traditional weapons was among subjects discussed.

Mr Meyer said at the congress there were practical difficulties to implementing a total ban on the public carrying of dangerous weapons, but hinted that a solution could be found.

Mr De Klerk also hinted that legislation allowing the establishment of "transitional executive councils" could still be presented to the October session of Parliament.

Agreement was reached at Codesa 2 on the functioning and powers of these councils, which would act as "overseers" to the Cabinet in the run-up to elections for an interim government.

FW guns for Inkatha, DP and ANC

PETER FABRICIUS (304A) ARG 19/9/92
Weekend Argus Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Police and Defence Force reinforcements are to be sent into Natal to try to control the spiralling political violence in the province.

President De Klerk announced this yesterday addressing the Transvaal National Party congress at the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park.

He did not provide details in his speech which was largely devoted to a broadside against political rivals for their part in instigating violence.

Taking a rare swipe at one of the National Party's unofficial allies, he identified the Inkatha Freedom Party — along with the African National Congress, SA Communist Party, the Pan Africanist Congress and rightwing splinter groups — as one of the organisations which "assault, intimidate and murder political opponents".

It was not the NP which did these things.

President De Klerk said it was time to deal with the "distorted perceptions of the causes of violence and the suspicions being cast on the government and the National Party".

Scientific analysis of the violence showed clearly where the blame really lay.

It was the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance — and not the NP — which frequently invited violence through mass action.

It was not the NP, but the SACP, and sometimes even the ANC, who used inflammatory rhetoric.

"The National Party does not have people like Gwala, Kasrils and Piet Rudolph in its ranks."

President De Klerk also took a dig at the Democratic Party for its "pompous and unjustified reproaches" of the NP.

He said DP leader Mr Zac de Beer, by placing the ANC and the government in the same category on violence — as he had this week during the DP's "unimpressive" Johannesburg march — was whitewashing the ANC to try to rescue the DP from "total irrelevance".

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha acknowledged at a Press conference during the congress that the government had been wrong to reject the Natal Indaba proposal for a united Natal.

He said proposed legislation to deal with the homelands could allow regional government institutions like as Kwazulu and the Natal Provincial Administration to enter into joint arrangements, even before the country as a whole entered into interim government.

MY VIEW

Peter Vale, Centre for Southern African Studies, University of the Western Cape

'DEMOCRACY is about choice: choice of leaders, choice of policies, choice of options. As South Africans think about this, they will discover that, for them, democracy is also about choosing a foreign policy: making friends and pursuing interests and concerns to the far corners of the world.

Traditional explanations of South Africa's international relations hold that the country has been isolated for the best part of 40 years, with its foreign relations held captive by apartheid. South 19/9-23/9/92

But this is only one dimension of South Africa's international affairs. Another far more powerful leg has been the strong and very influential hold on international public opinion which the anti-apartheid struggle achieved.

In almost every country in the world, some organised body of persuasion pressurised their respective governments on the question of links with South Africa.

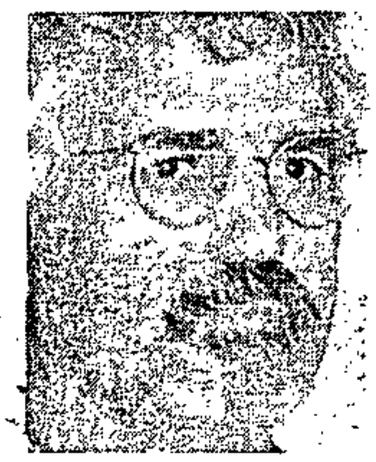
In some countries — the United States is a good example — it came very late in the day (the mid-eighties) but was devastatingly effective: the series of sanctions against South Africa which still hold at the state and city level in that country are a recognition of the deep-seated impact of anti-apartheid groupings.

In other countries, Britain for instance, the apartheid question was taken to the streets as far back as the late sixties. Its impact on British foreign policy was, however, less decisive. It may, perhaps, have stopped the sale of weapons to Nationalist-ruled South Africa in 1971 but not until the late eighties did it stem the flow of British investment to South Africa.

In the Netherlands the cry against apartheid was grounded in that country's experience of World War II and the long historical ties which the Dutch felt towards this country. In Australia and New Zealand the anti-apartheid movement was forged on the question of sport, particularly the determination of the Springbok rugby teams to tour those countries.

Moscow's strong anti-South Africa position

'South Africans have a rich tapestry of international experience. The foreign policy which we choose will, in some way, have to reflect this wide diversity of links and interests rather than the narrow, parochial international concerns which the current government has had to pursue'



(304A)

was, of course, grounded in ideological considerations and openly showed itself in Soviet support for the ANC. The same circumstances played out elsewhere in what we used to call the "Eastern Bloc".

But this inventory is only one small part of the rich experience which the anti-apartheid movement has of international relations. Consider the intimate links which South Africa's Muslim community has with Muslims worldwide. Or the century-long connection which South African Indians have with the South Asian sub-continent: just the other day someone reminded me that Gandhi had launched passive resistance in this country.

And in modern times our people have studied in almost every country: in Liberia, in Poland, in Canada, in Norway, in Brazil. You name it and you will find a South African who has, at some stage or another, studied there. Not surprisingly, South Africans speak the languages which reflect this wide experience.

As a result, South Africans have a rich tapestry of international experience. The foreign policy which we choose will, in some way, have to reflect this wide diversity of links and interests rather than the narrow, parochial international concerns which the current government has had to pursue.

This does not, unfortunately, mean that we will have absolute freedom in the kinds of international links we will establish. Financial constraints probably suggest that, in some circumstances, we will have to choose between countries, and an embassy in one country will have to service others.

One thing is certain, however: foreign policy is the one area of government service that is set to expand. The Department of Foreign Affairs employs something in excess of 2 000 people. Roughly half of those are professional diplomats, and most of them are white males.

This situation will, of course, have to change and the diplomatic service will have to come to reflect the country's demography.

This certainly means that the majority of South Africa's foreign representatives will have to be drawn from those who have traditionally been excluded from the service.

One worrying aspect of this is that, as things now stand, there are not sufficiently trained people in diplomacy. Some courses are being planned and the ANC is currently engaged in an extensive programme of instruction in foreign countries, including places like India.

In South Africa, some universities — like Rhodes — have specialist courses in International Studies and others, like the University of Western Cape, are planning a Summer School in this field.

But apart from those wishing to pursue a career in diplomacy, it is important for South Africans generally to understand the swiftly changing international environment. After all, we are going to have to make a series of important choices on where in the world we want South Africa to be.

Voter games train for the real thing

By Chiara Carter

(304A)

South 19/9 – 23/9/92

BANNERS, slogans and speeches gained a new dimension this week when 200 delegates to an election conference at a Bellville hotel devised political parties and strategies.

The exercise was part of hands-on voter education which characterised the Voter Education and Elections Conference.

The conference, organised by the Centre for Development Studies and the Education, Resource and Information Project of the University of the Western Cape, brought delegates face to face for the first time with ballot boxes, voting slips and election procedures.

Delegates from political, labour, religious and youth organisations, were instructed on election monitoring, conduct, electoral systems and voter education by a delegation from Sweden's Labour Movement International Centre.

Forget politics — only hard labour can save us now

304A

S/Times 20/9/92

SHEILA VAN DER HORST appeals for a return to the old values of discipline, work and honesty

WHICHEVER government comes to power in terms of the new constitution, be it the ANC, a coalition, or even the PAC, a nasty surprise lies in store for it and the great majority of its supporters.

No attempt to transfer wealth from the few affluent so-called fat cats to the great majority of the poverty stricken, will alter this. For all this glitter of diamonds, gold and other minerals, South Africa is not and never has been a rich country.

It has been saved time and again by economic miracles — the discovery of diamonds, cyanide recovery of gold, and the rise in the price of gold in the 30s. Its land is mostly arid and unable to support its population without irrigation and other capital inputs.

Myth

The thesis that, but for the appropriation of land by the whites, the blacks would constitute a prosperous peasantry, is largely myth. Anyway, who would the "prosperous peasants" have sold their crops to but the burgeoning mining camps and towns?

To blame colonisation for every evil in South Africa — the colour-bar, the appropriation of land and the wage gap — is easy, but does not do justice to the whole picture.

I am compelled to write this because I have been associated with the South African Institute of Race Relations for over 50 years.

Through the institute I have met and come to be friends with some of South Africa's great thinkers and do-ers: the Hoernle's, the Rheinalt Joneses, Nobel prize-winner Chief Albert Luthuli and Senator Edgar Brookes.

I wonder what these leaders of thought and action would think of our present leaders? I have known many stormy times, but I have never known such bitterness, confrontation and evasiveness as today.

Colonisation, let us remember, is not all bad. It brought the spade, the plough, the wheel, the mill and Christianity, which many blacks as well as whites cherish. Missionaries put the Bantu languages into written form. The British abolished the slave trade and slavery long before it was abolished in the US and Brazil. From 1834 to 1872 discriminatory legislation was disallowed by the British government.

Births

Today's teeming population is only alive because of modern medicine. The old Bantu-speaking culture is gone and cannot be wholly restored. It has its virtues, two of which were family spacing and respect for the elderly. The politicising of birth control has been disastrous.

The black leaders have a great responsibility to call on their people to control their birth rate. I am not sure that it is not a crime against humanity to bring children into the world where they will lead a life of poverty and frustration. Do we want to resort to China's methods of population control? What do the younger generation want? To nourish grievances and keep stirring up trouble endlessly?

The whites have experience of that from the Anglo-Boer wars onwards and it has done them no good, nor will it the blacks. Do they want to reduce South Africa to a wasteland? It would seem so. It is they who will suffer, are suffering, now. Is that their revenge?

One of South Africa's greatest problems today, even more than the economic and political problems, is the "lost generation"; in fact, almost two school generations of adolescents and young adults who are uneducated and out of control.

In the 30s the government was confronted with the problem of the drift to the towns by the white rural population. Its youth was aimless and uneducated. It tried, in part, to meet the situation by establishing the Special Service Battalion at a bob-a-day. Could something like this be done now? Would youth volunteer to work and learn a trade for that? Would it submit to the discipline of regular work?

There is a grave danger that our semi-educated youth will spurn manual work, even the trades.

We must also reduce our wasteful bureaucracy and those in it who obstruct change.

The economic kingdom will not follow automatically on the resolution of the political. The cry of liberation before education has been seen to be not only fruitless, but disastrous for those now devoid of any means of livelihood, ripe only for revolution.

Recently, in the US, I heard a Chinese professor explaining why the Vietnamese and other Oriental people were academically out-performing the American children. He attributed it to discipline at home and school. What can the despairing parents and many teachers do about instilling a work ethos into the present generation of African children?

Lazy

South Africans, white and black, are for the most part averse to hard work. We talk of entering the export market and so overcoming our poverty, but, to my mind, we have little hope of competing with countries of the Far East rim.

Some countries have succeeded in becoming wealthy through education and hard work without having even such thin resources as South Africa. Switzerland and Japan are examples.

At present, South Africa has more infrastructure than other African countries. But infrastructure has to be maintained. Some 30 years ago an economist pointed out that it was easier to run an oil refinery in the Third World, which could be done by imported experts, than to maintain roads because a refinery, if not run efficiently, would not run at all, whereas roads could deteriorate into potholes and eventually become useless.

Can we not get on with resolving our economic and administrative problems while the politicians resolve the political ones?

● *Dr Sheila van der Horst is a former president of the SA Institute of Race Relations and associate professor at UCT.*

BLACK POWER: IT'S TIME TO FACE THE FACTS

COSMAS DESMOND suggests it is time white South Africans came to terms with their fears

S/Times 20/9/92

I HOPE that Milton was right when he said, "They also serve who only stand and wait". There seems little else that any of us can do at the moment. And I, for one, find this very boring.

But what are we waiting for? For the violence, by some miraculous means, to end? For the ANC to agree to continued white rule? For De Klerk to agree to majority rule? None of these are likely to happen in the near future. We still have a lot of waiting to do.

If we are waiting for the majority of whites to accept that blacks are capable of running the country, it could be forever; especially if "capable" is defined in purely white terms.

I personally would not mind if the trains didn't run on time, provided all the passengers were still alive when they finally reached their destination.

What Lord Macaulay wrote many years ago is true not only of South African politicians but also of many, probably most, white men and women, as well as certain sections of international opinion: "Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition, that no people ought to be free till they are fit to use their freedom."

(304A)

Slavery

The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water until he had learnt to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait for ever."

De Klerk surely knows that most of the white population simply do not believe that "these people" are capable of running the country and keeping them in the manner to which they have become accustomed. Percentages, federal solutions, protection of minority rights, even professed concern about ending the violence, are all ways of avoiding facing up to the prospect of simple majority rule.

It is still true, as Steve Biko warned, that "one must not underestimate the deeply embedded fear of the black man so prevalent in white society". I know it would not solve all the problems but I think it would help a little if people were honest about what they fear.

The referendum and the negotiation process are nothing but a pretence if whites are not genuinely willing to accept a democratic system in which blacks must, by definition, be predominant.

Surely, after the Olympic Games, the All Blacks and the Wallabies — even the bowls — white South Africans can no longer see themselves as the "master race". Perhaps a dash of humility to go with the honesty would also help.

Oppressed

White fear of black rule is based on pure prejudice and specious extrapolations from other African countries, in none of which have the oppressors become the oppressed; a little less well off perhaps, but hardly oppressed.

We simply do not know what black rule will be like. I would suggest, however, that we all have less to fear from its realisation than we have from its deferment.

It is, therefore, in the self-interest of whites to co-operate in removing the obstacles to the transition to a true democracy. After all, you can't take it with you — whether you die or whether you emigrate.

While we "stand and wait", we might also take heed of Dryden's advice to "beware the fury of a patient man". Events in the Ciskei might indicate that the patience (ie. suffering) of 300 years is coming to an end.

☐ *Cosmas Desmond, a prominent anti-apartheid campaigner, recently returned to South Africa after 13 years' exile*

and fiancée Marsja Retief Picture: JOHN HOGG

NP looks abroad for R50m boost

S/Times 20/9/92 (304A)

By NORMAN WEST and MIKE ROBERTSON

THE National Party is looking abroad in a drive to raise at least R50-million to fight the forthcoming "mother of all elections".

Foreign Minister and Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha this week confirmed the party was seeking foreign funding and had already received indications of potential financial support from political parties and businesses in Europe and the US.

It was only this year that the government scrapped the Prohibition of Foreign Funding Act which made it an offence for political parties to receive funds from abroad.

Mr Botha was asked to comment after NP sources said President FW de Klerk had told the party's "bosberaad" last week he wanted to raise R200-million, both here and abroad, to ensure the NP won what he called "the mother of elections".

Mr Botha said a sum of R50-million, mentioned by other NP sources, was

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NP seeks R50m

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more accurate.

He said the ANC had — and was receiving — hundreds of millions of rands from abroad.

"As far as I am concerned it will now be possible for the NP and other parties which believe in the same democratic principles and sound economic policies as we do to also receive aid.

"We have received indications from Europe, the US and other parts of the world that there are sources which would want to make a contribution to parties that stand for the same principles, norms and objectives as they do.

"I can't say how much money we will get from abroad, but that there will be money is certain."

Mr Botha would not expand further, but an NP source said there were indications that the party could receive substantial funding from sympathisers in Italy.

At the "bosberaad", according to other sources in the NP, Mr De Klerk told MPs he was determined to win the forthcoming all-race election.

Experts would be consulted on how to get "third-world" voters to the polls.

Mr De Klerk also gave a hint at last weekend's bush caucus that the first historic non-racial general election could take place only in 1995.

He urged MPs not to resign their seats until then and gave them his personal assurance that all MPs who stayed in their jobs would qualify for pension benefits even if they had not served the required seven-and-a-half years to qualify for parliamentary pensions.

NP loses touch with the party faithful

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT S/Times 20/9/92.

At the NP's Transvaal congress this week **MIKE ROBERTSON** found leaders ominously out of touch with followers (304A)

HE World Trade Centre has been ruced up, but it remains an inauscious venue. This ugly edifice rdering on the runways of Johansburg's Jan Smuts airport is best membered as the theatre in which e Codesa process was stillborn after fall-out among the midwives.

It remains, nevertheless, indelibly ked to that illusive concept, the new uth Africa, and for this reason was osen by the National Party as the nue for its annual Transvaal ngress this week.

A congress which took on added nificance this year because it ubled as the public launch of the est model NP or, as Transvaal der Pik Botha describes it, "the ly truly non-racial party in the ntry".

Sure enough there were black faces ong the delegates, but only about many as there are English-aking public representatives of the — no more than a handful.

n its middle ranks, which is what iference delegates represent, the ty remains, as it always was, ninated by white male Afrikaners. e same group exercises control in top structures except that, in this se, most are Broederbond mbers.

Those excluded from this select club have grumbled in the past, but now their concern is becoming acute.

The reason is that elections under a new dispensation will take place on the basis of proportional representation and not on a constituency basis.

Lists for regional and national elections will be drawn up by party bosses. The fear is that the "Broeders" will ensure that their members' names appear on the top of the lists, while the names of "outsiders" will appear lower down, making it highly unlikely that they will be elected.

She didn't couch her concerns so bluntly, but it was appropriate that Rosettenville MP Sheila Camerer, who, being a woman and English-speaking, represents two of the minorities in the NP, was the person to put forward a motion relating to the compilation of lists.

Mrs Camerer argued that if the NP were to win a future election, as Mr Botha boasts it will, it would have to draw support from across the spectrum. To do this it would have to have public representatives from all sectors of society.

Her motion called for the system of proportional representation to apply within the NP as well.

In keeping with what appears now to be standard procedure at NP congresses, this matter was not so much discussed by the congress as glossed over with some promise of investigation at a higher level.

It is a matter the party will have to address seriously. If opinion polls are to be believed, the NP now has more support among English-speaking whites than Afrikaners, and probably more coloured supporters than both these groups.

This is not to say that coloured people or English-speaking whites will not vote for people like President De Klerk or Mr Botha, but simply to state that the NP as presently constituted is not representative of its support base.

Also apparent at the congress was the growing gap between public representatives and the delegates.

The problem Mr De Klerk and his cabinet have is that, because the country is in a period of transition, there is a whole range of issues on which they can neither provide definitive answers or promise decisive action.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, for example, could not tell delegates what was going on in negotiations as he was still locked in secret talks with the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

Delegates called for clarity on the death penalty. Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte told them there would be finality on this matter only once a bill of rights had been negotiated.

The need for secrecy or not to take precipitate action is understandable but does not serve to inspire the party faithful.

Also disturbing for delegates was the insufficient time allocated for discussion on other important matters. Perhaps the most blatant example of this was a motion on urbanisation, informal settlements and squatting — an issue of the utmost concern to those who live in metropolitan areas.

Housing Minister Leon Wessels, though he came armed with a detailed response, was given just a few minutes to reply. Not surprisingly, it was inadequate and left delegates feeling disgruntled.

The picture that emerged after the two-day congress was of a party whose leaders are increasingly out of touch with the concerns of its core membership and have no real idea how to capture the potential support among moderate blacks, coloureds and Indians.

That potential support is there because of the changes introduced by President De Klerk, but, more importantly, because of a fear of the ANC. It is the same fear that prevented concern among delegates at the dismissive manner in which they were treated from translating into anger and disillusionment.

But, while fear of the ANC might be the glue that holds the diverse interests in the NP together, it is not a sufficient factor to guarantee electoral victory.

For that the NP will, first, have to be fundamentally restructured and, second, become far more acutely aware of the concerns of its present and potential supporters.

A party dominated at the top by white Afrikaner men, many of whom have grown arrogant after more than four decades in power, will provide no match for the ANC.

World intervention welcomed

C/Press 20/9/92

By MOSES MAMAILA

INTERNATIONAL bodies which spearheaded the campaign to isolate SA are now flocking to the country at the request of the government and opposition groups.

The United Nations has sent a high-powered delegation to SA to monitor the political situation and ongoing violence.

UN special envoy to the country, Virendra Dayal, arrived at Jan Smuts airport on Wednesday to promote resolution 772 which contains Cyrus Vance's recommendations on SA.

Dayal would liaise with the 18 UN observers currently in the country. The observers, who jetted in at the weekend, have been allocated to the country's 11 regions, according to National Peace Secretariat official Anton Venter.

Venter said more UN representatives were expected soon but he could not give a date.

He said there were also representatives from the Organisation of African Unity currently in the country.

The Commonwealth has also sent a delegation of three to observe the situation.

On Thursday, World Council of Churches president Emilio Castro also arrived and is expected to pay homage to the victims of the Bisho massacre.

Mediate

The apparent intervention of international bodies follows repeated calls by various political organisations that they should mediate between the contesting forces.

While most of these organisations appear to be observing, they're being prompted to actively participate in the resolution of the country's political problems.

Reacting to the presence of the international bodies, Azapo secretary general Don Nkadimeng said his organisation regarded this as the first step towards full international involvement in the resolution of the conflict, of which violence was only a part.

"The sooner political organisations realise that they cannot be mediators in their own dispute, the better for the country," said Nkadimeng.

The PAC and ANC have also gone on record calling for international participation in the transformation period to democracy.

Although initially the government was opposed to international participation, saying it was not necessary, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha has requested the UN to help get the peace and negotiations process back on track.

Meeting expected to pave the way

A VITAL political conference which could influence the course of events in SA is to be held in Durban this weekend. Argus 20/9/92

British minister of overseas development aid, Baroness Lynda Chalker, will attend. (304A)

The British-South African conference, involving 120 British and South African leaders and opinion-makers, will discuss political and economic issues.

Pow-wows on the cards

CP Correspondent

(304A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk are likely to meet this week in an effort to defuse the crisis of violence in the country.

It was learnt on Friday that talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa had reached a "very senstive" stage and would resume tomorrow. Should they come to an agreement, Mandela and De Klerk could meet within 10 days. C Press

De Klerk told the Transvaal congress of the National Party this week that there were positive signs for such a meeting.

Meanwhile, Meyer and Ramaphosa are trying to remove obstacles in the way of a summit between the ANC and the government. 20/9/92

For the ANC these include the fencing off of the hostels where violence occurs; a ban on carrying dangerous weapons and the release of certain prisoners.

Meyer told the congress this week that their talks were not limited to obstacles, but embraced progress with constitutional talks.

He said the government was holding back a final announcement on legislation which would make the introduction of an executive transitional council possible. A final decision depended upon what happened in talks with other parties.

The transitional council will be the first phase of a government of national unity for SA in which all parties will be represented.

Earlier statements by the ANC and the government indicated that they had agreed on aspects of the second phase of transitional government.

This entails the election of a constituent assembly which will simultaneously serve as a legislative body.

Preparing for general election

AN election could be held within a year, and three million potential voters – mostly blacks – not in possession of ID documents should acquire them to be able to vote, said Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar. C/Press 20/9/92

He said it was estimated there were 20,7-million potential voters in SA, including those in the TBVC states. (304A)

Rescue bid for talks

304A

CT 21/9/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC were locked in frantic efforts last night to rescue plans for a summit on violence this week after a deadlock over the release of political prisoners.

However, hopes for the speedy resumption of talks between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela seemed to fade last night when the government signalled its determination to hold out for a deal linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, flew from Cape Town to Pretoria yesterday for urgent talks with Mr De Klerk in the wake of reports of a rift in government ranks on the political prisoners/general amnesty issue.

The ANC said its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and Mr Meyer met afterwards in a bid to salvage plans for the summit which went sour at an ill-fated meeting on Friday evening between government and ANC negotiators. According to the Sunday Times the summit between the two leaders was within an ace of being approved by both parties when Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who was attending the discussions for the first time, dug in his heels. In effect, the newspaper said, he reintroduced the idea of linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty. A blanket amnesty would include members of the security forces and govern-

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Rescue bid

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ment politicians an issue which the ANC has repeatedly insisted should be handled by a government of national unity.

The government delegation to the pre-summit talks left the meeting and debated heatedly for an hour without reaching agreement and the meeting was aborted, according to the paper.

The ANC said the outcome of last night's make-or-break talks — as well as the several encounters last week between teams led by Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa — would be evaluated by the ANC's executive today.

But the prospects for an early compromise between the two sides appeared to wane when Mr Meyer and Mr Coetsee issued a strongly worded joint statement blaming ANC instransigence and the organisation's efforts in getting preferential treatment for its supporters for the current impasse.

The ministers also strongly refuted the reports that Mr Coetsee had been responsible for "wrecking" the proposed summit and denied claims that they had been involved in a heated exchange over how the political prisoner/amnesty question should be handled.

They insisted that all parties should be treated equally regarding "the release and handling of relevant offenders".

The ministers also denied that agreement had been reached on the other two ANC preconditions for a summit — the prohibition of dangerous weapons and the securing of hostels.

The central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party warned at the weekend that any agreement between the ANC and government on the future of "cultural weapons" which excluded input from the Zulu nation was "a sure way to court defiance and civil disobedience".

Earlier yesterday ANC sources said talks had reached "a very sensitive wait and see" stage and appeared anxious to steer clear of a war of words which might spoil the chances of an 11th-hour deal on political prisoners.

However, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the ANC was "extremely concerned that Mr Coetsee is holding up the works yet again", adding that the latest impasse "implies that the government has not taken a decision or discussed meaningfully the need to release political prisoners".

The one optimistic voice in the ANC camp was Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, who said he did not think the government could get away from taking the necessary steps to pave the way for a summit.

However, a senior government source said Mr De Klerk was not in the mood for "unconditional surrender" and predicted that much tough horsetrading lay ahead before an accommodation could be reached on political prisoners.

ANC 'election' money arrives

CT 21/9/92 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Washington-based Free Mandela Fund has released almost R13m raised during the ANC president's 1990 US visit to a trust to educate voters for South Africa's first non-racial election.

The money has been forwarded to the Matla Trust which will be officially launched next Monday.

The trust's board of directors includes well-known public figures sympathetic to the ANC, among them attorney Mr Ismail Ayob, Nobel laureate Mrs Nadine Gordimer, businessman Mr Richard Maponya and cleric Mr Smangaliso Mkhatshwa.

Business Day understands that the money has been handed to the Matla Trust because the fund's donors did not want it channelled to a particular political party.

The trust aims to teach instructors who would in turn popularise the idea of elections among people who had not taken part in one before, said Matla Trust executive director Mr Billy Modise.

Left and Right meet to discuss constitution

STAR 21/9/92. (304A)

By Patrick Laurence

DURBAN — A settlement produced by "cosy" bilateral talks between the ruling National Party and the ANC ran the risk of alienating Zulu traditionalists and Afrikaner nationalists, Democratic Party MP Tony Leon warned yesterday.

Mr Leon was reporting to the final plenary session of the British-South Africa conference on constitution-making in South Africa.

Delegates included top representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the newly established Afrikaner Volksunie (AV).

Mr Leon had noted earlier that the conference was a watershed in at least one respect: it provided a forum for "meaningful debate" for the first time between the right wing and the left wing.

Conference delegates — who discussed a range of critical issues, stretching from political violence to the state of the economy — were drawn from a wide ideological spectrum, from the AV on the Right to the SACP on the Left.

Speaking in the final plenary session, AV co-founder Andries Beyers characterised the majority of delegates as "British and South African liberals" and appealed for their support.

"You liberals have made a very important contribution to the so-called freedom struggle of the ANC and its allies," he said.

It was clear the majority would rule the country soon and they did not need the help of liberals any more.

Recalling that British liberals had sympathised with the Boers during and after the Anglo-Boer War, Mr Beyers said: "Today I want to ask the British liberals, and their South African friends, to turn their faces to the future victims of majority rule ... the minority groups in South Africa, including my people, the Afrikaner people.

"You must grant my people the opportunity of a region that can be developed into a home base for my people."

He pledged it would be a region without race discrimination or forced removals, and with equal political rights.

In another report to the final plenary session, Professor Paul Arthur of the University of Ulster stressed the importance of developing an impartial and professional police service as a means of reducing political violence in South Africa.

Britain could contribute positively, he said, by accepting South African officers at its military colleges and by sending experts to South Africa to help with the training of security forces.

● The conference organisers were sharply criticised by several delegates, including the South African-born historian Shula Marks, for the "gross under-representation" of blacks and women at the conference.

Suspect

STOP YOUR CAR BEING STOLEN!

Choice between negotiations and turmoil, UK warns

STAR 21/9/92. (304A)

Chaos was the alternative to negotiations on nonracial democracy, and the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres were a taste of what awaited the country unless talks resumed, Britain told South Africa on Saturday.

"Time is running out," Britain's Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker said in a speech prepared for delivery in Durban to the British-South Africa Conference, a forum designed to encourage bilateral ties.

She said she was encouraged at recent signs that leading political players were turning back to negotiations, and urged all parties to show the flexibility needed to resume talks before it was too late.

The killings at Boipatong, Ciskei and elsewhere had persuaded some that there was an alternative to talks, she said.

"If the talks are not resumed, we will have seen in Boipatong and Ciskei a foretaste of the fate that awaits the whole of South Africa."

Mrs Chalker said bitterness over apartheid had undoubtedly played a part, but it was irresponsible to blame the violence simply on legacies of the past.

The Government had to maintain law and order impartially, and be seen to do so, she said.

She added that police units throughout the country, including the homelands, must be properly controlled.

Commenting on the Ciskei massacre, Mrs Chalker said: "Whatever the provocation, the response at Bisho was out of all proportion to the threat posed by the demonstrators."

South Africans, Mrs Chalker said, had to tackle the issues of carrying dangerous weapons and the security of migrant-worker hostels, said by the ANC to be launching pads for violence.

These issues, and the release of political prisoners, are ANC conditions for the proposed summit on violence.

Mrs Chalker's party made her speech available to reporters in Durban in advance of her speaking on Saturday.

Hours before she spoke, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Commonwealth peace monitors visiting KwaZulu: "There are no prospects of establishing a sound transitional government in the climate created by the upward spiralling of violence we see around us."

He said the ANC, by retaining its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, made political violence seem respectable to black people. — Sapa-Reuter.

Mandela, De Klerk summit in balance

Sowetan 21/9/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

TRICKY RIDER Amendment by Justice Minister scuppers agreement on political prisoners:

THE proposed summit between State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela hung in the balance yesterday following disclosures of disagreement among Government negotiators on political prisoners.

And the African National Congress yesterday refused to speculate on future talks between its secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

A Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that an ANC team led by Ramaphosa returned empty-handed from a meeting on Saturday at which an agreement with Government negotiators led by Meyer was to have been signed on the crucial issue of political prisoners.

The discord emerged on Friday with the linking of the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

He reportedly proposed an amendment to the agreement stipulating that amnesty should apply to any person not in prison but who might be convicted of politically motivated offences in future.

Behind closed doors

The original agreement defined a political prisoner as any person in jail for a politically motivated crime, irrespective of the offence concerned. It provided for a phased release of prisoners beginning this week.

The ANC delegation was reportedly told Government negotiators could not agree and the meeting to document the verbal agreements was aborted.

Until then, Ramaphosa and Meyer had been meeting behind closed doors to remove obstacles to the Mandela-De Klerk summit on violence proposed by President De Klerk and which would pave the way for the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

The ANC had stated these obstacles as political prisoners, carrying of dangerous weapons and the Government's failure to implement the Goldstone Commission's recommendations on stepping up security at hostels.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday said he would not, at this stage, speculate on the future of the talks between Ramaphosa and Meyer and that he would not say whether there was optimism about the proposed summit getting off the ground.

President de Klerk told a leading Afrikaans Sunday newspaper that he was hopeful about the country's future and that the huge presence of international observers did not pose a threat to the country's sovereignty.

While leaders talk, people die

STAR 21/9/92

(304A)

THE Boipatong massacre left 40 people dead and shocked South Africa, even though the country had become numbed by endemic violence. Memorial services were held, strong commitments were made, international assistance was sought, in order to start negotiations afresh and in the hope that this would end the violence.

Despite all the pious commitment, the strong declarations, the new initiatives, South Africa continues to bleed. Now another slaughter has taken place, this time in Ciskei.

Since Boipatong, almost 1 000 people have died and at least 1 200 have been injured. Most victims of violence are women and children.

The figures are chilling: 58 people died and 54 were injured in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape between August 26 and September 1 alone. We are supposed to be encouraged when we read that the weekly death toll in the PWV area has dropped from an average of 54 from March to July to 25 in mid-August. In Natal, the weekly death rate has risen from 23 on average from March to July to 45 in mid-August.

Against this background, what are the political leaders in Natal saying? Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi is on record that "the ANC must be buggered up", and when Dr Mdlalose is challenged on television, he concedes that the statement was made but that it really meant that the ANC must be "buggered up" peacefully!

Harry Gwala, a prominent ANC leader in Natal, is given a standing ovation by a large number of students at the University of Cape Town when he declares that "violence is not taking place in Natal. What is happening is a liberation war".

In addition to that, he warns that the ANC may be forced to return to the "armed struggle".

Elsewhere, despite the fact that the PAC in recent weeks has been meeting with the Government to seek common ground for negotiation, their spokesmen continue to emphasise that "the armed struggle" is part of the strategy to end apartheid.

As preparations were made for the march on Ciskei despite the volatile climate which exists there, ANC leaders were quoted as saying, "we are prepared to die in the attempt to secure freedom for our people".

The question is, was the death count in Ciskei on September 7 really necessary? Is this the price the people must pay for freedom?

Meanwhile, despite all the protestations by the Minister of Law and Order, the overwhelming perception of blacks who are subject to violence almost every day of their lives, is that some elements in the police and security forces are playing a sinister role in the continuing violence. It hardly inspires confidence when deaths in custody continue at an ever-increasing rate.

What is being done to stop the violence? The National Peace Accord under the indefatigable leadership of John Hall continues to hold meetings, to discuss strategies, to strengthen their forces. And whilst they deliberate, people are dying. Monitoring agencies seek co-ordination, more teeth and whilst they monitor, people continue to die.

On the negotiation front, South Africans are told that it is impossible to restart formal negotiations because the Government and the ANC cannot agree on the release of political prisoners and the ending of the violence! So while they talk about ending the violence and about the release of political prisoners, people die.

Is it asking too much from the Government and the ANC to appoint an independent arbitrator to resolve a matter such as the release of political prisoners which has been on the agenda for years?

Is it well known that the causes of violence are legion and that the socio-economic situation of the majority of South Africans is a major cause.

Nevertheless, it is clear that more and more lives are being lost in the ideological battle being fought between the ANC and Inkatha.

The carnage taking place cries out for political and community leaders who are prepared to condemn violence in word and deed.

Must South Africa bleed to death for the want of political statesmen and women who can lead the country away from confrontation to the new possibilities of genuine negotiations and above all, peace.

There is no certainty that any initiative is going to end the violence. All we can hope is for initiatives and men and women who will mount these initiatives so that violence is at least curtailed and controlled.

Must we fold our arms and count our dead whilst we wait for negotiations to resume so that elections can be held and an interim government put in place? □

Alex Boraine is Executive Director of Idasa. This article appears in the current edition of "Democracy in Action"

UK tells SA: 'Negotiations or chaos'

(304A) CT 21/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Britain has told South Africa that chaos is the alternative to negotiations on non-racial democracy and that the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres are a taste of what lies ahead — unless talks resume.

"Time is running out," Britain's Minister for Overseas Development Baroness Lynda Chalker said in a speech for delivery in Durban to the British-South Africa Conference, a forum designed to encourage bilateral ties.

She said she was encouraged at recent signs that leading political players were turning back to negotiations, and urged all parties to show the flexibility needed to resume talks before it was too late.

The ANC last week conditionally accepted an invitation from President F W de Klerk for a summit with ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to discuss political violence.

Lady Chalker said bitterness at apartheid had undoubtedly played a part, but it was irresponsible to blame the violence simply on legacies of the past.

The government must maintain law and order impartially, and be seen to do so, she said, and police units throughout the country, including the homelands, must be properly controlled, she said.

NP may seek foreign funds

Political Correspondent

C.T. 21/4/92

THE National Party hopes to raise a "war chest" of at least R50 million — much of it from overseas sources — for South Africa's first non-racial poll. (304A)

The scrapping of the Prohibition of Foreign Funding Act earlier this year created a legal loophole allowing officially registered parties to seek foreign funding.

STAR 21/9/92

My Cabinet approved speech – PW

(304A)

Former president P W Botha read his entire "Rubicon speech" to the Cabinet before delivering it — and none of his Ministers objected to the content, the retired leader said from his Wilderness home at the weekend.

Mr Botha's faxed comments came in the wake of The Star's exclusive interview last week with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha, during which he released a startlingly reform-oriented draft version of the Rubicon speech.

Pik Botha said he had written the draft — which would have seen ANC leader Nelson Mandela being released from prison five years earlier — but that the final delivered speech was much more conservative.

In his statement, P W Botha said he had finalised the speech himself and that none of his Cabinet colleagues had objected to the content when they were briefed on it. — Staff Reporter.

De Klerk, Meyer in 'damage control' talks

B/DAY 21/9/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were locked in urgent "damage control" discussions yesterday following a Sunday Times report that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee had blocked a deal with the ANC.

At the time of going to Press, government had not responded to the report on a rift between Coetsee and Meyer on the issue of political prisoners. But a senior spokesman said Meyer would issue "a strongly worded denial that he and Minister Coetsee had had a heated exchange".

The statement would also deny that the two differed on the essentials of an agreement that would pave the way for the top-level summit between De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa yesterday said he was not too worried about the hitch in the talks and said he did not think government "could shy away from taking the steps necessary to clearing the way for the summit. I think they will find a way of resolving their differences and eventually we will reach agreement in the bilateral talks," he said.

Yesterday's report said Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa had agreed, in principle, to the release of all prisoners convicted of politically motivated crimes and the ANC had undertaken to approve a general amnesty during the interim government phase. However, Coetsee insisted on linking the release to a simultaneous general amnesty.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened at the weekend to withdraw entirely from all negotiations if government made a deal with the ANC on the banning of cultural weapons — another of the ANC's three key demands.

Speaking at a central committee meeting, he said if the ban was imposed without direct input from Inkatha the organisation would pull out of talks.

NEWS PAC warns it will also hit back

Hopes for talks take a nose-dive

GULF WIDENS Prospect of early talks fade with news that Mandela is leaving on overseas trip:

(30419)

By Ismail Lagardien and Themba Molefe Sowetan 22/9/92

HOPES for the emergency summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk received another blow yesterday.

It was announced that the ANC leader was leaving on an overseas trip as the gulf between the two widened.

Mandela leaves for China next week.

According to informed sources, the following issues are now keeping the two apart:

- The police investigation of 17 ANC and Pan Africanist Congress leaders for offences allegedly committed before the organisations were unbanned;
- The Government's insistence on linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty for State operatives; and
- The Inkatha Freedom Party's statement that it would withdraw from negotiations if the Government banned traditional weapons.

The PAC entered the fray yesterday when its publicity director, Mr Waters Toboti, said: "It is a perfectly hatched ploy by the enemy to have all leaders in the same kraal and then hit in one swoop.

"But I must warn that we will hit back if this plan is carried out."

After a weekend of increased tension and acrimony between the Government and the ANC, negotiators from the two parties met yesterday to try and restore the severely eroded links.

The ANC hopes the summit can still be held before the October session of Parliament.

At the weekend IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that he would withdraw from all negotiations if the Government unilaterally banned the public display of dangerous weapons.

The IFP also said in a statement that if the ANC proceeded with its march on Ulundi, the result would "make the Bisho massacre look like a Sundayschool picnic".

Thorny issue: Govt, ANC in talks

304A

JOHANNESBURG. — Government and ANC delegations met yesterday in Pretoria to try to agree on the release of political prisoners in time for the top-level summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela to take place within 10 days.

Sources in both camps refused to discuss details of the discussions but one government source said "it is obvious that this is the single most important stumbling block to clear" before the summit could take place. CT 22/9/92

Optimistic

The talks had been broadened to full bilaterals from the one-on-one discussions between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

The senior government source said that the weekend events were just a hiccup that could be resolved if both sides were committed to it.

ANTHONY JOHNSON reports that Mr De Klerk was optimistic yesterday that a breakthrough to get the negotiations process restarted was "hopefully just beyond the horizon".

Government and ANC sources said yesterday they were anxious that a summit on violence between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela should be arranged before Mr Mandela starts a two-week overseas tour next Wednesday.

Yesterday's round of talks took place against a background of alleged division within the government about how to handle the thorny issues of political prisoners and a general amnesty for political offenders.

Desmond Colborne asks if Africa, and South Africa, are being written off

Key question for 'lost continent'

STAR 22/9/92

(304A)

WHEN will Afro-pessimists brighten up and stop seeing Africa as a "lost continent" of conflict and catastrophe? This question is vital for South Africa, too often seen these days as going the African way: down the tube. It is also a question important to France which, of all countries outside Africa, is still most involved in the affairs of our continent.

Africa now represents only about two percent of the world's economic product and two percent of its trade, attracting less than three percent of international investment. What a change from the '60s when a country like Ghana produced as much as South Korea and when decolonisation catapulted leaders like Nkrumah, Sekou Touré and Senghor on to the world scene. But in those days Africa in general, and South Africa in particular, was not only a question of conscience but a source of wealth.

These days, Africa as a whole is seen as a source of problems, Aids and unwanted immigrants. It has been well and truly marginalised, relegated to the sidelines. But less so in France than elsewhere. There are still 8 000 French soldiers based in Africa, the economies of francophone African countries are part of the France zone and francophone leaders attach great importance to their annual summit meeting with France — one is due next month, in Gabon.

Last week in France meanwhile, Africa was again, as in the "good old days", enjoying more attention. A number of television programmes and a big conference of Africanists, in the French Senate (involving senior officials, officers, professors, analysts and businessmen) focused on Africa.

Even in France, such a focus is, nowadays, unusual. Too many other questions are in the forefront and Africa is out of sight.

And when Africa is in the news these days, it is more and more as a disaster zone. Charities ring the alarm bell over Somalia today and perhaps the drought in the south tomorrow.

Even the dramatic events in the Ciskei attracted only the briefest flurry of media interest, and the story, outside Britain, was hardly ever in the headlines or on the front pages. As a story, it faded fast. Europe's attention span for African affairs is becoming shorter and shorter.

So the one-and-a-half day conference in the French Senate was an unusual opportunity to reflect on Africa's destiny and provide some well-meaning advice. Here are some of the conclusions reached.

(1) Time horizons have to be expanded. 30 years is a blink of an eye in the history of Africa, the birthplace of the human race. So the failure of the post-decolonisation period is hardly conclusive.

(2) Africa has been geopolitically devalued by the end of the cold war. It is no longer of particular interest ideologically, diplomatically or economically.

(3) African economic development has lagged far behind that of the other parts of the developing world. "Asia is an antheap — at work. Africa is an antheap — at rest."

(4) Africa's capacity for economic development? A much talked about book by a young Cameroun woman, Axelle Kabou, is titled "And if Africa refuses to develop?" At times there seems to be almost a "repulsion" towards productive investment. Dependency hang-ups and cargo cults abound — they have to go. A former Senegalese Cabinet Minister quoted Senghor: "As long as we Africans don't think for ourselves, we will become increasingly dependent on the outside world."

(5) For economic growth to resume, the economy should go private and the state should go public. The state too often served private interests and should be "nationalised", while the economy needed privatisation.

(6) Aid was now conditional, depending on economic and political progress in recipient countries. A French Cabinet Minister has even spoken about "the right to interfere."

(7) Although the Organisation of African Unity was somewhat discredited, there had to be more inter-African solidarity. African economic spaces had to be enlarged, as in the rest of the world. Regionalism is an increasingly important factor.

(8) There should not be exaggerated expectations about South Africa's role. Apart from current political problems, its economic capacity in world terms is modest, with a gross national product only half the size of Austria's. Development at home would take priority. If however, a major problem for Africa was marginalisation, South Africa could combat this, as a major hub, linking southern Africa to Europe, Asia and elsewhere. But South Africa could not go it alone. As an engine of growth, it needed petrol (investments, trade) to keep going. As a gateway to the region, it should be part of trilateral arrangements. Would France, as the country outside Africa with the biggest investment there, cooperate more with South Africa in the broader interests of the continent? □

● *Desmond Colborne is Paris Director of the South Africa Foundation.*

Govt, ANC meet to overcome political prisoner obstacle to summit

B/Day 22/9/92. (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and ANC delegations met yesterday in Pretoria in a bid to reach agreement on the release of political prisoners in time for a summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela within 10 days.

Sources in both camps refused to discuss details of the discussions.

However, one government source said the prisoner issue was the most important hurdle still to be cleared before the summit could take place.

The one-on-one discussions between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were broadened to allow delegations from each side to take part.

The senior government source said that the weekend events, when it appeared a tentative deal fell through, were just a hiccup that could be resolved

If both sides were committed the problem could be resolved, he believed.

It was reported that agreement had almost been reached when Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee scuppered the deal by insisting on linking the release of prisoners to a general amnesty. However, Meyer and Coetsee denied on Sunday night that Coetsee had derailed the process.

The ANC is sticking firmly to its demands that prisoners be freed, hostels be secured and that the public carrying of weapons be banned before the organisation's national executive committee will approve the the summit on violence.

Government wants the summit to take place before Mandela leaves for a two-week overseas trip next Wednesday.

A senior ANC negotiator said yesterday negotiation was a process that did not see dramatic results from day to day. The apparent difference of opinion between Coetsee and Meyer would have to be sorted out, he said.

"This is the only way in which to pave the way for the summit and I am confident they will find a way to do this," he said.

Meanwhile, TIM COHEN reports from Pretoria that De Klerk said yesterday a resolution of the political impasse was "just over the horizon".

During a marathon diplomatic session in which six new ambassadors presented their credentials, he said the key to the resumption of negotiations was a resolution to the question of violence, and he repeated his belief that stumbling blocks to the violence summit with Mandela would be overcome soon.

First to present his credentials was US ambassador Princeton Lyman, formally ambassador to Nigeria.

Lyman said every day that passed without political agreement added to the burden of ecnomic decline.

Romanian ambassador Sorin Mircea

☐ To Page 2

Summit

B/DAY 22/9/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

Bottez, who was jailed for 15 years by the communist government, said his country and SA were both going through difficult periods of transition.

Almost immediately after De Klerk's election as State President "our heroic revolution succeded in overthrowing the abhorrent communist regime that had been for 45 years the most pernicious, the most painful and disastrous scourge in our history", he said.

Australian ambassador Ross Burns, previously based in Paris, expressed his appreciation for the progress made so far but stressed the need for a resolution to the question of violence.

In response to Malawian ambassador Willie Khoza, De Klerk said two planned meetings with life president Hastings Banda had not taken place.

He expressed the hope that a meeting could be arranged soon.

German ambassador Hans-Christian Ueberschaer expressed the hope that the summit with Mandela would prove to be a catalyst that would encourage an end to violence and break the deadlock in constitutional negotiations.

De Klerk agreed with Dutch ambassador Eduard Röell that the resumption of negotiations was imminent.

● Picture: Page 3

SA urged to hold election

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — It was imperative to hold elections in South Africa as soon as possible to gauge the support of various political parties.

Speaking at an ecumenical breakfast here yesterday, visiting British human rights lawyer and violence monitor for the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) Mr John Macdonald, QC, said he accepted that President F W de Klerk's government is concerned about ending violence in South Africa.

Mr Macdonald, who headed an ICJ delegation to South Africa last year and earlier this year, said he accepted there may be a third force operating in the country. But he doubted whether it was "an organised body taking directives from the top".

CT 22/9/92

'Change-around'

Previously, said Mr Macdonald, members of the ICJ group were uncertain whether the government was really concerned about ending violence.

Apart from the Boipatong and Bisho massacres, he was encouraged by the appointment of the Goldstone investigation unit and the acceptance of outside observers to monitor violence.

He described the presence of outside observers, especially those from the UN, as a "very, very significant change-around" of previous government thinking.

(204A)

Businessmen are still hopeful of creating joint strategy with unions

(304A) STAR 22/9/92

By Garner Thomson

LONDON — South African businessmen are increasingly becoming directly involved in politics because they are frustrated at the failure of both white and black politicians to lead the way to a post-apartheid future, says the influential Financial Times.

According to a lengthy investigation by the newspaper, businessmen "have decided that politics are too important to be left to politicians, and are hoping that the institutions of civil society — business organisations, unions and churches — can work together to restore stability, without which economic growth is impossible'.

Writing from Johannesburg, the newspaper's southern African correspondent, Patti Waldmeir, comments: "With the economy in its worst recession since the turn of the century, labour and business have discovered a remarkable community of interest.

"Both want a rapid transition to democratic rule. Both know that permanent economic damage results from every delay in the transition."

Late in July, the two sides came within a hair's breadth of agreeing a joint strategy to put pressure on the politicians to resume constitutional talks, she reports, although since then relations have deteriorated.

"But liberal businessman argue that the basis has been laid for future co-operation. They say that the charter called for far more than just one day's strike action.

"It spelt out a joint commitment to curb violence, combat poverty and seek consensus on economic restructuring."

Initiatives in these areas are already under way, largely in the shape of the National Peace Committee.

"Businessman can succeed in separating warring black factions where the police, with their suspect background of involvement in political violence, cannot. Business has the resources to provide venues for local peace talks, and such mundane support as fax machines and transport."

Waldmeir quotes the Consultative Business Movement as arguing that business should be a bulwark in a fractured society.

But, it says, ad hoc dispute resolution is not enough. Business must work at creating the socio-economic and developmental foundation without which a negotiated solution will not be permanent.

Ken Ironside, public affairs manmager of Barlow Rand, claims business is reluctant about its responsibility to reshape society — but recognises its responsibilities.

He tells Waldmeir: "But we won't be offended when society settles down and we can get back to making money."

Investor's Club meeting

The next meeting of the Star Investors' Club looks at property syndications.

Come and hear all about them on September 24 at the Sandton Holiday Inn from 6 pm to 8 pm.

Booking is essential and can be done through Cordev Marketing at (011) 483-3214/5.

Bid to save vital summit

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

STAR 22/9/92 (304A)

Government and ANC negotiators were locked in intense bargaining last night to try to rescue the crucial summit on violence, threatened by disagreements over the release of ANC political prisoners and a general amnesty.

New urgency has been injected into their discussions by hints that an early cut-off point for removing obstacles may be introduced. If the deadline is missed, the summit between President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will not take place before the ANC leader leaves for Pakistan and China next Wednesday.

Observers fear that further delay will squander the momentum that has gathered over the past week for a resumption of negotiations.

After a serious hitch in the Government-ANC talks on Friday, it is understood that progress was made on Sunday.

And Mr de Klerk sounded an optimistic note yesterday.

A breakthrough back to negotiations was "hopefully just beyond the horizon", he said at the Presidensie in Pretoria while receiving credentials from new ambassadors.

Mr de Klerk's positive remarks suggest that there is still hope of an early resolution, despite bellicose signals sent out by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday.

Addressing the Johannesburg Press Club, he attacked ANC claims that the SAP's investigations of 17 top ANC members could prove to be a stumbling block for negotiations.

Government team to meet PAC for talks about talks

3 DAY 22/9/92 (3044) (169)

PATRICK BULGER

GOVERNMENT and PAC delegations are due to meet again on Thursday for talks aimed at securing PAC participation in future constitutional negotiations.

The two delegations, which will be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, will continue discussions on a possible meeting at a neutral venue outside the country, probably in Botswana.

Details have not been finalised, but the PAC wants to discuss the setting up of a forum inside SA on the modalities of elections to a constituent assembly.

Government has not ruled out such a meeting but it wants solid agreements with the PAC first.

Meanwhile, Azapo has begun setting up a summit of the liberation movements and has written to the ANC and PAC.

Azapo is proposing a two-sided negotiating table with government on the one side and the liberation movements on the other.

Hard-bargaining negotiators report back

Political Staff ARG 22/9/92 (304A)

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators are reporting back to their principals today on their talks yesterday, hoping to make an announcement on the crucial summit on violence tomorrow.

The negotiators were locked in hard bargaining, which lasted well into the night, to try to rescue the summit, threatened by disagreements over the release of ANC political prisoners and amnesty.

Summit crisis

(304A)
CT 23/9/92

Talks see-saw on knife-edge

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PROSPECTS for a leaders' summit on violence teetered on a knife-edge late last night as government and ANC negotiators remained locked in a marathon bargaining session over the fate of political prisoners.

Frantic 11th-hour efforts to set up the long-awaited meeting between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela in the next few days "could go either way", a source close to the talks said late last night.

He said a decision had been taken not to issue a statement but to refer progress made to the party principals this morning.

There were indications, he said, that a new deal, which went beyond the mandates given to the negotiators, could be agreed upon.

As teams led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa toiled late into the night for the second day running, a well-placed source said: "One cannot say with any certainty whether an agreement will be reached — it's a cliff-hanger."

Earlier optimism in both ANC and government camps that a deal paving the way for the summit was imminent was tempered by a greater sense of caution last night, as the mood at the make-or-break horsetrading session continued to see-saw.

The search for a compromise on ANC demands for the release of about 400 political prisoners and government counter-demands for a general amnesty for all political offenders, was given added urgency yesterday when Mr Mandela described the latest round of talks as "decisive and crucial".

He warned that further rounds of talks with the government were unlikely if agreement was not reached at this stage on the release of political prisoners, the securing of hostels and the banning of the public display of dangerous weapons.

However, a source said last night that attempts to break the deadlock could be continued today if finality — one way or the other — continued to elude the government and ANC teams.

The teams are operating under intense time pressure because Mr Mandela is scheduled to leave on a two-week overseas tour next Wednesday.

Most senior government members have commitments to fulfill later this week at the National Party's Natal congress.

Both ANC and government sources said the mandates the two teams had received from their principals were specific enough to allow them to either "strike a deal or break away from the table" on their own.

DP advocates an amnesty law

(304A) Sowetan 23/9/92

■ ANC charges the government is pressurising them:

THE Democratic Party yesterday proposed that an amnesty law should be passed by an interim government, saying this would help promote reconciliation and ensure a smooth transition to a nonracial society.

"Such a law should clearly define the offences in respect of which amnesty is to be granted, whether the culprits were security force members or opponents of apartheid," Mr Peter Gastrow, the party's spokesman on law and order, said in a statement.

Gastrow said that while indemnities removed obstacles towards longer-term stability in South Africa, they were ad hoc and detrimentally affected the legal system. They also provided fertile ground for political manipulation.

"This will continue to be the case until a clear and final line is drawn by means of an amnesty law, which should be discussed and debated now but which should only be passed by an interim government."

The Government, in terms of agreements reached with the African National Congress, has indemnified political exiles but the SAP has since started investigating senior ANC officials over past offences including a 1983 Pretoria bombing which killed 19 people.

The ANC has charged that the Government is attempting to pressurise them into agreeing to a blanket amnesty.

Mr Gastrow said that opening and revealing human rights abuses of the past ought to be directly linked to an amnesty. "This is necessary in order to promote reconciliation and make as smooth as possible the transition from the apartheid era." - *Sapa.*

"Such a law should clearly define the offences in respect of which amnesty is to be granted, whether the culprits were security force members or opponents of apartheid"

Peter Gastrow, DP spokesman on Law and Order

the nation in brief

Tariff hikes

THE Atteridgeville Council is facing a deficit of more than R33,3 million for this financial year and the Pretoria City Council, which administers the township, is set to approve tariff increases.

The Pretoria City Council was due to meet last night to debate the proposed increases.

Last week it announced it would increase rates in Atteridgeville to reduce the shortfall and prevent the total collapse of services in the township. Sowetan 23/9/92

"It is proposed that tariffs be increased from the R103,30 flat rate to R220 a household a month," the deputy chairman of the management committee of the Pretoria Council said. He said the R33,3 million accumulated deficit did not even give the full picture of arrears.

Summit is on

THE much talked about summit on peace between Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk will be held this weekend.

This became clear yesterday but both Government and ANC officials refused to confirm this before top level meetings today to ratify the decision. Sowetan 23/9/92

The ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) and the Cabinet assembled early today for their respective Wednesday meetings where agreements reached between their top negotiators are expected to be ratified.

The meeting would have to take place before next Wednesday when Mandela is scheduled to leave on a two-week visit to Asia.

No motive murders

A Mamelodi, Pretoria, businessman was gunned down at his home this week while relaxing in his lounge.

Mr Peter Mopeloa of Mamelodi Gardens, owner of a hair salon in Mamelodi West, died instantly after being hit by five bullets from a 9mm pistol.

Police said the motive for the attack was unknown and nothing was taken from the house. No arrests have been made.

In Soshanguve the body of a 25-year-old woman was found at Wallmansthal Secondary School by a pupil. She had two head-wounds but police believe she was throttled.

HIV on the increase

A total of 157 people have died of Aids at Engwelezane Hospital near Empangeni in northern Natal this year. Sowetan 23/9/92

The hospital's medical superintendent, Dr Peter Haselau, yesterday expressed concern at the number of patients who tested HIV positive and confirmed 423 patients were being treated at the institution.

He said about 60 percent of the women and 40 percent of the men who had visited the hospital this year had been infected with the killer disease.

Foreign observers

A five-person ecumenical eminent persons group arrived in South Africa yesterday to observe the country's difficult transition period to a democracy. (BOLA)

They are the first church-based organisation to visit South Africa in this capacity. Sowetan 23/9/92

Earlier observers were from international organisations such as the OAU and the UN.

Meanwhile, a group of OAU observers arrives in Cape Town today. The PAC announced yesterday that the group would meet its regional leadership and that of the ANC. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa.*

Jakkie Cilliers discusses how the world can help SA solve its security problems

Violence must be key issue

STAR 23/6/92. (304A).

IN terms of the settlement process, recent months have witnessed a considerable improvement in South Africa's chances for a durable settlement. For months there has been an over-emphasis on the need for a political pact, without adequate recognition of the requirement for pacts on how to deal with the violence (a security pact) and the economy.

Without a wide-ranging accord on how to get the economy going and how to deal with the violence, any political agreement becomes untenable. In both these instances there has been some movement.

While the success of the National Peace Accord structures is questionable, it, and the Goldstone Commission, have managed to act as catalysts for the start of structural and attitudinal reform in the SA Police. The Goldstone Commission has also come to be accepted as a neutral arbiter.

The central problems that we have to address are firstly the crisis of trust and legitimacy in our security forces and secondly, particularly with regard to the police, an equal crisis in professonalism.

The security forces have to deal with unprecedented levels of criminal and political violence, mass action and protest, all of which place severe strain on organisations burdened with particular history, internal policies and often inappropriate doctrines and organisation. It bears little repetition that both the SADF and the SA Police need to be reoriented and, to some degree, restructured.

The crisis of trust developed over many years. Structurally it is the corollary of a policy which attempted to target the largest section of the population as hostile to the "national" interests.

The lack of trust and legitimacy is greatly aided by the campaign of vilification, intimidation and murder that has been launched against these forces. We are reaping the fruits of strategies that were adopted in the mid-'80s to make the country ungovernable.

The Government has tried to remove the SADF from any involvement in the settlement process, arguing that these forces are essentially professional and apolitical and that any changes in them should, for the time being at least, occur unilaterally.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance fear that these actions hide the retention of apolitically loyal military as an instrument for repression of the last resort, should negotiations break down or come to an unacceptable conclusion. The alliance supports a campaign to undermine, weaken and disrupt the security forces, publicly and in more clandestine manners. In this atmosphere, effective policing becomes virtually impossible.

The first requirement is to reach agreement between the major negotiating parties that the scourge of violence is potentially so disruptive that it requires a common approach — that the issue of law and order and containing the violence should be removed from the political struggle for power. Such removal implies that policy control of both the SADF and the SA Police be temporarily vested in a neutral body such as either the National Peace Accord structures or the Goldstone Commission, pending multiparty policy control by an interim government. Such agreement should also call for active involvement of select foreign countries in assisting in the transformation of our security forces. We need training teams attached to our police and military colleges. We need access to and vacancies on military and police colleges in the West. We need serving police and military officers and academic experts to come to South Africa, to involve themselves not only in finding out "who is guilty" but what to do to improve our capacity to deal with these matters.

The crucial requirement for any increase in involvement is neutrality, which, in South Africa, has come to be equated with a multiparty approach or request. These are essentially three vehicles for such requests for foreign assistance, namely directly from the various parties, through a forum such as Codesa once negotiations resume, or through either the National Peace Accord structures or the Goldstone Commission.

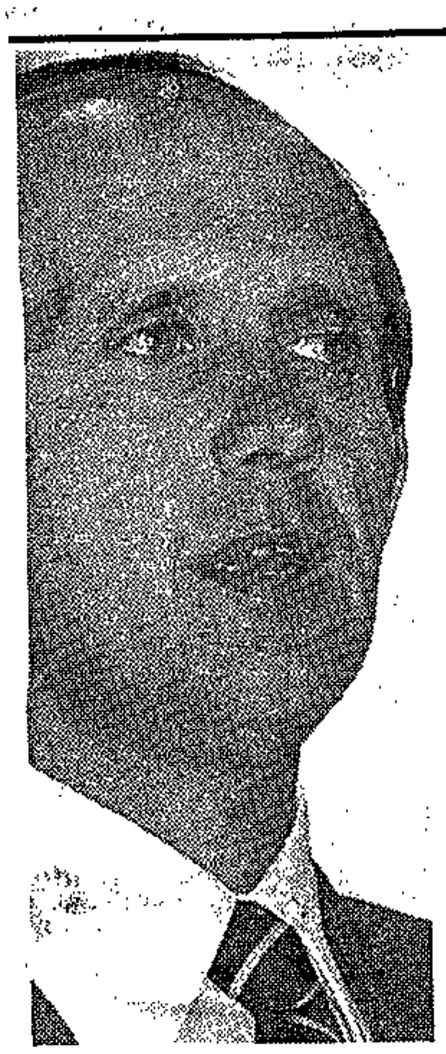
Given the present state of negotiations and the track record of the National Peace Accord structures, that leaves us with the Goldstone Commission to act in this role, assisted by various international experts and monitors. □

● *Dr Cilliers is co-director of the Institute for Defence Politics. This is an edited version of a talk delivered at the British South African Conference at the weekend.*

Non-racial poll in less than a year — DP

(304A)

CT 23/9/92



CHAIRMAN ... Ken Andrew

Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICA could have its first non-racial election as early as August next year, Democratic Party national chairman Mr Ken Andrew predicted yesterday.

Presenting the DP's discussion paper on the transition, he said the most optimistic scenario for the finalisation of a new constitution was by March 1994, with elections under this constitution by mid-1994.

Mr Andrew said the DP believed that an election and clarity on the terms of a final constitution was critical to help curb violence.

"Any political settlement which does not have the support of the majority will not work — it's as simple as that."

According to the discussion paper, the negotiation process should start with a multi-party conference which should be more inclusive than Codesa, reports Sapa.

A multi-party Transitional Council, emanating from the multi-party conference and functioning with existing legislative and executive structures until a new parliament had been elected, would create a climate favourable to the holding of free and fair elections for a Constitutional Conference.

Once those had been held, the composition of the Transitional Council would be adjusted so that only parties with representation at the Constitutional Conference would be represented.

After the Constitutional Conference had been elected, the six parties with the most votes would nominate a person to serve on the Council of Leaders. The State President would exercise all executive functions on the advice of the Council of Leaders.

Summit on violence in the balance as govt, ANC battle to strike deal

B/DAY 23/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

THE planned summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela hung in the balance late yesterday as government and ANC teams battled to reach agreement on conditions for the meeting.

An announcement on whether the summit will go ahead will probably be made later today and the weekend has been suggested as the best time for it to be held.

While Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and their respective teams were locked in hard bargaining, Mandela increased the pressure by saying government was "dragging its feet".

Speaking at ANC headquarters after meeting new foreign ambassadors, he expressed optimism at progress so far but warned that if Meyer and Ramaphosa did not strike the deal by last night, it was not likely the organisation would discuss the issue with government again before Mandela left for a two week trip abroad next Wednesday.

Mandela said yesterday's talks were "decisive and crucial ... but I am sorry the government is dragging its feet".

He said that by late yesterday there was still no clarity on the resolution of the issues of releasing political prisoners, securing hostels and controlling weapons carried in public.

While the release of prisoners remained the major obstacle, a government source said other problems had arisen with regard to the hostels and weapons questions.

He would not comment further.

Failing a conclusive agreement being reached by Meyer and Ramaphosa within the mandate given to Ramaphosa by the national executive committee, the ANC national working committee would have to decide on the issue today.

Cabinet would also have to look at what the bilateral talks had achieved and ratify any arrangements.

Should the summit get the go-ahead today, the weekend is regarded as the most likely time for it as De Klerk and Meyer are essential participants at the NP Natal congress tomorrow and on Friday.

The weekend will also allow a couple of days before Mandela leaves to accommodate any necessary follow-up actions.

Ivor Sarakinsky revisits the mystery of the Rubicon

An idea whose time had not yet come

STAR 23/9/92 (304A)

DISCLOSURES by Foreign Minister Pik Botha that his draft of the "Rubicon speech" was dramatically modified before it was delivered by President P W Botha in August 1985, confirms what many suspected. A programme of far-reaching reform was aborted in favour of caution.

Piecing together press reports and other information published at the time reveals a picture of a Government driven by conflict and palace intrigue. It appeared as if the reform camp was divided between P W Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Chris Heunis, mainly over personality, rather than policy, differences. Also, it was widely reported that the conservative wing was made up of F W de Klerk, then Transvaal leader of the NP, and others concerned about the growth of the Conservative Party.

Prior to the delivery of the speech, Foreign Minister Botha briefed senior European and American diplomats about the proposed reforms and the beginnings of negotiations, power-sharing and the release of Nelson Mandela. This raised expectations. The original speech would have weakened the NP in the more conservative parts of the country and could even have led to a split in the party.

During this period, the Government also had to deal with the United Democratic Front. Mr Heunis, President Botha's long-time confidant, was made the scapegoat as his constitutional planners were unable to promote feasible proposals and an environment for talks with black leaders.

President Botha began to move away from Mr Heunis while listening to conservatives and the security community, and General Magnus Malan in particular. A month before the "Rubicon speech", a partial state of emergency was declared, lasting until March 1986. This was a sign of the ascendancy of the conseratives, resulting in the changing of the "Rubicon speech".

These events did not neutralise the reformers, even though they devastated the country's economy.

There was an awareness in government circles of the weaknesses of the securocrat strategy. A recent interview given by the former chief of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard, revealed that his officials began to make contact with external members of opposition organisations from as early as 1987/8.

Constitutional Affairs officials had also been keeping lines of communication between internal leaders open. The conservatives attempted to force the resignation of Mr Heunis by having the security clearances of two of his top officials rescinded in 1988. This failed, but it illustrated the intensity of the struggles between the two camps in the Government.

With the changes in the Government marked by the rise of Mr de Klerk and the political demise of Mr Heunis, it became possible to examine the country's internal and external problems from a different angle. It was now acceptable to discuss openly the severity of the political, economic and international crises. A carefully planned programme of comprehensive reform was set in motion in February 1990.

It is clear that Pik Botha's initial "Rubicon speech" typifies an idea that arrived before the conditions for its reception were ripe. □

Magoo bomber key to summit

(304A)
ARG 23/9/92

Political Staff

THE release of the Magoo bar bomber, Robert McBride, and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters, has emerged as the key to the summit on violence between President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

The government is understood to be ready to release about 80 ANC political prisoners and has dropped its insistence on linking this to a general amnesty that would include security force offenders.

Its concession has raised hopes that a summit could be held this weekend.

A decision will be made today at meetings of the Cabinet and the ANC national working committee, where negotiators will report back.

Government sources in Pretoria were "reasonably hopeful" that obstacles to a summit could be overcome. They said Saturday was the target for the meeting but certain matters still had to be ironed out.

ANC spokesmen were tight-lipped. Statements are expected later today.

A government source said that if agreement was not reached today, there was little prospect of a summit.

The ANC's demands on the release of political prisoners, the banning of dangerous weapons and safety measures at hostels have been discussed at talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. The government has demanded that the issue of mass action must be addressed.

At talks with the ANC earlier this week, it dug in its heels about releasing McBride and two other ANC fighters, Mzoncdeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncubi, who were convicted on several counts of murder in connection with a Messina landmine explosion and the subsequent shooting of policemen.

ANC sources said they were insisting that the three should be freed and believed that they had been excluded because their victims were white. Others convicted of similar offences involving black victims had already been freed.

According to one report today, some agreement has been reached on a formula to deal with the further release of political prisoners.

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa are reported to have met late into last night to try to secure agreement by today.

In meetings with diplomats yesterday, Mr Mandela was reported to have expressed pessimism about an agreement in time for a weekend summit. He leaves on Tuesday to visit Pakistan and China.

He said he was "sorry the government is dragging its feet", in this week's negotiations.

Saturday is considered the most likely day for the summit: tomorrow would be too soon to make arrangements, Mr De Klerk has a speaking engagement in Durban on Friday, and the ANC has said it does not want the meeting on Monday because it would put too much pressure on Mr Mandela.

Peace talks hopes fading again

CT 24/9/92 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOPES for an early summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela faded last night as a dispute over three ANC prisoners — including Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride — blocked an agreement.

After extended cabinet and ANC national working committee meetings yesterday, it was decided that the key negotiators on both sides should go back to the drawing board to seek a compromise.

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said there were still some questions that had to be resolved and the talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa would resume "as soon as possible".

They have been meeting since last week.

Chances of a meeting before Mr Mandela leaves for a two-week overseas trip on Wednesday appeared last night to be in the balance.

Earlier yesterday both sides in the talks indicated that a deal was within reach, but the optimism waned as both the government and the ANC dug in their heels over the release of the three prisoners.

They are McBride, convicted of murder for the death of three people in the bombing of a crowded bar on the Durban beachfront, and two other ANC members — Mzoncdeleli Nondula and Mtheleli Mncubi.

Nondula and Mncubi were convicted on several counts of murder in connection with a Messina landmine explosion and the subsequent shooting of policemen.

Inside:

FW CALLED TO GIVE EVIDENCE IN AWB TRIAL

See PAGE 2

Following upon The Star's recent interview with the ANC leader,

Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert poses the crucial question . . .

Will Mandela's writ run?

STAR 24/9/92 (304A)

THE LONELIEST time for a political leader is to lead when there is no obvious path forward. When there are competing, contradictory options that generate powerful feelings and his leadership is appropriated by partisan factions to strengthen their respective causes.

At such times, history begins to shape its judgment of political leaders. That judgment has little to do with whether the leader was kind, charismatic, revered, admired, how much he suffered for his cause, or battled to keep all his followers together.

The brutally simple question that history seeks to answer is: Did he lead when it mattered? When few knew what to do or where to go, and no one was sure what would turn out to be the right course of action?

Nelson Mandela finds himself in the loneliest political spot in the world at the moment. He is not only the leader of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, but events have also made him the leader of liberation from racism and domination on the African continent.

Without detracting from any other political leader, Mr Mandela is the main political leader in South Africa. His life and suffering encapsulates the trauma, tension and conflict that is called South Africa in the 20th century.

And yet, it is as leader of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, at this critical juncture in South Africa's transition, that history will begin to shape its judgment of him as a leader.

Can he lead his alliance and the country out of a debilitating political deadlock?

At the moment of his release he inherited a liberation movement whose leadership was deeply committed to the revolutionary overthrow of the South African Government and the seizure of power on behalf of the ANC.

There is comprehensive documentary, and other evidence, that as the quality and scale of racial oppression deepened, the ANC alliance shifted its tactics and strategies of opposition until, in the mid-'80s, it reluctantly accepted the inevitability of a people's war underpinned by a four-pronged strategy of armed struggle, mass mobilisation, international isolation and underground operations.

There is equally convincing evidence that the most articulate/prominent spokesmen of the revolutionary strategy of the ANC alliance were, and are, members of the SACP who currently occupy leadership positions within both the ANC and the SACP.

> *The brutally simple question that history seeks to answer is: Did he lead when it mattered?*

The deployment of this strategy and the "total strategy" of the Botha Government polarised South Africa into a deadlock between repression and liberation. It was this deadlock that Mr de Klerk inherited and sought to break. The only person who could help him break it was, and is, Nelson Mandela.

On his release, after 27 years in prison, Mr Mandela put his movement's revolutionary strategy on hold. He staked his whole political reputation on negotiations as the mode of transition out of South Africa's deadlock and he personalised it by saying: "Mr de Klerk is a man of integrity. I trust him."

This declaration caused deep consternation within ANC ranks, and that was reflected at the first national congress where it was decided to combine the strategy of negotiations with the strategy of mass mobilisation and protest as the alliance's approach to transition.

Those who felt strongly about mobilisation and protest were deeply suspicious of the Government's ability to deliver through negotiations, as well as what such negotiations could do to the solidarity of the alliance. These suspicions have proved to be not totally unfounded.

Whether through incompetence, collusion, arrogance, ignorance or deliberation, the Government has underestimated the dynamics of transition. It thought it could control the agenda for negotiations, but the agenda refused to stay pinned down or be subject to the will of any particular party. Very soon, tension, suspicion and anger emerged. Posturing, bad faith and double agendas became the order of the day.

But the worst was the violence. Like malevolent slime it oozed into every fabric and texture of our society. Instead of addressing it, politicians cursed each other for it.

In despair, Mr Justice Goldstone said politicians were not serious about peace. Under such circumstances, negotiations could not even deliver a funny joke, never mind durable compromises.

Within the ANC alliance, differences about the priorities and relationships between the strategies of mass mobilisation and negotiations began to emerge. The "mobilisers" were not the same group as the "negotiators", although all had to pledge loyalty to both strategies.

In principle, mobilisation and negotiations need not be incompatible; in practice they more often than not are very difficult to synchronise effectively and in South Africa at the present moment, virtually impossible.

After Boipatong the strategic initiative within the ANC alliance shifted to the "mobilisers" and the most articulate spokesmen once again turned out to be members of the SACP.

Revolutionary rhetoric, so familiar during the people's-war period, began to emerge more clearly and stridently. The "negotiators" were taking a beating. It is not so much a question of the SACP "hijacking" the ANC, as that it represented the only coherent strategy as an alternative to the current failure of negotiations.

Against the dogmatic ideological certainty of a people's revolutionary strategy, the open-ended, fragile and personalised nature of negotiations stood very little chance, particularly if negotiations have not delivered.

Mr Mandela's own credibility within the alliance as well as his trust in his negotiating partners began to wane.

> *But failure for Mr Mandela means that negotiation is dead for him and all of us.*

But, it seems, he went to Bisho and saw a future based on revolutionary mobilisation, and it did not work.

Once again he called "Halt"; once again he urged all South Africans to walk away "from the precipice"; once again he chose for the priority of negotiations as "the only way forward".

But this time not fresh out of prison with a smile on his face and trust in his eyes as he shook hands with Mr de Klerk and we all felt two steps away from Camelot; not with more political capital and goodwill, here and abroad, than a politician or his party can use up in a lifetime.

Now he says "let us negotiate" at a time when there is growing scepticism about South Africa's ability to make it, when he personally and politically has taken more beatings than even the toughest of us can handle; when he has to seek trust rather than assume it when engaging his opponents.

But most important of all, can his writ hold within his own movement? Can he hold off the demands of the "mobilisers" in order to negotiate for as long as it takes?

Can he in effect say: "I have been chosen to lead and I choose negotiations. I seek your confidence to explore it fully to the exclusion of all other strategies for the time being."

Can his leadership generate the discipline necessary within his own ranks so that he can bring clarity and direction amid the general confusion and ambiguity in the country?

Nelson Mandela finds himself in a lonely spot. Over the next few weeks, history will begin to shape its judgment of him as a leader. Failure of negotiations for Mr de Klerk will be easier to carry.

He leads a small party of a privileged minority used to the trappings of power and the manipulation of patronage. The structure of his political organisation gives him maximum flexibility and manoeuvrability.

Damage control can be spread through careful use of the resources of the State and the co-operation of the private sector and other powerful interest groups, here and abroad. For the time being Mr de Klerk can go on governing, preserving the illusion of being in control of the destiny of our country.

But failure for Mr Mandela means that negotiations are dead for him and all of us. Negotiations are what he staked his whole political career and reputation on, and why he walked out of prison. If he succeeds, no hyperbole would adequately express history's judgment of his leadership. He would have "saved his country".

If Mr de Klerk shares an ounce of genuine concern for the success of negotiations and the future of the country, he will meet Mr Mandela in his loneliness and walk the road with him.

Because at that first meeting, the success of our transition depends on the personal chemistry that emerges between these two politicians.

For Mr Mandela's sake, and for the sake of us all, may his writ hold this time. □

Okay for Namibian voters

SOUTH Africa has given the go-ahead for Namibians in Walvis Bay to register for the forthcoming Namibian elections, the SA Mission said in Windhoek yesterday. Sowetan 24/9/92.

Namibians began registering throughout the country on Monday for regional and local government elections scheduled for the end of November.

"South Africa in principle is prepared to allow Namibian citizens to be registered in Walvis Bay for the elections and to allow such citizens, once registered, to later vote," Mr Braam Eckhard said. - *Sapa.*

30449

SA, Mozambique in talks

MOZAMBICAN and South African government representatives held exploratory talks in Pretoria yesterday on the issue of displaced Mozambicans in South Africa. Sowetan 24/9/92

A joint working group was established and will shortly hold its first meeting, South Africa's Foreign Affairs Department said in a statement after the talks. The meeting followed recent discussions between presidents FW de Klerk and Joachim Chissano in Maputo. 304A

"The discussions, which took place in a constructive spirit, were of an exploratory nature," the department said. - *Sapa.*

● Magoo's Bar bomber could be released in bid to break talks deadlock

● Meyer offers 150 political prisoners liberty in return for Saturday summit

McBride may go free

304A
ARGS 24/9/92

Political Staff

THE government is prepared to free the Magoo's Bar bomber, Robert McBride, by the end of next month and 150 more political prisoners virtually immediately in an effort to break the talks deadlock with the African National Congress.

The offer will be tabled today by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer when he again meets ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in a bid to arrange a De Klerk-Mandela summit on Saturday.

Government sources said that before the summit could take place the ANC wanted the immediate release of McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe fighters, Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncubi, who were convicted of murder for planting the Messina landmines.

They said the government had agreed to the virtually immediate release of up to 150 people on the ANC's list of political prisoners.

This will be done under Article 69 of the Prisons Act, which provides for parole after prisoners have served a third of their sentence.

McBride, Nondula and Mncubi are a problem for the government as they are serving life sentences. It wants to link their release to a general amnesty for all political prisoners, including members of the security forces convicted of "political" crimes.

This would be done through legislation at next month's short session of parliament in Cape Town.

"This would mean that McBride, Nondula and Mncubi would be released probably before the end of October," the sources said.

Rejected

Suggestions that McBride, Nondula and Mncubi should be released under Article Six of the Constitution, which gives the State President powers to grant clemency, have been rejected.

The article is there to let the President look into individual cases on merit rather than to give a blanket approval to releases on political grounds.

The concession on political prisoners — the major stumbling block in the way of the summit — came after the government and the ANC failed to reach agreement yesterday, in spite of hours of talks.

The cabinet and the ANC national working committee, meeting separately, failed to rubber-stamp a provisional agreement drafted by negotiators. Minor disagreements remain on the other two bones of contention, hostels and dangerous weapons.

McBride's wife Paula said today that her husband, who is in Westville prison, Durban, had closed his mind to the thought of freedom because his hopes had been destroyed before.

Mrs McBride, who married the bomber in prison, said: "He'll go mad if he starts thinking about being freed, only to be disappointed again."

She shared her husband's pessimism, she said. "I don't feel hopeful. They have a particular fetish about Robert."

● McBride was sentenced in 1987 for planting a car bomb outside Magoo's Bar, Durban, in June 1986. Three women died and 89 people were injured.

ANC, Govt 'narrowing economic differences'

STAR 24/9/92 (3044A)

WASHINGTON — A top South African finance official says the Government and the ANC are narrowing their differences over the country's economic future, in spite of continuing political problems.

"It is essential to do something about the economy and I think the ANC is beginning to realise that," Gerhard Croeser, director-general of the Finance Department, said in an interview during this week's International Monetary Fund meetings in Washington.

"We cannot wait until everything is in place to start ensuring growth. It will be necessary to take those decisions now, even in an interim government," he said.

His remarks follow praise by Finance Minister Derek Keys for the ANC's evolving economic policy, which he said was emerging out of a period of "virtual civil war".

Mr Croeser said the Finance Ministry would publish a tough economic blueprint for the country's transition to majority rule at the end of October. The study would map out a comprehensive economic strategy, addressing capital flows, investment, government spending and taxation. — Sapa-Reuter.

Meyer, Ramaphosa keep talking

Prisoner hitch dims hope for peace summit

B/DAY 24/9/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

HOPES for an early summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela faded last night as a dispute over three ANC prisoners, including Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride, blocked an agreement.

After extended Cabinet and ANC national working committee meetings yesterday it was decided key negotiators Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa should go back to the drawing board in search of a compromise.

A senior government source said a summit was still possible, but prospects were "much dimmer than a day ago".

The key obstacle has been ANC insistence that McBride and two other ANC cadres — Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube, convicted on several counts of murder — be released immediately.

Government believes it is impossible to free the men at this stage, but it is prepared to commit itself to making arrangements for the release during the short parliamentary session in October. This is unacceptable to the ANC.

A government statement last night said Meyer and Ramaphosa would continue discussions "as soon as possible" to clear the way for the summit.

The other two ANC conditions for a summit — the fencing of hostels and the banning of public carrying of weapons — had been adequately resolved, sources said.

They said the Cabinet believed releasing the three prisoners would go beyond the convention of Article 6 of the Constitution empowering the President to grant clemency. He had already granted them a reprieve from the death penalty last year.

The belief was that their release could be dealt with only in comprehensive legislation that government had agreed to pilot through the coming session of Parliament.

Denying that this was a ploy to force reciprocal amnesty for state officials, government sources said there was a fear that if the release was not done in terms of legislation there could be severe repercussions.

Should this be passed in the short session then the three would be released and the legislation would also be applied across the political spectrum.

Government appeared to be worried that it would be seen to be bowing to demands because of a its pressing desire for a summit, a government source said.

He said the two negotiating teams had agreed that all prisoners with politically motivated crimes would be released in terms of prison regulations if they had completed one third of their sentences.

The source said government was prepared to work through the list with the ANC and immediately release all those prisoners who qualified.

The number released would exceed the 80 originally discussed.

An ANC source said too many members of the organisation's national working committee executive did not trust government to deliver on promises to release the three prisoners at a later date.

Marimuthu Subramoney examines the Nats' chances in an election

No sir, you won't get these votes

STAR 24/9/92. (304A)

FOR decades most South Africans of colour and many white democrats have been urgently and longingly looking forward to the day when they can vote out of power a ruling clique that has denied them their humanity for more than four decades. Now when that day is a certainty in spite of the negotiation hiccups, Pik Botha and his ruling clique have the audacity to suggest that most of the coloured and Indian voters, together with a million Inkatha supporters, will help them retain power.

I don't know whether three million white voters would still want the De Klerk/Botha clique to continue to mess up our country, but there is no doubting what are the views of most South Africans of colour who have suffered under more than 40 years of apartheid.

I speak from personal experience. My parents, grandparents and great-grandparents were booted out of Cato Manor in Durban along with more than 100 000 other Indians and Africans in terms of this Government's policy of cleansing the cities of people of colour — the cleansing of the sort that is now going on in the former Yugoslavia.

Similar forced removals were perpetrated against thousands of Indian people in the Sea View, Bluff, Durban, Riverside and other areas of Durban, Pageview and other areas of Johannesburg, and in many others towns.

Millions of coloured and African communities were dealt with brutally in like manner all over the country as well. Forced removals under the Group Areas Act and other heinous racist laws were not the only inhuman actions meted out to people of colour. They were also robbed of their livelihoods by being ejected from their businesses in the cities; denied full economic freedom in a so-called anti-communist and free enterprise society; their children subjected to discriminatory and "gutter education"; subjected to ethnic and racial divisions; denied the opportunity to excel in sport and represent their country; discriminated and oppressed in almost every field of life and last but not least, denied the vote.

When anti-apartheid leaders, students, and other activists began to challenge the "white supremacist" policies of the regime they were subjected to the most atrocious forms of suppression and the policy of "total onslaught". They were detained, jailed, banned, house-arrested, denied passports, and subjected to "hit squad" assassinations and killings. At one stage during the height of the struggles against "white supremacy" in 1986, more than 20 000 people of all colours had been banned, detained or house-arrested.

How can we ever forget what happened in prison, to Imam Haroon in Cape Town; Babla Salojee, Ahmed Timol and Dr Neil Aggett in Johannesburg; Dr Hussein Haffejee in Durban, and to the Steve Bikos, Joseph Mdlulis, Abraham Tiros, and the countless unknown activists?

The trouble with the Botha/De Klerk clique is that they have been used to power, and the perks of power, for so long that they cannot now accept the reality that in any free and fair democratic elections they will be booted out.

Having attempted to de-stabilise, through covert security force operations, the democratic movements after unbanning them in February 1990, the Botha-De Klerk clique now feel they have instilled sufficient fear into the coloured and Indian communities in order to gain their support in elections.

The violence that is sweeping through South Africa is a deliberate attempt not only to destabilise the democratic forces but also to promote fear and uncertainity in the minds of the Indian, coloured and African communities.

Mr Botha will certainly not have my vote, nor the vote of thousands of others who have suffered under decades of apartheid tyranny. □

● *Marimuthu Subramoney is Southern African correspondent for the Press Trust of India.*

DP wants multiparty rule until new govt

STAR 24/9/92 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius, Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has proposed that a multiparty transitional council should run the country until a new constitution is implemented and a new government installed.

In a discussion paper on transition published this week, the DP comes out against the idea — widely agreed to at Codesa — of an interim constitution and an interim legislature to remain in force while a new constitution is being negotiated.

It proposes instead that a Codesa-style multiparty council should be revived and should establish a transitional council — to supervise elections for a Constitutional Conference to draft a new constitution and otherwise prepare for a new government.

After elections the transitional council would be re-adjusted so that only parties represented in the Constitutional Conference could serve on it.

The six parties with most votes in the election would form a Council of Leaders, but no party with less than three percent of the vote would be represented.

The State President would exercise his executive functions on the advice of this council, in the same way as he now acts on the advice of the Cabinet.

Re-integrate

The State President and the council should be obliged to put into effect the decisions of the multiparty conference and might also change the Cabinet, broaden representation in the judiciary, armed forces and public service, and re-integrate the homelands.

The DP says the proposed transitional structures would be the result of contracts between consenting parties although some amendments to the present constitution would be required, including abolition of the own affairs system.

The multiparty conference should also negotiate an interim Bill of Rights.

The Constitutional Conference would do nothing but draft a new constitution. It would be elected on the basis of proportional representation with a cut-off of one percent and would have 200 members.

It would sit for as long as it takes to negotiate a new constitution but no longer than two years. If it had not completed its work by then, new elections for a Constitutional Conference would be held.

The conference would stay within broad guidelines agreed to by the multiparty conference and where possible make decisions by consensus. If not, a 70 percent vote would decide.

Rebuild, whites urged

(304A) STAR 24/9/92

By Thabo Leshilo

White South Africans should not fear a transfer of power to the majority, but should make use of the opportunity of a lifetime to rebuild, special adviser to the Nigerian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador at large Professor Peter Onu said yesterday.

Because their forefathers had settled in the country in the 17 th century, whites could not be regarded as foreigners, he said.

"You must start seeing yourselves as Africans. Let us build this continent together."

Addressing members of the SA Institute of International Affairs at the University of the Witwatersrand, Professor Onu said whites had no reason to fear a black government.

Africa, he said, was replete with examples of goodwill between blacks and whites after independence.

Such spirit, he said, was evident in Zimbabwe, where President Robert Mugabe did not deprive whites of their rights but "brought them into the scheme of things".

He said Nigeria and Ghana now had more white citizens than they had before independence.

He said SA's participation in the Organisation of African Unity was now "only a matter of time".

The OAU, which had fought for South Africa's isolation because of apartheid, was confident it had at last found a white Government "it could do business with".

To maintain this confidence, however, the Government would have to show a willingness to end the violence.

Professor Onu said it was "a necessity" that negotiations at Codesa be resumed. It was satisfying, he added, to notice that the parties concerned were engaged in efforts to restart talks.

He made a special appeal to the Government not to let its power struggle against the ANC take precedence over the interests of the country.

"SA would be losing the chance of a lifetime if peace were not to be given a chance," he said.

Govt-ANC impasse persists

(304A) (118) STAR 24/9/92.

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

The tough battle to remove the obstacles blocking a crucial summit on violence will continue today, after the Government and the ANC failed to reach agreement in hours of talks yesterday.

The Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee, meeting separately, failed to nail down a provisional agreement drafted by their negotiators on political prisoners, hostel security and curbing dangerous weapons.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will meet again today to try to solve outstanding problems.

It now seems unlikely that the summit between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela will take place on Saturday as planned — although this has not been ruled out. This would mean a delay for more than two weeks, until Mr Mandela's return from an overseas visit.

Sources close to the talks confirmed that the main disagreement was whether Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres convicted for their part in fatal landmine explosions at Messina should be released immediately or as part of a general amnesty.

However, minor disagreements also remained on the hostels and weapons questions.

It is understood that the Government is prepared immediately to release about 80 of the hundreds of prisoners identified by the ANC as political.

But it is in effect still insisting that it will only release McBride and the MK cadres as part of a general amnesty.

Government sources said last night that the ANC had been told during yesterday's talks that legislation had been prepared for the short session of Parliament, starting October 12, that would make it possible to release the three ANC prisoners — as well as political offenders from other parties.

It also emerged last night that the Government is setting an important condition for the summit — a commitment from the ANC to keep its mass action campaigns peaceful.

NEGOTIATIONS FM 25/9/92 (304A)

Finding the right formula

The deadlock-breaking summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela — which could clear the way for a return to Codesa-style negotiation — looks set to take place soon. It could occur as early as the weekend, or at least before Mandela flies out next Wednesday on yet another foreign visit.

The exact date appeared to be a question of "practicality" only — assuming the whole thing wasn't called off altogether.

Guarded optimism was based on indications that an agreement on the critical hurdle of the release of political prisoners was imminent. According to a government spokesman, prospects for the summit hinged on the outcome of Tuesday's "very crucial" preparatory meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

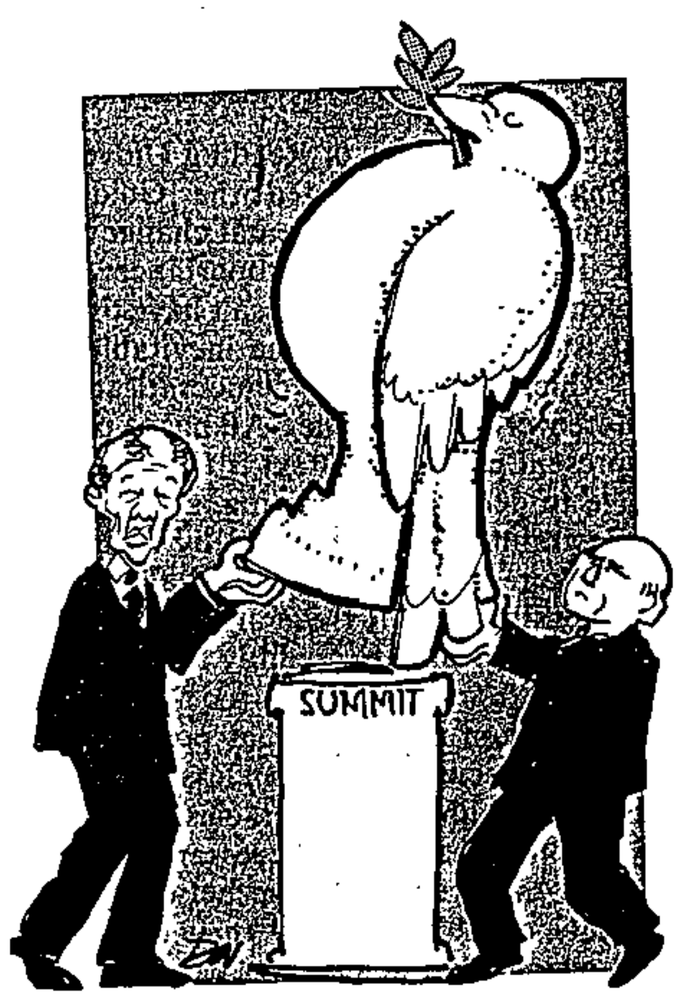
Mandela, who reiterated that the ANC's "minimum demands" would have to be met first, said the Ramaphosa/Meyer meeting would be "decisive" if his summit with De Klerk was to take place at all. Other sources, however, indicated that the ANC appeared almost impatient for the summit to take place at the weekend, suggesting an agreement on the minimum demands was all but clinched.

This was despite last week's apparent disagreement between Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Meyer. A Sunday press report had suggested that Coetsee had "wrecked" the planned summit by opposing a tentative agreement struck between Meyer and Ramaphosa in their bilateral meetings the week before. Coetsee, said the report, wanted the release of political prisoners linked to a "general amnesty" for political crimes in which security force personnel (and members of other organisations) are or might be implicated.

However, in a joint statement, Coetsee and Meyer flatly denied any disagreement. Instead, they accused the ANC of being "intransigent over the (government's) reasonable demand that all parties be treated on equal terms regarding the release of prisoners and the handling of relevant offenders." The ANC "only wants its own people in custody to benefit."

The Ministers said there was no conflict in the government's stance and pointed out that no agreement had yet been reached on the ANC's other central demands — to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and the securing of hostels. The report, allegedly based on a one-sided leak, "jeopardises the search for an agreement which would serve as a firm foundation for the summit" between the State President and Mandela.

At the same time, the SA police confirmed



they were investigating 17 top ANC members — among them Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Joe Modise — for various alleged crimes on which the book has not yet been closed, technically speaking. It was not a special investigation aimed at the ANC only, the police said, and it included the rightwing, security force members, Azapo and Inkatha as well.

The ANC, not surprisingly, finds this totally unacceptable and sees it as a ploy by government to force the ANC "to agree to its general blanket amnesty which benefits its security forces." The ANC sees a contradiction in government saying, in one breath, that it wishes to create the right climate for talks to resume while, at the same time, it wants to prosecute "the very people it wants to talk with." It was "folly" for De Klerk to pursue these investigations, since ANC members were effectively indemnified when the organisation was unbanned — precisely because government needed to talk to them.

The deal on political prisoners could take the form of a phased release programme so that about a quarter of the prisoners on the ANC's list of 400 are freed soon, leaving the difficult cases (in terms of definition) to be sorted out later. If so, it would mean that government has accepted the olive branch proffered by Mandela last week when he appealed for some sign of movement from De Klerk to report back to his followers.

The ANC's demands concerning weapons and hostels would appear to have been more tractable matters — though Inkatha has warned that any deal between government and the ANC on the carrying of weapons would provoke Zulu defiance.

Of the summit, a National Party spokesman points out that the main item on the agenda will be the whole question of violence, which is what De Klerk called the summit for in the first place.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on constitutional affairs, Tony Leon, says government's linkage of political prisoner releases to a general amnesty presented a problem in indemnifying members of the police and SA Defence Force. If an amnesty is seen as an overall sweeping under the carpet, or a substitute for full disclosure, then it would be "misconceived," says Leon. The problem would linger and the families of the victims of violence would not be satisfied. The lack of punishment and the lack of accountability should not be collapsed into one and the same thing.

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow this week proposed that an amnesty law should be passed by an interim government (which is also the ANC's stance), as this would help promote reconciliation and a smooth transition. "Such a law should clearly define the offences in respect of which amnesty is to be granted, whether the culprits were security force members or opponents of apartheid."

Gastrow said that while indemnities removed obstacles to longer-term stability, they were *ad hoc*, detrimentally affected the legal system and provided fertile ground for political manipulation. ■

DURBAN

Friendly persuasion

Durban city's beachfront task force — established in the wake of crowd problems on the Golden Mile during the last festive season — has revealed strategies aimed at preventing a recurrence.

Two things stand out. One is that there will be no attempt to limit the number of people using the beaches; the other is that most of the proposed remedies were drawn from suggestions from the public, rather than imposed by officials.

The group also puts the record straight about Durban's beaches last Christmas. City communications director Peter Denheim says the figure of 100 000 people on the beaches is a myth: "Using aerial photographs, taken at peak times, we counted them individually and established that there were only about 41 000 people. This means

LEADERSHIP AND DEMOCRACY

FM 25/9/92 (304A)

The ship of fools sails tonight

Have you noticed how — despite all our leaders piling on the rhetoric for democracy — we are becoming seriously undemocratic? On a range of issues, from the call for a general amnesty to the abolition of by-elections, the Nationalists propose major legal changes remote from any mandate they received in the referendum. The ANC speaks the language of power, not conciliation.

Between the two, they are impeding a settlement, and scare foreign investors stiff. The press clutches at straws, such as a possible summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk on violence, but both seem intent on entrenching inflexible positions which predate the sweet talk of the Codesa exercise.

Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel's announcement of a police investigation into crimes committed by ANC and SACP leaders radically contradicts the entire spirit of the indemnity process which allowed these leaders to return home to talk about a new constitution.

The investigation can only proceed now, he disingenuously argues, because the ANC men have returned to SA. In fact, their misdeeds have all already been considered in terms of the indemnities they have been granted; so the timing of the latest probe is extremely suspect.

We may not like what the ANC men stand for — or what they have done — but the matter hardly deserves to be whipped up by Kriel right now. Anyway, his *kragdadigheid* will not result in prosecutions. It amounts to the kind of red-baiting that John Vorster and P W Botha capitalised on to defend increasingly indefensible positions.

As for the elimination of by-elections, the precedent would be bad. It obviously makes little sense to hold more all-white elections if a tricameral MP becomes tired or dies. But a statutory block on all by-elections foreshadows a parliament of perpetual members who have been elected once, and whose ranks can be puffed out by co-option. Until we have a new constitution, this parliament would consist of those who benefit from De Klerk's patronage; after that, one that would thrive on alliances of elites.

The argument that a by-appointment-only Cabinet would enable men like Derek Keys to stay above politics is bizarre. The Governor of the Reserve Bank should have more independence — but the Minister of Finance is a profoundly political figure since he gives taxpayers' money to various departments depending on the strength of their political pitch. Actually, Keys *should* fight an election for a party.

This unrepresentativeness is typical of the new order. NP and ANC alike make great play of being guided by their constituencies — but as the last election recedes in time and the next one stays on ice, "the people" are less and less consulted. Look at SACP chief Chris Hani ranting against capitalism in Bisho, his inflammatory message immediately given reality in a looting spree.

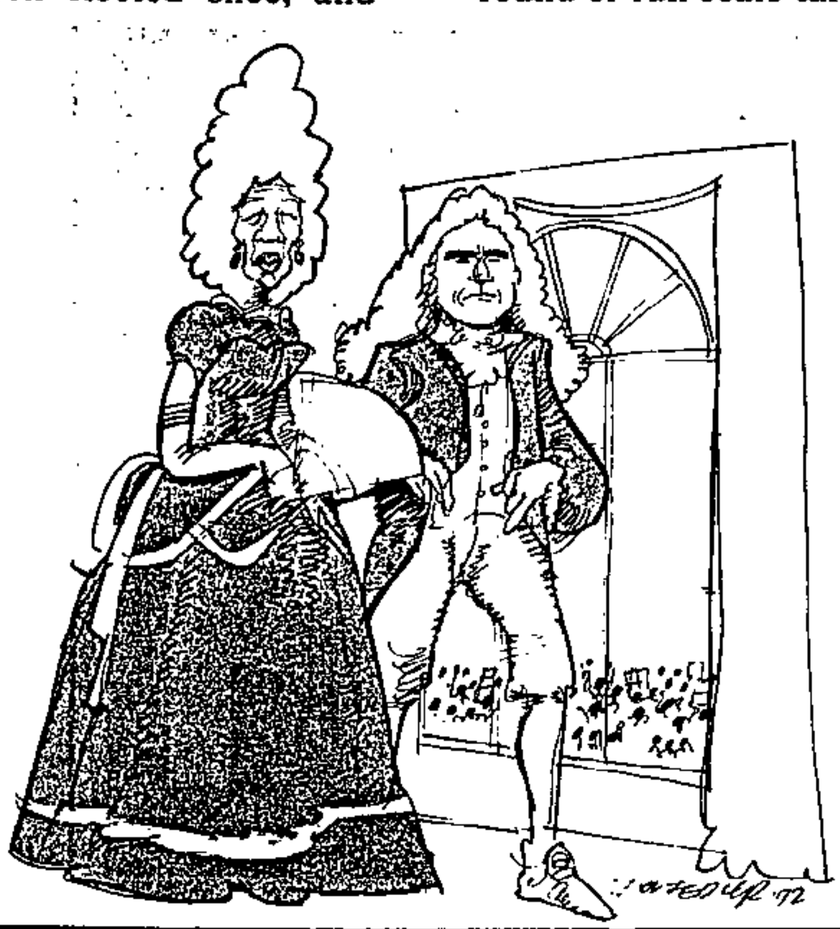
This is pure Leninism whereby the vanguard elite knows best — even if, like Harry Gwala in Natal, it entails laying plans for more martyrs, which is all that a march on Ulundi would provide. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — feeling marginalised — utters intensely ferocious warnings.

Meanwhile, again between them, the ANC and the Nats have destroyed the meaning of negotiation. It means talking without preconditions. The proposed meeting between De Klerk and Mandela — which may be delayed by yet another foreign fund-raising trip by the ANC president — is meant to concern ways of combating violence. But the ANC set certain conditions relating to violence which had to be met before the meeting could even take place.

In return, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee appears to have reinforced the Kriel line by insisting that political prisoner releases be balanced by a general amnesty.

Now, all these various *rolvertolkers* doubtless see themselves as principled men, safeguarding the interests of those who once voted for them in constituencies or smoke-filled rooms. But the killing goes on (35 unrest deaths over the weekend) and economic renewal becomes a matter of faith rather than fact.

Much of the acrimony and posturing arises from the murky climate which rolled in at the Codesa breakdown. It was as if the parties had been gritting their teeth, storing up resentments, while superficially wafting from one compromise to the next. Surely this is too simple an explanation? The agreements reached in Codesa will stand at the next round of full-scale talks — whenever that may be — or will have to be arrived at again through negotiation.



The idea that a settlement will be reached by either a patched-up, co-opted government of national unity, or by the NP handing over all power to the ANC, cannot be seriously revived. Yet the antagonists behave as if this may be so — a sentimental, ruthless and undemocratic view.

A further danger lies in the potential loss of international goodwill. As this generation of world statesmen has rediscovered in attempting to bring peace to ex-Yugoslavia, the problem is that nobody — Serbs, Croats, whatever — keeps his word. In the end, the democracies maintain a token, humanitarian presence but otherwise leave the place alone. You don't set sail on a ship of fools. ■

PARLIAMENT FM 25/9/92

Work in progress (304A)

FM 25/9/92 · (304A)

The short parliamentary session which starts on October 12 was originally scheduled to pave the way for a transitional government. But lack of progress at the negotiating table means MPs will face little more than constitutional housekeeping chores when they reassemble in Cape Town.

Three new Bills have been published so far.

One scraps the need for Cabinet Ministers to become MPs within 12 months of their appointment and paves the way for blacks to be included in the Executive. However, in the absence of transitional agreements with extra-parliamentary groups, the measure seems little more than preparatory work for a more complex package of constitutional amendments.

No by-elections

Another Bill provides for parliamentary vacancies to be filled by appointing new MPs rather than through by-elections. If approved, this means there will never again be racially separate elections to parliament. How democratic, such a step could be remains to be seen — but it is a sign the tricameral system is in limbo.

continued

Apart from questioning the need to fill vacancies at all, debate is expected to centre on the technicalities of appointments. New MPs will be appointed by the party to which the previous MP belonged, or if the previous MP was an independent, by the majority party or the party to which the previous MP belonged before becoming an independent.

This means party bosses will be able to dispense patronage without consulting electorates. In some cases — in particular the House of Representatives, where most of the members elected on Labour Party tickets have crossed to the National Party — vacancies could be filled by the NP where voters chose Labour Party MPs.

It is obviously politically wise to avoid unnecessary diversions by holding largely irrelevant race-based by-elections. But the proposed interim measure cuts right across the fundamental principles of representative democracy — not that the Nats have been too concerned about this in the past.

The third Bill provides for technical amendments to various laws, including the Internal Peace Institutions Act passed earlier this year. The Bill proposes that the Act also be applicable in the non-independent homelands.

Government has given notice that measures will be introduced next month to rationalise "Own" and "General" affairs departments (*Current Affairs* September 18). But the session's focus is now shifting towards government's determined efforts to stamp out "illegal" casinos. Such is the pressure on the authorities by Sun International and other vested interests to close down hundreds of suburban gambling joints that President F W De Klerk was forced last week to state with uncharacteristic autocracy that the Gambling Amendment Bill will be passed next month.

The multiparty parliamentary standing committee on Justice will meet next week to debate the Bill and it must be approved by all three Houses — or sent to the President's Council for NP rubber-stamping. Earlier this year, the Bill was defeated in the House of Delegates and government was left powerless to close down the casinos.

Democratic Party Justice spokesman Tony Leon says the DP is opposed to the measure, not because it supports the small casinos but because it favours free choice: "We don't believe that a government committed to a free market should be doing this." He adds that government has accepted the imminent re-incorporation of the TBVC States into SA and, if this happens, the Bill could outlaw casino resorts in the independent homelands — unless they are given special dispensation to continue operating, which would mean one hotel chain monopolising gambling.

Leon says though the DP does not favour the current proliferation of neighbourhood casinos, it wants strict control and policing — and the casinos must pay tax. He believes the proposed Bill will force the small casinos underground instead of stamping them out.

Durban Point Nat MP Cliff Matthee this week publicly criticised the Bill, saying it was against free-market principles because it protected one company which enjoyed a virtual gaming monopoly in the independent homelands. Matthee plans to make submissions to the standing committee next week. He believes the commission of inquiry into aspects of gambling, appointed this week, should look at all forms of gambling, not just "soft" gambling such as lotteries, pools and scratch cards. ■

The Star

80c PWV (90c OUTSIDE PWV, NATAL R1)

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Violence summit breakthrough a step closer

STAR 25/9/92

304A

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

Last-minute intervention by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk has brightened prospects for a summit on violence to take place tomorrow.

It is understood the Government has undertaken to fence certain hostels and to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

It has also put up new proposals for the release of ANC political prisoners, including Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, Mzondelei Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube.

The leaders have been in telephonic contact several times since Wednesday night.

Mr Mandela earlier said his organisation would attend the summit if the Government gave an undertaking committing itself to "practical" steps on these three issues.

An announcement on the summit is expected today.

The Government's undertakings were discussed yesterday at an ANC national working committee (NWC) meeting, but no statement was issued afterwards.

It is understood Government and ANC negotiators remained in contact last night.

In a day of hard bargaining, proposals were exchanged between the Government's negotiations policy group and the NWC.

Earlier, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had set the ball rolling.

At 6.30 pm the Government was waiting for a response from the NWC to its latest proposal.

It is understood the core issue was still the ANC's demand that the Government unconditionally release McBride and the two MK cadres, held for their part in landmine explosions in the northern Transvaal, in accordance with an earlier undertaking to release them.

The Government's position had been that it would only release them in terms of proposed legislation that would enable it also to pardon offenders of other parties — effectively a general amnesty.

Tight-lipped negotiators would not divulge whether and how either party had shifted from these positions.

If no agreement was reached last night, it was unlikely the violence summit could be held tomorrow as planned.

It would then have to be postponed for more than two weeks, until Mr Mandela's return from a visit to China and Pakistan.

This would mean that the summit would take place after the October 12 start of the short session of Parliament. This in turn would create new complications for negotiations. It might close one option which the Government has offered as a solution — releasing McBride in terms of new legislation.

DP on women's status

Sowetan 25/9/92

304A

■ Paper proposes improvement to women's status:

APPROPRIATE affirmative action and equal legal status for spouses are some of the proposals contained in the Democratic Party's discussion paper on the Status of Women in South Africa.

The paper, released yesterday, is one of several discussion papers which will be placed before the party's national congress for ratification in November.- *Sapa*

Women unite to secure future

Sowetan 25/9/92

304A

FEMALE DYNAMICS Time is ripe for 'weaker' sex to stand and be counted as SA is at crossroads:

By Lulama Luti 25/9/92

POLITICAL differences among women will be put aside this weekend when they come together during a high profile conference on women and the constitution.

The conference, organised by the Community Development Foundation, will be held at the Escom Conference Centre in Midrand today until Sunday.

Panelists include advocate Ms Mojanku Gumbi (Azapo), Miss Jill Noero (DP), lawyer Ms Bridgette Mabandla (ANC), Ms Xoli Gasa (IFP), Ms Sheila Camerer (NP) and Ms Nomthetho Mlonzi (PAC).

Further input will be from psychologist Ms Thandeka Mgoduso and ANC lawyer Ms Linda Zama.

Conference co-convenor Ms Nomlotha Mazibuko said conference objectives include:

- The need to highlight the women's participation in the new constitutional dispensation;
- The generation of discussion on issues affecting women;
- The mapping out of the way forward with regard to women's involvement in meaningful economic participation, affirmative action, family life together with education and development.
- The examination of obstacles encountered by women in a society undergoing change; and
- Finding a mechanism through which the potential and ability of women can materialise.

Dr Renosi Mokate of the Development Bank of South Africa will speak on women and economic activities; Ms Bongiwe Njobe of the Foundation for Research and Development will speak on education and development.

Women must unite, fight for equality

Sowetan & Radio Metro

*Talk***back**

with Tim Modise

By Mzimasi Ngudle

Sowetan 25/9/92.

IF women can hold hands, the elimination of gender discrimination will become a reality, National Party and Democratic Party guests on *Sowetan/* Radio Metro Talkback show said yesterday.

Ms Sheila Camerer of the NP and Ms Gill Noero of the DP called on women to seize the opportunity and ensure that their rights are entrenched in a new constitution.

Both stressed that women were not asking for extra protection but are simply asserting the recognition of individual rights justiciable in a court of law.

"Women are not asking to be better but to be the same. Women have never been treated equally to men. This is our only chance to grab and make sure women's rights are enshrined in the constitution," Noero said.

Camerer called for "some degree of affirmative action" to enable women to take part in decision making.

"The NP recognises that women want a new deal in the new constitution. Women want a deal that underwrites and guarantees equality and want it written in a Bill of Rights," she said.

She said Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee has identified about 30 laws that discriminate against women.

The NP government is considering the adoption of the 4 international conventions on women's rights, she said.

However, Noero opposed the idea and said South African women need to adopt a separate charter.

"We want to write down our own charter that is specifically suited to our own situation," she said.

The proposed charter should endorse affirmative action that will ensure a level-playing field.

"The DP recognises individual rights. An individual right is, according to our definition, the greatest freedom that I am allowed to have before my freedom starts harming another person."

A caller from Kagiso said: "The law can do everything, but the attitudes women have to face are hard to overcome. The best the law can do is to introduce punitive measures to ensure compliance."

Self-confessed killer Gabriel Mahakoe arrives at the Supreme Court, Bloemfontein, yesterday with his lawyer, Mr Moss Mavundla. He has been convicted of the killing of a Free State farmer, his wife and daughter. Mahakoe faces a possible tripple-death sentence today. See story page 3. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

■ **SUPER WOMAN**
A black woman gets a top position in the Government - as chief of national housing **PAGE 4**

Talks breakthrough

Sowetan 25/9/92

■ **SUMMIT RESCUED** Top-level meeting between De Klerk, Mandela on after deal:

A LAST-MINUTE deal worked out last night between the African National Congress and the Government has rescued a summit on peace due to take place this weekend.

The summit, seen as a crucial bid to end the violence in South Africa, will signal the resumption of negotiations between the Government and the ANC. The two top-level delegations are to be led by State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

An earlier deal, hammered out by the two sides' key negotiators, Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, came unstuck on the issue of the release of remaining political prisoners.

The ANC's demand centred on three key Umkhonto weSizwe cadres - Magoo Bar bomber Robert Mcbride and Messina landmine operatives Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube. They, and several other prisoners, are expected to be released on Monday.

Government and ANC sources remained tightlipped last night on the full details of the deal. It is believed, however, that the intervention of Mandela and De Klerk sealed it. The Government has apparently agreed to fence off certain hostels and act on the carrying of traditional weapons.

See story page 2

DP discloses women's status proposals

B/DAY 25/9/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Having women's desks in government departments is one of the proposals contained in the DP's discussion paper on the status of women.

The paper, released yesterday, is one of several discussion papers which will be placed before the party's national congress for ratification in November. Other proposals in the paper are:

- ☐ Appropriate affirmative action;
- ☐ Equal legal status for spouses and constitutional recognition that women's reproductive role creates additional rights not accruing to men;
- ☐ An equality clause in the Bill of Rights forbidding discrimination on the grounds of gender and other arbitrary criteria; and
- ☐ An ombudsman's office or an equal opportunities commission.

The paper argues that economic empowerment of women is a key factor in improving their status, and pregnancy and childbirth should not be permissible grounds for dismissal.

It said approved childcare facilities provided or subsidised by employers should be tax deductible and not taxed as a fringe benefit. — Sapa.

Govt promises concern ANC

B/DAY 25/9/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

PROMISES broken by government in the past on the release of Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride had prompted the ANC to insist on his immediate release rather than trust new assurances on the issue, a senior ANC negotiator said yesterday.

This had led directly to the impasse in negotiations for a summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are still trying to find a way around the problem.

According to the ANC negotiator, government, through Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, told Mandela in July last year that McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres — Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube — would be released soon. On the basis of this, Mandela persuaded the three to call off a planned hunger strike, he said.

Since the promise was never fulfilled, there was deep suspicion of current government assurances that the three men would be released after legislation was passed in Parliament next month, he said.

The ANC argued that if Coetsee promised the release a year ago, there was no reason to believe it was now impossible, in terms of powers vested in the President.

Coetsee had not responded to inquiries on the ANC allegations by the time of going to press.

Mandela yesterday expressed cautious optimism that the summit could still be held before he left for a trip abroad next week. It is understood Mandela may con-

☐ To Page 2

ANC

B/DAY 25/9/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

sider postponing his trip should Meyer and Ramaphosa not reach agreement in time for the summit to take place before his departure.

Speaking to journalists after meeting ambassadors yesterday, Mandela said "a lot of loose ends" still remained and he was only prepared to meet De Klerk if they were tied up.

"The summit is important because I want it to lay the basis for a resumption of (constitutional) talks, and the whole of SA is looking forward to it. It would be tragic if it failed," he said.

A senior government source said yesterday it was likely that Mandela and De Klerk would have more than one meeting.

Meyer and Ramaphosa met yesterday and the national working committee of the ANC also met again to deliberate on the discussions between the two negotiators.

TIM COHEN reports that McBride's wife Paula yesterday accused government of hypocrisy for not releasing her husband.

In a case almost identical to that of her husband's, two other ANC members had been freed, she said.

Two MK members, Ronnie Maoba and Steve Vilikazi, were given 18-year prison sentences after being found to have been responsible for a car bomb in Witbank. Three people were killed in the explosion, which also injured 69 people. The prisoners served about 18 months of their sentences.

McBride said the only distinction between this case and that of her husband was that those killed in Witbank were black.

McBride was given the death sentence for planting a bomb near Magoo's Bar in Durban.

Impasse on McBride

CT 25/9/92 (304A)

'Broken promise' destroys ANC trust

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC was insisting on the immediate release of Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride because the government had broken promises to release him in the past and the organisation lacked trust in new assurances, a senior ANC negotiator said yesterday.

This has led directly to the impasse which Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa are trying to resolve in ongoing meetings.

The ANC negotiator said that the government, through Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, had told ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in July last year that McBride and two other prisoners — Mzondeleli Ndondula and Mthetheleli Mncube — would be released soon.

Mr Mandela then persuaded the three to cancel their planned hunger-strike. Since the promise was never fulfilled, however, there is deep suspicion of current government assurances that they will be released following the passing of legislation in Parliament next month.

The ANC argues that if Mr Coetsee could promise the releases a year ago, there is no reason to believe that it was legally impossible.

Mr Coetsee had not responded to inquiries at the time of going to press.

Agreement on the release of McBride and the other two ANC cadres, and finalising provisional formulae on securing hostels and banning the carrying of weapons in public would pave the way for a summit on violence.

Mr Mandela yesterday expressed cautious optimism that a summit between himself and President F W de Klerk could be held before he leaves next week for a trip abroad.

Speaking to journalists after meeting ambassadors yesterday, Mr Mandela said "a lot of loose ends" remained and he was prepared to attend a summit only if they were tied up.

"The summit is important because I want it to lay the basis for a resumption of talks, and the whole of South Africa is looking forward to it. It would be tragic if it failed," he said.

A senior government source said the summit could be hosted at very short notice because the main thing was for the two leaders to sit down together and start the ball rolling. They could then hand over the finer details to subordinates.

Meanwhile McBride's wife, Paula, yesterday accused the government of hypocrisy in not releasing her husband.

She said two other ANC members — Ronnie Maoba and Steve Vilikazi — sentenced for an almost identical offence had been freed.

The two were sentenced to 18 years for planting a car bomb in Witbank which killed three people and injured 69.

Magoo's Bar bomber 'goes free' to pave way for talks tomorrow

SUMMIT • IS ON

CT 25/9/92

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

A SUMMIT on violence between President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is on and is likely to be held tomorrow.

Final arrangements for the meeting are being made today at talks between Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, government and ANC sources confirmed.

A joint statement is expected later.

Part of the deal between the government and the ANC is that three controversial prisoners — Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride, and Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncubi, who were convicted for planting the Messina landmines — will be released on parole and a number of other "political" prisoners will be freed.

The ANC may also have given undertakings on its mass action campaign.

Obstacles linked to migrant worker hostels and the banning of dangerous weapons have been overcome. A number of problematic hostels are to be fenced and people who wish to carry traditional weapons for cultural purposes will have to apply for permission.

A breakthrough in the "talks about talks" came yesterday after an exchange of letters between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

The State President proposed that the three ANC fighters should be conditionally released and apply for parole.

Legislation on the release of prisoners may have to be introduced at next month's short parliamentary session in Cape Town. Prisoners who are not ANC members may also be affected.

There has been a wrangle between the government and the ANC over a general amnesty for all people involved in crimes with a political undertone, but the ANC is now understood to have given some assurance that it would back an amnesty once a transitional government had been installed.

The summit agreement comes after a fortnight of virtually non-stop negotiations.

These followed an urgent plea by Mr De Klerk on September 10 for a summit with Mr Mandela to prevent the country sliding into uncontrolled violence.

His invitation followed the Bisho massacre and ANC threats of further mass action.

Mr Mandela said yesterday that he was determined to go ahead with the summit only if he felt hopeful of announcing the resumption of constitutional negotiations at its conclusion.

If agreement is not reached in the first round of talks, they will resume when Mr Mandela returns from a two-week visit to Pakistan and India, which starts next Wednesday.

The first indication that the summit was on came from UN Secretary-General Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who said last night that Mr Mandela had told him obstacles had been overcome and that the meeting would take place "imminently".

He warmly welcomed this development and praised Mr De Klerk and the ANC leader for their perseverance and leadership.

'Leftists': Sam de Beer (48)

Roelf Meyer (45)

Leon Wessels (46)

60s to the right, 40s to the left: Will it be a shoot-out?

w/mail 25/9-1/10/92

Will tensions between the National Party's older and younger cabinet ministers lead to a showdown — or are they being overstated?

GAVIN EVANS *reports*

304A

'Rightists': Magnus Malan (62)

Gerrit Viljoen (66)

Kobie Coetsee (61)

IF you think the African National Congress is wracked by political tensions, just try dealing with the other side.

This remark is often made by business and diplomatic sources involved in regular contact with those in power. It may well be overstated — and President FW de Klerk has certainly shown impressive dexterity in holding the ring within the National Party and the government — but behind the appearance of unity lie several key differences.

NP spokesman and Springs MP Piet Coetzer says reports of divisions within the party's ranks have been "a bit overstated".

"We're busy with the reconstruction of the total South African society and it is therefore logical that there would be a re-defining of various policies, which inevitably leads to lively debate on just about every issue. But I can state categorically there are no tensions."

Perhaps the most important of these "lively debates" relates to the role of the security forces — a factor which has inspired the government's enthusiasm for a general amnesty (which in turn has prompted recent threats to charge ANC leaders for actions going back to the mid-1980s).

Sources close to the cabinet and the South African Defence Force have noted that the government's reluctance to take strong action against Military Intelligence (MI) and former security police officers directly implicated in political murders — such as MI chief General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen and former Vlakplaas head Colonel Eugene de Kock — is motivated by more than just the fear of how far the exposure will go. De Klerk and his cabinet advisers believe it is essential to retain the full backing of the security forces, and to do this they have had to go soft on the hard men in the military and the police.

This manifested itself clearly with Roelf Meyer's transfer from minister of defence to minister of constitutional affairs.

"Meyer was despised by most of the army generals, who openly called him the 'canary' because of his spell in the air force choir, and they did their best to sideline him," said one SADF source. "When (former minister of constitutional affairs) Gerrit Viljoen collapsed, De Klerk took the opportunity to replace him with Meyer, and to replace Meyer with the less threatening Gene Louw — even though they're not wild about Louw because he's such a lightweight yes-man."

Similar pressures are said to have been behind the removal of the relatively liberal Johan Scheepers from his deputy law and order portfolio last month.

On the other hand, the influence of the Crime Intelligence Service (formerly the security police) and of MI in particular has been significantly reduced relative to that of the National Intelligence Service (NIS), now headed by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. In several cases NIS agents have been involved in investigating possible illegal activities by MI agents.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel is generally regarded as the most reactionary of the top cabinet ministers (in a sense this perspective is almost a requirement for his job). But Kriel has also retained a degree of independence from his generals which his far weaker predecessor, Adriaan Vlok, was incapable of doing.

It is worth noting that several other key conservative cabinet ministers are among those who in a past political era were viewed as arch-reformers: Viljoen, Coetsee and Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha are three frequently mentioned.

"Pik is pushing hard for the idea that the ANC must be weakened and that the NP can only go into an election in alliance with Inkatha and other parties," commented a business leader who has regular contact with cabinet ministers. "In general, it would be true to place him in the hardliner camp at present."

Another source pointed out, however, that much of what Botha says is rhetoric — in particular, his claims about the NP's victory prospects. "Pik is the Jay Naidoo of the NP. He may be immensely confrontational in public, but when the chips are down he can cut a deal. In the end, his judgment is based on what the Americans, British and Germans think."

Viljoen, a former Broederbond chairman, retains his deep fear of white Afrikaners being swamped and is desperately seeking a way to prevent this. After his various minority veto constitutional proposals were abandoned by the NP, he initiated the push for an extreme form of "confederal federalism". The concept found expression in the party's proposals at this month's federalism conference — arguing for a central government with powers restricted to foreign and constitutional affairs, the military and national intelligence.

Coetsee has recently been consistently on the conservative side of NP debates and in contrast to several of his colleagues — including Meyer, the government's chief negotiator — he retains his hardline opposition to the release of most of the remaining political prisoners unless there's a general amnesty.

Today's cabinet "left" is said to include Leon Wessels (46), Sam de Beer (48) and, more cautiously, Dawie de Villiers (52). Finance Minister Derek Keys clearly tends in this direction, though business sources say he has so far refrained from interventions outside his portfolio.

Meyer (45) leans leftwards, though most observers note that he is a consummate and extremely ambitious politician who plays his cards carefully and is therefore harder to categorise. Deputy constitutional affairs minister Tertius Delport also tends in this direction, but he was consistently overruled by Viljoen during the Codesa negotiations.

Most of today's cabinet "right" are older men whose long-term career prospects in a non-racial government are limited: Viljoen (66), Botha (60), Coetsee (61), Louw (61), Magnus Malan (62). The "left" tend to be men in their 40s and early 50s who realise they will have to deal with the ANC for years to come, but currently have considerably less power within the cabinet. De Klerk's key confidants include Viljoen and Coetsee, as well as the chief of the Broederbond, Dr JP de Lange (66).

Several sources close to the government expect an important crunch to come concerning three of the ANC's present pre-negotiations demands.

"In a sense this will be FW's next Rubicon," said a foreign diplomat. "If he wants negotiations to proceed, he will have to rein in his security forces. He will also have to concede on the release of the remaining political prisoners.

"And perhaps most important, he will have to follow the Goldstone Commission's findings on banning dangerous weapons and fencing in the hostels, which is going to cause a real rift with (Inkatha chief Mangosuthu) Buthelezi and could upset the electoral alliance."

One reformist cabinet minister told *The Weekly Mail:* "There's going to be a showdown with Inkatha on the issues of hostels and traditional weapons."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus commented that some differences within the NP may be more apparent than real. "There are some cabinet ministers one can identify as particularly unpleasant.

Top of the current list would be Kriel, while there are others such as Wessels who are better.

But one has to be cautious about how far these divisions go because for some time the government has had a co-ordinated approach in which some members carry carrots and others carry sticks."

Stellenbosch University political scientist Professor Willie Breytenbach said there were several issues of potential conflict within the NP's support base, "such as the future of agriculture, the bureaucracy and, of course, over how to handle the securocrats".

Another simmering tension mentioned by some party sources is the dominant role played by the Broederbond in NP affairs. All the white, male, Afrikaans-speaking ministers are members of the secret society, but membership is denied to the party's growing constituency of coloured and Indian supporters, as well as to its female and English-speaking members.

Breytenbach, however, believes that most of the present conflicts boil down to questions of tactics and style: "The NP needs to bind the ANC into agreements, and it wants to defeat the ANC.

"It would be very difficult for a Malan or a Kriel to be partners with the ANC in an interim government, and very soon they will have to lump it or leave it.

"But for Wessels or De Villiers, or even De Klerk, this would be no problem. They would have no scruples about it."

It's not who you must vote for but how

(304A)

STAR 26/9/92

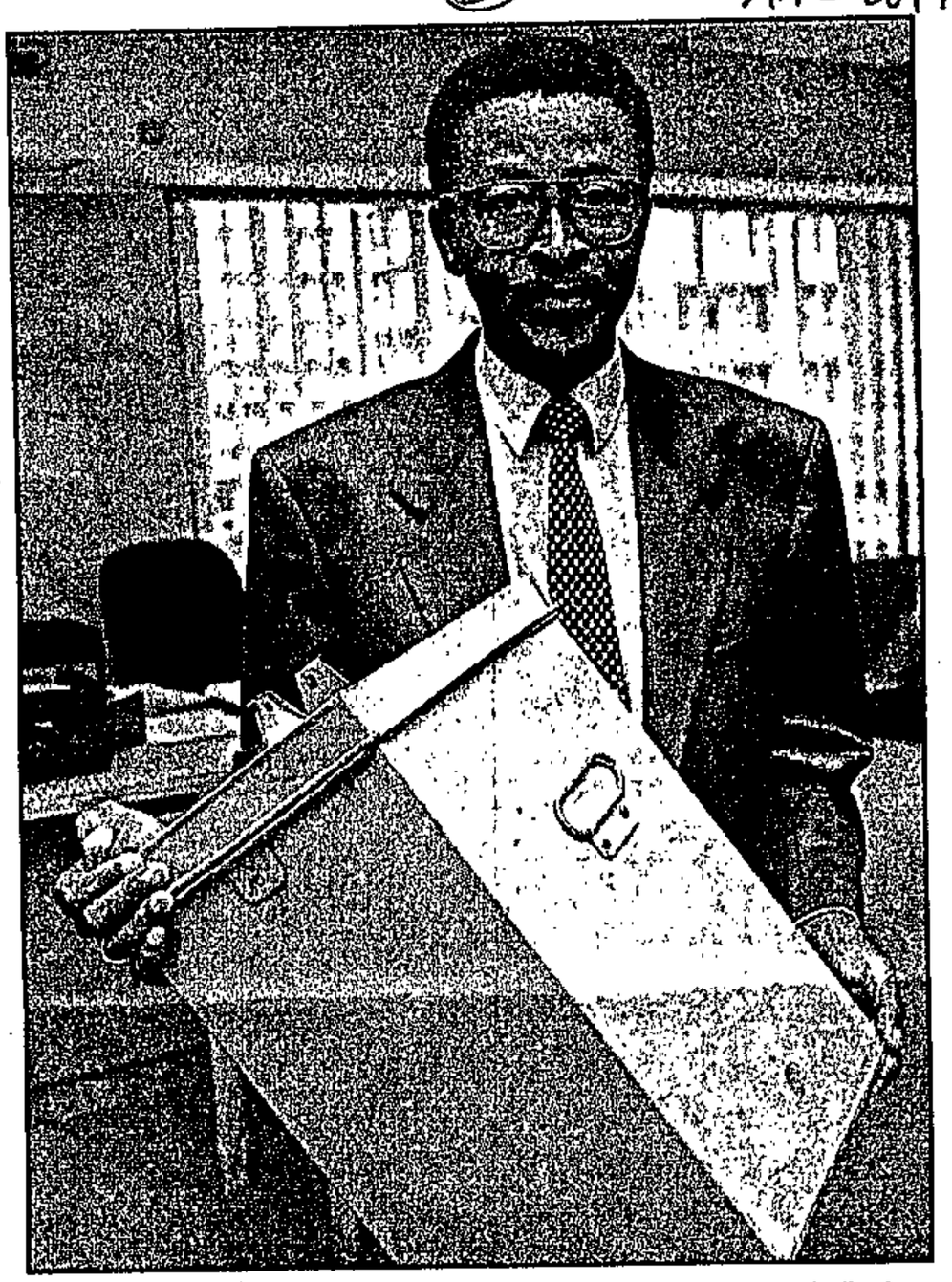
ALL parties are gearing for elections, perhaps as early as next year or in 1994, and they have the task of teaching first-time voters the mechanics of casting their ballot, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

A GROUP of township youths hear that the election result has gone against the party they back and they get ready to take to the streets again. Then one stops and says: "Wait. We must take the blame for losing the election. We lost because our people didn't know how to vote."

This is the opening scene in a play which will hit the streets next month, just one of many voter education initiatives that are getting under way in South Africa. With talks deadlocked all these months and violence worse than ever, it's a little strange to hear people talk about preparing for elections. But preparing they are, with growing urgency, all over the country.

The National Party has already embarked on "an education campaign for first-time voters". A session last weekend on the East Rand, for instance, drew 200 people, three-quarters of them black. The African National Congress has also done some work and has ambitious plans, for which it is currently raising funds.

The play is a project of the Matla Trust, an organisation with a wide-ranging voter education campaign which this week was boosted by a grant of R13 million from the United States.



PUT IT HERE: Billy Modise, executive director of Matla Trust with a ballot box. The trust was boosted this week with R13 million raised in the US by dinners and street collections. ● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

Expectations

Matla, in the words of executive director Billy Modise, is "a brainchild of Nelson Mandela's. When he came out of prison and the organisations were unbanned, the expectations of the people were overwhelming. He knew the ANC would be tied up discussing the politics of the country and felt that there should be a trust to attend to social and development issues."

Matla's US money was raised at dinners and street collections during Mandela's first visit to the States. But Modise says this does not mean it will be used to campaign for an ANC election victory.

Workshops already held to train election educators have attracted 53 different groups, including the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"Our aim is to assist as many South Africans as possible to reach the ballot box," says Modise, who was in exile for many years and has himself only ever voted in Sweden where he was a university lecturer and development consultant. "We want to get across to people how voting works, how they can qualify to vote, why they vote. Don't forget that most people have never seen a ballot box. But we are not telling people who they should vote for.

"If your opponents start doing voter education it should not make you suspicious or afraid, because our people need to be educated. A new government, no matter who they are, will be in trouble if South Africans don't know how democracy works.

"At the moment we have no political tolerance in South Africa, where you accept that someone can be your opponent without being your enemy."

One of Matla's plans is to broadcast voter education programmes on three African-language radio stations. But the full weight of State media and other national resources cannot be harnessed to this vital task — not while talks on the larger national political questions are tangled up.

The Department of Home Affairs says "no specific arrangements (for voter education) can be made as the format of a future election has not yet been decided upon. Once this has been decided and the date of an election determined, it is intended to launch a comprehensive programme of education of voters".

Home Affairs is, however, busy with other aspects of election preparation, according to a ministry representative. "It would be clearly unacceptable for the implementation of an agreement to be unduly delayed because of the department's not being prepared for an election," he said.

Home Affairs has manufactured 5 500 ballot boxes and 11 000 additional polling booths at a cost of around R1,1 million. And R2,73 million has been allocated to promote the issuing of ID documents. Part of this involves assistance to governments in six homelands — KaNgwane, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu and QwaQwa — following recent talks with Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar.

"It is expected that the possession of a South African identity document will be essential to vote in the next general election," the Home Affairs representative said.

No steps have been taken regarding the more than 3 million voters Home Affairs estimates to live in the "independent" homelands. This, too, must await progress in larger political negotiations. But once political parties do get down to hammering out electoral procedure, some gaps may have to be bridged.

"We do not necessarily accept that the present ID document should be the only basis for voter identification," believes Popo Molefe, who heads the ANC's election commission.

Advantage

"We think there should be a flexible attitude in that regard, and that birth certificates, affidavits and a range of documents could be used for identifying voters," he says.

But at least political opponents do seem to agree, if only in public, that mass voter education will ultimately be to their advantage.

"The National Party is going to undertake voter education because we believe it will boost support for us," says Sheila Camerer, MP for Rosettenville and a director of the NP's information service.

"The key point is to show to voters that their vote is secret."

Molefe says: "We do not believe the present Government has the will to run a voter-education campaign because it is not in their interests to have many black people voting. If more black people vote, that is the surest way of getting the ANC into power."

Helping you find best air deal

MANDY JEAN WOODS

DURING the past year more than 14 international airlines have begun services to South Africa and three new domestic airlines inaugurated local services.

Today's traveller has many options to consider when flying: airline, fares, frequency and value-added packages.

As a service to our readers, the Saturday Star will publish a regular feature, starting next week, listing all international and domestic air fares as well as value-added packages (such as discounted car hire or hotel accommodation) offered by airlines.

The information will be updated every week and the highlights will be featured in brief editorial commentary with the listings.

Airlines wishing to take part should send details of flight times and frequencies, cost of first class, business class, economy class and other special fares (and restrictions) as well as any value-added packages available to Mandy Jean Woods, Saturday Star, fax 834-7520.

● Bomber McBride freed ● Ban on arms in public

SA wakes up to a fresh beginning

(304A) STAR 26/9/92

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has agreed to release Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and all remaining African National Congress prisoners in a bold gesture of reconciliation aimed at "closing the book of the past" and reviving the negotiation process.

The ANC hailed the move last night as a "significant breakthrough" and a sign of good faith for today's crucial summit on violence between De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Weapons

De Klerk also agreed to ban public carrying of dangerous weapons — except with a magistrate's permission — and to fence township hostels. The moves "provided a sound basis to proceed with today's summit", the ANC said.

This in turn could open the road back to formal constitutional negotiations, suspended since June.

"We are on the verge of a breakthrough back to negotiations," De Klerk told the Natal National Party

● TO PAGE 2.

2 700 miners to lose jobs

STAR 26/9/92

DEREK TOMMEY

SEVERAL thousand gold miners in the Free State are to lose their jobs as a result of the continued slump in the gold price.

Gencor's St Helena mine near Welkom announced last night that to keep the mine operating profitably it was retrenching about 2 700 people over the next three months.

Gengold managing director Gary Maude said the low gold price, coupled with rising costs, had left the mine with no alternative but to stop working uneconomical ar[illegible]

● Our Pretoria Correspondent reports that Iscor has further reduced the staff complement at its Pretoria works, with about 400 more employees due for transfer or retenchment by June next year.

NP says it will fight for federalism in SA

CT 26/9/92 (3049)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk and the National Party yesterday made their strongest commitment to date to fight for a federal system of government in a new political order.

The commitment was given practical content by the announcement at the National Party's Natal congress here yesterday that nine Codesa parties would next week hold a second conference on the need for strong regional government.

A follow-up to the September 7 federalism meeting, Mr De Klerk said the two-day get-together would strive to "broaden consensus on fundamental issues" but was not designed to bring about a formal alliance.

The conference, which government sources said would take place behind closed doors, will include representatives from the government, the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Solidarity, the National Peoples Party, the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, as well as the ruling parties in GaZankulu and QwaQwa.

Mr De Klerk that a system of strong regional government would have to be coupled with the devolution of power to local authorities which would need their own strong revenue base so as to exercise their functions properly.

"The NP is absolutely convinced that we need such a system in South Africa."

Turning to the right-wing, Mr De Klerk said the realisation that the concept of ethnic states or "volkstate" could not work in South Africa, was causing increasing numbers of people to seek solutions along the lines of federal principles.

● At the congress, Minister of Local Government Mr Leon Wessels announced that the President's Council should complete a report in six to eight weeks on a new urbanisation strategy for South Africa.

He said that the path-breaking 1986 government White Paper on urbanisation which signalled the end of influx control was already "totally outdated".

FW urges ANC, IFP to talk

Political Staff

DURBAN. — President F W de Klerk has appealed to the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party to start talking to each other in an effort to end violence between their supporters.

"The fact of the matter is that supporters of these two organisations are killing each other," he told the National Party's Natal congress here yesterday.

He laid the blame for "the fact that there is not an open channel of communication" between the two organisations at the door of the ANC.

"The country cannot afford an escalation of the violent conflict between these two important role players."

He also announced new moves to strengthen the security forces in Natal in a bid to stop the province's spiralling violence.

These steps included strengthening the top structure of the police and deploying another Defence Force company in the province.

Political players are talented but in the wrong positions

STAR 26/9/92

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

(304A)

IN THE Government negotiating squad, the players chosen for crucial positions are more often than not unprepared and out of place. By shifting them around fairly dramatically, we could achieve spectacular results.

THE announcement this week that a South African parliamentary rugby XV is to take on a House of Commons team in London — and the usual speculation that our lot actually stands a chance of winning — has set me thinking. As it is on our playing fields, so it is on the far-from Elysian fields of our politics.

Let's be honest. We have not done very well on the sporting front since FW and Mandela de-isolated us. And we have not done very well in the semi-unified internal political premier league either.

Why is this? Is it the quality of our players? That I can't accept in a country which has produced more than its fair share of greats.

No, I think it is time to point a long finger of accusation at the selectors, managers and coaches. Purely on the grounds of self-preservation, I don't want to get into a debate about the rugby selectors. That is a very dangerous thing to do in South Africa, and can lead to death threats. It is much safer to insult the politicians.

The fact is that the standard of coaching and — more than anything else — team selection has been abysmal. Players chosen for crucial positions are more often than not unprepared and out of place. By shifting them around fairly dramatically we could achieve spectacular results. Team management has to take the chance, otherwise relegation looms for the country.

Let's look at the Government negotiating squad. Kobie Coetsee, as we have seen this season, is a solid, experienced, defensive player. He is cautious and a stickler for the rules, purposely slow on the ball — which he holds on to rather than passes — and aggressive when put under pressure. In the same mould are key squad members like Hernus Kriel, Gert Myburgh, Gene Louw, Magnus Malan and Louis Pienaar.

More flexible, in terms of being able to play different roles at different times, are the likes of Pik Botha, Adriaan Vlok and Roelf Meyer. To differing degrees tactically ambidextrous, these boys can be pushed into either defence or attack depending on how the game is going.

The really creative attacking talents lie with Leon Wessels, Johan Scheepers and Sam de Beer. Prepared to take chances and not immobilised by the possibility of the quick counter-attack and goal against the run of play, these are the potential virtuoso crowd-pleasers.

Atop all of this sits the quintessential player-manager, F W de Klerk, who likes to put his own name on the score-sheet from time to time but is equally adroit at full-back and has even been known to lead his team off the field if he doesn't like his opponents' style.

This is what the National Party selectors have to work with.

How have they chosen to arrange their raw material? Well, in my view, the wrong way round. What was Kobie doing kicking for touch at the crucial meeting with the ANC, where just a little bit of flair could have got the whole country's line moving and ensured seats for all of us at that gala event, The Summit? Who sent Kobie on to the field at that critical moment? Was Leon not fit? These are the sorts of questions we paying spectators need to ask.

Personally, I would like to see the natural attackers doing all the face-to-face stuff with the ANC. Let's get on with the game and get away from the defensive slowdown tactics. A tedious no-score draw, which is what we've lived with for months now, or an unlikely one-sided thrashing are not what we need. We want a fast, good, clean, open-ended match, and to get that you don't (to move into the realms of soccer for a second) put Doctor Khumalo on the bench.

The principle extends, of course, to the ANC itself. A bit of a shuffle could do wonders in moving the team away from its currently predictable game-plans. Thabo Mbeki could be in charge of mass action from now on, Ronnie Kasrils could take over the ANC's welfare department, and ... you get the idea.

We face a big problem in that the credibility of our leading politicians is at an extremely low ebb. A colleague reminded me of an old Gilbert and Sullivan lyric, to indicate just how bad the public esteem for the politicos is:

When in that House MPs divide
If they've a brain and cerebellum, too,
They've got to leave that brain outside
And vote just as their leaders tell 'em to.
But then the prospect of a lot
Of dull MPs in close proximity
All thinking for themselves is what
No man can face with equanimity.

I'm an optimist, so perhaps it's not too late to change this uncharitable image. And perhaps our team of MPs won't lose in London after all. But, please, powers-that-be, give us some inspired selections: Steve Tshwete can still play a mean enough game, I hear, and as a crafty winger Bantu Holomisa's record speaks for itself.

Treurnicht says Ferdi not threat

(304A)

PRETORIA. — Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht has denied that his resignation as Transvaal party leader meant he was being "pushed aside" by his deputy, Ferdi Hartzenberg. ARG 26/9/92

Dr Hartzenberg was named as Dr Treurnicht's successor at the party's congress in Pretoria yesterday.

This did not mean he was being pushed aside in the leadership stakes.

"I already indicated a few years ago that I believe the national leadership should be separated from provincial chairmanships," Dr Treurnicht said. — Sapa.

FW frees 150 prisoners on eve of crucial summit

CT 26/9/92

304A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government last night began releasing 150 political prisoners amid last-minute preparations for today's crucial summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

Both the government and the ANC view the summit on violence — the first eyeball-to-eyeball contact between the two leaders in four months — as a significant step towards the speedy resumption of full-scale constitutional negotiations.

There were also indications last night that the ANC leadership might be prepared to tone down the organisation's mass action campaign which critics have warned could lead to a series of bloody confrontations in comings weeks.

The release of the prisoners — who will be joined by Magoo Bar bomber Robert McBride on Monday — follows 18 days of exhaustive bargaining between teams led by Mr Roelf Meyer and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa to remove obstacles to the summit. The freed prisoners will also include ANC cadres Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheli Mncubi — found guilty on several counts of murder in connection with a Messina landmine explosion and the subsequent shooting of policemen.

Nondula was one of six hunger strikers at the Medium A prison in East London who called of what had been a 10-day fast as they received news yesterday of the impending releases.

Mrs Doris McBride, mother of Robert, said yesterday afternoon she was not aware when her son would be released and was awaiting word from the authorities.

MEET TODAY ... President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will meet today — their first meeting in four months.

She said her son telephoned her yesterday morning to request books for his studies. He had not been aware of his impending release.

The ANC said yesterday he would be released on Monday.

The phased release of political prisoners — which is apparently not linked to a general amnesty at this stage — will take place over the next seven weeks in terms of a joint government/ANC auditing mechanism.

In a statement last night Minister of Correctional Services Mr Adriaan Vlok confirmed political prisoners were being released from yesterday.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said last night the organisation would be pushing for the release of a total of 532 prisoners by November 15.

Motivating the government decision to release prisoners who had committed "atrocious crimes", Mr De Klerk said: "We have reached a crossroads in our history and we need to turn our backs on the past."

He said he hoped the release of political prisoners and the failure to charge some offenders would be seen in the spirit of reconciliation and furthering a negotiated solution to the country's troubled past.

"We need to start afresh," Mr De Klerk told delegates at the National Party's Natal congress.

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that the agreement reached on the release of prisoners — coupled with the "firm undertaking" from government regarding the public display and carrying of dangerous weapons and the securing of hostels — provided a sound basis for proceeding with the summit.

He said it was significant that the government had been compelled to drop the linkage between the release of political prisoners and amnesty for state officials implicated in crimes such as murder and incitement to murder.

In a strong hint that today's summit — which begins at the World Trade Centre in Johannesburg at 10.30am — will see the government pressuring the ANC to drop its planned high-risk marches on Ulundi and Bophuthatswana, Mr De Klerk bluntly warned yesterday:

"The ANC will have to review its approach to mass action."

The Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew said he was "delighted" that the summit was going ahead and Solidarity Party leader Dr J N Reddy said a "tremendous responsibility" rested on the shoulders of these two leaders to facilitate a return to full negotiations.

● In London, British Foreign Secretary Mr Douglas Hurd welcomed the anouncement of the summit.

● Anger, joy at release — Page 2

'Instinct' star in treatment over sex

LOS ANGELES. — "Basic Instinct" star Michael Douglas is receiving treatment for his obsession with sex.

Reports say Douglas booked into an exclusive $600 (about R1 680)-a-night clinic in Arizona in an desperate attempt to save his troubled marriage.

Two weeks ago, his wife Diandra caught him in bed with a woman said to be one of her friends. Recently, it emerged that he picked her up in a bar in Beverley Hills.

Diandra last week fled to the couple's Majorca farmhouse from where she is believed to have issued an ultimatum to the actor.

Douglas, 48, is receiving treatment under the name Mike Morrell. Apparently he must have three weeks' therapy before he is allowed visitors.

Rob Lowe is also said to have attended the Sierra Tuscan Centre after a video of him having sex with young girls was widely circulated. — Telegraph

CAPE TIMES SATURDAY
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Cabinet cracks show up

Star 26/9/92 (304A)

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

CRACKS are appearing in the hitherto solid edifice of the Cabinet as negotiation pressures confront the Government with increasingly difficult choices.

Although no formal camps have been noted, the executive shows increasing signs of two schools of thought on most important issues. One is hawkish on the ANC, the other is more trusting of the Government's chief rival.

Informed sources define the two sides as:

- The conservative "power-sharers", determined that the National Party must continue to form part of the Government in the new South Africa;
- A growing group of Young Turks who are coming to accept the realities of majority rule and a limited role for the NP as an opposition party.

The most conspicuous Cabinet members on the verligte side are Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Public Enterprises Minister and Cape leader Dawie de Villiers, Manpower and Local Government and Housing Minister Leon Wessels, Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer and National Education Minister Piet Marais.

Clearly identifiable as conservatives are Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Magnus Malan, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, Environment and Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett.

Coetsee is regarded as the central figure among the conservatives.

Finance and Trade and Industry Minister Derek Keys, Adminstration and Tourism Minister Org Marais and State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter are believed to be among the verligtes. The position of State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen is crucial but uncertain. Although conservative by nature, he seems to be moving towards the verligtes.

It is not clear who has the upper hand, although the decision to release Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and other convicted murderers indicates that the verligtes are prevailing.

Inside sources say, however, that Coetsee is conducting his side with great skill. Increasingly outnumbered in the Cabinet, he still has the bulk of the grassroots party on his side and is therefore closer to the Government's official policy on the main issues.

He forcefully made this point last week after reports of a row between himself and Roelf Meyer over the release of political prisoners. Coetsee said in a statement his position in favour of a general amnesty was consistent with NP policy, implying that if Meyer disagreed, he was out of line.

Sources say the underlying difference seems to be a matter of trust. Coetsee and his followers totally distrust the ANC, and this gives rise to their determination to cling to a large measure of power.

Coetsee has been handling the thorny problem of political prisoners for more than two years, and ANC sources believe he has deliberately confused the issue so that he can hold on to as many prisoners as possible as bargaining chips.

Even some of his Government colleagues seem to have lost patience with his often opaque tactics.

His supporters argue that he is not conservative but merely — as a lawyer — "legalistic" and therefore scrupulous that everything be done by the book.

On the other side of the Cabinet spectrum there are degrees of "liberalism". Wessels is considered the most enlightened: he was the first to apologise publicly for apartheid and recently disavowed the national flag and the anthem, saying they must be replaced by new symbols as soon as possible.

On this issue he is probably far ahead of most of the other verligtes. It is understood that on other crucial issues such as federalism, there may also be differences in the "liberal" group.

Parties prepare for the polls . . .

(304A) ARG 26/9/92

JOHN PERLMAN
Weekend Argus Reporter

■ With talks deadlocked for all these months and violence worse than ever, it seems a little strange to think that people are preparing for elections. But, preparing they are — with growing urgency — all over the country.

THE main political parties have embarked on education campaigns for first-time voters.

A National Party session last weekend on the East Rand, for instance, drew 200 people, three-quarters of them black.

The African National Congress also has done some work and has ambitious plans, for which it is raising funds. Its plans revolve on the Matla Trust, an organisation with a wide-ranging voter-education campaign which this week was boosted by a R13 million grant from the United States.

Matla, in the words of executive director Mr Billy Modise, is "a brainchild of Nelson Mandela".

"When he came out of prison and the organisations were unbanned, the expectations of the people were overwhelming.

"He knew the ANC would be tied up discussing the politics of the country and felt there should be a trust to attend to social and development issues."

Matla's US money was raised at dinners and street collections during Mr Mandela's first visit to America. But, Mr Modise says, this does not mean it will be used to campaign for an ANC election victory.

He says workshops already held to train election educators had attracted 53 groups, including the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"Our aim is to assist as many South Africans as possible to reach the ballot box," says Mr Modise, who was in exile for many years and has himself only ever voted in Sweden where he was a university lecturer and development consultant.

"We want to get across to people how voting works, how they can qualify to vote, why they vote. Don't forget, most people have never seen a ballot box. But, we are not telling people who they should vote for.

"If your opponents start doing voter education, it should not make you suspicious or afraid because our people need to be educated.

"A new government, no matter who they are, will be in trouble if South Africans don't know how democracy works.

"At the moment, we have no political tolerance in South Africa, where you accept that someone can be your opponent without being your enemy."

One of Matla's plans is to broadcast voter education programmes on three African language radio stations. But the full weight of state media and other national resources cannot be harnessed to this vital task — not while talks on the larger national political questions are tangled up.

The Department of Home Affairs says "no specific arrangements (for voter education) can be made as the format of a future election has not been decided upon yet. Once this has been decided in the negotiation process and the date of an election has been determined, it is intended to launch a comprehensive programme of education of voters."

Home Affairs, however, is busy with other aspects of election preparation, according to a ministry representative.

He said: "It would be clearly unacceptable for the implementation of an agreement to be unduly delayed because of the department not being prepared for an election."

Cabinet 'split' in two camps

(304A)

ARG 26/9/92

■ As increasingly difficult decisions confront the government, two factions, liberal and conservative, are becoming discernible in Cabinet ranks.

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

CRACKS are beginning to appear in the hitherto-solid facade of the Cabinet as the pressure of negotiations confronts the government with increasingly difficult choices.

Although no formal camps have been formed and no split is imminent, the executive is dividing more and more into two schools of thought on most important issues.

One is conservative and tough on the African National Congress, the other more liberal and trusting of the government's chief political rival.

The two sides line up differently on different issues so it is not easy to put labels on them.

However, informed sources say that, in broad terms, there are, on the one side, the conservative "power-sharers" who are determined that the National Party should continue to form part of government in the new South Africa.

On the other side, there is a growing group of young Turks who are coming to accept the reality of majoritarian government — and a limited role for the NP as an opposition party.

The precise allegiance of every member of the Cabinet is not known, but the most conspicuous ones on the verligte side are:

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha, Public Enterprises Minister and Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, Manpower and Local Government and Housing Minister Mr Leon Wessels, Education and Training Minister Dr Sam de Beer and National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais.

Clearly indentifiable as conservatives are Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister General Magnus Malan, Correctional Services Minister Mr Adriaan Vlok, Environment and Home Affairs Minister Mr Louis Pienaar and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Mr George Bartlett.

Mr Coetsee is being regarded as the central figure among the conservatives. The affiliations of the rest are not so clear, although Finance and Trade and Industry Minister Mr Derek Keys, Adminstration and Tourism Minister Mr Org Marais and State Expenditure Minister Mr Amie Venter are believed to be among the verligtes.

The position of State Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen — a former constitutional development minister and a key adviser to President de Klerk — is crucial, but uncertain.

Although conservative by nature, Dr Viljoen seems to be moving into the verligte camp.

Naturally, the position of President De Klerk is even more crucial. Sources say he has not clearly identified himself with either side, but being the good committee man that he is, has successfully managed and channelled both.

It is not absolutely clear who has the upper hand, although the decision this week to release ANC Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and many other convicted murderers indicates that the liberal faction is prevailing.

Inside sources had predicted this would happen and believe this is the trend. They said, however, that Mr Coetsee was conducting himself skilfully.

Although increasingly outnumbered in Cabinet, he has the bulk of the party on his side — and is, therefore, closer to official policy on main issues.

Mr Coetsee forcefully made this point last week after reports of a row between himself and Mr Meyer over the release of political prisoners — the first public sign of the Cabinet divisions.

Mr Coetsee issued a statement saying that his position — in favour of a general amnesty — was consistent with NP policy, implying that if Mr Meyer disagreed with him, he was out of line.

One source said that the underlying difference between the two factions was trust. They said Mr Coetsee and Co were not prepared to trust the ANC at all, and this dictated their policy toward the organisation and their determination to cling to a large measure of power.

This sharp difference in trust has become increasingly manifest in negotiations. Probably the most untrusting minister is Mr Coetsee, who has handled the thorny problem of political prisoners for over two years.

ANC sources believe he has deliberately confused the issue to cause delays in the release of prisoners and keep as many as possible of them back as bargainng chips.

His detractors in government would probably not go this far, but have grown impatient at his often opaque tactics.

His supporters claim that he is not conservative but merely — as a lawyer — "legalistic" and therefore scrupulous insistent that everything should be done by the book.

On the other side of the Cabinet spectrum, there are degrees of liberality. Mr Wessels is considered the most enlightened, was the first to apologise publicly for apartheid and has recently disavowed the national flag and the anthem, saying these must be replaced.

HARRY SCHWARZ, Our Man in the United States, reflects on the growing importance of his role and the implications for SA of the US elections

A diplomat's home cannot be his castle on this Hill

(304A)

ST Times 27/9/92.

WHEN I was appointed to the job of ambassador, my eldest son gave me one of the classic books on diplomacy. At the time I regarded it, on the one hand, as the act of a caring son and, on the other, as a message — namely: "You are taking on a job about which you know nothing and you had better learn something about it."

This might well have applied had I been appointed ambassador to London, Paris, Bonn or Rome, but being posted to Washington for a South African is not a normal diplomatic job.

One can, of course, make it so — go to parties, pay the occasional visit to the State Department, see visitors — but then one may not perhaps be the ambassador which South Africa needs in Washington.

The situation in respect of sanctions can be regarded as a case study. When I arrived in the US there were sanctions at federal, state, county and municipal levels.

At a federal level, the ambassador has to deal with the White House, the National Security Council, the State Department (normally with the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs and his staff), the Pentagon, the Department of Commerce and the Treasury. In all, it is necessary to go far beyond what would be a simple relationship between an embassy and a foreign office. But that is only dealing with the executive.

One is also obliged to deal directly with the legislature. Here again we cannot deal with caucuses in the sense that we understand them in South Africa. There is a need to go to individual senators and individual congressmen.

One of the first decisions that was made on my arrival was to broaden the base of interest in South Africa, to work with the aides to senators and congressmen and to make direct appointments with senators and congressmen.

THE fruits of these efforts were perhaps demonstrated in an exchange between Congressman Stephen Solarz and Mr Randall Robinson of Trans Africa at a meeting of an Africa subcommittee after certain of the sanctions in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act were lifted.

Mr Robinson was unhappy and accused the Democrats in Congress of having sat on their hands and done nothing to reintroduce sanctions. Mr Solarz explained that the atmosphere on the Hill was such that one could just not get sanctions legislation passed.

Of the 50 states in the United States, 27 have different types of sanctions. On arrival in the US I found that in many cases the embassy and the consulates did not know the legislatures in the various states except, in most cases, for a few right-wing supporters of the past.

It was as if the South African Mission was a castle in which the drawbridge had been drawn up, and only occasionally was there a sally out to meet a friendly knight.

A campaign was started to broaden the base, and now we have contact with hundreds of state legislators. We now know those who are for sanctions, those who are against, those who are neutral and those who can be persuaded.

The same applies in respect of counties and cities.

It is necessary to see the South African issue in the light of the historic situation in the United States. The relationship between African-Americans and the rest of America goes back to the days of segregation and, before that, slavery. It remains today mainly as an economic issue.

Against this background apartheid was an issue which readily united people on the basis of morality and democracy, and a network of anti-apartheid organisations was created across America.

The attention span for any matter in the United States is relatively short but, because of the black and white situation, apartheid as an issue has lasted for a long time and will continue to exist.

The attitude of politicians has been dealt with above, but the attitude of business is another matter. Many companies disinvested from South Africa, but many remained and engaged in social action programmes. Major corporations are now showing an interest, but purely from an investigation and a discussion point of view.

Many small businessmen are inquiring and, in particular, African-Americans feel that there are opportunities for them in South Africa, even though they themselves do not have large resources of capital. But, generally, the attitude of business is to wait and see.

A QUESTION that may be asked is what problems I have as an ambassador. To be frank, I have difficulty in explaining the high level of violence. Difficulty in dealing with the CCB, Inkatha funding and allegations such as those made by Dr Gluckman. But I do not seek to excuse the inexcusable.

I believe no one is completely blameless in South Africa. Blameless either as to the present or as to the past; blameless as to the political conditions or the social conditions.

Turning now to the scene in the United States itself. This year is an election year. Not only is there a presidential election but the whole of the House of Representatives and a substantial proportion of the Senate and many state and local legislators come up for election.

There are perhaps four matters to consider in the US for this election.

First, the state of the economy, which has taken far too long to recover. Unemployment is high and a series of scandals such as the Saving and Loans situation, which have cost billions of dollars, have angered voters.

The second is the projection in large sections of the media of President Bush as a person who has no plans for the economy, who is unable to get to grips with internal problems and who has a credibility problem because of the famous "watch my lips" no-taxes promise.

THE third is the Quayle phenomenon. The endeavour to portray Vice-President Quayle as a joke has met with considerable success. Just when it seems he is overcoming the phenomenon, another mistake such as the spelling of potato raises the whole issue again.

continued

My thug for yours! We are building a nation

304A

S/Times 27/9/92

THERE was a time, I must confess, when I thought that President De Klerk and Mr Mandela had created for us a rare opportunity to lay down for ourselves the principles of democracy, as America did after 1776 or Germany after the Second World War.

Instead, we have come down to squabbling about which murderous psychopaths in the jails should be released among us. My cold-blooded bomber for your mass murderer; my midnight assassin for your sneaky poisoner.

This sort of evil bargaining is necessary. Nobody wants lingering blood feuds to poison the future. If we are to become one nation we cannot embark on a set of Nuremberg trials in which the victors inflict judicial murder on the vanquished.

But if anybody expects national conciliation to flow from the release of prisoners, or from a general amnesty, the nation itself must be party to the process. It must all occur in the open. The terms of the prisoner release and the amnesty must be disclosed, explained and understood.

Instead, what have we had? There was some talk of using the so-called Norgaard principles, drawn up by a Danish professor of law for Namibia and used with reasonable success there, but they had a weakness: they were principles. They didn't necessarily suit political agendas.

There was some talk of judges deciding, which was a good idea if the judges had operated "in open court", as it were, so that the rest of us could understand what was happening. Instead, the judges have vanished from sight, and a bewildered public saw only that the scum of the jails went free, including vile murderers who could make no claim to having acted from idealism.

Why? The answer seems obvious: the release of prisoners was, in the end, cynically manipulated to serve political appearances. If the ANC's murderers were to be released, a couple of popular white murderers had also to go free. That way, it was thought, our *kragdadige* leaders would not be seen to be backing down.

President De Klerk rode to national popularity, and to international esteem, on a wave of popular idealism. That idealism, it turns out, was misplaced: the National Party is not so much trying to create a new democracy as to win an election by all the old tactics of trickery, gerrymandering, rigged majorities and hidden agendas.

The cynics of the Democratic Party warned me almost two years ago that I was being silly to prattle all the time about constitutional principles. Even constitution-making, they said, was politics: venality by other means. And so it has turned out.

There's precious little talk now about constitutional principles. The best offerings on the table come from Albie Sachs, the non-practising communist, who peddles a constitution that looks as good as the old Soviet constitution. It's got all the popular bits like the universal franchise and the bill of rights, but it has been carefully crafted, I believe, to eliminate any chance that the constitution will prevent an ANC government from putting the boot into the rest of us. I don't trust it.

Sachs's ideas would be improved by German-style federalism, a near-perfect system for South Africa (as Colin Eglin told me enthusiastically when we met by chance in Bonn a couple of weeks ago). But the National Party is rapidly discrediting both the word federalism and the system itself by its efforts to sell us a distorted version, a federalism *manqué*, which is little more than a disguise for its electoral coalition with the Bantustans.

DEMOCRACY? Who talks of democracy, or of constitutional principles, while the ANC and the National Party bargain in smoke-filled rooms, hidden from the eyes of the people? Who talks of democracy while the power-brokers manoeuvre for power? Or take the fight to the streets?

Educated Europeans, I found in recent weeks, are reduced to giggles by the kind of socialist rhetoric that still sloshes around the ANC, but they watched with incredulous horror as the Bisho tragedy unfolded. Revolutionary tactics, like Ronnie Kasrils' Boys' Own Paper charge, do not lead to conciliation, and democracy doesn't mean stomping on your opponent until he agrees with you.

The ANC's idea of democracy, it has become increasingly clear, owes more to its Stalinist roots than to its more recent conversion. Like the warlords of Yugoslavia, the ANC leaders sign a peace agreement one day and violate it the next. No wonder peace commissioner John Hall, that decent man, looks so miserable.

MEANWHILE, I am beginning to suspect that the government has just about given up any pretence of trying to govern while it devotes its energies to such urgent tasks as securing the fantastic pension rights of civil servants and MPs. The civil servants, for their part, are running up debts which will put an albatross around our necks into the next century.

Social spending on Bantustans for apartheid is discredited; instead, we have social spending on Bantustans for the noble purpose of buying off the masses, so that the National Party can build an electoral coalition around tin-pot elites in Bisho and Mmabatho. The civil servants love it: the same old gang, spending the same vast sums on the same old rackets in the same old, corrupt way. It makes one sick.

Between the ANC's grasping for power and the National Party's cunning manoeuvres, there's no time for prattle about freedom, or the rights of individuals, or the rule of law. There's no occasion for big words like principles or democracy, or public debate, or nation-building. Dogs over carrion don't fuss about principles.

It tempts me to adapt an old joke about little men. A desperate nation cries: Will South Africa's leaders please stand up? Mr Mandela and President De Klerk respond indignantly: We are standing! And so they are, so they are.

KEN OWEN

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FW, Mandela shake hands and get down to tough talk

(304A)

S/Times 27/9/92

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

COMPELLED by unprecedented international pressure, President FW De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday shook hands and began the long haul towards installing a government of national unity.

The two leaders were locked in talks all day after committing themselves at the outset of their summit on violence to finding the basis on which constitutional negotiations could resume.

The meeting, in the shabby surrounds of the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, signalled the end to a tedious negotiations' stand-off that began with the massacre at Boipatong three months ago and ended with virtually every Western power and the United Nations acting as mediators.

The leaders and their delegations yesterday ratified a series of measures aimed at curbing violence and removing final obstacles to a resumption of constitutional talks.

Shortly before meeting behind closed doors, the leaders chatted amiably and shook hands. Both expressed hope that the meeting would lead to a resumption of democracy talks.

Mr Mandela said the simple act of their coming together was bound to send a signal of hope to all South Africans. "We are duty-bound not to disappoint them."

The ANC leader added: "We have come here in the hope that by the time this summit ends, a firm basis will have been laid for the resumption of negotiations."

Echoing these sentiments, President De Klerk said: "I am confident that today we will take the process forward — forward to the goals about which there is really no difference of opinion."

The summit was made possible after the parties' chief negotiators, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, closed a package deal after three weeks of closed-door bartering.

The three elements of the deal were an agreement to release remaining political prisoners, a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and the securing of hostels.

Most of the haggling centred around the release of political prisoners.

The government initially insisted that all political prisoners, as defined in an earlier agreement with the ANC, had been released. Later, it backed down, but continued to refuse to free Magoo's bar bomber Robert McBride, and Mzonde-

□ To Page 2

Sleepy tourists miss mutiny

Sunday Times Reporter

TOURISTS from South Africa slept through an attempted coup in the Comores early yesterday.

As loyal government rebel troops announced in a radio broadcast that the

man in a statement monitored in the nearby territory of Mayotte, south-east of the Indian

can summit from October 5.

The coup leaders were

PICK

P.T.O

Do you ... only in City Press. competition last Sunday.

New hopes pinned on summit

By THEMBA KHUMALO (304A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk expressed hopes that their all-important summit at Kempton Park yesterday would bring the political stalemate closer to an interim government and a constituent assembly. C/Press 27/9/92

In brief speeches before they went to a closed meeting, Mandela and De Klerk indicated that the first batch of 150 political prisoners might start breathing freedom from as early as last night.

They did not divulge details as Prison Correctional Services authorities were busy finalising documentation of the phased releases.

Speculation among ANC and government officials was that the first prisoners to be freed would include Mthetheleli Mncube of Diepkloof, Soweto; his co-accused Euclid Nondula of Mdantsane in East London; and Robert McBride of Durban.

All three are Umkhonto weSizwe commanders whose continued imprisonment was a major stumbling block to the summit.

Mandela said the ANC had come to the summit to earnestly tackle the problems facing the country rather than to score victories.

He said: "We have come here with the hope that the summit will a firm basis for the resumption of negotiations.

"Difficult as it is, it would be a grave mistake for any organisation to remain blinded by sectarian interests during talks."

De Klerk also expressed hope that the decisions of yesterday's summit would herald a breakthrough in establishing an interim authority that would lead to a new constitutional dispensation.

He emphasised the urgent need for a speedy end to the country's violence.

"We can't talk while our people are fighting. The summit today must be seen as milestone to peace and prosperity for all South Africans," he said.

Political prisoners get their freedom

C/Press 27/9/92.

By DESMOND BLOW

ABOUT 150 ANC political prisoners, including the last of the Upington 25 and one of the last two Sharpeville Six, were released from jails throughout the country between Friday night and yesterday following the agreement between the ANC and the SA government.

The three well-known MK cadres – Robert McBride, Mthetheleli Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula, who were all sentenced to death for murder – will be released from tomorrow.

It is believed that more than 500 ANC inmates will be released by November 15 as well as Inkatha warlords and right-wing prisoners.

The Boerestaat Party on Friday appealed to State President FW de Klerk not to think only of ANC prisoners but to release "all boer freedom fighters" as well.

A Department of Correctional Services spokesman said although only ANC prisoners have been released, all prisoners who committed crimes with political motivation would be freed.

This, he said, would include Barend Strydom.

What was decided

304A

BY MIDDAY yesterday President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had rubber-stamped a broad range of agreements reached by key negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa over the past few weeks of intensive negotiations.

On a CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY it was agreed that: S/Times 27/9/92

- There will be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will serve as an interim parliament;
- It will draft and adopt a new constitution. It will sit as a single chamber and take decisions by special majorities;
- It will be bound only by those principles agreed to beforehand;
- It will operate for a fixed time and will be elected within an agreed time frame;
- It will have deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On an INTERIM GOVERNMENT it was agreed that there will be an interim government of national unity, operating in terms of an interim constitution.

On POLITICAL PRISONERS it was agreed that:

- One hundred and fifty will be released before Monday — 148 have already been released;
- Only prisoners who committed offences prior to October 8 1990 will be released;
- Robert McBride and the two Messina bombers will be released on Monday in terms of a parole application approved by prison authorities on Friday;
- The remaining political prisoners — about 250 — will be released by November 15. After the summit, they will be categorised — not in terms of their crime, but rather its political motivation;
- Legislation will be introduced in October concerning prisoners serving life sentences. Once passed, McBride and the others' parole conditions will fall away;
- The question of a general amnesty will not be linked to the release of political prisoners. The ANC gave a verbal undertaking that it would be dealt with by an interim government of national unity.

On the control of DANGEROUS WEAPONS it was agreed that:

- The public display of dangerous weapons, which includes traditional weapons, will be banned;
- A proclamation to this effect will be drafted with the assistance of the Goldstone commission. It will set out guidelines under which exemptions will be granted by magistrates. These could include gatherings such as Shaka day.

By lunch time, the question of SECURING HOSTELS was still being discussed. However, the draft detailed agreement between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer identifies more than 24 hostels, primarily in the PWV region, that need to be dealt with urgently. They agreed that:

- Security will be implemented in terms of recommendations contained in the latest report of the Goldstone commission;
- There will be security patrols and a police presence outside the hostels involved;
- Hostels will be adequately fenced.

Six Bills lined up for debate

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THREE Bills published this week — including the important Joint Administration of Own Affairs Bill aimed at merging "Own Affairs" departments under a single ministry — bring to six the number of Bills already tabled for debate during next month's parliamentary session. S/Times

The Constitution Second Amendment Bill, also published on Friday, provides for the scrapping of raced-based "Own Affairs". [C/Mail]

Also set for the scrapheap is the Registration of Newspapers Amendment Bill which will repeal stringent provisions in the Act.

The Constitution Amendment Bill, introduced by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, will pave the way for President F W de Klerk to co-opt blacks as full Cabinet ministers and deputy ministers during the interim phase to a new constitutional dispensation. 27/9/92

The other two Bills are the "Filling of Casual Vacancies Bill", which eliminates by-elections under the present constitution, and the Judicial Matters Amendment Bill, which provides for the appointment of additional attorneys-general.

from page 1

Talks

sible for me to consult with colleagues and democratic leaders in South Africa," said Chief Buthelezi. CT 28/9/92

Mr De Klerk said last night that it was "a pity" that Chief Buthelezi had reacted in the way he had, particularly as he had been kept informed about all the matters included in the Record of Understanding.

Dr De Villiers also said Chief Buthelezi had been personally informed of the progress made in preparation for Saturday's meeting as well as the subjects on the agenda.

In his speech, Chief Buthelezi warned that the IFP and his government would not be bound by decisions made in bilateral negotiations and would reject as "spurious and illegitimate" any legislation piloted through Parliament to give effect to these agreements.

In what appeared to be a veiled threat, Chief Buthelezi said the IFP and KwaZulu government "are not marginalised and it is my sincere hope that we will not have to prove the reality of that statement". The IFP was a "national force" and it and the KwaZulu government "can only be ignored at the peril of the negotiation process".

Chief Buthelezi added that he was "appalled" at the implication in the Record of Understanding "that South Africa's future could be decided by the South African government and the ANC".

The IFP and KwaZulu government had "fundamental objections" to many aspects of the agreement, he said.

At the same rally, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini appealed to South African political leaders to bury the hatchet but accused the ANC alliance of attempting to "wipe the Zulus off the face of the earth".

The military government in Ciskei last night backed the IFP stand and said the agreements between the ANC and the government flew in the face of democracy.

Dr De Villiers said Chief Buthelezi's interpretation of Saturday's agreement was "not correct" and the government's decisions on dangerous weapons and hostels did not have their origin in the agreement with the ANC.

304A

The agreement registered only, in regard to constitutional issues, matters on which broad consensus was reached at Codesa with the approval of the IFP.

Both Mr De Klerk and Dr De Villiers said Chief Buthelezi's reaction reflected one of the key problems in the negotiating process, which they said was that the ANC and IFP would not talk to each other.

● The government and the PAC confirmed last night that they had agreed to a meeting soon in "a neighbouring country" — reported to be Botswana — "with the aim of urgently discussing issues related to the drawing up of a new democratic constitution".

Setback for De Klerk as Buthelezi pulls out over ANC

CT 28/9/92

304A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

HOPES about the early resumption of negotiations suffered a major setback yesterday when Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi withdrew the KwaZulu government and the IFP from talks with the South African government.

But despite Chief Buthelezi's sharply-worded attack on the agreement between the government and the ANC, President F W de Klerk said last night that he hoped Codesa III, involving all parties, would take place "soon".

It was difficult to put a time frame on this but he hoped they would take place before the end of the year or at least early next year, Mr De Klerk said.

Both Mr De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela expressed support in separate interviews on Agenda that multilateral negotiations should be resumed as soon as possible.

Mr De Klerk, who said he had developed "a relationship of trust" with Chief Buthelezi, accepted that the meeting between them, scheduled for tomorrow, would now not take place, but said he would be writing him a lengthy letter dealing in detail with his concerns.

Mr Mandela, who confirmed that the ANC would re-assess its mass action campaign in light of the agreements reached on Saturday, also committed his organisation to talking to all homeland leaders and all political players.

He would not be drawn on Chief Buthelezi's statement but said he hoped that "Mr De Klerk will sort things out with Chief Buthelezi".

The government denied in a statement, issued last night by the Acting Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Dawie de Villiers, that its discussions with the ANC were an attempt to exclude any other party and said they were aimed at getting multi-party talks under way again.

Chief Buthelezi's tough statement came within 24 hours after Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela had ended their summit meeting in Johannesburg with a highly optimistic "Record of Understanding" — and breathed fresh life into the negotiations.

Their eight-hour meeting confirmed agreements on freeing political prisoners, the banning of dangerous weapons and securing of hostels — and gave rise to a commitment from the ANC to reconsider mass action.

This immediately gave rise to hopes that the ANC's planned march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi would be called off.

But a clearly angry Chief Buthelezi told a Shaka Day rally in KwaMashu, near Durban, yesterday that he rejected the Record of Understanding signed by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

"We will either have multi-party negotiations which capture a true South Africanism . . . or we will have bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC which violate every negotiation canon known to us.

"The IFP and KwaZulu government withdraw from further discussions with the South African government until it has been pos-

To page 3

● Girl shot at Shaka Day rally — Page 2

China's diplomatic sights set on SA

304A

STAR 28/9/77

BEIJING — China, which has recently established ties with its traditional ideological foes South Korea and Israel, is setting its diplomatic sights on SA next, the official news agency Xinhua said yesterday.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela is expected to visit Beijing next month.

Many diplomats expect the Chinese government will discuss with the ANC leader Beijing's plans for getting closer to South Africa.

China has long been a critic of apartheid and joined with other Third World countries in condemning the white-dominated Government.

South Africa is a close diplomatic ally of Beijing's rivals, the Nationalist government of Taiwan, which Pretoria recognises as the sole legitimate ruler of all China. — Sapa-Reuter.

Parliament set to consider Bill ditching own affairs duplication

STAR 28/9/92 (304A)

General Magnus Malan . . . denies huge retrenchments.

The duplication of work by the three own affairs administrations created under the tricameral system will end if Parliament accepts a new Bill.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, General Magnus Malan, said in a statement on Saturday on behalf of the council that the Bill would be presented to Parliament during its special sitting next month.

General Malan said this was to ensure the functions, services and responsibilities of the own affairs departments were absorbed into a new constitutional dispensation "in an orderly manner".

The Bill would make provision for "similar activities at present performed separately by the three own affairs administrations to be amalgamated into functional departments under the control of a single chief executive officer", he said.

The change would not affect the constitutional position nor the powers of the Ministers' Councils.

April 1 next year was the target date for the amalgamation.

An amendment to the constitution was also recommended, said General Malan. This would create the "enabling mechanism" to convert a matter from an own affair to a general affair.

The October session of Parliament would also be asked to approve this change, said General Malan.

General Malan dismissed talk of massive retrenchments, saying these fears were groundless as work rationalisation meant that programmes would be reallocated, not abolished. He denied that own affairs budgets would lapse at the end of the year. — Sapa.

'KwaNatal' a building block of federalism — De Klerk

(304A)

By John MacLennan STAR 28/9/92.

President de Klerk has identified "KwaNatal" as one of the building blocks of a federal system and said the Government believed federalism was the only constitutional deal which would work in South Africa.

He also asserted at the weekend that just as the majority had rejected minority domination, so would South Africans refuse to accept majority domination.

In the most detailed exposition yet of what the Government has in mind for regional governments, he told the Natal NP congress that regions should be decided not on ethnic lines, but on "commonalities" of interests and boundaries.

This was in line with NP thinking which would see a federal government structure with overall responsibilities, while allowing the regions to govern themselves in their own best interests.

Mr de Klerk said the federal government would run such portfolios as transport, defence and foreign affairs, which required a "macro" approach.

The Government launches negotiations on regionalism today with eight other parties, including the IFP, two from Gazankulu, one from QwaQwa, two from the House of Delegates and two from the TBVC states.

President de Klerk cautioned that this initiative should not be seen as ganging up on the ANC alliance — which has rejected the concept because it believes the NP wants to emasculate a new government by entrenching power at lower levels.

He also attempted to make the concept more acceptable by saying the eventual system need not be called a federation.

For the final product to work, it would have to be the result of intensive negotiation.

Tricameral crashes

THE Government will effectively abolish the tri-cameral system next month and leave in place a legislature in waiting for a transitional executive to lead the country to elections.

A Bill was promulgated on Friday which, when passed by Parliament, would empower President FW de Klerk to abolish Own Affairs, the bedrock of the Constitution Act of 1983, better known as the tri-cameral constitution.

De Klerk will be given the powers to abolish the concept of Own Affairs through proclamation.

Sowetan 28/9/92

(304A)

IFP dashes new hopes raised at peace summit

Sowetan 28/9/92. (304A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **NOT BINDING** Buthelezi says ANC black-mailed Government and will reject agreement:

HOPES for peace and an early resumption of negotiations, raised after the Kempton Park peace summit, sank yesterday when Inkatha Freedom Party announced its withdrawal from talks.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi also rejected the agreements reached between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk at Saturday's summit.

Buthelezi said the ANC had held the Government "up to ransom" at the summit.

"The IFP and the KwaZulu government will not be bound by any decisions reached in bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC.

"I declare that any laws which the South African Government may be able to pilot through Parliament giving legal effect to bilateral agreements between itself and the ANC will be rejected as spurious and illegitimate by the IFP and the KwaZulu government," Buthelezi said.

The Government agreed to prepare and pilot legislation through Parliament in October which will make it possible for the release of more political prisoners.

The summit itself was made possible by an agreement - placed as a pre-requisite by the ANC - by the Government to release all remaining political prisoners.

The release of at least 150 started on Friday night while Robert McBride (30), Mzondelele Nondula (29), and Mthethelele Mncube (32) are expected to be released today.

As many as 250 others will be released by November 15 in terms of the legislation which will go before Parliament next month.

Other agreements reached at Saturday's summit includes a ban on the possession and public display of weapons and the fencing of hostels - both will be done in terms of guidelines established by the Goldstone Commission.

While these were the ANC's central demands, other agreements reached included consensus that a democratically elected constitutuent assembly would draft a constitution within a pre-determined period in terms of principles agreed beforehand and with effective deadlock breaking mechanisms firmly in place.

The Government and the ANC also agreed that there would be an interim government of national unity that would govern in terms of an interim constitution.

A "bosberaad", called a lekgotla by Mandela, will be held between the Government and the ANC where four "outstanding issues" will be discussed. These are:

- A climate for free political activity.
- Repressive security legislation.
- Covert operations and special forces.
- Violence.

The ANC said in return that it would reconsider mass action and consult with its regions.

In announcing the agreements, De Klerk and Mandela said a firm basis was laid for the resumption of negotiations that were initially collapsed at Codesa 2 in May and later suspended by the ANC after the incidents at Boipatong.

In conclusion, Mandela said: "It is the duty of all South Africans to ensure our efforts today and the sacrifices of so many are not in vain.

"Let us move forward with courage, honesty and determination to build upon and consolidate today's summit to create a peaceful, just and democratic South Africa."

Meanwhile, it was reported yesterday that the Government will release mass murderer Barend Strydom, possibly today.

the nation in brief

Wit Wolf goes free today

Sowetan 28/9/92

MULTIPLE killer "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom will be released from the Pretoria Prison today.

This was confirmed by Department of Correctional Services spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Gamble in Pretoria yesterday.

Gamble confirmed that Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride would also be released today from the Westville Prison, outside Durban.

Strydom was sentenced to death eight times for having shot dead seven blacks on Strijdom Square in Pretoria, and for having shot dead a black woman in a previous incident.

McBride detonated a car bomb in 1986 which killed three white women outside a crowded beachfront bar. - *Sapa*

PAC, Govt to meet soon

Sowetan 28/9/92

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government have agreed to meet soon at senior leadership level in a neighbouring country to discuss a new constitution, the two sides said in a joint statement yesterday.

"The Government will be represented by senior members of the Cabinet and the PAC by senior members of its national executive committee," said the statement released by Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and the PAC's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim.

"The meeting is to take place soon. Details of the venue, date and agenda of the planned meeting will be released in due course." - *Sapa.*

Marching to Benoni

THOUSANDS of Daveyton and Wattville residents are to march on the Benoni Town Council today to demand a written reply to a memorandum they handed to the municipality a week ago.

They also resolved to pay a R50 flat-rate only and threatened to call a three-month consumer boycott of all businesses in Benoni if their minimum demands in the memorandum were not met. They demand - among other things - a single municipality for Benoni and its satellite townships. Sowetan 28/9/92

The ANC, PAC, AZAPO, Inkatha Freedom Party, local taxi associations, churches and business groups endorsed the march. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

More power to women

WOMEN should be in the forefront of efforts to rebuild the family along lines that benefit society.

This was said by Ms Thandeka Mgoduso of the Imbeleko Women's Organisation during a women's conference at the Eskom conference centre in Midrand at the weekend.

The conference, organised by the Community Development Foundation titled "Women and The Consitution," was addressed by women from various organisations including the ANC, PAC, IFP, Azapo and the Democratic Party. Sowetan 28/9/92

Some issues tackled were: Women's Rights in a Constitution, Women and Economic Activity and Education and Development. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Govt busy on consumer shield

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Government was investigating how consumers could be given greater protection and assistance through legislation, Deputy Finance and Trade and Industry Minister David Graaf said at the weekend.

Speaking at the National Consumer Union's AGM, he said to emphasise government's seriousness on the issue of consumer protection, an ad hoc technical committee on consumer legislation under the chairmanship of Prof Louise Tager had been set up.

The consumer as an individual was in a weak bargaining position against commerce and industry.

However, legislation gave some protection and the Harmful Business Practices Act was a most important form of basic consumer protection. B/DAY 28/9/92

The Credit Agreements Act ensured consumer protection against exploitation, and trade inspectors were investigating daily contraventions of the Act.

The SA Co-ordinating Consumer Council was being restructured to make it more representative of the population.

Inkatha, KwaZulu pulled out of talks after summit

B/DAY 28/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday withdrew his party and the KwaZulu government from the negotiation process following the ground-breaking summit on violence between government and the ANC on Saturday.

He rejected the agreement and cancelled a meeting set for later this week with President F W de Klerk, saying he wanted first to consult colleagues and democratic leaders.

"We will either have bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC which will lead to the victory of revolutionaries over institutionalised South African influences and democratic forces, or we will have multilateral negotiations leading to a fair, race-free democracy, in which the ANC is one party."

Buthelezi said he would go to his constituency to seek rejection of the summit agreement that put the negotiation process back on track.

"My view now is that negotiation for the future constitution for SA cannot go ahead," he said.

What was required was that:

- ☐ Agreement be reached in a multiparty negotiation forum;
- ☐ That Umkhonto we Sizwe be disbanded immediately;
- ☐ Agreement be reached on the structure and process of negotiations, which would safeguard against any single party ever again disrupting the negotiation process.

He said Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would not be bound by decisions reached in bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC. Any laws which government might pilot through Parliament, making legal bilateral agreements between itself and the ANC, would be rejected as "spurious and illegitimate" by his organisation.

He rejected "with contempt the notion that two out of the 18 participants in Codesa have the right to decide, unilaterally, when and under what conditions negotiations can be resumed". Inkatha and the KwaZulu government rejected the notion of a constituent assembly becoming SA's constitution-making body.

A constituent assembly elected in the present climate of intimidation could not be expected to be truly representative of South African opinion, Buthelezi said.

Farmers' input

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Agriculture and its associated industries contributed 25% of total GDP, Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk said at the opening of the Nooitgedacht Agricultural Development Centre at the weekend. B/DAY 28/9/92

Agriculture was the greatest provider of jobs and the cornerstone on which rural economies and community development rested. The drought and its effect on agricultural production had significantly contributed to negative economic growth.

Standard Bank Investment Corporation Limited

(Registration number 69/17128/06)
("SBIC")

Result of share offer in lieu of the cash dividend

The offer to receive new ordinary shares in lieu of the cash dividend

Summit deal upsets Buthelezi

Inkatha 'out of talks with government'

(304A)

B/DAY 28/9/92

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, angered by bilateral agreements between government and the ANC, yesterday announced the withdrawal of Inkatha and the KwaZulu government from talks with government.

Buthelezi, in a statement from Ulundi, rejected agreements reached between government and the ANC at the summit on Saturday and said KwaZulu would not be bound by these decisions and legislation stemming from them.

De Klerk is due to meet Buthelezi this week and it was not clear yesterday whether the meeting would go ahead.

De Klerk faces a major task in persuading Buthelezi to accept the summit agreement, which he was careful to describe on Saturday as one between "two of the major role players".

It is understood Buthelezi felt "left out" and was particularly concerned about government's agreement to ban the carrying of weapons in public.

A senior government source said yesterday De Klerk would have to convince Buthelezi that government did not come to any deals with the ANC which compromised the Chief Minister's position.

It was also announced in a joint statement yesterday that government and the PAC would meet soon at senior leadership level in a neighbouring country to discuss drawing up a new constitution.

Meanwhile, the ANC is to become involved in drafting legislation for the introduction of an interim government of national unity.

The ANC national executive meets this week and is expected to approve the agreements reached at the De Klerk-Mandela summit.

Government and the ANC are expected to meet within two weeks to thrash out broad enabling legislation for the first stage of an interim government.

Senior ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday that when the national executive committee had given the go-ahead, an intensive bilateral session with government would take place before the short session of Parliament in October.

Slovo said it was "an accepted fact" that legislation would be put before Parliament to set up transitional executive committees next month, and neither side wanted any problems to arise out of this.

● Reports: Page 4
● Comment: Page 8

"We will therefore have major bilateral negotiations lasting several days to thrash out some of our key differences on constitutional issues."

Slovo said key issues such as regionalism would take time — possibly months — to negotiate, but there had been general agreement at Codesa on the transitional committees and some other points to be included in first-phase legislation.

It is understood that an all-inclusive multiparty negotiation forum such as Codesa is unlikely to be held again. Instead, there will be a series of bilateral negotiations between government and various

☐ To Page 2

Inkatha

B/DAY 28/9/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

parties, such as Saturday's summit, where agreements are made. Then an all-party conference will be held to finalise the agreements.

De Klerk hinted at this on Saturday when he said government was involved in meeting leaders and their parties to discuss and resolve differences between them. This would continue because the different parties had different concerns, he said.

There were also indications that the ANC would try to assist De Klerk in his problems with Buthelezi by scaling down its mass action campaign.

Slovo said yesterday that mass action had to be seen in conjunction with the negotiation process.

"Mass action has achieved a great deal. It was intended to put negotiations back on track, and now that negotiations are moving ahead we can possibly hold back."

He said there was not much left on the agenda of mass action, but some formula would have to be found to retain the right to demonstrate peacefully without threatening or provoking violence or intimidation.

The major decision at the summit was that a constituent assembly would be sovereign in being bound only by constitutional principles agreed to by all the major role players.

This body would be democratically elected and would function democratically, which meant that "unreasonable" majorities in decision-making would be foregone.

There would be definite time frames for the assembly to be elected and it would also have a prescribed time frame in which to reach agreement.

FW mounts rescue bid as talks face fresh threat

TOS WENTZEL and PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk will try to salvage hopes for renewed negotiations this week following Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's vehement denunciation of the weekend summit agreements and his withdrawal from dialogue with the government.

A meeting between Mr De Klerk and the Inkatha Freedom Party leader, scheduled for tomorrow, has been called off, as has a further meeting of parties interested in federalism.

Mr De Klerk expressed regret about the Zulu leader's outburst, which came after the State President's summit on Saturday with African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said he would write to Chief Buthelezi at length to explain the background to some of the weekend decisions and to assure him he was not being sidelined.

One of the problems is that there is no communication between the ANC and the IFP, and Mr De Klerk urged the two sides to get together.

At the summit, Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela signed a "record of understanding" for the release of all ANC political prisoners by November 15, for a ban on carrying dangerous weapons — except with a judge's permission — and for the fencing and guarding of 28 hostels, by November 14. ARG 28/9/92

Speaking yesterday at Shaka Day in KwaMashu, Durban, Chief Buthelezi said he would never ask for permission to carry Zulu cultural weapons and that hostel dwellers would tear down fences with their bare hands if necessary.

Reacting to Chief Buthelezi's remarks, acting Constitutional Affairs Minister Dr Dawie De Villiers said the summit was never meant as an attempt to exclude any other party. (304A)

THE FEDERALISM OPTION 1

Regions need to draw on national govt

PIK BOTHA: Most important political question

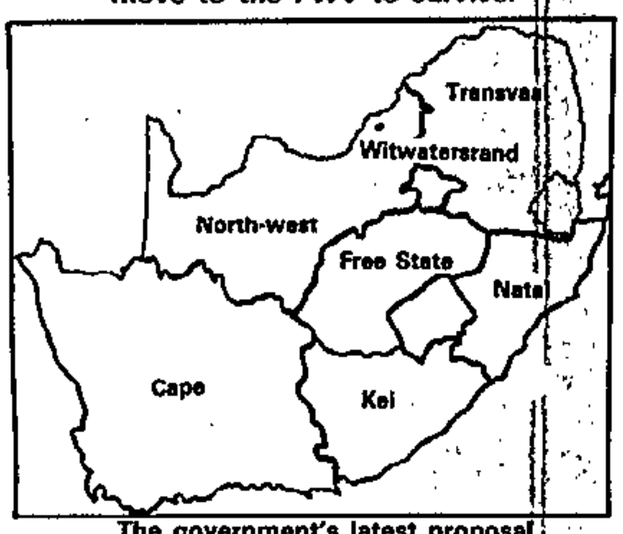
LAURINE PLATZKY of the Development Action Group says that under a federal system in a future South Africa unless regional representatives argue for redistribution of resources and skilled people from the centre, more than half of all South Africans who live in bantustans and rural areas will have to move to the PWV to survive.

AS Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha is recently reported to have said, federalism will become the single most important political question in South Africa.

He stated further that the NP would support it strongly and that the ANC would have to make up its mind.

White political parties have floated various constitutional proposals over the years in an attempt to soften two harsh realities.

The first is that all South Africans over the age of 18 will be entitled to vote in their own country. The second is that the majority of voters will be black and that elected representatives will be expected to promote the interests of the formerly voteless millions, ie poverty-stricken blacks, rather than relatively wealthy whites.



The government's latest proposal

The method of dealing with these realities has evolved over the past three decades. In the late 1950s Hendrik Verwoerd formalised the rigid system of apartheid. In the 1960s B J Vorster forced people into bantustans and group areas, until the physical separation of South Africans was almost total. P W Botha continued, but both the masses and the business sector began to resist, so that new approaches were required.

Once Ciskei had taken "independence" in 1981, no other bantustans showed much interest in the sham.

Yet, while the NP realised that the bantustans would never be economically viable, there was still some mileage in boosting their military and civil service elites. In 1982 the NP introduced "functional regions" which ignored bantustan boundaries because, they conceded, South Africa and the bantustans formed One Economy.

Resistance

At this point the die-hards who wanted to pursue Verwoerd's dream formed the Conservative Party. They mobilised to demand their own region (Region J in the Western Transvaal). Thus in 1985 both the "independent" and the other bantustans were subsumed under nine "development regions" with their political structures intact.

Debates over federalism mushroomed, as speculation over the long-term constitutional potential for the nine regions grew. As resistance to minority rule grew, the NP began to reform and to adopt DP policy, including a notion of federalism.

With the current negotiations, the debate has been revived.

Federalism is usually the unification of previously autonomous states under a central government in which power is most concentrated in the individual states, for example the United States.

Regionalism is more of a geographic than a constitutional concept. It recognises the diversity of areas and people in one state, for example France.

Closely related to the crucial questions of how much power and what functions are proposed for which level of government, is also the size of the regions.

Two alternatives appear to be emerging in the debate:

First, the NP, its allies (including Bophuthatswana, KwaZulu, QwaQwa, Ciskei, etc) and possibly the CP and various ultra-right groups see federalism as a way of preserving their minority interests under an ANC majority national government. The predominantly white parties favour shifting racial or ethnic discrimination to geographical differences.

The NP proposal for seven autonomous provinces under a weak national government has three advantages for them. First, by allowing them to continue under provincial guise, it is a way of bringing in reluctant bantustan leaders like Mangope and Gqozo.

Second, a retreat from "swart gevaar" to the Cape of Good Hope — where whites and coloureds would be in the majority — appeals to fearful whites.

Closely related, thirdly, is the concern over the redistribution of resources. The NP proposes that provincial government would have powers of taxation. No mechanism for the redistribution of taxes between regions is mentioned, ie tax paid by the gold mines would be largely retained in the PWV and no region which supplied migrant workers would be entitled to such funds. The PWV is the only one of the seven regions which would be economically viable. The rest need national transfers.

The second alternative?

To redress the fragmentation and conflict created by apartheid, the ANC is committed to a unitary South Africa. However, it recognises the strong regional differences. Strong national government with clear policies of reconstruction will be necessary.

A regional tier of government between national and local could provide the essential redistributive mechanism by allowing relatively homogeneous regions a direct voice in national decisions and the constitutional right to a share of national resources.

Significantly, common to both NP and ANC proposals is the need for "development regions" on a small scale.

In keeping with the plan to maintain political control at the provincial level, the NP envisages sub-regions with "non-political" councils. The ANC is discussing accessible and accountable elected representatives to identify regional priorities, to implement national policy and encourage creative local development initiatives.

Influx control

Different is the degree to which the bantustans should be left intact. The NP seven regions allow for the maintenance of their hierarchies. Pragmatic short-term considerations aside, enticing the bantustan authorities into a wider autonomous or federal system will not address the real development needs of the population. Unless autonomous powers and functions are to be devolved to provinces, such as the NP proposes, the need for large regions falls away.

In South Africa the standards of living of urban black workers have improved, not because the bosses felt generous, but because the unions organised. Social, personal, material and human development all derive from struggle, organisation and hard work, rather than from hand-outs. Rural areas can no longer depend on urban conscience to satisfy their needs.

Thus proposals which recognise metropolitan and rural areas in their own right will begin to address their different needs and priorities. Unless regional representatives argue for redistribution of resources and skilled people from the centre, more than half of all South Africans who live in bantustans and rural areas will have to move to the PWV to survive. And unless influx control is enforced, wealthy provinces will be unable to stem the tide.

THE FEDERALISM OPTION 2

(304A)

German model draws wealth from enterprise

CT 28/9/92

COLIN EGLIN was one of a group of six South Africans drawn from the DP, the ANC, and the IFP, the NP, Transkei and kwaNdebele who visited Germany recently as guests of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation to study the German constitution and the process of East/West unification. In this article he discusses "Federalism — the German Way".

TO MOST South Africans the word "federation" conjures up a mental picture of the much-publicised constitution of the United States of America.

The US constitution is known for its powerful president elected by popular vote once every four years, its Bill of Rights protecting the rights of the individual citizen, its separation of powers between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary and between the federal government and the individual states — and its two-party political system.

This US constitutional system generates high-profile individualism and intense political competitiveness. It is geared to rewarding the successful rather than underpinning the needy.

It involves a range of constitutional structures often operating in a state of centrifugal tension yet kept in orbital order by the strong checks and balances which are an essential feature of the constitution.

The German constitution, also federal, is different in its structures, its functioning and its character.

It reflects the hopes and aspirations of a German people who endured the tyranny and shame of the Third Reich and the devastation and defeats of World War II.

On the one hand democracy had to be secured so that never again would the German people experience nazism and dictatorship. On the other hand Germany as a society had to be reconstructed socially, economically and psychologically.

The US constitution relies for its strength on a series of separate and competing authorities. The German constitution relies for its strength on a series of separate yet complementary authorities.

Values

Thus the Basic Law (the German constitution) creates a system of values within which the protection of individual freedom and dignity is the highest principle of the law. However, it does not see the citizen as an individual apart from the rest, but as a person living in the community and linked with it in many ways.

It sees the Federal Republic of Germany and the Laender (states) that comprise it as a democratic *and* social state.

How is the German federal constitution structured? And how does it differ from the United States federal counterpart?

1) The Basic Law of Germany (the constitution) is the supreme law. As in the US it is guarded by a powerful court.

In the US the judges of the Supreme Court are nominated by the president and approved by the Senate.

In Germany, the judges of the special constitutional court are elected by a commission consisting of an equal number of members from the Bundestag (proportionally elected parliament) and from the Bundesrat (a council representing the governments of the 16 Laender).

2) The head of the government, the chancellor, is not elected directly by the voters for a fixed term of office but is elected by the Bundestag which can remove him from office.

Thus, the separation of powers between the legislature and the executive is not as great as it is in the US.

3) Certain areas of government — such as foreign policy, defence, currency and money matters, posts and telecommunications, railways and air transport — fall under the competence of the federal government for legislative and administrative purposes.

Certain other areas of government, notably education, police and cultural matters — which include radio and TV — fall under the competence of the Laender for legislative and administrative purposes.

All other areas of government, known as "concurrent areas", fall under the competence of both the Federal and Laender governments. In these areas the federal parliament legislates while the 16 Laender governments administer the laws, subject to the proviso that the Laender may legislate in those areas should the federal parliament not do so.

To ensure that the federal parliament takes account of the views of the Laender in drawing up such laws, the constitution gives power to the Bundesrat, as the mouthpiece of the Laender, to block legislation if it impinges on the constitutional rights, the ad-

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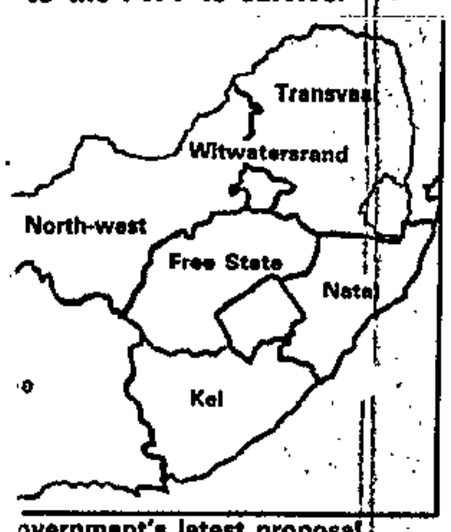

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THE FEDERALISM OPTION 2

(304A)

German model draws wealth from enterprise

CT 28/9/92

PIK BOTHA: Most important political question

HELMUT KOHL: Chancellor elected by Bundestag

COLIN EGLIN was one of a group of six South Africans drawn from the DP, the ANC, and the IFP, the NP, Transkei and kwaNdebele who visited Germany recently as guests of the Konrad Adenauer Foundation to study the German constitution and the process of East/West unification. In this article he discusses "Federalism — the German Way".

The NP proposal for seven autonomous provinces under a weak national government has three advantages for them. First, by allowing them to continue under provincial guise, it is a way of bringing in reluctant bantustan leaders like Mangope and Gqozo.

Second, a retreat from "swart gevaar" to the Cape of Good Hope — where whites and coloureds would be in the majority — appeals to fearful whites.

Closely related, thirdly, is the concern over the redistribution of resources. The NP proposes that provincial government would have powers of taxation. No mechanism for the redistribution of taxes between regions is mentioned, ie tax paid by the gold mines would be largely retained in the PWV and no region which supplied migrant workers would be entitled to such funds. The PWV is the only one of the seven regions which would be economically viable. The rest need national transfers.

The second alternative?

To redress the fragmentation and conflict created by apartheid, the ANC is committed to a unitary South Africa. However, it recognises the strong regional differences. Strong national government with clear policies of reconstruction will be necessary.

A regional tier of government between national and local could provide the essential redistributive mechanism by allowing relatively homogeneous regions a direct voice in national decisions and the constitutional right to a share of national resources.

Significantly, common to both NP and ANC proposals is the need for "development regions" on a small scale.

In keeping with the plan to maintain political control at the provincial level, the NP envisages sub-regions with "non-political" councils. The ANC is discussing accessible and accountable elected representatives to identify regional priorities, to implement national policy and encourage creative local development initiatives.

Influx control

Different is the degree to which the bantustans should be left intact. The NP seven regions allow for the maintenance of their hierarchies. Pragmatic short-term considerations aside, enticing the bantustan authorities into a wider autonomous or federal system will not address the real development needs of the population. Unless autonomous powers and functions are to be devolved to provinces, such as the NP proposes, the need for large regions falls away.

In South Africa the standards of living of urban black workers have improved, not because the bosses felt generous, but because the unions organised. Social, personal, material and human development all derive from struggle, organisation and hard work, rather than from hand-outs. Rural areas can no longer depend on urban conscience to satisfy their needs.

Thus proposals which recognise metropolitan and rural areas in their own right will begin to address their different needs and priorities. Unless regional representatives argue for redistribution of resources and skilled people from the centre, more than half of all South Africans who live in bantustans and rural areas will have to move to the PWV to survive. And unless influx control is enforced, wealthy provinces will be unable to stem the tide.

TO MOST South Africans the word "federation" conjures up a mental picture of the much-publicised constitution of the United States of America.

The US constitution is known for its powerful president elected by popular vote once every four years, its Bill of Rights protecting the rights of the individual citizen, its separation of powers between the executive, the legislature and the judiciary and between the federal government and the individual states — and its two-party political system.

This US constitutional system generates high-profile individualism and intense political competitiveness. It is geared to rewarding the successful rather than underpinning the needy.

It involves a range of constitutional structures often operating in a state of centrifugal tension yet kept in orbital order by the strong checks and balances which are an essential feature of the constitution.

The German constitution, also federal, is different in its structures, its functioning and its character.

It reflects the hopes and aspirations of a German people who endured the tyranny and shame of the Third Reich and the devastation and defeats of World War II.

On the one hand democracy had to be secured so that never again would the German people experience nazism and dictatorship. On the other hand Germany as a society had to be reconstructed socially, economically and psychologically.

The US constitution relies for its strength on a series of separate and competing authorities. The German constitution relies for its strength on a series of separate yet complementary authorities.

Values

Thus the Basic Law (the German constitution) creates a system of values within which the protection of individual freedom and dignity is the highest principle of the law. However, it does not see the citizen as an individual apart from the rest, but as a person living in the community and linked with it in many ways.

It sees the Federal Republic of Germany and the Laender (states) that comprise it as a democratic *and* social state.

How is the German federal constitution structured? And how does it differ from the United States federal counterpart?

1) The Basic Law of Germany (the constitution) is the supreme law. As in the US it is guarded by a powerful court.

In the US the judges of the Supreme Court are nominated by the president and approved by the Senate.

In Germany, the judges of the special constitutional court are elected by a commission consisting of an equal number of members from the Bundestag (proportionally elected parliament) and from the Bundesrat (a council representing the governments of the 16 Laender).

2) The head of the government, the chancellor, is not elected directly by the voters for a fixed term of office but is elected by the Bundestag which can remove him from office.

Thus, the separation of powers between the legislature and the executive is not as great as it is in the US.

3) Certain areas of government — such as foreign policy, defence, currency and money matters, posts and telecommunications, railways and air transport — fall under the competence of the federal government for legislative and administrative purposes.

Certain other areas of government, notably education, police and cultural matters — which include radio and TV — fall under the competence of the Laender for legislative and administrative purposes.

All other areas of government, known as "concurrent areas", fall under the competence of both the Federal and Laender governments. In these areas the federal parliament legislates while the 16 Laender governments administer the laws, subject to the proviso that the Laender may legislate in those areas should the federal parliament not do so.

To ensure that the federal parliament takes account of the views of the Laender in drawing up such laws, the constitution gives power to the Bundesrat, as the mouthpiece of the Laender, to block legislation if it impinges on the constitutional rights, the administrative competence or the financial revenues of the Laender.

4) Within each of the Laender "communes", that is, counties, cities, towns or villages, have the right to regulate all of their affairs within the limits set by the laws of the Laender or federal parliaments.

All the above comprise a framework of separate yet interdependent structures and powers. How are they financed? And to what extent is the concept of interdependence carried over into the fiscal field?

While the various structures of government have the right to tax in certain fields, their main sources of revenue are constitutionally apportioned central funds.

The federal government raises income tax and VAT for the whole country. Having done so, it allocates 15% of income tax revenue to the local authorities and 42,5% to the Laender. It also allocates 35% of VAT revenues to the Laender.

The Laender in turn raise further taxes and pass on a percentage of their total revenue to the local authorities.

The local authorities top up their requirements by applying property and business taxes, on the principle that each instrument of government must accept financial responsibility for the affairs that it administers.

However, the most unique fiscal provision in the constitution is that of "financial equalisation".

In simplified terms, this means that the share of revenue due to the Laender from VAT is distributed to each of them on a *per capita* basis and is then further adjusted to ensure a reasonable equalisation between the financially strong and the financially weaker Laender. In addition, supplementary grants from federal funds may be made to the weaker Laender.

Reconstruction

In this way the German system combines free enterprise as the generator of financial wealth, fiscal responsibility as the regulator of government spending and "financial equalisation" as the method of ensuring that the social needs of the people are met.

Perhaps as South Africa moves into the constitution-making mode, we should look more closely at the German federal model.

It could point to ways in which our new constitution could help us achieve individual freedom, participatory democracy, economic growth and social reconstruction.

These are what Germany has been able to achieve under its federal constitution.

Parliament set to consider Bill ditching own affairs duplication

STAR 28/9/92 (304A)

General Magnus Malan . . . denies huge retrenchments.

The duplication of work by the three own affairs administrations created under the tricameral system will end if Parliament accepts a new Bill.

The chairman of the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly, General Magnus Malan, said in a statement on Saturday on behalf of the council that the Bill would be presented to Parliament during its special sitting next month.

General Malan said this was to ensure the functions, services and responsibilities of the own affairs departments were absorbed into a new constitutional dispensation "in an orderly manner".

The Bill would make provision for "similar activities at present performed separately by the three own affairs administrations to be amalgamated into functional departments under the control of a single chief executive officer", he said.

The change would not affect the constitutional position nor the powers of the Ministers' Councils.

April 1 next year was the target date for the amalgamation.

An amendment to the constitution was also recommended, said General Malan. This would create the "enabling mechanism" to convert a matter from an own affair to a general affair.

The October session of Parliament would also be asked to approve this change, said General Malan.

General Malan dismissed talk of massive retrenchments, saying these fears were groundless as work rationalisation meant that programmes would be reallocated, not abolished. He denied that own affairs budgets would lapse at the end of the year. — Sapa.

DP seeks balance of power

(304A) CT 28/9/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party believes it has enough potential support in the Western Cape to give it most of votes needed for a decisive 10% say in a democratically-elected Parliament.

"Because none of the big parties is likely to gain 50% of the national vote, 10% or more will give the DP the balance of power and the opportunity to influence the policy of whichever major party becomes a short- or long-term ally or coalition partner," the DP's Western Cape region said in a statement at the weekend.

The statement was issued after a workshop in Ceres at which the party launched an organisational campaign to win the first democratic second-tier election and rule the Cape region, either as a federal state government or a regional authority.

It added that the party could win most of the 10% in the Western Cape.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said after the workshop that the party did not seek to represent any one section of the people.

"We are a party of ideas before we are a party of power. Our ideas are for everybody, and so are we.

"Polarisation between the Nats and the ANC would threaten and might even destroy South Africa."

This was why it was vital to expand and strengthen the democratic centre, Dr De Beer said.

Mr Chris April, who resigned from the Labour Party to join the DP earlier this month, said: "South Africans who believe in the same democratic principles and values belong together."

CP would send home foreigners

PRETORIA. — A CP government would repatriate foreigners to make way for unemployed Afrikaners, according to a motion accepted at its Transvaal congress here at the weekend.

People living in the country under foreign passports, without passports or under temporary or permanent work permits would be repatriated, the congress decided.

CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg reiterated at the weekend the party was mobilising its members to resist living under what he termed "a communist regime". — Sapa

'Govt laws will be rejected'

STAR 28/9/92

By Jo-Anne Collinge (304)

The prospect that bilateral Government-ANC talks will dominate the negotiation process has driven Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to break off discussions with Pretoria.

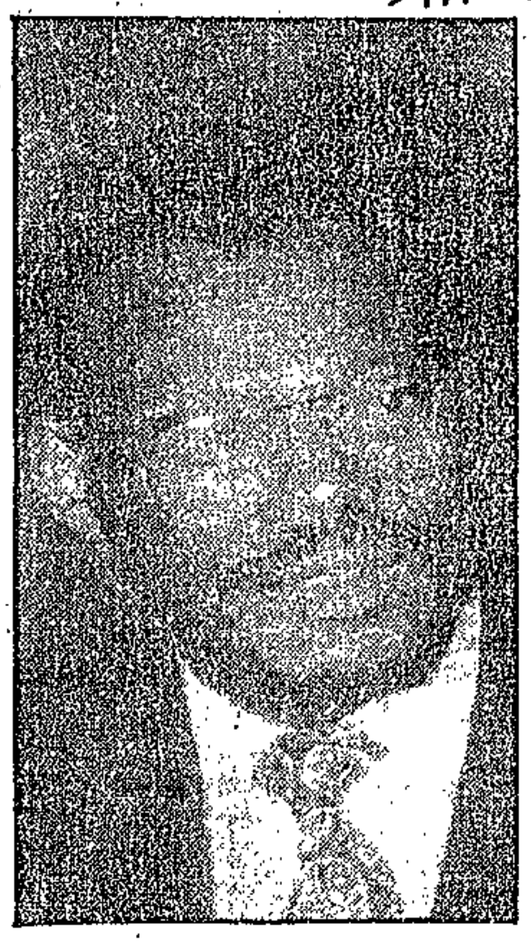
The KwaZulu Chief Minister has also rejected all elements of the Record of Understanding agreed to by President de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela and is planning to mobilise against it.

"The IFP and the KwaZulu government will not be bound by decisions reached in bilateral negotiations between the Government and the ANC," Chief Buthelezi declared in a statement released yesterday.

"I declare that any laws which the South African Government may be able to pilot through Parliament, giving legal effect to bilateral agreements between itself and the ANC, will be rejected as illegitimate by the IFP and the KwaZulu government."

Chief Buthelezi set himself firmly against the rapid implementation of elections for a constituent assembly, pledging: "The IFP will not take part in such an election and it will join forces with every true democrat in South Africa who rejects an early election of a constituent assembly which would be both an interim government and a constitution-making body."

Not only was there no prospect of free and fair elections being held, but an elected constitution-making body meant that "the majority party would write a constitution to serve its own interests and would not limit its powers as a future government".



Tough warning . . . Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Chief Buthelezi said that instead of talking to the central Government, he would campaign among white and black South Africans for the rejection of the ANC-Government Record of Understanding.

And he would consult with other "democratic leaders" on the way forward.

"The IFP and the KwaZulu government are not marginalised and it is my sincere hope that we will not have to prove the reality of the statement, either on our own or in unity with whoever rejects the notion of the right of Mr de Klerk to unilaterally deal with Mr Mandela on issues which affect the whole of the negotiation process and the constitutional future of the country."

The ANC-Government agreement to outlaw the carrying of dangerous weapons in public amounted to Government support for the ANC in its vendetta against the IFP, Chief Buthelezi added.

He said he would never ask for permission to carry a "Zulu cultural weapon" and predicted that the ban would be unenforceable.

The plan to fence off certain hostels would mean putting wire around hostels which the ANC found problematic, he said.

"The IFP and the KwaZulu government . . . warn that inmates of hostels will tear down any fences put around them — and do so with their bare hands if needs be."

Chief Buthelezi reiterated the IFP's call for a conference to consider the questions of peace and negotiations.

"One of the things which would have to be reviewed is the Government's connivance with the ANC," Chief Buthelezi said.

ANC-govt accord 'flawed'

Political Correspondent

THE accord reached between the government and the ANC at the weekend is flawed, the Democratic Party warned yesterday.

DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said the proposal that a constitution-making body also serve as an interim parliament was "unwise" as it was the same flaw which had indirectly led to many of the problems experienced at Codesa II.

Separating the constitution-making and interim government bodies would both speed up negotiations towards a new democratic order and produce a better constitution.

Mr Andrew said there were a number of reasons why these two bodies should not be the same:

- A person suited to drafting a constitution would not necessarily be the best person to form part of an interim goverment.
- The constitution-making body would work best if it concentrated on writing a new constitution in a "calm and collected" manner. "Making the same people responsible for interim government means that disputes over interim government administration will inevitably sour the constitution-making process and vice versa." CT 29/9/92

Buthelezi shuns De Klerk

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday he would not meet President FW de Klerk today as previously planned.

During a news conference following Sunday's announcement that the IFP and the KwaZulu Government had withdrawn from current negotiations with the Government, Buthelezi reiterated he found the "Record of Understanding" reached between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and De Klerk unacceptable. He said he had "no quarrel" with bilateral negotiations between the Government and ANC but the issue to which he objected was bilateral decision-making and bilateral implementation of decisions. Sowetan 29/9/92

(304A) ARG 29/9/92

First step on interim rule set for this year

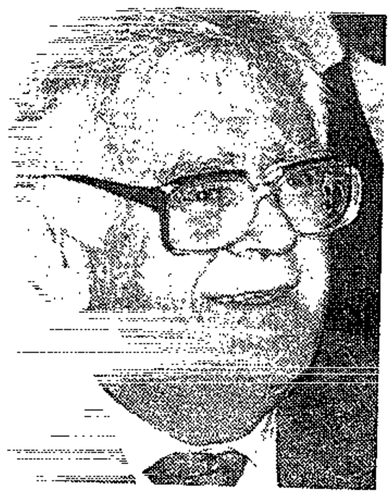
PETER FABRICIUS
Political Staff

LEGISLATION allowing a transitional executive council to be established as the first phase of an interim or transitional government could still be passed during the short session of parliament which begins on October 12.

This flows from the successful summit between President De Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela at the weekend.

The government has made it clear it would like an enabling bill to be passed next month but that it does not wish to submit it without consulting its negotiating partners, including the ANC.

The aim of the bill would be to give the government the authority to install a multi-party transitional executive structure — consisting of a transitional executive council and several sub-councils — to supervise aspects of government in the run-up to elections for a constitution-making body and interim legislature.



Mr Joe Slovo

It is understood that at the Saturday summit Mr De Klerk said he would like to present the bill to parliament next month.

ANC national executive committee (NEC) member Mr Joe Slovo said yesterday the ANC had no objection to enabling legislation that would provide the statutory authority for implementing agreements reached in negotiations.

The ANC's worry was that the government should discuss the legislation with its negotiating partners first.

"Now that discussions are opening up we will be prepared to exchange views on this legislature. We would object to any legislation concerning the transition if there is no consultation."

He suggested that the consultation might take place at the two- or three-day "bosberaad" the government and the ANC agreed at the summit to hold.

Mr Slovo said the matter would probably be discussed at tomorrow's NEC meeting.

If the legislation is passed next month, it is likely that it will be implemented only once agreement has been reached in Codesa-style multi-party constitutional negotiations, when these have been revived.

Codesa has been inactive since June, when the ANC pulled out, but the organisation's delegation to Saturday's meeting announced that it would recommend to its NEC that the ANC return to multi-party constitutional negotiations. The NEC is expected to make this decision at tomorrow's meeting.

NEW START: President De Klerk and the ANC delegation at Saturday's summit.

But the return to Codesa has now been hindered by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's withdrawal on Sunday, in protest against the government and the ANC reaching agreements at the summit without him.

Mr De Klerk said on Sunday that if the problem with Mr Buthelezi could be resolved Codesa 3 could take place this year. If not it would probably take place early next year.

Afrikaners need to 'play role in forging new SA'

304A

ARG 29/9/92

MARTIN CHALLENOR
Political Staff

AFRIKAANS people should "fly like an eagle" to take their place in making the New South Africa, MP Mr Koos van der Merwe told the Durban Press Club.

Mr Van der Merwe now sits as an Independent for Overvall after being kicked out of the Conservative Party earlier this year.

Because of their disastrous present status, "the Afrikaner must accept that there is little hope for him to attain a sovereign state in the short or medium term", Mr Van der Merwe said yesterday.

The ideal of an Afrikaner state was not dead, but the Afrikaner "must prepare himself, whether he likes it or not, for a temporary era under black rule".

"What the Afrikaner should now do is to take off like an eagle. He should place distance between himself and the negative caricatures that have been created of him in the past. He should distance himself from racism and apartheid, a laager mentality, sanctions and isolation.

"The Afrikaner should proudly and enthusiastically take his place in the international world as the person he really is: namely a man of integrity and of dignity and of human compassion. A man who could contribute tremendously to making this world a much better world."

Afrikaans people should become part of mainstream politics and be present at every possible forum in the world to put their case.

Afrikaans people held thousands and thousands of university degress and sophisticated qualifications of every nature, and formed the backbone of South African society.

"The Afrikaner can rightly be compared to a huge invisible power station without which this country cannot operate. No future government could run this country without the Afrikaner. It is as simple as that."

Afrikaans people today needed a sound moral basis, which they could find in adapting to the challenges of the new South Africa. The critical challenge facing hundreds of thousands of angry right-wing Afrikaners was to become part of mainstram politics and to break out of their self-imposed intellectual hunger strike.

"South Africa needs their intellectual and spiritual inputs in order to prepare the best possible New South Africa," Mr Van der Merwe said.

"If I could be instrumental to help build a bridge over which right-wing Afrikaners could penetrate mainstream politics, I would rest peacefully in my political grave."

A federation was not the Afrikaner's first choice, but was not a bad second choice, Mr Van der Merwe said.

"Afrikaaners who cherished the ideal of an own state could voluntarily move to the northwestern Cape, which was already a dominant Afrikaans territory. This region could be called Westerland.

"There Afrikaners — and I include the coloureds as Afrikaners — could democratically control all state structures such as government structures, economic and social structures. There Afrikaners could openly, democratically and morally justifiably live according to an Afrikaans value system."

If the new federation was a success, Afrikaans people would probably not be part of a modern "groot trek" to Westerland, although their hearts would be there.

Mr Koos van der Merwe.

Fears of anti-ANC front in making

Govt in bid to woo Buthelezi

STAR 29/9/92.

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is trying hard to woo back into dialogue its estranged ally, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amid fears of a separatist front forming among anti-ANC homeland leaders and the Conservative Party.

Mr Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government at the weekend in protest against President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's summit agreement on a constituent assembly, banning dangerous weapons, guarding hostels and releasing political prisoners.

The IFP leader was due to meet Mr de Klerk today but cancelled the meeting and will instead meet Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope.

President Mangope met Mr de Klerk and members of his Cabinet yesterday and gave the impression that he was more inclined than before to keep his homeland independent, according to senior Government sources.

They believed he had been encouraged to take this position by his recent talks with the CP, by support from Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and now by Mr Buthelezi.

The formation of a separatist bloc had the potential "to move things in the wrong direction and make it harder to get negotiations going again", one source said.

Mr Buthelezi announced at a press conference yesterday he would begin today to meet with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, President Mangope and T K Mopedi of Qwa-Qwa to discuss their way forward. Mr Buthelezi said it was important that he should not be seen as a spoiler who just wanted to hurt the negotation process.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday welcomed the objections by Chief Buthelezi and Brigadier Gqozo against the agreements reached on Saturday and said:

"The time has come for joint action by those who refuse to live under ANC-SACP tyranny or betrayal by the

● To Page 3

Govt in bid to woo Buthelezi, fears of anti-ANC front

● From Page 1

Government."

Mr de Klerk would write to Mr Buthelezi over the next few days to "calm" him and coax him back to talks, Government sources said.

The sources said the Government would prefer not to alienate him, but that it would in the end have to enforce the ban on weapons and the hostels security, whether Mr Buthelezi liked it or not.

Some members of the ANC's national executive committee are to lobby for a meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi to win his support for the summit agreements — especially the decision for the ANC to return to constitutional negotiations.

STAR 29/9/92.

However the prevailing view, ANC sources say, is Mr Buthelezi's strategy to magnify the importance of the IFP through violence and that such a meeting would only encourage that.

The ANC's National Executive Committee meets tomorrow to ratify the summit agreements.

Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday the KwaZulu government was under the jurisdiction of the SA Government and Mr de Klerk should "cause" Mr Buthelezi "to fall in line with his thinking".

Summit accord 'flawed'

(304A)

STAR 29/9/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has criticised a "major flaw" in the Government and ANC's agreement at Saturday's summit on the workings of a constitution-making body and an interim/transitional government.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said last night the agreement that a constitution-making body should also serve as an interim parliament was "most unwise" and was repeating the errors that led to many of the problems at Codesa 2.

The type of person suited to drafting a new constitution for SA was in many ways very different from the person best suited to be part of an interim government. The constitution-making body would do its work best if it concentrated entirely on writing a new constitution.

"It should operate in a cool, calm and collected way to produce a good constitution for our country. Making the same people responsible for interim government means that disputes over interim government administration will inevitably sour the constitution-making process and vice versa."

Combining the two functions in one body would also mean falling into the same trap that precipitated the Codesa 2 deadlock. A constitution-making body working also as an interim legislature under an interim constitution would be working with a constitution drafted by a Codesa-type multi-party conference rather than working from scratch.

The DP believed that there should be a transitional government and free and fair elections as soon as possible. Following the Codesa 2 route of an interim government under an interim constitution would slow the whole process.

"There is always the danger that the constitution-making body/interim parliament will enjoy being in power and be so impressed with its own abilities that it succumbs to the temptation of perpetuating its own existence for a prolonged period."

For these reasons, the DP favoured separating the constitution-making body and interim government bodies.

Bettina Schmidt and Paul Drechsel comment on a strange refusal to learn

Going further down the low road

(304A)

STAR 29/9/92

THE first thing that strikes foreigners visiting South Africa is the unending violence, and the seeming unwillingness of a wide section of the population — black and white — to learn the lessons of this century's economic and political history.

The situation is complex but reveals a five-point paradigm which seems to underpin political intolerance in this country.

First, there is the belief that South Africa can solve its problems on its own. Secondly, there is the belief that South Africa is a special case and cannot be compared with any other country. Thirdly, there seems to be a conviction that the best way to solve the most urgent problems is to destroy all political and economic preconditions for a solution of these outstanding problems. Fourthly, there is hope that a mighty godfather — in the form of bureaucracy — will solve all the problems. Finally, there is a dream that democracy means the power of the people and only if they are in power, will all problems be solved.

All these aspects have different implications for black and white — yet with similar consequences.

Since the beginning of this century, white South Africa has isolated itself. It has created the ideology of a singular and unique society in the world. It has, despite industrialisation and economic growth until the '70s, demolished all political and economic conditions for a better life for all South Africans. It has created a centralist super-bureaucracy, as the godfather for supposedly all South Africans, and it has implemented exclusive democratic institutions. The power of whites was believed to be the precondition for the well-being of all South Africans — blacks included.

Blacks, based on ANC policy, aim at isolating themselves by choosing a revolutionary path in the struggle for power. They emphasise the ideology of a singular unique society. They stress the aim for the regulation and redistribution of wealth which will destroy the weak, yet functioning economy. A hopeless isolation of the country will be the logical result, achieving once more something similar to sanctions, but this time not imposed externally. The creation of an all-embracing super-bureaucracy as the best godfather is a declared aim.

Finally, they want to establish democracy through one-person one-vote, as a precondition for a new unified centralist power on behalf of all South Africans.

Is there a fundamental difference between these two belief systems? The more realistic approach for a system to address the problems would be to open up society to world-wide competition and discusssion, accepting that South Africa is not a special case in the world, freeing the economy in a decentralised open market economy with competition, and reducing the bureacracy and making it serve the people, not being their master, and finally, accepting that one-person one-vote is not necessarily a sufficient condition for democracy.

In former socialist countries, they had a kind of one-person one-vote. Democratic voting in a centralist system as existing in South Africa could mean voting once again for totalitarianism.

Thus a solution would be a non-centralist form of voting (one person, many votes) which means an electoral system based on regional voting, which presupposes a regional focus on productivity in the form of a decentralised, non-monopolist industry, agriculture and markets and a regionalised bureaucracy securing opportunities for individual wealth-creation. Only a kind of democratic federalism can bring South Africa out of the mess.

One-person one-vote should give South Africans the tool to control leaders, and especially those in power, and not only serve as a means to bring them into power. But control means devolution of power, institutionally and regionally. □

● *Dr Paul Drechsel and Bettina Schmidt are anthropologists from University of Mainz, Germany, currently attached to Wits University while doing research on the economic and socio-political transformation of South Africa.*

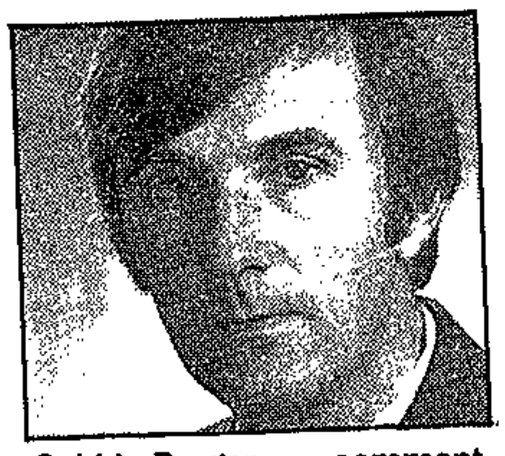
Man who angered PW in from the cold

By Ian Gray STAR 29/9/92

Controversial SABC executive Sakkie Burger has been brought in from the cold.

The man whose career was personally interrupted by former President P W Botha because of a single remark made during a live election round-up, and was "promoted sideways" to a London post, returns to Auckland Park in November as group general manager: executive services, answering directly to group chief executive Wynand Harmse.

An announcement last week said that: "with the introduction of the regulatory body to be established for telecommunications and broadcasting, as well as a monitoring mechanism that will either go hand-in-hand with this body or other organisations for information/news programmes for the electronic media, certain specific needs have arisen in the SABC's group head office.



Sakkie Burger . . . comment during election round-up.

"Mr Burger's exposure abroad and his long practical experience and skill in broadcasting will serve the SABC excellently in this regard. Strategic and business negotiations with these new statutory and regulatory bodies for codes, mandates and norms — among others — will require a high level of input, negotiation and co-ordination, particularly in the next two years, and insofar as these affect the SABC as a national broadcaster with its large variety of services." (304A)

Mr Burger was acting senior director of news under Mr Harmse, who took over when the board of the SABC, acting on the instructions of then President Botha, axed Riaan Eksteen as director-general in 1988. Under normal circumstances he would have become senior director of news or even deputy director, news, under the old structure.

But in 1987 during the live election round-up broadcast by SABC, Mr Burger was on the panel of experts analysing trends as the results were announced. After a spate of Conservative Party victories he commented: "The CP appears to be doing well."

This so angered President Botha that he telephoned Mr Burger and ordered him to stop the coverage of the election immediately. Mr Burger refused and so did Mr Eksteen. Co-incidentally, President de Klerk was in the studio at the time the call came through from Tuynhuis, and apparently restrained Mr Burger from storming out of the studio.

At subsequent board meetings Mr Burger was never confirmed as senior director, news. Instead, in June 1989, he was given the London posting which he personally described as a "sideways shift".

Subsequently, control of radio and TV news was placed under the authority of one man, deputy director-general Carel van der Merwe, the first person to be placed in charge of news on both media.

In a later reshuffle, Johan Pretorius became chief editor of TNP, the SABC's TV news and news magazine production arm.

● Sakkie Burger is the brother of former police lieutenant-colonel Staal Burger, who went into hiding when the SAP investigated his connections with the SADF's Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB). He now manages a hotel.

SA must not delay – Ramphal

STAR 29/9/92 STAR.

By Jo-Anne Collinge 304A

A world community which took a stand against "ethnic cleansing" in Yugoslavia would not allow apartheid to linger in South Africa, former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal warned in Johannesburg last night.

"It will refuse to do so, not because the world community has become more virtuous, but because it is now clear that such evils can no longer be contained if they are allowed legitimacy anywhere," he said.

His warning, delivered at the launch of the non-governmental development agency, the Matla Trust, was coupled with appreciation of "the wisdom and courage" shown at the weekend by the leadership of the ANC and the Government.

"I assure you that a sigh of relief went up all over the world as news of the agreement heralding the resumption of negotiations reached faraway capitals — so real is the degree to which people everywhere share your hopes for the end of apartheid and the emergence of a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa."

Sir Shridath, godfather of the Gleneagles Agreement on sport sanctions and the 1986 Eminent Persons Group, warned that speed was of the essence in successful negotiations.

Not only could protracted dialogue fall victim of the system it sought to change, but the world was growing "angry and utterly dismayed that despite all the talks of apartheid's end ... we are still much where we were before the international community all too readily dismantled sanctions and gave white South Africa the benefit of its very many misgivings".

The world had changed in recent years, he reflected, and "those who so comforted successive apartheid regimes in Pretoria by their reluctances over sanctions, their hesitancies over condemnation, their almost total lack of passion in rejecting the system, are today in the forefront of the resort to sanctions".

Legislation for interim rule could be passed soon

STAR 29/9/92 (304A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Legislation to enable a transitional executive council to be implemented as the first phase of an interim or transitional government could still be passed during the short session of Parliament which starts on October 12.

As a result of the successful summit between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the weekend, the Government and ANC could discuss a draft Bill for a transitional executive before the parliamentary session.

The Government has made it clear that it would like an enabling Bill to be passed next month, but that it does not wish to submit it without consulting its negotiating partners, including the ANC.

The aim of the Bill would be to give the Government the authority to install a multiparty transitional executive structure — consisting of a transitional executive council and several subcouncils — to supervise aspects of government in the run-up to all-in elections for a constitution-making body and interim legislature.

It is understood that at the Saturday summit, Mr de Klerk mentioned he would like to present the Bill to Parliament next month.

ANC national executive committee member Joe Slovo said yesterday the ANC had no objection to enabling legislation which would provide the statutory authority for implementing agreements reached in negotiations.

The ANC's concern was that the Government should discuss the legislation with its negotiating partners first.

He suggested the consultation might take place at the two or three-day "bosberaad" which the Government and ANC had agreed to hold.

David Welsh reflects on mutant racism

Colour no excuse for excesses

STAR 29/9/92. (304A)

FOR people who have not been on the receiving end, it is difficult to understand how galling racism is to its targets. One can dimly imagine, perhaps, how distressing it is to live in a society whose authoritative structures continually emit signals that say to people of colour: "You're inferior, you're born to be subordinate."

Perhaps, also, Afrikaners on the receiving end of British imperial arrogance had some inkling of what supremacist attitudes meant, but I rather doubt these were anything like as pervasive and destructive as those to which blacks were subjected.

A range of writers have analysed the phenomenon, including the remarkable Tunisian Jew, Albert Memmi, the South African psychologist Noel Manganyi, and, of course, Franz Fanon. They write from widely differing positions, but their conclusions point in one direction: the dehumanising effect of racism and, vividly described by Memmi, the insidious, even sinister way in which the targets of racism even come to believe in some of the taunts that racism bombards them with.

Going back to the remarkable Africanist thinker of the 1940s, Anton Lembede, and coming down to Steve Biko in the 1970s, one important strand of black liberation thought has identified as the most pernicious effect of racism what is called "Colonisation of the mind", meaning precisely internalisation of those negative messages to which racism subjected its victims.

When Biko said, "Black man, you're on your own", he was urging blacks to break out of spiritual thralldom and to reject white definitions of reality. Future historians may well conclude that Black Consciousness in the late 1960s and 1970s marked a turning point in the struggle against apartheid. It spread like wildfire among young blacks of a rising elite and made them challenge the widespread (if seldom voiced) belief among their elders that white control was indestructible.

The formal structures of racial discrimination are crumbling fast. Soon, I hope, full citizenship will be the inherent right of all South Africans in a democratic society. To be sure, a crude and uncompromising racism is still a marked feature of many ordinary relationships and interactions between white and black. Visit parts of the deep platteland to see what I mean. My own university, alas, is not immune to displays of visceral racial hatreds, as an inspection of graffiti will show.

But the mechanisms of control and censure of at least overt manifestations of racism are slowly making headway. The tension of a traumatic transition are bound to aggravate racism, as apprehensive whites watch the boisterous antics of black protesters exulting in a new-found muscle, and count the declining days of privilege.

There is a famous passage in De Tocqueville's book on the French Revolution where he explains why the revolution started only AFTER reforms had started. Many know the first sentence: "... the most perilous moment for a bad government is when it seeks to mend its ways".

Subsequent sentences embody a profound insight:

"Only consumate statecraft can enable a King to save his throne when, after a long spell of oppressive rule, he sets to improve the lot of his subjects. Patiently endured so long as it seemed beyond redress, a grievance comes to appear intolerable once the possibility of removing it crosses men's minds. For the mere fact that certain abuses have been remedied draws attention to the others and they now appear more galling; people may suffer less, but their sensibility is exacerbated."

Those comments go a long way towards explaining the widespread mood of impatience and frustration in black communities. Often it gives rise to appalling and cruel behaviour. Excess is explained away by invoking the needs of "the struggle".

It is at this point that all of us, but especially black people, have to be on their guard against a different and equally insidious kind of racism that masquerades as a form of advanced and progressive thinking. This is the tendency of some whites to condone or find mitigating explanations for these excesses on grounds that because of apartheid and the horrible life circumstances it created, any and all forms of black behaviour are not really blacks' fault.

No one can reasonably deny the ravaging consequences of apartheid, but the danger is that blaming all excesses on it dehumanises blacks by absolving them of all responsibility for their behaviour. The idea of human dignity and respect for the individual means also that we do not regard people as mere conduits for nebulous "social forces". However constrained, they have choices. Human dignity, moreover, requires that we hold individuals responsible for their choices — whether good or bad.

I largely agreed with the barrage of foreign criticism directed against South Africa in the bad old days of apartheid, but I could not help thinking that, unconsciously, many of the critics were implying that "white" governments should not do this kind of thing, and, conversely, if black governments did the same — well, what else did you expect? In other words, the implicit (and essentially racist) assumption was that certain codes of behaviour could be expected from whites, but not from blacks.

Absolving people from responsibility for their actions has, moreover, a dangerous logic: if blacks cannot be blamed for their excesses, then consistency requires that the bigots of the far Right also be excused, since their life-circumstances made them what they are.

I suspect that most blacks can instantly detect this mutant form of racism and identify it as a hidden form of paternalism: to be patronised is probably as galling and demeaning as the less subtle forms of racism.

A closely related danger is that the refusal to repudiate black excesses encourages the profoundly debilitating attitude that "the world owes us a living" — what the black American Shelby Steele call "a culture of entitlement". In his provocative book "The Content of our Character" he writes about the reciprocal relationship between white guilt and black exploitation of their victim status.

"The selfishly guilty white is drawn to what blacks like least in themselves — their suffering, victimisation and dependency. This is no good for anyone."

Amen! □

● *Professor David Welsh is Professor of Southern African Studies at the University of Cape Town.*

ANC to challenge amnesty legislation

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC warned yesterday it would not accept President F W de Klerk's unilateral decision to proceed with amnesty legislation during October's parliamentary session and was assessing how to challenge it.

It was considering retaining the right to review and reassess the situation regarding all prisoners released under De Klerk's amnesty, a senior negotiator said.

He said De Klerk had tried to manipulate the agreement concluded at the summit to include all prisoners, including security forces and state officials.

There was no threat that this would become a stumbling block to talks.

"There is no way that the government can grant amnesty to its own forces. We are happy to consider amnesty as a mechanism to forge reconciliation but this is the preserve of an interim government of national unity," he insisted.

The ANC cadres had had to sign forms and state openly the crimes for which they were seeking indemnity. The ANC would insist on full disclosure.

On Saturday, De Klerk said the legislation he was proposing would be on the same terms as the indemnity law applied to the ANC and he rejected the ANC view that an interim government should decide.

Meanwhile, the DP has criticised elements of the summit agreement. National chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday that the proposal that a constitution-making body also act as an interim parliament was unwise.

B/Day 29/9/92

(304A)

SA youth 'a force in elections'

CT 30/9/92

(304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

HALF the estimated 21 million voters in South Africa's first democratic elections will be under the age of 30, the Development Bank revealed yesterday.

About seven million of 14,4m black voters will be between 18 and 25 years old — a huge segment, most of whom are unemployed and ill-educated.

They will form about a third of the electorate in the free elections and could have a decisive influence on the outcome if they can be mobilised.

The Development Bank's Mr Johan Calitz, author of a recent book on the size and extent of the new electorate, said the average age of all voters — South Africans over 18 — was 30,3.

This means the new electorate is going to be much more youthful than in previous elections in South Africa.

While the average age of black voters is 25,6, that of whites is 35,4, coloureds 30,0 and Asians 30,5.

Mr Calitz said it was estimated that in the first quarter of this year almost 21m South Africans were over 18.

More than two-thirds (68,5%) of them were black, 18,8% were white, 9,8% coloured and 2,9% Asian.

Youth power

The average age in the nine development regions — which include the independent and non-independent homelands — varies slightly but not significantly.

Mr Calitz's figures indicate that 1,1m voters in the Western Cape will be under 30, 1,3m in the Eastern Cape, 2,4m in Natal/KwaZulu, 1,1m in the Northern Transvaal and 2,5m in the PWV area.

Youth power could be a major factor in determining the outcome of elections in the new South Africa.

80c PWV (90c OUTSIDE PWV, NATAL R1) WEDNESDAY SEPTEMBER 30 1992

BRIDGE 2903

Homeland leaders reject Govt-ANC pact

STAR 30/9/92.

By Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson

The leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei yesterday furiously denounced the Government-ANC "Record of Understanding" and served notice that other groups would be approached to oppose alleged attempts by President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela to "share out" South Africa between them.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo attended an emergency summit in Mmabatho to assess the political situation after the success of the weekend meeting between delegations led by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A joint communique issued in Mmabatho said there was "profound concern" about the Government-ANC agreement — which was rejected outright by the three homeland leaders — and a further meeting including other "organisations sharing these concerns" was announced.

The statement said all parties had the right to enter into bilateral discussions, but "we object to decisions being made in bilateral discussions which impact on others not involved in the decision-making".

The angry tone of the meeting — most evident in a lengthy presentation by Chief Buthelezi — caused immediate concern among political observers about the prospects for a quick resumption of fully fledged negotiations.

In his address Chief Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the "Record of Understanding" which he repeatedly likened to the infamous Von Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of World War 2 (the peace pact between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union).

He accused the Government and ANC of concluding a deal to "hijack the negotiation process". He intimated that the two parties were sanctioning violence against Zulus and were agreeing to "a strategy of ethnic cleansing".

The agreement to fence Zulu hostels was an attempt to create "Zulu concentration camps", he said, and to ban the carrying of all weapons, including Zulu cultural weapons, was a "well-planned form of cultural castration".

The overall aim of the "Record of Understanding" was to support the violence and a string of assassinations against IFP leaders "with a very effective governmental action of genocide" against the IFP.

After the Mmabatho meeting, fears were also ex-

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'Power politics not principles'

304A CT 30/9/92

Political Correspondent

THE National Party and the ANC were interested in power politics rather than principles, Democratic Party leader, Dr Zach de Beer, said at a meeting in Port Alfred last night.

Dr De Beer said the parties were "simply not able to restrain themselves from fighting for long enough to enable agreement to be reached on a new constitution for South Africa".

He quoted with approval ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela telling an interviewer recently: "One of the mistakes that had been made by both the ANC and the NP is that we have embarked on an electioneering campaign while we are still negotiating.

"One party is talking to the other while at the same time trying to undermine that party. Now that destroys the whole atmosphere of negotiations."

● Meanwhile, the DP's Natal Midlands chairman, Mr Mike Tarr, said the party was "appalled and dismayed" that while the country was gripped in violence and the economy was disintegrating, "the ANC and the NP deem it fit to put everything on hold while they wrangle over the release of so-called political prisoners and politically motivated crimes".

New political group for SA on the cards?

Political Staff

DURBAN. — A sharp re-alignment of South African political forces — with far-reaching implications for negotiations — is on the cards following the meeting yesterday of the leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

They emerged from their talks to jointly call on organisations sharing their concerns — particularly over bilateral decision-making by the ANC and the government — to meet and "to discuss the way forward".

This follows efforts by the government to patch up its differences with KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and effectively means the Codesa "alliance", which lined up against the ANC, is in tatters.

After the meeting in Mmabatho yesterday, Chief Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo issued a joint statement rejecting the Record of Understanding signed by the government and the ANC at the weekend.

At their meeting, Chief Buthelezi said the Record of Understanding reached between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela should be submitted to a national multi-party conference of review.

Last night, IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said: "There must be a re-alignment of political forces following the way that Mr De Klerk capitulated to the ANC demands at the weekend summit." CT 30/9/92 (304A)

Mr Felgate said the political re-alignment would be "across the board" and the "final dividing line" would centre on two interlinked issues. These were the summit decision to accept an elected constituent assembly and the debate on federalism or a centralised government state for South Africa.

The IFP and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments reject the constituent assembly and a centralised government.

The Conservative Party immediately indicated that it could join future talks with the three and the CP in the Free State said it supported the "formation of a moderate alliance".

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha reacted to the meeting of the three by saying that political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

Mr De Klerk yesterday in Pretoria urged the ANC and the IFP to negotiate to eradicate violence, reports Sapa.

Addressing an Afrikaans churches conference on the "morality crisis" in South Africa, he said Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi, "whose supporters kill each other daily", should make peace and find a way to reconciliation.

Mr De Klerk said a key cause of violence was the struggle between the ANC and the IFP.

Tutu to meet homeland leaders

ON TOUR ... Desmond Tutu

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu said yesterday he would meet three homeland leaders, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and President Lucas Mangope, this week.

The archbishop is to meet Chief Buthelezi, the KwaZulu chief minister and IFP president, at Ulundi and QwaQwa Chief Minister Dr T Mopeli in Johannesburg today.

Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope is to meet the archbishop in Mmabatho tomorrow.

Archbishop Tutu said: "During this week I will be holding meetings with black political leaders as part of my efforts to keep in touch with a range of South Africa's leaders." — Sapa

US tries to woo Inkatha back to fold

Sowetan 30/9/92

■ **Alliance between CP and homeland leaders feared as Treurnicht welcomes their opposition to summit:**

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

304A

THE United States has joined the Government's efforts to bring the Inkatha Freedom Party back into negotiations amid fears that the organisation was pulling together an anti-ANC bloc that could throw negotiations off balance.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dug himself in by first announcing his total withdrawal from all contact with the Government, and by refusing yesterday to meet State President FW de Klerk.

Buthelezi yesterday, however, met two prominent ANC opponents, President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei, Inkatha Freedom Party sources confirmed.

Government sources and political commentators yesterday said there were fears of a separatist front emerging, with some black homeland leaders finding common cause with the Conservative Party.

The leader of the Conservative Party, Mr Andries Treurnicht, yesterday sparked fears of an alliance between itself and homeland leaders when he welcomed Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo's opposition to the agreements reached at Saturday's summit.

Treurnicht said: "The time has come for joint action by those who refuse to live under ANC/SACP tyranny or betrayal by the Government."

A US State department official said yesterday: "We regret the IFP's decision to withdraw from negotiations. We urge the IFP and all other parties to participate fully in negotiations. They are the only hope for a peaceful resolution to the problems of violence in the country."

The ANC reacted with scepticism about the emerging anti-ANC front of homeland leaders and the CP.

F W-Buthelezi summit planned

ANC debates meeting with Inkatha leader

(304A)

B/DAY 30/9/92.

BILLY PADDOCK and ALAN FINE

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are poised to take urgent steps to placate Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders who yesterday rejected the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) will meet today to decide whether it is willing to approve a top-level ANC-Inkatha summit.

Government is separately involved in an all-out effort to woo Buthelezi back to the negotiating table.

Buthelezi was in Mmabatho yesterday to meet Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to rally support for his opposition to the agreement reached between government and the ANC at the weekend. The three leaders rejected the agreement and decided to call a meeting soon with other leaders and organisations sharing their concerns.

In a vociferous statement yesterday, Buthelezi slammed the Record of Understanding, comparing it to a campaign of "ethnic cleansing".

The agreement was an attempt to hijack the negotiations process and would result in "Zulu concentration camps", he said.

The Record of Understanding was "intended to support the violence" and the "continuous string of assassinations" of Inkatha members, he said.

A senior ANC source yesterday predicted a tough NEC debate over whether the ANC should "swallow its pride" and agree to a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting in an attempt to patch up relations with the KwaZulu leader who withdrew from negotiations at the weekend.

Some NEC members believed that, following the weekend concessions from government on prisoner releases and violence, the ANC was in a sufficiently comfortable political position to relent on a meeting with Buthelezi.

This would alienate elements of the ANC's rank and file but, the argument holds, the organisation had delivered enough to its membership to mitigate these effects.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela himself was believed to be cool towards the idea of a face-to-face meeting with Buthelezi because of recent verbal attacks by Buthelezi. Natal representatives who have been involved in a bitter war of words with Inkatha were also expected to oppose the idea.

Meanwhile, it is expected President F W de Klerk will suggest a high-profile leadership meeting with Inkatha in the next few weeks. It is understood that government also plans to emphasise Buthelezi's importance in the negotiating process.

De Klerk is to communicate by letter with Buthelezi within the next couple of days and is expected to explain that there are few, if any, differences of principle between Inkatha and government. He would also urge him to agree to a high-profile meeting with Mandela.

Government's negotiations commission, which meets today under De Klerk's leadership, is expected to formulate the approach to Buthelezi.

Government now believes it probably

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Inkatha

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(304A)

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underestimated Buthelezi's sensitivity to the way in which the summit with Mandela was handled, and it is desperately trying to correct the oversight.

However, it is also understood that De Klerk would not accept an Inkatha veto over legislative transitional processes and a new constitution. Should Buthelezi refuse to accept broad agreements necessary for the process to move forward, then De Klerk would go forward without him.

Government sources insist the agreement with the ANC did not even go as far as the recommendations of the Goldstone commission and UN special envoy Cyrus Vance which Buthelezi had accepted. Therefore Buthelezi's objection was not one of principle so much as protocol.

At the same time, government negotiators had travelled to QwaQwa, Lebowa and Venda to inform and consult leaders on the summit discussions.

DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday said he could understand Buthelezi's feelings at being excluded. The DP was also excluded.

"But I believe Inkatha and the DP and all others, must recognise that co-operation between the NP and the ANC is absolutely pivotal if we are in the end to achieve agreement of which, of course, we must all be part," he told a meeting in Grahamstown.

In a joint communiqué, Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo said the public was profoundly concerned at the bilateral agreement dealing with issues which had an impact on all other parties. The meeting decided to call for the rejection of the Record of Understanding.

Homeland leaders reject pact

STAR 30/9/92

● From Page 1

pressed that a "separatist" bloc might be developing.

Remarks by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria yesterday bolstered this view. Dr Treurnicht revealed that Chief Buthelezi had telephoned him after the IFP leader cut off contact with the Government on Sunday. Other homeland leaders who had suspended talks had "also taken the trouble" to inform him of their decision.

Dr Treurnicht said: "These are all leaders who reject the policies of the ANC. We are saying it is time for an alternative forum of leaders who are anti-communist and in favour of self-determination for their people ...

"Today, black leaders want to talk to us, they have stopped talking to De Klerk."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded an exasperated note yesterday when reviewing the latest turn of events. He said political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

He said the agreement reached with the ANC had been misunderstood: it was not "aimed at any other party, but at resolving obstacles that were in the way of the resumption of talks".

In a separate statement from Mmabatho, Brigadier Gqozo rejected the Government-ANC agreement, demanded the disbandment of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and rejected the imposition of an interim government or constituent assembly.

He believed the Mmabatho meeting would prove to be the turning point in a time dominated by political compromise and agreement unacceptable to a silent majority of concerned South Africans.

● The Afrikaner Volksunie said yesterday it would like to attend the proposed meeting of leaders and parties who are concerned at the weekend agreements between the Government and the ANC.

Election dream has led us into dead-end street

(304A)

STAR 30/9/92.

Allister Sparks

ONE could weep at what has happened since Codesa deadlocked in May — at the time wasted, the lives lost, at the damage to our economy and its prospects of recovery, the harm done to our international image, the attitudes soured and the negotiating climate fouled.

All for what? The Government has now effectively conceded all the constitutional points that led to the deadlock in the first place, and all the 14 conditions the ANC made for resuming negotiations after Boipatong in June.

What has it gained by its stubborn reluctance? The only concession won from the ANC is a commitment to review its "mass action" programme — and mass action was only introduced to pressure the Government into yielding to those demands.

Perhaps what is needed now is another "bosberaad" to reassess the attitudes and strategic thinking which led us into this disastrous cul de sac. Things started to go wrong, paradoxically, with the white referendum in March. Instead of interpreting the big "yes" majority as a signal to move swiftly towards a bold political settlement, the Government saw it as a sign of electoral strength which fired up hopes that with a little luck and cunning it might not have to give up power in the new South Africa after all.

With a whiff of destabilisation for the ANC and some alliance-building it might win the election — or at least get close enough to hobble an ANC-led regime.

Pure fantasy, given the racial arithmetic of this country, but the Nationalists believed it. And so a strategy of electioneering and political gerrymandering began to overlap and dominate the negotiating process.

Almost immediately the Government started playing hard-ball with the ANC in the negotiations. For its strategy to work, it needed time to weld its alliance together, and weaken the ANC by drawing it into a relationship where it would share responsibility for government but be able to deliver little to its own constituents.

The thrust of its approach at Codesa 2 was to try to get an indefinite period of interim government. It refused to accept any time-frame. The word was that it wanted five years, maybe 10, of all-party interim government before an election was held under a new constitution.

The ANC refused, knowing that by then it would be a dead duck among its own people. As the haggling continued, the Government demanded a 75 percent majority to reach agreement in the constituent assembly, then agreed to the ANC's compromise of 70 percent — on condition there was an advance commitment to having a Senate with minority veto powers. Both were demands that it knew had no chance of acceptance.

That is where the deadlock occurred. Since then the Government has backed off both those demands, switching to federalism as its plan for protecting minorities. And at Saturday's summit it agreed that the constituent assembly and interim government should operate within a fixed time frame. So it has retreated from all its positions that caused the Codesa 2 deadlock.

It has done the same with the 14 conditions the ANC set for returning to negotiations after Boipatong, which Nelson Mandela telescoped into three when he responded to F W de Klerk's summit invitation.

Now the Government has met them all. This is no victory for the ANC. It is no victory for anyone. It has been a terrible setback for all of South Africa, from its big businessmen to its little people who have suffered most from the delay. Nor will the effects be quickly over. Frustration swung the townships to militancy. This weakened the ANC's pragmatic leadership, which had to respond to the mood to avoid alienating its constituency.

It strengthened the "Leipzig option" militants, and although the tide has been turned somewhat by the bloodshed at Bisho, "mass action" has in the end been justified by its results and by the perception that the Government responds only to blunt-instrument politics. It will remain in the wings, to be brought out again whenever deadlock threatens.

Not least is the fouling of the atmosphere. Trust has been broken, personal relationships damaged and a mood of anger and suspicion poisons the air.

Chief Buthelezi's latest outbursts, threatening to "bugger up" the ANC and breaking off negotiations with the Government, are a symptom of this.

He is a tragic figure who did an important job in keeping a black voice of protest alive through apartheid's darkest years, but he is becoming dangerously frenetic now as he feels his constituency shrinking beneath him.

The Government has aggravated this by drawing Chief Buthelezi into its machiavellian schemes. It ends up playing a cat-and-mouse game, one day using him as an electioneering weapon against the ANC, the next making a placatory deal with the ANC to repair the damage this is doing to the negotiating process.

In the end Chief Buthelezi is a problem of the Government's own making, and it must find the solution. It will not be easy and Mr de Klerk may have to get tough, but he cannot allow the consequences of his "slim politiekery" to go on fouling up South Africa's future.

The President must understand one thing above all else: the success or failure of the transition depends on the ability of the pragmatists in the Government and the ANC to work together to build a solid centre that can drive forward to agreement with sufficient momentum to carry both constituencies with them.

If the momentum flags, the initiative will pass with catastrophic results to the militants on both sides, to the "Leipzig option" mobilisers and the hard men in the Cabinet who want to crunch Mr Mandela. □

ANC expected to resume talks with Govt

STAR 30/9/92.

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC is today expected to announce the resumption of fully fledged negotiations with the Government, thus marking an important step towards restarting Codesa-style talks.

The organisation's national executive committee (NEC) meets in Johannesburg in the wake of the successful weekend summit with the Government — and is also scheduled to discuss the fraught question of mass action, including planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

Prospects for the resumption of multilateral talks brightened after the summit, but suffered when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off contact with the Government.

After the weekend summit, Nelson Mandela said the ANC delegation would today recommend the resumption of constitutional talks to the NEC — the body which broke off bilateral and Codesá-style negotiations on June 23.

At the World Trade Centre meeting the Government acknowledged the right to peaceful mass action, but the ANC undertook to examine urgently its programme of mass action in the current political context.

ANC sources said yesterday the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would not abandon mass action, but would look closely at the specific forms it took.

The sources argued that despite the apparent revival of constitutional negotiations, mass action would still be necessary to highlight problems like unemployment, housing, and the lack of free political activity in certain homelands.

The controversial proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho will come under the spotlight and the prevailing mood in the ANC appears to be that possible loss of life should be taken into consideration before such marches are decided upon. ANC regions would also have to be consulted.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday briefed diplomats in Pretoria on the summit, and the ANC is expected to do the same tomorrow.

Sapa reports that the western Cape leadership of the ANC alliance yesterday reiterated its call for a mass march on Parliament on October 12 and demanded that the alliance be allowed to address the parliamentary session.

In a statement the regional secretaries of the alliance said their supporters would occupy the Parliament precincts until the Speaker gave in to their demand. It noted, however, that the mass action programme planned for October 12 would still be discussed with the ANC's national leadership this week.

CT 30/9/91

Another mission for SA?

LONDON. — Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku met Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe here yesterday about the decision to send another Commonwealth mission to SA.

The delegation would aim to revive democracy talks after the setback caused by the withdrawal of the IFP. (3044)

After his hour-long meeting with Mr Mugabe, Chief Anyaoku said he was deeply worried by developments in South Africa. — Sapa

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992

OCTOBER

Dr No moves to align with homelands

CT 1/10/92

(30441)

CONSERVATIVE PARTY leader Dr Andries Treurnicht yesterday moved to align his party with the leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, who have come out against agreements struck between the government and the ANC.

He would "of course be prepared" to join the meeting of organisations sharing similar concerns called by KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

It is understood the meeting could take place in Johannesburg late next week. Dr Treurnicht said he did not think the grouping of organisations would amount to an "alliance", but that they may be held together by common "basic principles", such as the "self-determination of peoples".

By yesterday afternoon, he had yet to be contacted by any of the three leaders, but if invited to the planned meeting the CP would definitely attend.

● All South Africa's political leaders should observe a moratorium on vituperative attacks on one another, Chief Buthelezi and Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in a joint statement yesterday.

The two leaders met at Ulundi in KwaZulu yesterday to exchange views on the church's role in bringing about political unity and peace.

Archbishop Tutu also raised the issue of the Inkatha Freedom Party's withdrawal from negotiations. Chief Buthelezi "responded briefly", the statement said. — Political Staff, Sapa

Aluta continua

The four major international conventions that State President FW De Klerk is committed to signing are:

* The convention for the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women;
* The convention on the political rights of women;
* The convention on the consent, minimum age and registration of marriages.
* The convention concerning the nationality of married women.

Sowetan 11/10/92

Some of the discriminatory laws and regulations that were amended include:

* The granting of single women the right to own property.
* Taxing married women separately from their husbands.
* A divorce unhindered by bureacracy for a woman, of a husband outside the country's borders.
* The Marriage and Matrimonial Property Amendment Act of 1989 which means that:

- the marital power of the husband is abolished in respect of marriages of blacks, who married after the Act came into effect.
- Blacks will be married in community of property unless this is excluded by ante-nuptial contract.
- the provisions of the Divorce Act will apply to black marriages made before the Act came into effect.
- the right of a black who is married by customary law to lawfully marry anyone other than his customary law wife, is taken away.
- In the case of marriages made before the Act takes effect, the same options available to other races will be available to black couples to change the matrimonial system applicable to their marriage while it exists.

ANC agrees to resume talks

(304A)

CT 1/10/92

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — THE ANC last night decided to return to constitutional talks but emphasised that mass action would continue as it had reaped important rewards.

This follows recommendations to the organisation's national executive committee by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela after the weekend summit with President F W de Klerk.

President De Klerk will respond to the ANC announcement at a news conference today.

An ANC statement last night said: "The meeting was of the unanimous view that the agreement indicated sufficient movement to enable the ANC to return to negotiations." It added that such negotiations required careful preparation to ensure that they were fruitful.

It said its social and economic mass action campaigns would go ahead, but the organisation would take precautions to "minimise the possibilities of any loss of life or injury". All campaigns would be conducted within the framework of the national peace accord and Goldstone commission recommendations.

The ANC appears to be stalling the march on Ulundi but has issued a set of demands to President De Klerk for free political activity in the homelands.

The ANC noted that phase four of its mass action programme was premised on there being a deadlock in negotiations. "In the light of substantial movement that has made the resumption of negotiations possible, certain aspects

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Talks

(304A) CT 1/10/92

of this programme, such as the proposed general strike of October 12, are no longer necessary".

The organisation also threatened repercussions should the government unilaterally embark on restructuring in certain areas, such as local government and the SABC.

The NEC at this stage rejected a summit between Mr Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi because the "climate for such meetings needs to be created through implementing practical measures to ensure free political activity" in keeping with the peace accord and Goldstone commission recommendations.

Today President De Klerk will also address the issue of Inkatha and KwaZulu withdrawing from talks and Chief Buthelezi's meeting with Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's president Mr Lucas Mangope.

Chief Buthelezi is coming under strong international pressure to rejoin negotiations.

At least four foreign ambassadors have arranged meetings with him

Chaos edges nearer

SOUTH Africa could plunge into Somalia-type chaos, starvation and civil war unless its leaders quickly negotiate peace and disarm warring factions, Mr John Allwood, local director of World Vision, said yesterday. (304A)

Alwood said the region was becoming a powder-keg with the young taking up arms to get bread. "That is what is happening in Somalia today. Sowetan 1/10/92

"It could happen here tomorrow unless the politicians step in to solve the problems and do something to halt the murderous international traffic in arms. Chaos is even nearer home than we think," he said.

Is it a Record of Misunderstanding?

Martin Challenor reports

'Heading for the same old pitfalls'

STAR 1/10/92 (304A)

IN signing the Record of Understanding, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela agreed that a democratically elected constituent assembly would be set up to draw up a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament.

They envisaged there would be a single chamber and members would take decisions by a special majority. The constitutional assembly/interim parliament would be bound by principles agreed to beforehand. It would operate for a fixed time, would be elected within an agreed time frame, and would have deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

Overseeing the constitutional assembly/interim parliament would be an interim government of national unity, operating in terms of an interim constitution.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, secretary-general of the National Party, was quick to say these understandings did not go beyond the consensus reached at Codesa. Other parties differ.

Ken Andrew, national chairman of the Democratic Party, was concerned that what the DP saw as a major flaw in the proposed Codesa 2 agreements had been perpetuated in the NP/ANC accord. "The proposal that the constitution-making body also serves as an interim parliament is most unwise and indirectly led to many of the problems experienced at Codesa 2."

The type of person "one wants to have drafting a new constitution" was often very different from a person best suited to being part of an interim government.

Mr Andrew said the constitution-making body would do its work best if it concentrated on writing a new constitution: "It should operate in a cool, calm and collected way to produce a good constitution. Making the same people responsible for interim government means disputes over interim government administration will sour the constitution-making process and vice versa."

Any decision to combine the two functions fell into the same trap as that which precipitated the Codesa 2 deadlock. "One can either give the constitution-making body a largely free hand to write a new constitution or one can have a comprehensive interim government operating under an interim constitution, but not both.

"If one wants the latter, the primary responsibility for writing a new constitution will lie with a Codesa-type multiparty conference.

"We need to have a transitional government and free and fair elections as soon as possble. Following the old Codesa 2 route of an interim government under an interim constitution will undoubtedly slow down the whole process, as it has already done once before.

"There is always the danger that the constitution-making body/interim parliament will enjoy being in power and be so impressed with its own abilities that it succumbs to the temptation of perpetuating its own existence for a prolonged period.

"The DP strongly favours the separation of the constitution-making and interim government bodies so as to make the most rapid progress possible and to produce the best possible constitution," Mr Andrew said.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the constitution was a multiparty matter. All political parties and interest groups were entitled to be in on the ground floor on any constitutional matter.

"An attempt is being made to give the impression that the constitutional agreements in the Record of Understanding are identical with those allegedy reached at Codesa. This is not so. The IFP has certanly never agreed that a constitution-making body/constituency assembly shall act as an interim/transitional parliament.

"This suggests a single-chamber parliament which we never agreed to," Chief Buthelezi said. □

The road to reconciliation is a thorny one, argues **Joe Latakgomo**

Releases reopen old wounds

STAR 1/10/92. 304A

THE question of a blanket amnesty looks set to bedevil any future negotiations between the Government and he ANC. President F W de Klerk is letermined to push through a law which would empower him to grant mnesty for any crimes committed or political purposes — including hose committed by state officials. The ANC has reacted furiously to his, threatening to reverse any uch amnesty in the future.

This threat has brought the vhole question of amnesty back to he discussion table, where it hould have been resolved in the irst place.

There will be those in the secuity forces, in particular, who will rgue that their crimes, if crimes hey were, were no worse than ome of the crimes committed by NC members who have now been reed.

They will argue that they acted 1 the interest of the country at he time, and while obeying the rders of the politicians. The political nature of these acts will determine the nature of the response, and President de Klerk is clearly under pressure to ensure that a deal is struck which will clear them of culpability.

It is interesting that Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, no doubt pressured by security heads, has been the person who tried to link the release of prisoners like Robert McBride with the question of amnesty. His colleague Hernus Kriel accused the ANC of wanting to apply amnesty selectively.

The determined nature of the attempt to link the amnesty issue to the release of political prisoners indicated that the Government must be aware of quite a few acts for which people could be brought to book. The question is: on whose orders did those people act? If they acted in the name of the Government, then the chief executive of the Government at the time must take full responsibility.

This week McBride, Barend Strydom and necklace killers were freed, all in the name of reconciliation.

But can there be reconciliation? The security forces — or whoever else the Government had charged with the responsiblity of ensuring the total onslaught was met with full might — will continue to argue that requiring them to "come clean" and confess is expecting too much, particularly in these uncertain times when nobody knows just how a future government will respond to such revelations.

The bitterness remains with the families of the victims of McBride and Strydom and others. The mother of a Magoo's Bar bomb victim simply said that as far as she was concerned, there was no more justice in South Africa.

That some of those who were freed declared, in recalling their actions, that they would do it again, has almost made sure that no reconciliation will result from the releases. Perhaps what the ANC should have done is to take full charge of their cadres, debrief them, and only later let them loose to the media. The damage that their statements have done is incalculable.

The wounds that had healed slightly have been reopened. On talk shows, the freed prisoners have been desribed as murderers who should have been hanged. Nobody was expecting the relatives of the victims to forgive, but time had somewhat healed the wounds, creating an atmosphere in which people could begin to forget. That is all damaged, and the bitterness is back. The hatred is back.

Blacks argue that people like Strydom should not have been released. He killed blacks simply because they were blacks.

But that is like arguing that killing members of one racial group has merit over killing members of another racial group — and even McBride admits there can be no morality in killing anybody "in a normal society".

Those against Strydom's release fear that he may now have been spirited away to an indoctrination camp — from whence he truly must have come when he committed his dastardly act — there to have his mind poisoned before he is let loose once more to kill. At least, they say, the ANC has suspended its "armed strugle", and there is no likelihood of McBride and others planting bombs which will kill civilians.

The danger is, of course, that for as long as there is uncertainty about indemnity, those that may have been involved will feel insecure enough to continue wreaking havoc, and making sure that a political settlement is years away. If they have been involved in destabilisation through assassinations, they will continue killing political leaders and thereby sow the seeds of more violence.

For the ANC — or any other black organisation — to talk to the Government while these killings go on, with the hope that a settlement will bring with it peace and stability as a bonus, would be politically naïve. Constituents want peace, and they want it now. They want security in their homes, in the streets, on the trains, and on buses and taxis.

There may be a compromise for Mr de Klerk, though. He may have gone too far down the road in his determination to introduce an indemnity law during the forthcoming short parliamentary session. Enabling legislation could be put on the statute books, and the actual implementation left to an interim government. That will secure two vital ends: those who know they have been involved in technically criminal acts in the name of the Government can breathe a little easier, knowing the terms of the law and how it will be implemented by an interim government; and the ANC will assure its followers that the National Party Government will not be sitting in judgment upon itself. □

Breaking the ice far from home

STAR 1/10/92 (304A)

After spending a week together in Germany last week, senior members of rival political organisations began to find one another, writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

JOURNALIST Ameen Akhalwaya recently suggested that squabbling South African political leaders be shipped off to Robben Island and left there until they sorted out the country's political problems.

Away from their followers and the glare of the media, he argued, they would begin to establish a much-needed rapport which would make it much easier for them to make compromises and reach binding agreements.

Late last month Dr Oscar Dhlomo's Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD) and the Bonn-based Friedrich Ebert Stiftung tried to do just that: they took representatives of five political organisations on a week-long visit to Germany where they attended an international conference on federalism.

They attended meetings together, had meals together and socialised together. In the process, something began to happen — tongues loosened up, friendships developed and they accepted one another.

The delegation, led by MPD trustee advocate Vuka Tshabalala, comprised ANC national executive committee member and constitutional committee chairman Dr Zola Skweyiya, PAC publicity and information secretary Barney Desai, Azapo vice-president for political education Molatlhegi Tihale, IFP central committee member and KwaZulu Finance Minister Dr Denis Madide, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport and MPD trustee Professor Mervyn Frost of the University of Natal.

The tensions and suspicions which exist among political organisations in South Africa were initially obvious. Dr Madide hung around with his former high school friend Mr Tshabalala, Mr Tihale was in Mr Desai's company, and Mr Skweyiya walked alongside whoever was next to him during a tour of Hanover last Sunday.

Dr Delport joined the delegation in the evening and, with the group, was a guest of the German Institute of Federalism for supper. During supper, tensions almost became physical, with Dr Delport telling Azapo's Mr Tihale that he would "tear him apart" in debate.

That was the sentence which caught everybody's attention, and silence descended on the table. The two men had had a disagreement in front of their German hosts. But the nature of the gathering soon defused this mood: the dinner ended amicably, and friendships began to be forged in the days that followed. Individuals began to review their character assessments of one another.

Dr Madide turned out to be a non-ideological, most likeable man with interesting views, and he became the centre of attraction among group members. Some began to say behind his back that he was a most atypical IFP member.

Another side of the scholarly Mr Desai began to emerge: he is a friendly man with a sense of humour, with a penchant for self-deprecation. Mr Tihale came across as a serious man who cherishes his organisation's philosophy, but he, too, made friends with other group members and evidently enjoyed Dr Madide's company.

Dr Skweyiya did a lot more listening than talking during conversations, and remained open-minded throughout.

A disappointment was the unavailability of Dr Delport, who did not spend much time with the group. He was often closeted in his hotel room, and had to leave early to attend last Saturday's meeting between the Government and the ANC at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Professor Frost extolled the virtues of federalism for South Africa whenever he found a chance to do so, and mixed freely with members of all political organisations. So did delegation leader Mr Tshabalala, whom group members fondly referred to as "The Füuhrer".

After a week together in Germany, far from the hurly-burly of South Africa, most of the leaders came back as friends — all bemoaning the fact that members of different political organisations at home do not do nearly enough socialising. □

Former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal in Johannesburg yesterday.

SA 'not ready to join the Commonwealth'

(304A)

ANDREW KRUMM

SA STOOD to benefit from joining the Commonwealth but an application would not be accepted yet, former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal said yesterday. B/Day

Invited to SA to launch a development organisation, the Matla Trust, Ramphal said it was a matter of urgency that SA joined the organisation of 50 countries, mainly of former British colonies.

"The sooner SA joins the Commonwealth the better. However, this cannot happen before SA becomes a democracy."

The veteran anti-apartheid campaigner said the benefits of membership included participation in the Commonwealth's major education, rule of law and other programmes. 1/10/92

He dismissed a suggestion that the Commonwealth was an ineffectual organisation.

"It was at the front-end of the international movement against SA, and I am convinced that sanctions contributed directly to the positive events we see now."

When the transition to democracy had been made, SA would not disappear from the political map but would take a new position in world affairs.

"With people like Nelson Mandela as leaders SA could be made to count."

Ramphal said events in SA had been overtaken by other dreadful international events such as the "ethnic cleansing" in Yugoslavia.

However, SA issues would swiftly return to the forefront should there be any retrogression in the progress to democracy.

Nonetheless, "I have found a new openess to the world, which is healthy.

"This can be seen in the presence and acceptance of the UN and others to monitor violence."

The economic domain was "absolutely critical" to a future SA, he said.

"There clearly has to be a much greater concern with development to spread the benefits of the economy to all the people."

Declining to be drawn on the economic policies a new government should adopt, he said the process of development could not be expected to occur overnight.

He predicted that SA would be one of the major players on the African continent.

"In world terms SA will be in the middle league, but has an important role to play among similar income countries.

"In the quality of your people you have a precious asset — which bodes well for nation-building."

A spokesman for the Matla Trust said Ramphal had spoken to various leaders and businessmen, and contributed to the profile of the trust.

The former commonwealth leader leaves SA tomorrow.

Regional Air now offers

SACP chief backs power-sharing deal

Slovo's crucial strategy switch

(304A)

ARG 1/10/92

Political Staff

A FUNDAMENTAL strategy switch, offering the African National Congress's negotiating partners a power-sharing deal for a fixed number of years after the adoption of a new constitution, will be put forward next week by Mr Joe Slovo.

Mr Slovo, chairman of the South African Communist Party and ANC executive member, will also back compromises on a general amnesty and regional powers.

In what he insists is an individual contribution that does not reflect collective thinking in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, Mr Slovo says in a paper that he has decided to "grasp the nettle" in an effort to achieve a settlement on South Africa' democratic future.

The paper, to be published in the SACP journal, African Communist, urges alliance supporters to recognise that they are not "dealing with a defeated enemy" and that a "revolutionary seizure of power" is not realistic.

Mr Slovo says the fact that "sooner or later we will be back at the negotiating table", coupled with these realities, meant that the immediate outcome of talks would be less than perfect from the alliance's point of view.

He adds that if the alliance continues to believe that negotiations are an acceptable way forward, a degree of compromise will be unavoidable.

Mr Slovo's intervention will be seen in political and diplomatic circles as a conciliatory move in the direction indicated by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela two weeks ago in an interview with The Argus.

Mr Slovo says there are "certain retreats from previously held positions which would create the possibility of a major positive breakthrough". Among these are:

- A so-called "sunset clause", providing for compulsory power-sharing for an agreed period after the adoption of a new constitution.
- A deal with the government on regional powers.
- An indication that the alliance will, as part of an interim government, support a general amnesty for all those who disclose the activities for which they require indemnity.
- An approach to the restructuring of the civil service — including the police and Defence Force — which "takes into account existing contracts and/or provides for retirement compensation".

Hope for SA amid doom and gloom

STAR 2/10/92.

304A

Departing Israeli Ambassador Zvi Gov-Ari expresses optimism about South Africa's future in an interview with PATRICK LAURENCE.

ISRAELI Ambassador Zvi Gov-Ari leaves South Africa at the end of the month, having watched the country pass through the euphoria generated by the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela in February 1990 and the agonised despair caused by the terrible bloodletting in the townships.

But Mr Gov-Ari, a man with a ready smile, remains hopeful that South Africa will survive the ordeals of transition and become a fully fledged nonracial democracy.

His optimism stems, in part, from contacts he has made with a wide spectrum of South Africans and the impression of resilient resourcefulness they have made on him.

One image remains indelibly with him: of South Africans of all colours singing at a recent choir festival in a harmony of co-operation, emphasising, for him, a reconciliation between diversity and unity.

But Mr Gov-Ari, a man in his early fifties who was born in Iraq, is not a romanticist: he knows that the road ahead is tough but he believes it can be traversed.

While the outside world can help by offering encouragement, South Africans ultimately have to make the journey themselves, he says, recalling that Israel lifted sanctions on South Africa during his ambassadorship.

Mr Gov-Ari, ever the diplomat, is loath to prescribe to South Africans how they should tackle the challenge of forging a durable settlement. He does, however, make two general observations.

South Africans of all political persuasions must work together to prevent any further deterioration in the economy.

With South Africa now poised to experience its third successive year of economic contraction, the difficult task of political transformation has been compounded greatly.

South Africa cannot afford further economic decline, Mr Gov-Ari warns sombrely before making his second observation. For the political settlement to be durable it must be as comprehensive as possible, he states, adding that there is a need to balance the demands for an early settlement against the danger of making errors by moving too quickly.

Mr Gov-Ari has had to face charges that Israel gave military training to Inkatha Freedom Party members. He denies them flatly, insisting that Israel has not given military training to any of South Africa's competing political organisations.

It has, however, trained scores of South Africans of all political hues for the enormous task of reconstruction which lies ahead in agriculture, education, health and so on.

The ANC has been decidedly cool to Israel, having chosen to identify with Yasser Arafat's PLO as a fraternal organisation and to compare Zionism with apartheid as a "form of racism".

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who has visited several Arab countries, including Libya and Iran, but not Israel, is on record as saying of Mr Arafat: "Like us, he is fighting against a unique form of colonialism and we wish him success in his struggle."

Mr Arafat agrees. He says of the ANC: "We are in the same trench, struggling against the same enemy."

Mr Gov-Ari disagrees vehemently with the equation of Zionism with apartheid and has invited Mr Mandela to Israel to assess the situation for himself at first hand (thus matching an invitation from Mr Arafat to the ANC leader to visit "occupied Palestine").

Mr Gov-Ari, reflecting on the ANC's cool attitude to Israel, asks: "Who is behind it and what are their motives?" He declines to answer his own question.

He does, however, insist that there is no comparison between the ANC and PLO: the ANC, he argues, is seeking to transform South Africa from a racial oligarchy to a nonracial democracy, while Mr Arafat's PLO is involved in a "murderous struggle to destroy the Jewish state".

Mr Gov-Ari recalls a brush with tough-minded anti-Israel militants in Cape Town who, he says, were calling for his head. A student of philosophy with a belief in the power of rational argument, Mr Gov-Ari wanted to engage his detractors in dialogue. "The security people wouldn't allow me to," he says.

He leaves South Africa and the diplomatic corps to go into business. A married man with five children, Mr Gov-Ari still hankers to concentrate on one of his first loves: philosophy in general, and Aristotle in particular. □

STAR 21/10/92

FW to clear 'misunderstanding'

By Peter Fabricius (304A)
Political Correspondent

President F W de Klerk has vowed to do everything he can to clear up the "misunderstanding" that caused Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to break off talks with the Government at the weekend.

At a conference called in Pretoria yesterday to clarify matters following the Government-ANC summit agreements on Saturday, Mr de Klerk said the IFP was an important party, without which there could be no comprehensive solution.

However, no date had been set yesterday for a meeting with Chief Buthelezi and it was unclear whether Mr de Klerk had written to him, as he said he would.

Chief Buthelezi angrily suspended negotiations with the Government after Mr de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed a "Record of Understanding" to ban the carrying of all dangerous weapons, fence hostels and release all remaining political prisoners.

He said the perception that the Government had capitulated to any other party was "devoid of all truth".

He promised that hostel dwellers would be consulted before any action was taken and that steps taken would not impair their human dignity or basic rights.

It was also wrong to suggest that the proposed proclamation on carrying weapons was aimed primarily at cultural weapons.

On the agreement on constitutional arrangements for interim government, Mr de Klerk said these were all consistent with — and in fact reaffirmed — agreements on which broad consensus had already been achieved at Codesa by most of South Africa's major parties, including those which now rejected the "Record of Understanding".

The agreements did not inhibit any other parties from adopting different positions at future multiparty negotiations. Mr de Klerk said that since the Codesa deadlock, SA had been on a "downward course toward confrontation and escalating conflict".

Mr de Klerk added that he welcomed aspects of the ANC national executive committee's decision to limit parts of its mass action campaign, but was disappointed that it did not address the core of the problem.

Systems depend on support

(304A)

FM 2/10/92

Russian academic Irina Filatova is this year's Bradlow Research Fellow at the SA Institute of International Affairs

The growing significance of the ethnic factor in eastern Europe has stimulated debate on the structure of the post-apartheid State in SA.

Disintegration of the USSR with all the conflicts involved and civil war in what was Yugoslavia, are often cited by conflicting parties as examples of what South Africans ought or ought not to do. Both the SA unitarists and federalists consider events in eastern Europe as proof of the validity of their respective scenarios. However, the lessons they draw from these events differ.

Unitarists, who see a future SA as a unitary state with a regional administrative structure (by which different parties mean different things), largely think that it is exactly the Soviet type of federalism with its stress on ethnicity that led to the upsurge of ethnic emotions in the former socialist bloc. Some of them would blame it on the lack of democracy or "real socialism" in the USSR and its allies; others on the "advent of capitalism" with *perestroika*.

Federalists, who advocate various forms of federation for SA — some so loose that they look more like confederalism or even secessionism — see the main reason for the upsurge of ethnicity in eastern Europe in the lack of democracy. They would claim that the totalitarian nature of the former regimes did not leave room for "real federalism" — turning federations into *de facto* highly centralised unitary states.

With some variations, these two lines of reasoning are widespread in eastern European countries. Both are commonly found in the ideologies of different political parties, though not exactly for the purposes of setting a pattern for the future. Political choices in this region have been made for the time being and administrative structures seem rather a course for civil war than a subject for political discussion.

Emotions run high around the debate. Is there really any reason for them? Nearly everything is correct in both logical constructions. The USSR was *de facto* a highly centralised (almost) unitary state, promoting integrationist processes and, at the same time, *de jure* a federal structure with the *de facto* stress on ethnicity. As for socialism and democracy, whether there was too little or too much of them depends exactly on how one defines these categories and on one's political preferences. Neither an attempt to silence or suppress ethnic conflict in Yugoslavia and the USSR under the previous regimes, nor the disintegration of both countries, helped to resolve the problem.

In fact, the experience of eastern Europe does not in any way help to select a correct administrative structure for SA. Rather, it prompts a question: crucial as it may be in many other respects, is it only the administrative structure that matters for peace, stability, democracy and the well-being of the community in SA or elsewhere in the world?

History offers many examples of both unitarism and federalism working and failing. Either might work for a time and then start failing, or vice versa. Contrary to the widespread belief both here and in eastern Europe, no specific type of administrative structure can by itself guarantee stability or prevent or enhance ethnic clashes, if no specific political connotations are involved. Without the political context, institutions and structures are neutral.

What is it, then, that makes this or that pattern work? If any lesson at all is to be drawn from eastern European experience, it would certainly have to do with this question.

This experience clearly shows that whether it is the structure of government or the power itself that is at stake, the most wonderful constitutional framework would not work if it were not acceptable to the majority. Nor would it work if it were not acceptable to any significant minority or minorities. A compromise might seem much less attractive to both parties than other options and yet, in most cases, it is the only way to make any decision work.

No constitutional or extra-constitutional arrangements work without the mandate from every constituency concerned. They do not work if any one of those constituencies perceives its leadership as illegitimate. They do not work, again, in an atmosphere of mutual distrust and suspicion; every small attempt to create a political climate favourable to co-existence proves no less important for the future than the most significant constitutional decisions. They do not work if the leadership is unable or unwilling to implement the decision that has already been taken.

Eastern Europe is demonstrating to the world the crucial importance of political culture and legal consciousness for making any decisions and structures workable. Both were notoriously absent in the mass consciousness of the former socialist bloc. Thus the failure of almost all the present forces active in the political arena to bring about the sense of responsibility for, and accountability to, a wider community, not just this or that political or ethnic group.

Will SA be able to perform better? Eastern European countries have already dismantled or are dismantling their totalitarian legacy in all spheres — except the psychological aspects. This last domain turns out to be much more difficult than even privatisation of their highly monopolised economies. The human factor, the human quality turns out to be the major stumbling block in the way of implementing the best of structural adjustments.

This country faces an enormously difficult task of dismantling many forms of apartheid. The psychological one may turn out to be the most resilient.

FM 2/10/92 (304A)

NEGOTIATIONS — 1 FM 2/10/92

Strong feelings

(304A)

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's furious withdrawal from talks with government, following the Mandela/De Klerk "Record of Understanding" signed last weekend, is probably a mixture of bluff and serious hurt. Most observers feel certain the matter will be talked out and that Buthelezi can be coaxed back. The US moved quickly to prevail on him to re-engage in talks.

"It looks like more room for more negotiations," said one NP member dryly, observing that Buthelezi's criticism of cosy bilateral deals between government and the ANC was at best a half-truth. De Klerk has pointed out that Buthelezi was kept informed almost every step of the way.

"It's politicking, grand standing; maybe he feels it's his turn (for a summit with the State President)," he adds.

If Buthelezi hopes for similar talks — which surely can be arranged — he realises, says one observer, that he cannot force government's hand in the way the ANC did, any more than he could derail Codesa by staying away. It is also suggested that, with government having paved the way for the PAC's entry into negotiations, any gap left by Inkatha could almost be filled by the Africanists. This sounds bizarre but it's never been a case of one or the other: Buthelezi remains an important player, even a key one.

However, Buthelezi's decision to meet and form a common front with bit players like Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo this week, may be seen as a sign of growing political marginalisation — and a lack of judgment.

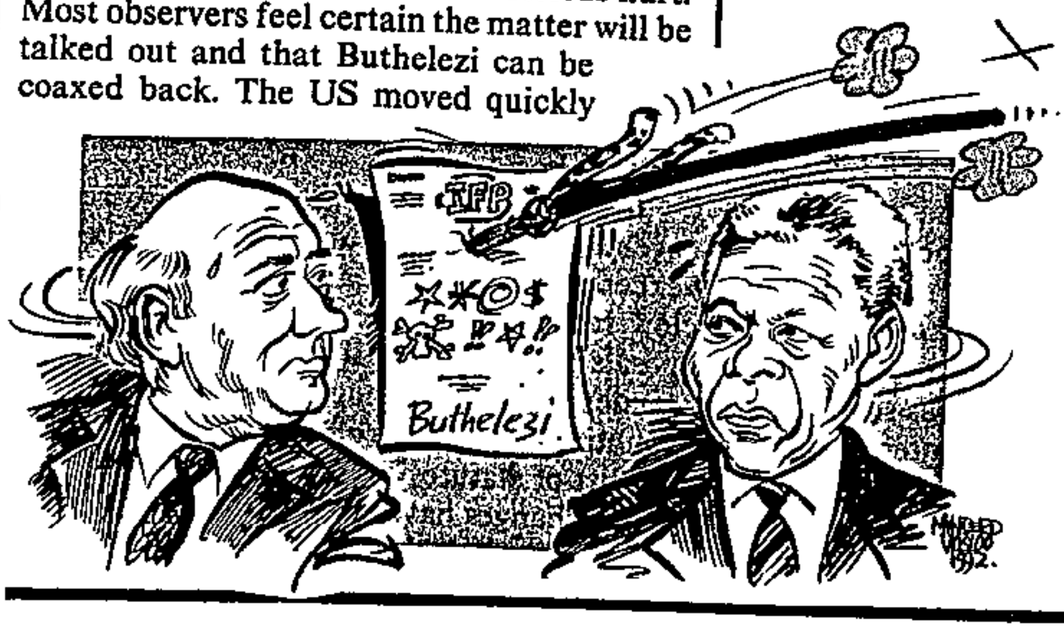
The three homelanders issued a joint statement calling for the rejection of the Record of Understanding. While they accepted the right of all parties to hold bilateral discussions, they objected to decisions being made in this way "which impact on others not involved in the decision-making." They also decided to call a meeting of organisations sharing their concern to discuss the way forward.

Not only was Buthelezi's pride wounded by being apparently ignored by the De Klerk/Mandela indaba, but the meeting succeeded in paving the way for a return to multiparty constitutional talks.

Not that he believes that is the best way to draw up a new constitution. In his Mmabatho speech on Tuesday he likened the government/ANC pact to the Von Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement between Hitler's Germany and the USSR — it was a recipe for the "ethnic cleansing" of Zulus.

He preferred an expert committee designing a constitution.

Buthelezi said: "The signing of the Record of Understanding . . . has served notice on us



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that Mr De Klerk and Dr Mandela think they can decide upon the parameters of negotiations unilaterally and then get us to fill out the flesh of the body politic they have decided on.

"We say no to this. We know of no revolutionary movement in the history of the world that has drawn up a constitution which enables parties opposed to it to win an election and form a government. The ANC will be no exception.

He adds: "If we permit the agreement to stand as binding on us, the SA government and the ANC would feed on the SA body politic for their own destructive glory. That is how strongly I feel." ■

remembered that the school, unlike other faculties in the university, is a profit centre. It proposes to be self-financing and Hall would surely have wanted to see the project through.

While it is possible that a professor of Hall's international stature may deserve to be better remunerated than colleagues who have no international reputation, salary apparently has nothing to do with his departure.

Perhaps the resignation is linked to the position of the school within the UCT structure.

It is possible that Hall was not allowed the managerial autonomy he desired, considering he was responsible for making the school eventually pay for itself. ■

NEGOTIATIONS — 2 FM 2/10/92

Points victory

(304A)

Aside from the release of political prisoners, securing of hostels and the carrying of dangerous weapons, significant "understanding" between President F W de Klerk and the ANC's Nelson Mandela was also reached on a constitution-making body at their summit meeting last Saturday.

It was the first time the two leaders had met since the ANC withdrew from negotiations in the wake of the Boipatong tragedy. The fact that the agreements alienated another important player, Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was unfortunate but cannot negate the breakthrough most South Africans desperately wanted to see and which the international community had urged on the leaders.

The De Klerk/Mandela "Record of Understanding" states that the two sides agreed

ANC's Ramaphosa ... *one of the main players*

(304A)

that their summit "has laid the basis for the resumption of the negotiating process."

To this end the ANC advised the government that it would "recommend" to its national executive committee that negotiation be resumed, after which extensive bilateral discussions will be held, facilitated by the existing channel between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. The two held a series of meetings after August 21 to prepare the ground, but a number of issues have yet to be resolved. At least the impasse has been cleared — with the ANC generally regarded as having got its way on the issues it regards as important.

The two sides agreed that there is a need for a democratic constituent assembly/constitution-making body and for it to be democratic it must:

- ☐ Be democratically elected;
- ☐ Draft and adopt the new constitution, implying that it should sit as a single chamber;
- ☐ Be bound only by agreed constitutional principles;
- ☐ Have a fixed time frame;
- ☐ Have adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms;
- ☐ Function democratically — that is, arrive at its decisions democratically with certain agreed majorities; and
- ☐ Be elected within an agreed predetermined time period.

They say the details will have to be worked out in the negotiation process.

During the interim or transitional period, there will be constitutional continuity. Because of this principle, it is agreed that the constituent assembly will also act as the interim/transitional parliament (a proposal which has been severely criticised by the Democratic Party); that there shall be an interim government of national unity; and that this combined authority (assembly/parliament/government) shall provide for national and regional government during the transition and incorporate guaranteed, justiciable basic rights and freedoms. The interim parliament may function as a one- or two-chamber body.

On prisoner releases, it was agreed that "all prisoners whose imprisonment is related to political conflict of the past and whose release can make a contribution to reconciliation should be released."

The two sides did not agree whether these prisoners should fall within the guidelines defining political offences. Nevertheless, those who committed offences with a "political motive" on or before October 8 1990 will be released in stages before November 15 this year. To this end, the parties have commenced a process of identification.

The document notes "the government's position that all who have committed similar offences but who have not been charged and sentenced should be dealt with on the same basis." No agreement could be reached on this question and it was agreed that the matter will receive further attention.

Turning to hostels, it is noted that the Goldstone Commission brought out an urgent report indicating that the problem was one of criminality and that it would have to investigate which localities are affected.

"In the meantime, some problematic hostels have been identified and the government has undertaken as a matter of urgency to address and deal with the problem in relation to hostels that have been associated with violence." Further measures will be taken, including fencing and policing to prevent criminality by hostel dwellers and to protect hostel dwellers against external aggression. Progress will be reported to the Goldstone Commission and the National Peace Secretariat.

The document goes on to say that in the present volatile atmosphere of violence, the public display and carrying of dangerous weapons "provokes further tension and should be prohibited." Government would issue a proclamation within weeks to prohibit this countrywide "subject to exemptions based on guidelines being prepared" by Goldstone, who will also assist in preparing the proclamation. The granting of exemptions is to be entrusted to one or more retired judges.

Government acknowledged the right of all parties to participate in peaceful mass action in accordance with the Peace Accord and Goldstone's recommendations. For its part, the ANC reaffirmed its commitment to the code of conduct for political parties in terms of the National Peace Accord.

The two parties also committed themselves to strengthening the Peace Accord and

Meyer ... *paved the way with ANC's Ramaphosa*

to do "everything in their power to calm down tensions and to finding ways and means of promoting reconciliation in SA."

In view of the progress made in the summit "and the progress we are likely to make when negotiations are resumed," the ANC said it would urgently consult its constituency "with a view to examine the current programme of mass action."

The two sides agreed to hold further meetings to address and finalise uncompleted matters. These include: a climate of free political activity; repressive security legislation; covert operations and special forces; and violence.

Perhaps, at last, it is time to roll. ■

Interim rule laws unlikely

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has indicated that it is unlikely to pass legislation in Parliament later this month to enable it to implement the first phase of transitional government.

Acting Constitutional Development Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers told a press conference yesterday that the basic concept for such legislation had been agreed to at Codesa 2.

But unless other parties now felt the Government should go ahead, it would not like to do so.

I won't hand over power if it leads to chaos – FW

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk has warned that he will not hand over the country to the ANC or anyone else who intends undoing what the Government is doing now.

Speaking at a press conference in Pretoria, Mr de Klerk said he had noticed that from time to time the ANC and some of its allies had been creating the impression that much of what the Government was doing now would be undone.

Observers believe that Mr de Klerk may have been referring especially to the ANC's recent threat that when it came to power it would "nullify" the Government's plan to grant a general amnesty across the board.

Mr de Klerk said he wished to stress that he was still negotiating within the framework of the principles for which he had been mandated in the referendum earlier this year.

He did not intend to support a constitution which would allow any government to undo what was now being done in the interests of general welfare and stability.

STAR 21/10/92

There is a move against even-handedness in US policy on SA, writes **Hugh Roberton**

Beware the song of Sarbanes

STAR 2/10/92.

304A

WHEN Senator Paul Sarbanes of Maryland showed up at a Senate Africa sub-committee hearing on South Africa last week, it was an occasion for both surprise and suspicion. Although he is a member of the sub-committee, he has not attended a public hearing in more than a year.

Why, now, his owlish presence? The answer turned out to be subtle in its manifestation and sinister in its thrust. Senator Sarbanes had come as the harbinger of an apparently orchestrated initiative to demolish one of the cornerstones of current US policy towards South Africa — the Bush Administration's insistence on being scrupulously even-handed towards the parties in the country, an honest broker acceptable to all.

He struck at one of the architects of the policy, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen, by way of the extraordinary device of questioning him, pedantically and aggressively, about evidence which had yet to be given by two other witnesses at the hearing, Gay McDougall, director of the Southern Africa Project, and Jennifer Davis, executive director of the Africa Fund.

For those not yet privy to what Mesdames McDougall and Davis were going to say, the purpose of the questioning was elusive, although Mr Cohen handled the challenge with what Senator Sarbanes seemed to regard as exasperating calm.

Slowly, though, the Sarbanes argument emerged. The South African Government was to blame for the violence, and consequently the US policy of treating all parties equally and apportioning blame on others besides the Government, was flawed.

It was an argument so at odds with the bipartisan approach of the Senate as a whole, so discordant with the views of the mainstream media, that in asides many at the hearing declared that it must be an aberration.

After all, Senator Sarbanes had invoked the name of the Goldstone Commission in the course of his argument, apparently unaware that its findings on the causes of violence substantially contradicted him, and so it was assumed he was merely waffling.

Not so. When Miss McDougall, and later Miss Davis, finally got a chance to render their evidence, lo and behold, these two loyal friends of the ANC in the US centred much of what they had to say on the same argument. The incongruous Sarbanes solo had become a chorus. US policy, generally regarded as rational, effective and fair by both major parties and broadly accepted as such, had to be tilted to one side.

Common sense would dictate to most people that in any situation where large organisations are pitted against one another politically, it is most unlikely that all the angels will be found in one camp and all the ogres in another, but commonsense does not always flow plentifully on Capitol Hill. Congress is chronically prone to taking sides and with the prospect of a new (Clinton) Administration growing more believable by the day, both houses are vulnerable to pressures for policy changes.

The Sarbanes thesis thus deserves to be taken seriously and its progress will depend in large measure on the actions of the South African Government.

On present performance the Government is jeopardising the even-handed approach by seeming to reinforce what people like Miss McDougall accuse it of doing. She made some sizzling points, among them the inordinate delays in acting on the recommendations of the Goldstone Commission.

Aside from the country having to be thrust into crisis before the Government was willing to ban traditional weapons and fence off the hostels, Miss McDougall pointed out that Mr Justice Goldstone recommended the prosecution of certain policemen after his investigation of the Sebokeng shooting but that 29 tragic months later still nothing has been done.

Likewise, there was a cry for help from Mr Cohen himself during the hearing. One of the pillars holding up the even-handed policy is a perception that South Africa is struggling to build a constitution based on the American concept of federalism, and that what is needed from the US is encouragement and understanding. Yet this is what he had to say:

"I have urged South Africans to consider seriously the degree to which federalism might address many of the tensions inherent in their society. Subsequent debate has revealed that some in South Africa portray federalism as a facade for stripping the central government of most significant authority. It is just such efforts to corrupt the purposes of federalism and turn it to the defence of the status quo that have earned it the enmity of so many in the disenfranchised majority and stifled serious debate."

Earlier, he was even more direct. He suggested a future constitution should "avoid overly complex arrangements intended to guarantee a share of power to particular groups, an arrangement that would frustrate effective governance. Minorities have a right to safeguards, they cannot expect a veto."

Mr Cohen is a reasonable and fair man. But he is approaching retirement age and the buzz is that he will bow out in the next few months, whether or not Mr Clinton becomes President, thus adding to the potential for a changed policy.

Will it be the policy advocated by Senator Sarbanes and now being so assiduously promoted by the supporters of the ANC in Congress and, ominously, in the Clinton camp? Or will the US remain a neutral force at the helm of international policy towards South Africa? The decision will depend in large measure on President de Klerk. □

Taking government to th

STAR 2/10/92 (304A)

Representatives of South African political organisations attended an international conference on federalism in Germany last week, and came back with their views somewhat modified, writes Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA.

SOUTH African political organisations may be deeply divided on federalism as an option for the ture, but on one thing they are greed: there is a need to bring overnment close to the people.

How that is going to be hieved, and what powers reons are going to have to acmplish that ideal, remains to debated.

An international conference federalism in Hannover last eek, arranged by the German stitute for Federal Research, ay yet prove to have helped vance the debate on federaln in this country.

The three-day conference, ose theme was "Federalism tween integration and secesn: chances and risks of federsystems", was addressed by academics and experts from countries as diverse as Germany, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the Commonwealth of Independent States (formerly the Soviet Union), Belgium, Italy, Spain, Australia, Canada and the United States.

Different kinds of federal systems were discussed, including problems which led to the disintegration of former federal countries in Eastern Europe.

Listening to the discussions was a group of South Africans, including representatives of five local political organisations. These were ANC national executive committee member and constitutional committee chairman Dr Zola Skweyiya, Pan Africanist Congress publicity and information secretary Barney Desai, Azanian People's Organisation vice-president for political education Molatlhegi Tlhale, Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member and KwaZulu Finance Minister Dr Denis Madide, and Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport.

Discussions initially focused on unitary countries with strong regional governments, such as Spain and Italy, and proceeded to those countries where federalism was adopted to deal with ethnic conflicts, such as Belgium and Canada.

Germany and Australia were given as examples of federalism based on consent, and the US, Australia and Switzerland were said to be examples of federalism based on integration.

It became clear during the deliberations that the evolution from a unitary state to a federal one was a process. Countries emerging from being strong unitary states were advised to start with strong regions before going on to become fully fledged federal states.

Another point germane to the South African debate was stressed: federalism does not mean a weak central government. It was pointed out that Germany, Canada, Australia and the US were all federal countries and yet they had strong central governments in Bonn, Ottawa, Canberra and Washington.

One speaker described federal states as "tax collectors", and said a federal system was better suited for redistribution from richer regions to poorer ones.

A point stressed throughout the conference was the fact that federalism presupposed the existence of democracy and socio-economic homogeneity. Without democracy, various speakers repeatedly said, there could be no federalism.

And later in Bonn, Wolfgang Weege of the opposition Social Democratic Party warn if federalism were advoc a means to entrench whi ileges and ethnic divisi South Africa, it would more problems than it solve.

At the end of the Ha conference, one could greater appreciation of form of federalism in Africa. There was co among the five political sations represented th term "federalism" had dropped because of the n connotations it had co have, and that what had discussed was a way of b government closer to th ple.

Indeed, Canadian Pr Brown-John argued stro his presentation against

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e people

of the word, saying it had "hung around with bad company in Eastern Europe and in the process had become tainted".

He said it did not matter what name was given to a relationship which people in different regions of a country had agreed upon for their government, as long as that relationship encouraged co-operation and functioned properly.

Dr Delport, who circulated a map showing the National Party's proposed seven regions for South Africa, remained a staunch advocate of federalism, as did Dr Madide. Dr Skweyiya said although he did not think federalism was "the right thing for South Africa", he believed it was "worth studying".

Mr Desai said South Africans had to approach the debate on federalism with caution and added that his organisation would "pursue the democratic ideal as far as possible, and that means bringing government as close to the people as possible".

Mr Tlhale commented: "Azapo has very deep-rooted suspicions about federalism because of our opposition to ethnicity. However, we cannot stand against it as a concept. I will recommend that Azapo looks at it and informs itself, even if it might eventually reject it. I don't believe we should throw out the baby with the bathtub."

If the people who went to Germany last week have any influence in their organisations, it is quite likely that the debate on federalism/regionalism will be approached much more nationally in future. □

STAR 2/10/92.

Pik Botha in Rome

(304A)

ROME — Foreign Minister Pik Botha arrived in Rome yesterday to attend the ceremony for the signing of the peace accord between Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama.

There was a question mark over the whereabouts of Mr Dhlakama — who had doubts about certain aspects of the accord — although he was yesterday believed to be on his way to Rome.

Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe and President Quett Masire of Botswana are also in the Italian capital for the ceremony. — Sapa.

Voter education a Matla Trust priority

B/Day 2/10/92

(3044A)

THEO RAWANA

WITH SA's first nonracial elections imminent, educational and charitable organisation Matla Trust has chosen voter education as a priority in its programme of uplifting disadvantaged South Africans.

To this end, the trust has produced 320 graduates from eight two-week courses to train people in the concept of democracy and the electoral system, Matla Trust's community and citizen education programme national co-ordinator Terrence Tryon says.

Matla Trust was established in 1990 as a nonpartisan body serving the needs of disadvantaged people across the political spectrum, following ANC president Nelson Mandela's consultations on the issue.

The trust is being funded by money Mandela raised in overseas drives. To date, the Washington-based Free Mandela Fund has released R13m to the programme. It also receives funds from foreign governments, foreign and local business and individuals and non-governmental bodies.

As an educational and charitable trust under the chairmanship of lawyer Ismail Ayob, the trust subscribes to the adage: "When you give a man a fish, you feed him for a day, but if you teach him how to fish, you feed him for life."

The trust's objectives are to uplift disadvantaged people through educational, social, welfare, charitable and informative programmes.

It also aims to promote the development of a democratic society by teaching people about democratic principles, institutions and practices. The name Matla comes from the Sesotho word meaning empowerment.

In an interview last year, executive director Billy Modise said the voter education programme would "generally prepare South Africans for democracy".

He said SA was changing rapidly and if there were to be an election now, many people would be disqualified from voting for procedural or tactical errors.

The community and citizen education programme prepares people for elections by teaching them the basic principles, institutions and practices of democracy.

"We got 53 organisations from all over the country to select people to be trained and to go back and train their constituencies. These people will also act as election managers and serve as monitors during elections," Tryon said.

"It must be made clear that the programme is not for a particular organisation, but is aimed at getting as many people as possible to vote."

Renamo leader arrives in Rome

ROME — Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama arrived in the Italian capital yesterday to sign a peace treaty ending Mozambique's 16 years of civil war.

Dhlakama, who had balked at signing the treaty at the last minute but was later convinced to travel to Rome by SA officials, arrived at the city's Fiumicino Airport early yesterday evening.

And Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano told SA he was sure a face-to-face meeting with Dhlakama would be enough to save the threatened treaty.

SA diplomats said Chissano had assured Foreign Minister Pik Botha a settlement could still be signed in the next few days despite a last-minute change of heart by Dhlakama. B/Day

After talks with Chissano, Botha said: "Both parties are so close to signing this ceasefire that it would be a great pity if it did not happen in the next day or two."

"We hope that thanks to Italian efforts, there will still be a signing (ceremony) in the next few days in Rome," Botha said. 2/10/92

Italy on Tuesday suspended the planned signing ceremony and put on ice invitations that had already been sent to world leaders including Kenyan President Daniel Arap Moi and Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavacao Silva. — Sapa-AFP-Reuter.

Stolen goods recovered in Zevenfontein

xpected to resume soon ● Excessive alcohol

Scene is set for resumption of talks

Sowetan 2/10/92.

■ **TIGHTEN UP** The Government to engage PAC and ANC in bilateral talks next week:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

(304A)

A FLURRY OF ACTIVITY around negotiations starts on Monday when details of a series of bilateral meetings between the Government and liberation movements are expected to be tightened up.

A high-level summit between the Government and the PAC will be confirmed early next week, and the ANC is expected to meet Pretoria shortly before the entire Cabinet leaves for Cape Town later in the week for the special Parliamentary session which starts October 12.

The ANC's national executive committee this week ratified the agreement reached at last Saturday's summit.

Sources within the movement are confident that bilateral talks will begin before the Government goes to Parliament.

It is hoped multi-party talks will be resumed later this year, possibly next month.

The Government is expected to effectively abolish the tricameral constitution when it goes to Parliament to prepare the way for interim arrangements.

Meanwhile, State President FW de Klerk yesterday said agreements reached at last Saturday's summit should not be misinterpreted.

Govt and ANC head for the bush for next round of negotiations

B/DAY 21/10/92. (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC has agreed to meet government for a two-day "bosberaad" at the end of October to finalise outstanding issues.

It is understood that the two parties agreed to the bush talks after the ANC accepted President F W de Klerk's invitation of some weeks ago to break the impasse in negotiations.

According to the ANC, the bosberaad would have been held sooner but the two sides could not fit in a meeting due to current commitments. ANC president Nelson Mandela is abroad until October 12; then Parliament re-opens and De Klerk will be tied up for two weeks.

Two foreign diplomats said ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki briefed the diplomatic corps yesterday and confirmed the bosberaad decision.

It is understood the ANC is hoping Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend the meeting of national peace accord signatories on October 17 so that he and Mandela can meet.

On Wednesday the ANC national executive committee (NEC) decided against a summit between the two leaders but were reportedly in favour of the two leaders meeting within the context of a broader gathering.

At the Union Buildings yesterday, De Klerk made an urgent plea for all signatories to attend the meeting. He has called for Mandela and Buthelezi to meet to contribute to lowering tensions in Natal.

De Klerk said it would be "the biggest achievement towards peace if we can get all the signatories" to the meeting.

He expressed disappointment that the NEC had not gone further in scaling down mass action but welcomed its commitment to minimise the possibility of violence.

He criticised the ANC and some of its spokesmen for creating the impression that "much of what we are doing will be undone later".

De Klerk said he was negotiating within the framework of principles he had received a mandate for in the referendum, and no more.

"I won't say yes to a constitution that will allow any party to undo at random that which has been constructively done to maintain stability and security."

There could only be long-term peace if the interests, fears and aspirations of all South Africans were properly accommodated, he said.

De Klerk vowed to do everything he could to clear up misunderstandings of agreements with the ANC which had led to Buthelezi pulling out of all talks.

It was untrue that government had capitulated to the ANC. The summit talks were not intended to exclude any parties.

"The bilateral talks with the ANC were an essential step toward the resumption of

☐ To Page 2

Bosberaad

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☐ From Page 1

inclusive multiparty negotiations, which remains the ultimate goal," De Klerk said.

Government was committed to the widest possible consultation and it was not possible to negotiate viable constitutional settlements if only some of the parties were present.

The agreements with the ANC also did not rule out or inhibit any other parties from adopting different positions at future multiparty negotiations, De Klerk said.

Since Codesa had broken down, a mood of pessimism and despair had replaced the confidence and growing goodwill. International and domestic confidence in the economy had been eroded, which had led to further hardship and deprivation for many South Africans, he said.

Referring to Buthelezi withdrawing from talks, De Klerk said the government/ANC meeting at the weekend should have made a positive contribution, but its positive effect had "unfortunately been undermined by the negative reaction from some quarters".

He said it was essential that all men and parties of goodwill should get together to put a stop to the downward spiral of the past months.

"This is not the time for boycott politics or for the politics of demands and division.

"This is a time when all of us should be throwing our weight toward the centre and those forces that bind us together," he said clearly indicating that he would try to get Buthelezi back but was not going to pander to him.

In a veiled reference to the ANC's proposed march on Ulundi, De Klerk appealed to all parties to "exercise the maximum restraint and responsibility with regard to the volatile situation in Natal".

● Comment: Page 6

From page 1

Slovo

(304A) CT 2/9/92

In a brutally frank assessment of the current balance of forces in South Africa, Mr Slovo notes that members of the SACP need to realise that they are "clearly not dealing with a defeated enemy" and that the seizure of power by the liberation movement is not a realistic option.

Political analysts were in agreement last night that Mr Slovo's outspoken comments would have an important impact both within the SACP and on the broader political landscape.

The head of the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape, Professor Vincent Maphai, said Mr Slovo appeared to be sending a clear message to insurrectionists in the ANC-led alliance that their option was not on.

In addition, Mr Slovo's "common-sense" assessment appeared to indicate "mass action is not going to result in the seizure of power and that the (power) stalemate is likely to continue not only before a settlement but afterwards".

Professor Maphai said the standpoint adopted by Mr Slovo was "good news for President F W de Klerk" who had emerged without apparent gains from last weekend's summit with Mr Mandela.

Professor David Welsh of the Political Science Department at the University of Cape Town said Mr Slovo appeared to "interested in getting the negotiation process further rather than remaining locked in a sterile debate".

He predicted that the younger, more radical grass-roots members of the ANC-alliance "will not take very kindly" to the conciliatory tone of Mr Slovo's remarks.

Slovo's risk

Govt, ANC to discuss peace in bundu

(304A) CT 2/10/92

Political Staff

THE ANC has agreed to meet the government for a two-day bosberaad at the end of October to finalise outstanding issues.

It is understood that the two parties had agreed to meet after the ANC accepted President F W de Klerk's invitation made some weeks ago to break the impasse in negotiations.

According to the ANC, current commitments by both Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr De Klerk prevented the bosberaad from happening earlier.

Inside:

FW WILL INSIST ON GENERAL AMNESTY

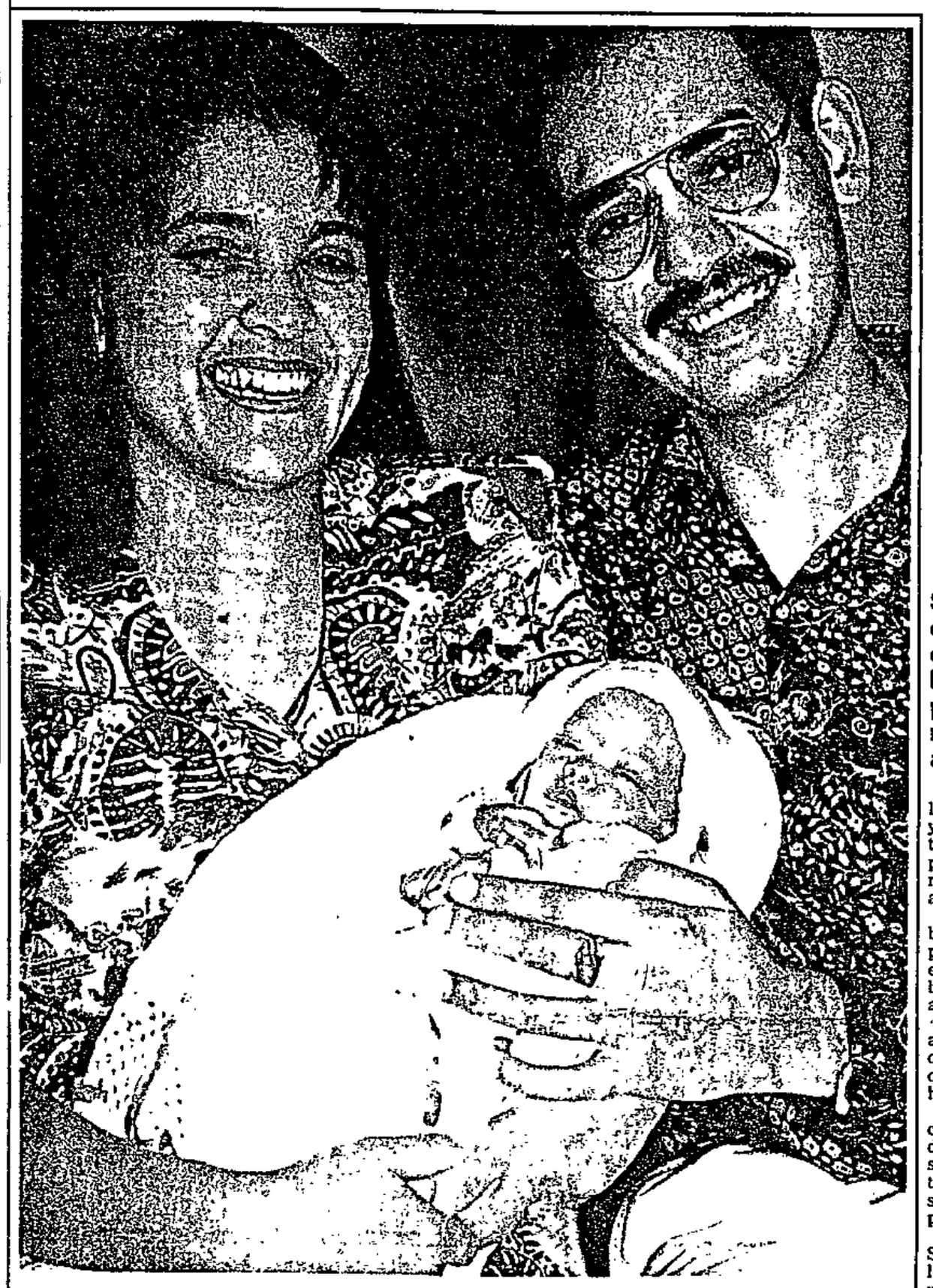
See PAGE 2

Two foreign diplomats confirmed that ANC head of International Affairs Mr Thabo Mbeki had briefed the diplomatic corps yesterday and confirmed the details of the bosberaad decision.

It is also understood the ANC is hoping IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend the meeting of the National Peace Accord signatories on October 17 to facilitate a meeting between him and Mr Mandela.

On Wednesday the ANC national executive committee decided against a summit between the two leaders, but apparently were in favour of the two leaders meeting within the context of a broader gathering.

And at the Union Buildings yesterday Mr De Klerk made an urgent plea that all the signatories to the Peace Accord attend the meeting.



GOING HOME ... Tiny Cherie Blakely, who was the size of a 750 gm margarine tub when she was born prematurely, was allowed to go home yesterday with her jubilant parents, Lynette and Bertram Blakeley. Cherie made headlines when she survived intensive spinal surgery a day after her birth. She has been cocooned in the neonatal intensive care unit of City Park Hospital for the past two months. Her parents have had four stillborn babies. Picture: ALAN TAYLOR

Bold peace plan drops party-line

CT 2/10/92 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

SOUTH AFRICAN Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo has thrown down the gauntlet to party hardliners bent on the "revolutionary seizure of power" by making a strong plea for far-reaching compromises through negotiation.

In a bold but risky bid to break the political logjam, the key ANC negotiator stuck his neck out yesterday by calling for a series of concessions at the negotiation table that are bound to stir up a political hornet's nest among insurrectionists and more radical elements in the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance.

Echoing the recent highly conciliatory line taken by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to boost the prospects for a negotiated settlement, Mr Slovo emphasised the need to address "some of the more basic and immediate fears and insecurities of our adversary (the government) and its constituency".

Mr Slovo told the Cape Times that the time had arrived to allay possible misgivings that hundreds of thousands of civil servants — including members of the SA Police and the Defence Force — might have about the future.

He said that although a democratically elected constitution-making body should have the power to decide the key features of a future political dispensation, the two major power blocs in the country — the ANC and the National Party — could remove some of the uncertainty and tension by highlighting points of "commonality".

In an path-breaking article to be published in the SACP journal, African Communist, Mr Slovo outlines four "retreats from previously held positions which would create the possibility of a major positive breakthrough in the negotiations process ..."

The compromises he suggests as part of an "acceptable settlement package" are:

- A constitutionally entrenched system of power-sharing for a fixed — but as yet unspecified — number of years in the period immediately following the adoption of a constitution.
- A deal on restructuring the civil service (including the SAP and the SADF) which takes into account existing contracts and/or provides for retirement compensation.
- A commitment now that the ANC-alliance would, as part of an interim government of national unity, support a general amnesty for all those who disclose in full those activities for which they seek indemnity.
- An understanding between the two major parties on the boundaries, powers and functions to which they will commit themselves in a constitution-making body.

QUESTIONS ... Joe Slovo

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Unfinished business holding up Codesa

W/Mail 2/10-8/10/92. (304A)

It will take three months before there can be a new version of Codesa reports

ARTHUR GAVSHON

SIGNALS reaching British and Commonwealth authorities in London suggest it will take about three months before Codesa in a revised form can be resumed, even if an African National Congress-Inkatha confrontation can be avoided.

Officials of the Foreign Office and the Commonwealth Secretariat called attention to a number of complex issues that figure as unfinished business in the record of understanding signed by President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela this week.

This unfinished business lies at the heart of the difficulties besetting the major parties involved in the search for settlement. They range from the central problem of ending violence and the ban promised by De Klerk on the carrying of lethal weapons to creating the conditions for free political activity throughout the Republic including the homelands.

The matter of international supervision of the peacemaking and projected electoral processes has also aroused concern among British, Commonwealth, European Community and United Nations diplomats.

Despite plans for the introduction of scores more international monitoring units by non-governmental organisations, there appears to be a general recognition that the existing Peace Accord structure requires massive reinforcement.

A senior Commonwealth official said: "The declarations by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of the possibilities of full scale civil war may be rhetorical but need to be taken seriously. They may be his seeking to conceal rifts within the Inkatha movement but they would also spell bigtime trouble that would wreck the negotiating programme."

Underlining this, the informant disclosed that Mandela had asked UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali for a 400-strong monitoring force. The UN chief was only able to commit himself to 50 because of his commitment in the former Yugoslav state, Cambodia and elsewhere.

Worse than that, the UN observer group is composed of what the diplomat described as "pen-pushers" — meaning secretariat officials with little or no experience of on-site monitoring and observer techniques. "What is essential in South Africa are monitors and observers with policing or soldiering experience," the official said.

The variety of problems still to be settled before fullscale negotiations can be resumed include:

- ANC action to ensure all its regions respect Mandela's undertaking for calming tensions and promoting reconciliation, especially around kwaZulu and other homeland territories. This will involve reconsideration of the ANC's current programme of mass action.
- Joint moves to create a climate for free political activity throughout the land.
- The repeal of repressive security laws by the state.
- Ending all secret operations by the SADF's special forces.
- Effective measures by all the parties to avoid and control violence.
- Completion by November 15 of the programme for the identification and release of political prisoners. This may re-quire special new legislation.
- Identification by the Goldstone Commission of "problematic hostels" which are to be fenced and subjected to special policing arrangements.
- A government proclamation "within weeks" to outlaw "the public display and carrying of dangerous weapons". This would require action to implement such a ban which itself could trigger new trouble if Buthelezi's threats to resist this mean anything.

Federalism viewed from the shoulders of giants

Using foreign models of federalism could turn South Africa into another Germany — or another Yugoslavia. At a conference in Hannover, Germany, last week various academics put forward the options

2/10-8/10/92

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

IT was an inspirational oration, closer to Goethe and Hegel than modern political science. It was enough to rouse a sleepy delegation of South Africans assembled last week at the philosopher Leibniz's house in Hannover for a conference on changes in federal systems.

"We are dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants," declared Professor Peter Haberle of Bayreuth University, pressing his palms together as if in prayer and closing his eyes as if the vista from the giant's shoulders could best be seen from inside one's head.

No South African constitutional discussion should be so complex as Haberle's erudite journey through such concepts as feduciary federalism. Yet we too stand on the shoulders of giants, the experiences of other countries permitting us to see further than those on whose shoulders we clamber.

For instance, Europe, from west to east, is gripped by far-reaching and fascinating constitutional change that South Africans could usefully deploy in the debates ahead.

Last weekend's record of understanding between the National Party and the African National Congress, designing the gateway to democracy, has elevated "basic constitutional principles" to the top of the negotiations agenda.

Before democratic elections for a constituent assembly, the question of whether South Africa is to be a unitary or a federal state — and how entrenched the powers of regional government should be — has to be decided.

There were representatives from five political parties at the Hannover conference. For them, the difficulty was, for a moment, to stand outside the deeply ideologised South African debate and to ask questions in a different, more open-ended way.

Distrust of motivations and intentions has turned federalism into the f-word of South African politics. Opponents of the government are deeply suspicious of the NP's embrace of a concept that it so comprehensively scorned, to the extent of abolishing the provincial councils and imposing centrally planned social engineering on the country, with disastrous results.

Having clung to exclusive centralised power for 44 years, it is highly fishy that the NP underwent a sudden conversion to the virtues of a weaker central state on the eve of majority rule.

The NP deepens suspicions that it has a double agenda by proposing minimal powers for central government that would amount to a loose confederation, and which would deny the central government even the right to draw up a budget — and hence to redistribute wealth.

The allies that the NP invited include all the old homeland suspects such as Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo, whose interest in federalism can only be inspired by the belief that it will save their political hides by preserving vestiges of the old apartheid system that created them.

From the other side, there is a legitimate concern that the flame of the old Leninist dogma of "democratic centralism" still burns bright in the hearts of many in the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

The US constitution provides something of an answer to both of these objections. As an American legal academic pointed out, the philosophical underpinning of the US constitution is to avoid the "tyranny of the majority", a phrase which I noted the government member of the South African delegation eagerly scribbling down.

The US does this by dividing power and parcelling it out horizontally between congress, the presidency and the judiciary, and vertically between the federal government and the states. It does not provide a special dispensation to privileged groups or minorities.

For the rightwing, this is its very deficiency. It does not address the question of minorities and potential racial or ethnic conflict.

Among the federal constitutions that do set out to accommodate adversarial group rights are Belgium and Canada. Because of our history, there is no way that South Africa can turn back the clock on apartheid and reimpose racially based legislation.

And because of our geography, federalism on its own can do nothing about group conflict in South Africa: each region is to some extent a microcosm of the whole. The likelihood is that for Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging supporters in Pietersburg, Roodepoort or Welkom, federalism would impose not just one, but two tiers of ANC rule over their heads.

And, far from resolving the conflict between the Zulus of the Inkatha Freedom Party and those of the the ANC, strong regional government in Natal will simply decentralise the winner take all struggle into a huge regional conflagration.

What the NP is not saying out loud for the moment is that it proposes to deal with ethnic and political conflicts through power-sharing, at a national and a regional level. Under this scheme, Natal will be governed by the three strongest parties, who will probably be the ANC, the IFP and the NP.

Unfortunately, power-sharing also eliminates democracy in that it creates permanent political elites and cabals in government. People can never vote a government out of office or rely on a strong and viable opposition to keep a government on its toes.

By rigging political society and simultaneously creating a federation we would be setting ourselves up for a model that no one in their right mind would willingly follow: Yugoslavia.

Yugoslavia is often thrown about loosely by rightwingers as a kind of threat of what will happen in South Africa if their demand for a Boerestaat or a Zulu state are not accommodated. The reality is far more complex, as eminent professors from Belgrade and Zagreb were able to tell the conference.

Professor PS Nikolic was blunt. Yugoslavia failed, he said, because it was not democratic. "There was no democratic political regime throughout the development of Yugoslavia. There was no way to develop authentic federalism to resolve the national question...

"Federalism presupposes a democratic form of government. It has been realised most convincingly in those centres where democracy has reached its highest level — Germany, the US and Switzerland. Where it has been undemocratic there is failure, for instance Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union."

The overwhelming message at the conference is that while democracy is its basis, every country should find its own way to federalism. We cannot pluck out, say, the German model and hope that it will thrive in South African soil.

Besides, after 44 years of NP gerrymandering, South Africans have every reason to be sceptical. If people on the ground are to be convinced that they are not being snared in another trap, federalism or regionalism will have to be explained in terms of very good reasons they can understand and that have meaning in their lives, and not just as the outcome of a fix between political parties.

A blueprint imposed from the top by a few smart politicians won't work. Africa is a graveyard of political systems imposed by colonial administrators. The NP should remember this in its haste to frontload the constitution and cast as much of the system into tablets of stone before the constituent assembly sits.

There is a lesson here from Canada, whose very survival is at stake in a referendum on October 26. Professor Lloyd Brown-John, of Windsor University, pointed out that the process whereby federal systems are developed must be legitimised. "Major constitutional adjustment requires in some manner the involvement of the people affected."

Brown-John himself sat on one of the commissions appointed by his government to sound out the views of the people. He visited small-town Canada to hear thousands of submissions from activist groups and individuals. Still, the final outcome has an even chance of being rejected.

The same problem of legitimacy has arisen over the unification of Europe and the Maastricht treaty. It is a rebellion against bureaucrats developing a new Europe and changing people's lives without consulting them.

At a deeper level, the fear of centralisation in the advanced capitalist societies is a rejection of the new world order, of globalisation and anonymity.

It is a rebellion against MacDonald's hamburgers, bad American movies and television, and the trend to dismal uniformity.

Thus, it was fascinating to hear from Italian and Spanish constitutional lawyers and academics of a vibrant regionalism that has developed in these countries and which is moving them from unitary states towards becoming federations. Regionalism, in another memorable phrase from Haberle, has become the little brother of federalism.

There is a hint of this same principle in President FW de Klerk's recent espousal of regionalism and federalism, which he said are "able to guarantee a better, purer and more lasting democracy". Among the reasons he gives for this is bringing government closer to the people.

There is nothing objectionable in this. In fact, there are many in the ANC who would support that same principle. But it has to be built from the grassroots, as in Spain where becoming a federation is proving to be a long, complicated process. "What is important is that we agree on the conditions for this to take place," said a Spanish professor, Antonio Lopez Pina.

Regionalisation in Spain takes place in the context of a constitution that provides for the "harmonisation of living standards between all Spaniards".

To be a Spaniard, to have that identity, is not a shallow nationhood comprised only in waving a flag and singing an anthem. It is to be one among equals.

Far from blocking the redistribution of wealth, federalism and regionalism can facilitate it — as it has done, and is doing right now, in Germany. Now I wonder if that's what De Klerk has in mind.

Pressing on towards peace

Guardian (W Cape W (mail) 2/10/-8/10/92, 304A

IN SOUTH Africa, negotiation is still the chosen route towards majority government. Scores of people are being murdered every day. For many blacks, the biggest question is whether they will make it through the night. They are not very interested in constitutional settlements. But talking, as F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are still striving to show, continues to be the preferred way of doing business.

Moreover, the main parties seem to agree on many things. They all accept universal suffrage. They all want election by proportional representation. They all say that regional power will be essential to both the curbing and the viability of the central government. They all loudly believe in the importance of a Bill of Rights as the crucial unifying guarantee of the rule of law.

Nor is this like putting up their hands for motherhood. The two parties around which all this revolves have made concessions that are not always comfortable. De Klerk's National Party accepts that the horrendous thought of majority rule is the only way forward, and is whistling to keep its courage up with the line put forward by the irrepressible foreign minister, Pik Botha, and others. As the new party boss in the Transvaal, Botha brags that the Nats will actually win the first election with black voters, which ought to take place some time in the next 18 months.

The ANC's most visible concession is of a different order. It is intellectual. Since I was here in 1990, the leadership has acquired a clearer grasp on economic reality. They understand that foreign investment must be lured here, and that socialistic nationalisation can no longer coexist with it. They also see that time is running out. The how and the how-much of economic redistribution, an absolutely unavoidable component, are impossible to promise. The militant ideologues who fence Mandela in on one side do not recoil from a scorched-earth outcome. But after they overplayed their hand at Bisho and were accessories to a massacre, the realists began the process that took them back towards the conference-table.

A deeper reality conduces that way, sooner or later. For everyone knows, do they not, that there is no other way? The Nats see it as their only hope. Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki, the two ablest men around Mandela, utterly understand it. What is more, it is expected in the streets. Many blacks think a new life beckons. The white business community, small or large, talks with the blind fatalism common to business people everywhere. Things should be all right, they tend to say, "when those politicians have got themselves sorted out". This is a developed country, whose future cries out for a rational deal. It's also an underdeveloped country with the same irrefutable need. The skyscrapers and the shanty-towns equally proclaim that the politicians cannot fail.

Their task, however, is a challenge to more than rationality. Although the negotiating machine stops and starts, it is driven forward by these compelling realities. Yet behind them are other realities which have the power to overwhelm the most rational and obvious compulsion.

For one thing, although the consensus sounds grand and is in historic terms amazing, it masks large areas of dissent. There is not even the beginning of agreement on the following essentials: how and where to write the constitution, when and for what body to have the first election, of whom and for how long a transitional government should be composed, what are principles and what are details when it comes to writing a constitution, what sort of proportional voting would be sensible, what sort of rights a Bill of Rights should protect. This list could be extended by another hundred elementary items. Perhaps most critically, the truly federal government the whites now regard as vital to their power-sharing ambitions is far removed from the merely regional government the ANC is prepared to settle for.

> ***'This is a developed country, whose future cries out for a rational deal'***

They are at the very start, in other words, of a process which, perhaps because it began by engaging hundreds of people and many fragmentary interest groups, has arrived at exceptionally few decisions. The formality of constitution-making is intertwined with an incessant power-struggle, the need to make compromises flawed by total uncertainty about the willingness of those no longer at the table to accept them. These, the excluded parties to the deal, have a vile reputation. This is no doubt another necessary part o the process. If Afrikaner Conservatism an Zulu separatism had had to be accomme dated before de Klerk and Mandela got t work, nothing whatever would have hap pened. Their power of veto is relegated t the back of the negotiators' minds for thi again would impede all progress if anyon paid it too much attention.

Yet their veto, on peace if not on a deal emphatically exists. Chief Buthelezi may b a discredited figure, but he has a few legion behind him, all aware — such is the co option of the ANC into the fashion of th moment — that the slaughter of Inkath Zulus seldom gets a fraction of the attentio the international media give to deaths amon the ANC. The Conservative Afrikaner, ex cepting the wild men already running thei own militias, is a voice that has yet to b heard. He waits and watches. People say h will never sacrifice his BMW for the impov erished white sub-state of which he seems t be dreaming. He is unlikely to be put to this test, because the idea is outlandish. But the Afrikaner is born to fight, and we haven't seen him fighting yet.

Nor can anyone imagine he will be alone. Another note the negotiators have no space for is a note of caution. They have bound themselves to the only wheel that destiny allows them, which is supposed to be progressing, as far as most blacks are concerned, towards the promised land. But generations will live and die before it gets there: an obvious platitude, yet one that the charismatic liberator at their head, perhaps understandably, does not choose to emphasise. Even if a deal is done and the ANC comes to power, the fury as expectations are not met is bound to be horrific. The Bill of Rights may be essential. All parties say as much. But it is hardly a sufficient bulwark against the culture of the outlaw which can be sensed a millimetre below the skin of this society.

What's happening here is an attempt to meet peacefully a price that history is exacting. It is a valiant effort. Men of intelligence and belated goodwill have seen what they must do, and have bent themselves to the task. It is trite to say they must succeed. Of course they must. But the enterprise is asking more of history's victims than they have paid in any other country, and more of history's winners than they have ever been known willingly to offer up.

Guardian (W/Cape W/mail) 2/10 - 8/10/92 (304A)

SOUTH AFRICA was thrown back to a fresh political crisis at the weekend when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced he was pulling out of negotiations in protest against what he described as government "connivance" with the ANC to rig a settlement, *writes David Beresford.*

The chief's angry announcement came just hours after President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela had concluded a deal to bring the ANC back into the negotiating process.

The ANC leader and the president signed a "record of understanding" on Saturday which set out a basis for the resumption of negotiations, including agreement that the country's new constitution will be thrashed out by an elected constituent assembly, and that there will be a non-racial interim government. The "understanding" confirmed government undertakings on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of migrant worker hostels, and the outlawing of "cultural" weapons.

In front of well over 10,000 warriors brandishing "cultural weapons" including spears, axes, and clubs, Chief Buthelezi, dressed in traditional leopard skins, declared any attempt by the government to disarm them would be defied, fencing outside their hostels would be destroyed "with their bare hands", and any a constituent assembly would be "emphatically rejected".

Nelson Mandela tried to smooth over the crisis, assuring the country that the views of all political leaders would be taken into account.

President de Klerk said later it was "a pity" that Chief Buthelezi had reacted in this way. He said peace seemed unlikely in South Africa "until Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela have made their peace".

The chief's furious response to the de Klerk/Mandela rapprochement follows hints that he is considering leading his homeland of KwaZulu to secession. The threat is seen as hollow, but his boycott of negotiations will hugely complicate the reform process.

The dangers posed by Chief Buthelezi's defiance were also underlined in the densely populated Durban township of KwaMashu on "Shaka Day", commemorating the founder of the Zulu nation after a service addressed by Chief Buthelezi.

Thousands of armed Zulus surged through the streets, a large group wrestling with heavily armed riot police in one incident, in which an unidentified gunman fired shots without apparent effect. As evening fell at least one woman was reported to have been shot dead and five people injured in random gunfire from moving vehicles. On Saturday, in another area, 11 Inkatha members were reported killed by unidentified gunmen.

A country and its conscience

Guardian W (in W/mail) 2/10-8/10/92. 304A

Two articles by Hugo Young reporting from South Africa

THIS is a strange time for anyone to seek British advice on constitutions, federalism, and the building of a community of nations, but South Africa is desperate. The turbulence in the ERM has been good for the Rand. Neither the threadbare consent for Maastricht nor the bloody carve-up of Yugoslavia seems to shift the South African elite from a belief that Europe has something to contribute to forging one nation out of the starkest ethnic conflict in the world. As proof of faith in the capacity of rational dialogue to impose itself on ferocious, irrational, copiously bleeding reality, the British-South African Conference here in Durban shone optimistically for three days.

It is not the first such exercise. One academic I know says he could spend every week of the year at similar conferences somewhere in the world, all expenses paid. The place should be suffering from conference-exhaustion. But the obsessive two-way fascination has not diminished. We come from all over to inspect this country we think we know so much about and, thank God, we are not like. They receive us, touchingly reluctant to believe that their problems, about which they once often told us to mind our own business, are intransigently unique. They even tolerated, without barracking her, a speech of rich colonial condescension from Baroness Chalker wishing them well.

But there are limitations in this process. To listen to it you might imagine that one thing South Africa did not suffer from was an absence of sincere goodwill. The Boer lies down with the Xhosa, and comity reigns in the corridors of impotence. These people knew each other well. They were veterans of the circuit. Mostly men, mostly white, entirely middle-class, they nonetheless had jovial relations with senior participants from the ANC and Inkatha, and they have a passionate dedication to easing South Africa towards the new black-run nation everyone acknowledges it must become.

Of its nature, however, this kind of meeting is an exercise in optimism. The pessimists and desperadoes keep quiet or do not come. The organisers try their level best to broaden the company, but in the end the band is narrow and the consent, aided by an equal British desire to be helpful, too facile. Since the Guardian descended here mob-handed in 1990, in the wake of Nelson Mandela's release from prison, objective circumstances have become much worse. Economic growth is even further distanced from population growth. Confidence is at its lowest ebb. More than 8,000 people have been murdered this year alone. Although talks towards a political settlement have resumed, massive constitutional principles have still not begun to be determined. Before these harsh realities, awaiting visceral choices by a handful of leaders, the discourses of the seminar sometimes seemed beside the point.

And yet, in the end, not quite. For one unexpected reason. There were two representatives from the ruling National Party, including a minister, and two parliamentarians from factions of Afrikaner conservatism. It appeared to be some time since these men had talked without descending instantly into the anathemas of treachery. To a hard-line Afrikaner no specimen is more odious than a compromising Nat. For their part, the compromisers view the diehards with furtive alarm. Here they underwent collegial therapy which they acknowledged had been good for them.

More to the point, the Conservatives now in the business of arguing for an Afrikaner homeland, sat in the room with ANC politicians at whose feet they must very soon be supplicants. It was the first time they had ever done so. Previously, the caucus forbade all public dialogue with the ANC. This became the first significant forum in which the forces of right and left had come together and heard each other in sentences longer than television sound-bites. We heard the dual nature of the Afrikaner's new appeal.

One part was familiar, the threat to "turn this country into a graveyard overnight" if they don't get tribal protection. The other was addressed to us as much as the ANC. "You liberals", we were chided, have won the battle for the majority. Now that the majority would rule, they had no further need of the liberals' help. It would now, improbably, be the Afrikaner who "occupied the moral high ground". We had been warned of the moral reverses we would have to undertake: also of the crudity with which Afrikanerdom is preparing to deny that historic justice and prophetic wisdom must both continue to place black concerns absolutely at the forefront of this country's needs.

There was a second intimation. Such a meeting as this was perhaps only the beginning of something more serious. It turns out that international witness might be convertible into international help. After four decades in the laager, the whites now spectacularly failing to run this country do crave the assistance of the outside world. Instead of repelling UN observers as an offence against national sovereignty, they've welcomed them as possible guarantors against township or homeland conflagrations. A single British adviser on how to reform police training and practice is cited as if he were bringing the gospel to a heathen land. The sense is strong that South Africa cannot expect overseas investment until domestic economic confidence, following a reduction in the violence and a political deal, is established. But in facilitating such a deal, foreigners may yet have their part.

There can be no substitutes for Mandela and de Klerk. How far each is prepared to challenge his constituency and imperil his own position is a question that may be answered soon. But there never has been a more fraught exercise in constitution-writing. Most successful constitutions have been written by detached experts behind closed doors, and strongly imposed on the political reality whose rules they determine.

Among the precedents for more public processes, the Founding Fathers in Philadelphia, with Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson and the rest conducting arguments of timeless elevation, are a long way from the arm-wrestle now going on in Pretoria against a background of mindless slaughter in the night. The ANC and the Government are supposed to be negotiating partners. But they are also intense political competitors. They cannot be sure of their own constituency; they are looking for converts from the other side's. As the charismatic organiser of this conference, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert, put it, the idea is that while you negotiate to level the playing-field, you hope the other man ends up with nobody on his team.

David Owen, mercifully, is otherwise engaged. But before these talks are done, an outside professional counsellor would help: the one man in the game without a political interest in winning it.

'Release a sop to the rightwing'

W/Mail 2/10-8/10/92

304A

BY releasing Pretoria mass murderer Barend Strydom along with three African National Congress political prisoners following an ANC/government agreement, the government is claiming the rightwinger as one of its own.

This is the view of Paula McBride, Robert McBride's wife and a senior staffer at Lawyers for Human Rights. "If Strydom's release was part of an ANC/government deal," she says, "it squarely places him on the government side, and it gives us a glimpse behind the smiling face of FW de Klerk as to who he considers to be his people."

The ANC has said that the release of Strydom was not part of any deal made at the bilateral summit over the weekend: "His crime was cold-blooded, premeditated murder founded on racial hatred. Black people were 'the enemy'. Rehabilitation was considered impossible by the presiding judge."

A government source counters: "We made it clear to the ANC that we had to treat all prisoners on the same basis, and that in this regard, no preferential treatment could be given to people according to political affiliation. That's what fairness and balance is about."

McBride protests strenuously against this notion of "balance". He adds that, by releasing Strydom, the government has allowed the far-right to piggyback on to a deal between itself and the ANC when it has not even entered the negotiating forum.

DP: Scrap racial ministers' councils

Political Staff

MINISTERS' councils should be scrapped immediately as they were structured according to race and had no function or departments to control, the DP said this week.

DP public service spokesman Mr Roger Burrows said the Constitution Second Amendment Bill and the Joint Administration of Own Affairs Bill which were tabled in Parliament did not provide for the abolition of the councils.

The two bills, to be debated during the short parliamentary session this month, provided only for the removal of certain Own Affairs structures.

"It is cynical in the extreme to continue the existence of ministers' councils," Mr Burrows said.

"Perhaps their continued existence has more to do with pension provisions for incumbents than constitutional provisions. CT 3/10/92

"The DP believes the panoply of racial references should be removed immediately before an interim administration comes into existence."

Mr Burrows also called for the inclusion of self-governing territories and the TBVC states in a single, non-racial interim administration.

"The DP is also aware that the public service is being rationalised and insists that as quadruple structures are being eliminated, there cannot be continued overstaffing in the public service.

"There has to be a reduction in the number of state employees."

There's a white man in Lagos wearing sackcloth and chains

STAR 3/10/92
UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*

(304A)

A BEARDED, bespectacled, middle-aged white man is walking down a crowded Lagos street. He is attracting a lot of attention from Nigerian pedestrians. This is largely because of his outfit: Lawrence Roy is wearing a tattered sackcloth smock, with heavy iron manacles around his wrists and neck.

Most of the people who stop to stare at or talk to him, says Lawrence, proceed from the assumption that he is quite mad. Others, more wary, deduce that he is an escaped prisoner. He happily informs them that he is neither. What Lawrence, a priest from New Buryport, Massachussetts, tells bemused onlookers is that he is a one-man apology for slavery. He is walking around in a sackcloth and chains to apologise for the sins of Europeans against Africans.

Back home four years ago, Lawrence had a vision. God told him to go to Haiti, and then to Africa, to tell the people there that he was sorry. He "committed his life to reconciliation" and decided, from a more practically political point of view, that his symbolic peregrinations would continue until the presidents of France and Spain visited Africa to tender formal apologies for their ancestors' part in the slave trade.

Messrs Mitterrand and Gonzales have not yet arrived — in fact there is no sign of either having even booked a flight — and so Lawrence continues to clank along the pavement in rain and shine.

The story of the chained man of Lagos is extreme, of course, to the point of absurdity. But its genesis lies in guilt, and guilt — and the purging thereof — is as much a part of the great African saga as orange sunsets, thorn trees and drought.

White South Africans are not feeling a whole lot of guilt right now. If anything, they are more aggressively defensive than they were before the onset of the De Klerk reforms. There seems to me to be a genuinely felt anger, born of incomprehension, about the ANC: why are they behaving like this, making demands all the time? Why don't we just tell them to go to hell? This mood is reflected in newspapers' letters pages, on talk-shows, at braais. It explains the furore over the flag and anthem, the fury about the release of political prisoners, the spectacular lack of enthusiasm for an interim government of national unity.

IF WHITES are fighting, as they should, to ensure that the new society does not turn out as some mutant form of the old, they must also acknowledge their role in the original debacle.

What has happened is that moral equivalence has been assumed too soon. Because a process is under way in South Africa to move from apartheid to racial justice, the heavy hangover that apartheid has left us with is ignored. Its effects are therefore erroneously ascribed to other factors — such as the perceived, peculiar obnoxiousness of the ANC. It is as if February 2 1990 marked Year Zero: there will now be a fair political fight, everybody will play to the same rules, and what has happened in the past bears no relevance.

But what is not understood is that the ANC still acts on the basis that while the struggle against apartheid has made enormous strides, it is far from over. And it is difficult to argue against this point when every lever of State power that matters is still in the hands of the very party that ran Apartheid Inc for four decades. This is why even the most conciliatory of ANC leaders blows a fuse when faced with attempts to whitewash what went before. Robert McBride and Barend Strydom committed horrible murders, but no ANC supporter can accept that their cases are morally indistinguishable. McBride committed a crime in a misguided effort to attack a system the world had declared a crime against humanity. Strydom committed a crime in a misguided effort to defend that system. The harsh practicalities of reconciliation demand that both should be forgiven, and so be it; but that does not alter the fact that there is a difference between them.

In my view the almost total lack of contrition from the beneficiaries of the apartheid system — even at the abstract level of symbolism, which costs little — plays a big part in hardening the stance of the ANC and other anti-apartheid organisations. By contrition I do not mean manacles and sackcloth like Lawrence Roy; I mean generosity of spirit to the extent of at least trying to understand why other people think as they do, and showing a sensitivity to the history that has shaped them. This is not Year Zero in South Africa. This is a point in our history where fairness is being sought against a backdrop of grotesque unfairness.

If whites are fighting, as they should, to ensure that the new society does not turn out as some mutant form of the old, they must also acknowledge their part in the original debacle.

The willing acknowledgement of guilt, in its most benign form, should be a liberating and empowering tool for white South Africans. It really does "level the playing field" and makes moral equivalence possible. I think Leon Wessels, of all the ruling Nationalists, understands this best. It does not make him craven or weak; it makes him stronger. I think he senses, as we should all try to sense, what James Joyce was trying to say when he declared his intention to "forge in the smithy of my soul the uncreated conscience of my race".

BLANKET INDEMNITY: *Escaping the consequences of crime is controversial, but no acknowledgement of guilt is reprehensible*

Why it's good to confess

STAR 3/10/92

A BLANK indemnity could be a pragmatic way of taking forward negotiations. However, a question of principle must first be resolved, write GILBERT MARCUS and DAVID UNTERHALTER.

AS OPPOSITION against apartheid grew, first by peaceful means and then by the use of force, successive South African governments armed themselves with an ever-increasing arsenal of security laws to combat the "total onslaught". (304A)

Those laws, providing for the banning of organisations, gatherings and publications, and the banishment and detention without trial of individuals, would have been the envy of most dictators.

Yet, although the security laws were used to their fullest extent, it seems clear that elements within the security forces went beyond the law and resorted to the use of torture and extra-judicial assassination of opponents.

Whether they did so with the sanction of higher authority is not yet known. Precisely what they did, and to whom, is still largely the subject of speculation. The State-appointed Harms Commission failed miserably to answer some of these basic questions.

The Government is nervously looking for an acceptable formula with which to wipe the slate clean in the interests of a broad political settlement.

Not surprisingly, a blanket indemnity which would not require wrongdoers to confess their guilt is being suggested.

A blank indemnity is regarded by many as a pragmatic way of taking forward political negotiations and securing security forces' allegiance to an interim government.

There is, however, a question of principle that must first be resolved.

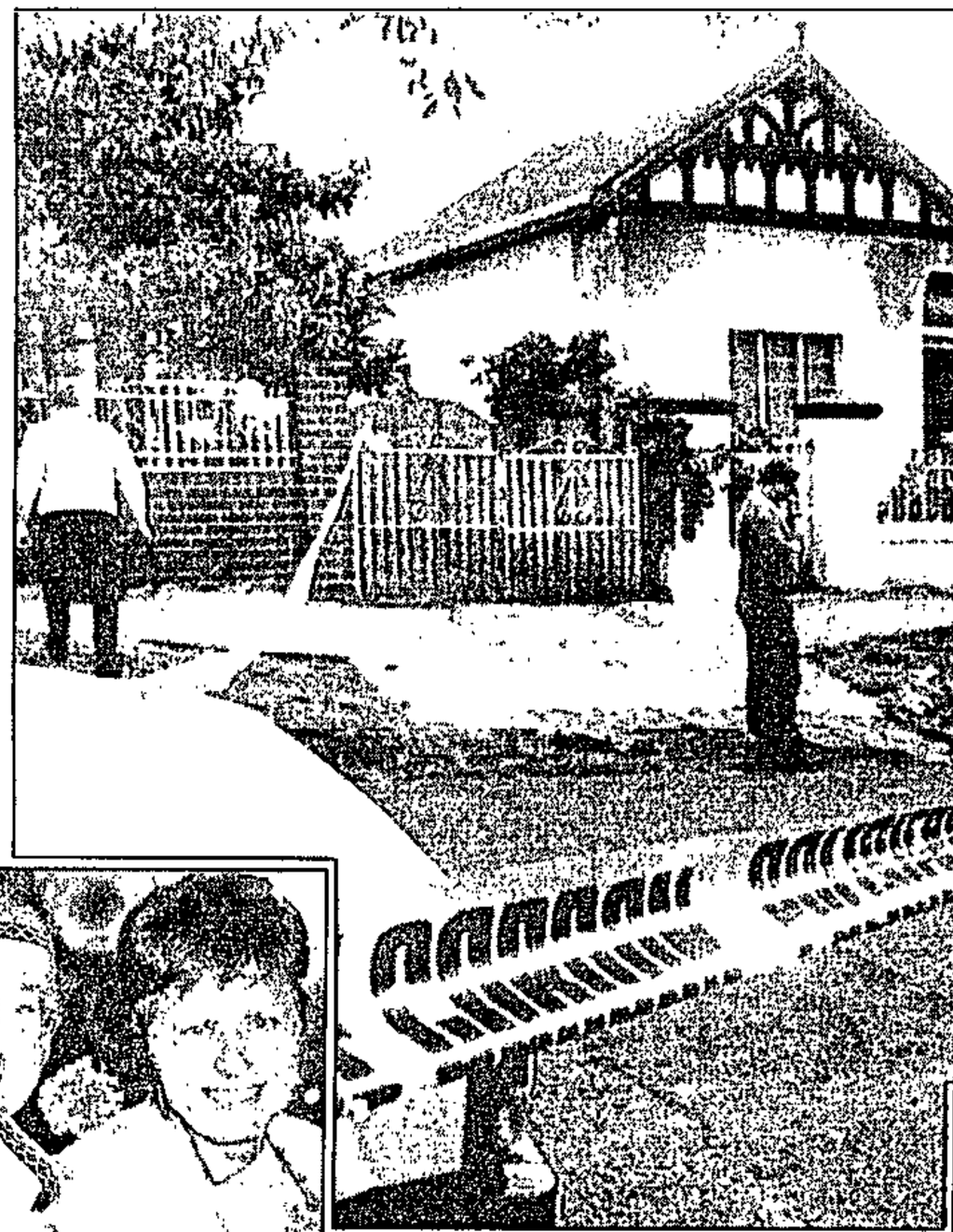
We rightly demand that individuals who commit murder or injure others be tried and punished for their crimes. Why should this basic requirement of justice be relaxed simply because those crimes are committed in the service of the State or, indeed, at the behest of a political organisation? Are we not better served in the long run if we forgo the temptations of political expediency and let justice take its course?

ONE answer is that justice must be seen in context. The crimes we are being asked to write off occurred in a political context during a war in which individual responsibility gave way to the objectives of the battle and the demands of those in authority.

The difficulty with this argument is twofold. First, it suggests a dangerous principle of government: officials may use criminal means in the execution of State objectives because even if the objectives fail (or change) and the government falls (or changes), officials and members of government will enjoy protection by virtue of having acted as officials.

This is surely a perilous way to proceed.

Second, individual responsibility survives the clash of arms. Nobody seriously suggests that every action taken in a war is justified and excused. Soldiers who shoot prisoners of war or civilians are rightly judged to be criminals, as the world now clamours to proclaim in Bosnia.



VICTIMS OF THE STRATEGY DEVISED TO CONQUER TOTAL ONSLAUGHT: Wits lecturer David Webster (left) was shot dead outside his Troyeville home, pictured above. Eastern Cape anti-apartheid campaigner Matthew Goniwe (right) allegedly died at the hands of Government agents. ANC lawyer Bheki Mlangeni (far right) was the victim of a booby-trapped tape recorder thought to have been intended for renegade police captain Dirk Coetzee. Writing off these deaths because they occurred in a political context suggests a dangerous principle of government; individual responsibility must survive the clash of arms.

Abuses of the past must not be allowed to recur

STAR 3/10/92.

In South Africa, those who committed or sanctioned murder in service of the "total strategy" have a particular difficulty. To date the Government has declined to admit that these deeds formed any part of that strategy.

If, as the Government says, those were the actions of rogue elements, there is no reason to offer indemnity. Those who acted without authority and outside the prescribed strategy are to be held fully accountable on the basis of individual responsibility.

Here the Government is in a catch-22 position: it must either confess its "total strategy" or leave its operatives to the mercy of the law.

It might also be argued that justice is not all that matters and that justice does not require the guilty to confess.

This argument is also fraught with difficulties.

To allow torturers and murderers, in the interests of a political settlement, to escape the consequences of their crimes is highly controversial in itself. To allow them to do so without acknowledging guilt would be reprehensible.

THE violation of human rights is not a matter which can simply be bargained away privately. The international community has a direct responsibility in the protection of human rights.

Extra-judicial assassination and torture falls foul of the most fundamental precepts of international humanitarian law.

The prohibition of arbitrary deprivation of life and the use of torture figures in most international human rights instruments.

Significantly, the 1984 Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment not only outlaws torture but precludes reliance upon superior orders or exceptional circumstances as a justification for the use of torture.

Moreover, the convention provides that a torturer may be prosecuted wherever he or she is to be found.

Legal accountability — albeit the most important — is only one form of accountability. Even if torturers and murderers are to escape the legal consequences of their crimes, there is no compelling reason for them to not be required to account in other ways.

The violation of human rights invariably affects more than the immediate victims. For the families and friends of the dead and missing, the torture of uncertainty is present until they know the fate of their loved ones.

One of the most compelling reasons for a full confession before any legal indemnity may be considered is that the abuses of the past should in effect be prevented in a future democratic South Africa.

All people — especially the State — are obliged to tell the truth about the violation human rights.

If murderers and torturers were to escape the legal consequences of their crimes, would be unconscionable [illegible] them also to profit from their wrongdoing.

NO PERSON who receives an indemnity for acts [illegible] torture or assassination [illegible] ever be allowed to hold office in the State.

Power once abused is likely to be abused again.

Wiping the slate clean not only means legal indemnity; also means a fresh begin[illegible] by preventing abuse in the future. The wrongs of the past may be forgiven, but they should never be forgotten.

Amnesty: FW, ANC in clash

CT 3/10/92 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC this week decided it would not tolerate any unilateral attempt at self-amnesty by the current government and backed "a purge" of the state's most serious human rights offenders.

The decision, which was taken by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), has put the organisation on a collision course with President F W de Klerk, who this week underlined the government's determination to press ahead with legislation in 10 days time for a general amnesty.

However, a three-page document which was approved by the ANC's NEC this week emphasises that any amnesty would be declared "null and void" unless it adhered to certain principles.

The document states: "It should be made quite clear that any amnesty law unilaterally passed by

ANC backs 'purge' of serious offenders

the tricameral parliament in October which does not adhere to these principles will not bind the ANC".

These principles include:

- A purge of the most serious offenders.
- Reparation or compensation to the victims of families.
- The truth about human rights abuses must be "known" and "complete". The nature and extent of violations committed should be disclosed, as well as how they were planned and executed, the fate of the victims, individuals who gave the orders and who carried them out.
- "Legitimate incentives" should be offered to encourage disclosure and flush out the truth.
- The amnesty policy should represent "the will of the people".

It would accordingly have to be approved by a body with a democratic mandate. "In our (the ANC's) case, this can only be an interim government of national unity."

- The amnesty policy must not violate international law relating to human rights.

The ANC document concludes that the organisation should be prepared "to discuss, if not negotiate, the principles of a general amnesty law at any time", adding: "This may assist in removing doubts or in allaying anxieties.

"But it is the sole prerogative of an interim government to pass the legislation, along the lines identified here."

Centrists may oust the giants

(3044) ARG 3/10/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Writer

■ Democratic Party strategists have long warned of the political consequences of an increasingly polarised contest between the National Party and the ANC. But, if centrism is the antidote, how muscular can South Africans expect a centrist alliance to be?

POLITICAL centrism in South Africa has traditionally been scorned as affected neutrality or fence-sitting by those loyal to one or the other of the mainstream doctrines.

But that is changing.

Disenchantment is growing at the apparent inability of the main political contenders to conclude a reasonable constitutional settlement, to generate a unity of purpose in the economy and jointly to tackle the country's most pressing socio-economic problems.

Increasing numbers of moderates throughout the country are hankering for alternatives to the ANC and the National Party.

Democratic Party strategist Mr James Selfe argues that this does not mean a strong centrist alliance is naturally emerging, or ever will.

But the DP itself is actively propagating the ideals of centrism as an alternative political force in post-transition South Africa.

This is the strategy, broadly, that the party adopted in May this year and it is centrist thinking that guides the DP's wide-ranging contacts with other parties and organisations.

Mr Selfe notes: "All political parties in South Africa today are, to a varying extent, historical anachronisms, formed very largely around racial issues, either as opponents or supporters of apartheid.

"While these issues are unlikely to disappear, they will become increasingly irrelevant in the future, where the focus is more likely to be on restitution, development, empowerment and other elements of the socio-economic debate.

"We believe that given the stresses and strains of the new politics, particularly after the first election, there will be a complete re-alignment.

"This will be an environment in which movements will have to become parties, where people who have been in a constant state of political mobilisation will have to get down to the business of governing the country and where there is likely to be a considerable gap between the promises of the election rhetoric and what can actually be delivered."

At this point, he believes, it is feasible to anticipate the formation of a mega-centrist movement.

"But that's far down the road. We are certainly not thinking in terms of actually setting up a mega-movement now.

"What we are doing is expanding our own party, aggressively marketing ourselves as a political home to people who have already become victims of the re-alignment and communicating our policies, strategies and perspectives to as many people as possible.

"The idea has been to do a hard-sell on our ideas," Mr Selfe says.

"Our role is to persuade as many people and institutions as possible that the middle ground is where South Africa's political fulcrum is and that that should be the place where the ideas by which the country is governed should be generated.

"We are working on developing the middle ground as an alternative to the bipolarisation of politics, which we believe is dangerous, but at this stage I would not say a mega-movement of the centre is around the corner."

Mr Selfe adds: "It would be wonderful if this dynamic were to emerge prior to the first election, but, realistically, it will probably take shape only after that first poll."

What is clear is that centrism as a vigorous alternative to the two-way fight between the Nats and the ANC is already gaining popularity.

It is no longer politically *infra dig* and, depending on how, and when, it catches on in a bigger way, it may yet prove that the giants of the present negotiation process cannot expect to remain unassailable.

FW to visit Europe

(3044)

PRESIDENT De Klerk is going to Europe on a short visit next month. ARG 3/10/92

He will address the South Africa Club in London on November 13 and will attend the rugby test match between England and South Africa at Twickenham the next day.

He is expected to have talks with the British Prime Minister, Mr John Major. According to a statement from his office he will conduct official business in London and in Europe.

Cape Nats worried about corruption

(304A)

ARGT 3/10/92

CORRUPTION and fraud in government departments, constitutional proposals, the death penalty and the deteriorating security situation in Transkei all feature on the agenda for the National Party's Cape congress in East London next week.

The three-day meeting is the last of the four NP provincial congresses. Cape NP leader and Minister of Public Enterprises Dr Dawie de Villiers will open the congress officially at a one-hour public meeting on Monday night.

President De Klerk will set the congress ball rolling on Tuesday morning.

Among the 10 draft resolutions to be discussed by delegates are:

- That civilised norms, values and standards remain intact during constitutional discussions;
- Retention of the death penalty and a request that execution takes place more speedily after sentence has been passed;
- Clarification of government policy on casinos; and
- That Aids be declared a notifiable disease.

A resolution submitted jointly by five constituencies expresses deep concern over corruption, fraud and malpractices in government departments and asks that steps be taken to prevent similar occurences.

It requests that firm action should be taken against guilty officials who should be dismissed immediately with loss of pension benefits. These officials also should not be transferred to other departments. — Sapa.

Plan to ensure millions get it right the first time

Sowk 3/10 – 7/10/92 (304A)

SOON millions of South Africans will, for the first time, participate in elections. To do this they need to understand the basic principles, institutions and practices of democracy.

In July 1991 Matla Trust initiated the Community and Citizen Education Programme (CCEP) to educate people about these aspects of democracy.

CCEP wants to reach disadvantaged people, including the illiterate, the poor and those in remote rural areas. In the past year the programme has held workshops throughout the country, in conjunction with Damelin Management School.

A theatre group was contracted to perform a play on democracy and voting in schools, factories, villages, community centres and shopping malls throughout the country.

CCEP resource centres are being set up in every region, staffed by trained workers and equipped with educational material.

Videos will be screened on television and taken to communities throughout the country.

Air time is being acquired from various SABC radio stations for programmes geared to reach people unable to read. These will also be distributed in cassette form.

Booklets, posters, billboards and cartoons on democracy and voter education are being prepared.

A programme of essay and other competitions, as well as debates on democracy and elections will be held at schools and universities.

Hopes for peace in SA are rekindled

TALKS between the government and the African National Congress are back on track. Political organisations which refused to participate at Codesa are now preparing for discussions with the government. All over the country, people are hopeful that there will be democratic elections soon.

All South Africans will be charged within the next few years with the responsibility of making a success of the settlements won by political leaders. To achieve this, they need to be empowered to understand and become involved in the process.

To assist in this process SOUTH, in conjunction with Matla Trust, begins a new 12-part series today, aimed at helping South Africans understand the process of democracy and prepare to make their crosses in the ballot box.

South 3/10 - 7/10/92. (304A)

'Fear is the obstacle to peace'

TWO VIEW democratic elections as majority rule is a "gross simplification" of all the issues involved, says Sir Shridath Ramphal, former Commonwealth secretary-general.

Visiting South Africa for the first time, Ramphal argued this week that free elections should rather be seen as the best possible way of building a peaceful nation.

"Democracy is essentially self-rule," says Ramphal, who delivered the keynote address at Matla Trust's public launch in Johannesburg on Monday.

"It is the capacity of a society to regulate affairs on the basis of what the majority of the people want to see happen.

"There will never be a perfect society because human nature is not perfect, but it is the closest we can ever come to best serve the overall interests of society."

Ramphal was closely involved in Zimbabwe's independence negotiations in 1980. He said South Africa could, to an extent, learn from Zimbabwe's independence process.

"The greatest obstacle to independence in Zimbabwe was essentially fear, particularly among the white community who had controlled power for themselves.

"They had a fear of releasing their grip on power and sharing it with the majority of Zimbabwe's people. They believed that independence would end everything for them — but what was the reality?

"A black government took office but did not strip white Zimbabwe of their rights — the government, instead, looked to that community to play a major part in restructuring the country.

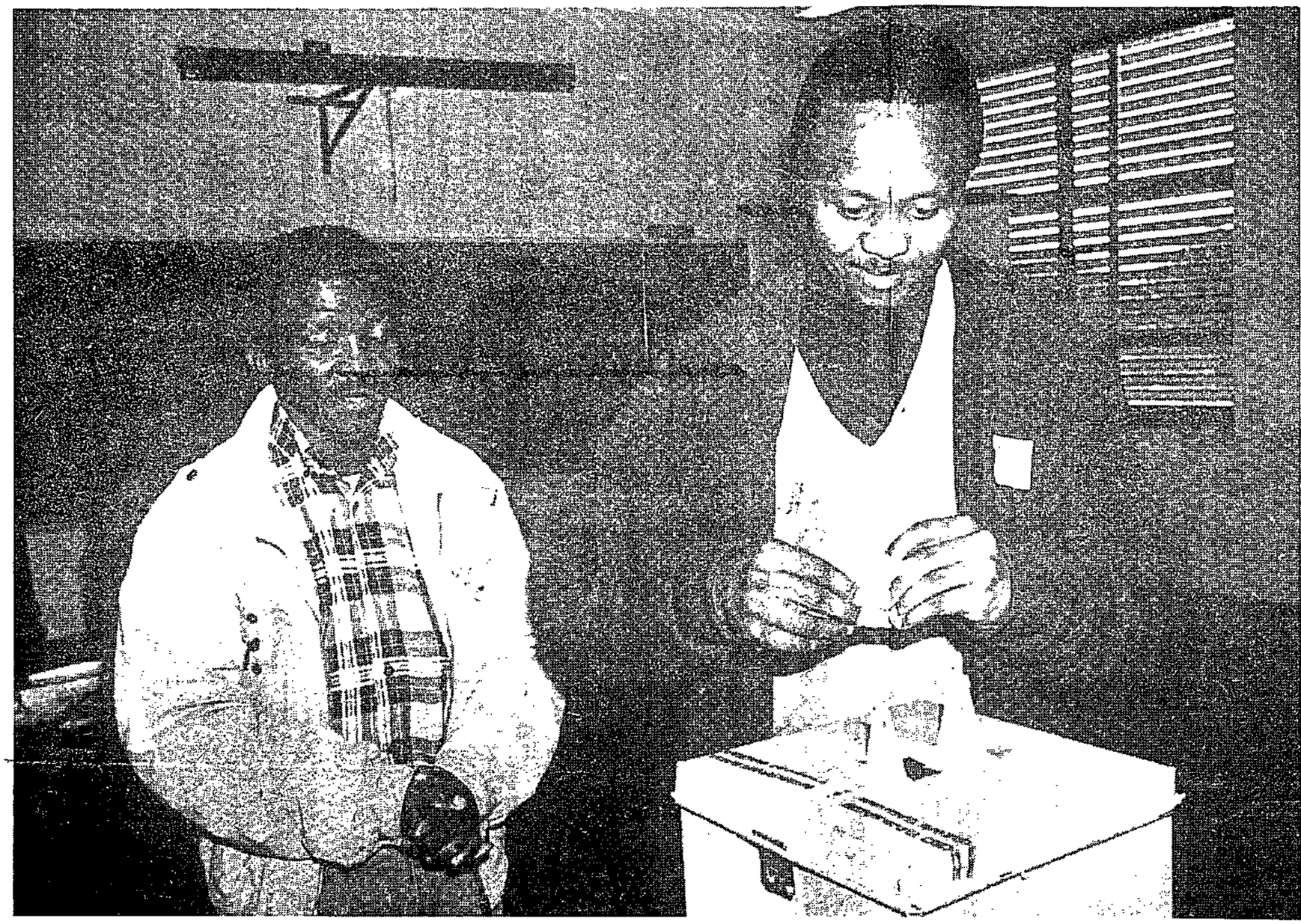
"Whites were accommodated and their fears were pushed aside. The process of nation building included the whole of Zimbabwe and so far that process is doing very well, although there have been hiccups."

Relating this example to the South African situation, Ramphal believes it is important for the ANC to show a similar flexibility to minority groups inside the country — even now, before they contest elections.

On the question of imminent free elections in South Africa, Ramphal said he was "hopeful of progress in this direction, especially since the breakthrough bilateral summit between the government and the ANC over the weekend.

"What is desperately needed is swift progress towards a settlement and the world will take a very dim view of any party which retards the pace of this progress."

Quentin Wilson



POLL POWER: The PAC's Bathembu Lugulwana casts his vote in a voter education workshop organised by the Matla Trust

Round 3 of PAC/govt talks

By THEMBA KHUMALO

Argus 4/10/92

THE PAC will hold a third round of high-level talks with the government in Pretoria on Wednesday, PAC spokesman Gora Ibrahim said yesterday.

He said the talks would decide whether the PAC would join other organisations in the multilateral talks with the government to find a new dispensation.

Although Ibrahim would not divulge the agenda for the summit, it is expected that the main issues to be discussed will be a venue for talks and the chairman.

The PAC insists bilateral negotiations between the two should take place in a neutral venue outside SA and that the chairman should also be a neutral person who is a foreigner.

The PAC has dismissed Codesa as a legitimate negotiating forum because "in it were a bunch of unrepresentative leaders who will never see the light of day in democratic elections".

The two parties have held two separate meetings last month and they have agreed on a number of substantial issues over which they differed before. The venue and the chairman of the meeting seem to the only remaing issues to be ironed out.

Ibrahim would not say whether the Wednesday meeting would be attended by PAC president Clarence Makwetu and State President FW de Klerk.

Hopes high for talks as UN team leaves SA

C/Press 4/10/92 (304A)

By THEMBA KHUMALO and SAPA

OBSERVERS from the United Nations, OAU and Commonwealth countries left SA this week with high hopes that democracy talks would soon be back on track.

UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali has been in touch with IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to encourage them to keep the channels of communication between each other open.

Chief Buthelezi at the weekend angrily broke off talks with the government in response to bilateral agreements reached between State President FW de Klerk and Mandela.

Head of the UN Organisation Mission in SA (UNOMSA) Angela King said at a media conference in Johannesburg this week that she had made an appointment to see Buthelezi on Thursday, while a complement of eight UN observers in Durban had been in close touch with the IFP leader and his representatives involved in Natal National Peace Accord structures.

The delegation, which was on a three week fact-finding mission, said their hopes were boosted after consulting a wide spectrum of key players involved in the negotiation process.

Delegation spokesman Sam Ibok said that after meeting Buthelezi on Thursday they were not worried about his threatened withdrawal from the peace process.

Ibok said: "One has to view Buthelezi's objection to last week's bilateral agreement between De Klerk and Mandela in the correct context.

"The impression we got after talking to him was that he was not pulling out of talks completely," Ibok said.

He said throughout their consultations with various leaders, the delegation emphasised that it was a mere facilitator, by encouraging the parties to talk to one another.

"The solution of the country's problems lay solely in the hands of local leaders," said Ibok.

King said the National Peace Secretariat was at present conducting negotiations with the government, Mandela and Chief Buthelezi to arrive at a plan for the handling of the ANC's planned mass marches on KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

Another UN team had held discussions with Bophuthatswana, SA ministers and the National Security Council on the planned October 9 march in Mmbatho.

"Both sides wanted peace.

"They wanted to avoid violence and they also wanted to open up negotiations," she said.

The delegation criticised sharply "violent rhetoric because it doesn't serve the purpose of achieving peace."

Among other leaders they met were Brigadier Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and members of the notorious 31 and 32 Battalion.

According to King, early indications were that the presence of UN observers had helped to defuse tensions in areas where they had been employed.

The UNOMSA so far consists of 23 observers with 50 expected to be deployed in 11 regions throughout the country by the end of October.

No Codesa 3 without Buthelezi, say Nats

S/Times 4/10/92. (304A)

By CHARLENE SMITH

CODESA 3 could be underway by early November — if the government can get dissident homeland leaders, including Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, back to the negotiations table.

Both the ANC and the government, after a five-month negotiations break which cost the country dearly economically and politically, are now eager to resume talks, with the prospect of elections in the second half of next year.

Late next week ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and government constitutional head Roelf Meyer will resume bilateral talks.

However, Deputy Constitutional Affairs Minister Tertius Delport said although the government was ready to resume negotiations immediately, "multilateral talks would definitely not take place without Mr Buthelezi".

"We can't have multilateral talks excluding leaders within our present boundaries — certainly not without Inkatha," he said.

President FW de Klerk this week sent a letter to Mr Buthelezi suggesting a meeting with him and the loose alliance of Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the Conservative Party and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope. The IFP leader has yet to respond to the invitation.

A meeting of the four dissenting forces could be held next week.

If obstacles from all sides are cleared, the negotiations agenda will include:

- An ANC "lekgotla" (meeting of key negotiators) soon after the return of Nelson Mandela from abroad on October 11;
- The second sitting of Parliament from October 12 to October 23;
- A meeting of National Peace Accord signatories on October 17. This is seen as critical as it will be the biggest meeting of political leaders since the breakdown of Codesa;
- An ANC/government "bosberaad" in the last week of October.

Elections

Both the ANC and the government are hoping multilateral negotiations will begin immediately after the bosberaad, then break for Christmas, and resume early in 1993.

Provided outstanding matters are resolved without further breakdowns, the government expects elections for an interim government and constitution-making body could take place in July next year. The ANC believes elections will be held in October.

Work is already underway to streamline the functioning of Codesa 3 to speed up the practical implementation of agreements.

44 PARACHUTE BRIGADE WISHES TO THANK ITS MEMBERS, THEIR FAMILIES AND EMPLOYERS FOR THE RECENT EXERCISE

1 Parachute Battalion Group
2 Parachute Battalion
3 Parachute Battalion
18 Light Regiment
44 Anti-Aircraft Regiment
44 Parachute Engineer Regiment
44 Maintenance Unit
44 Signals Unit
37 Field Workshop
101 Air Supply Unit

Junior Broeders decide to admit all races

S/Times 4/10/92

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

304A

THE Broederbond-linked Junior Rapportryersbeweging this week opened its membership to all races following pressure from sponsors who withheld support from "whites-only" bodies.

At its annual conference in Worcester this week, the youth brigade of the Broederbond decided to take the major leap into a new South Africa by voting 122-10 to drop "white" as a membership requirement.

At the last conference in Bloemfontein in 1990 a similar motion was rejected by only four votes.

The Rapportryers have retained provisions restricting membership of the organisation to males who are prepared to promote the Afrikaans language.

According to the motivation of a motion suggesting a "change of heart" and proposing the opening of membership to all races, it was revealed that, when a motion to admit "coloureds" was narrowly defeated two years ago, a number of sponsors withdrew support from the body.

Membership of the JRB's "father body", the Afrikaner Broederbond, the secretive Afrikaner nationalist organisation, remains limited to white Afrikaans men.

While blacks between 18 and 35 may now join the JRB, ironically "white women" still remain barred from joining this cultural and service organisation. An overwhelming majority of 89 to 42 voted against women members.

Among the arguments in favour of barring women were fears of adultery and a breakdown of the organisation's traditional men-only spirit.

All the best from SA leaders

(304A)

S/Times (BUSS) 4/10/92

STATE PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK writes:

I CONSIDER it a pleasure and a privilege to convey through the pages of this special supplement the best wishes and congratulations of the Government and the people of South Africa on Germany's national day — especially in this German Festival Year in South Africa in which our common history over the past three centuries is being commemorated.

Since the first German artisans and officials landed at the Cape with Jan van Riebeeck, followed later by a stream of missionaries, farmers and entrepreneurs, German descendants have made valuable contributions to the development of South African society in practically every sphere of endeavour.

Today, German industry and technology are continuing to make a significant and important contribution to the country's development and German trademarks are household names throughout the country.

The involvement of German companies and institutions in social upliftment projects and vocational training schemes bears testimony to the German commitment to building a new, just and prosperous South Africa.

When we South Africans shared in the joy of German unification, which coincided two years ago with other revolutionary events in Eastern Europe, it was with a feeling filled with hope for a new era of peace and stability throughout the world.

It served as a catalyst for us in South Africa to also work for a new political, economic and constitutional system which, like that of the Federal Republic of Germany, will ensure freedom for all, economic growth and social stability.

We believe that the entrenchment of these democratic principles in the future South Africa will provide it with the same potential for growth and stability which elevated Germany into becoming one of the leading countries of the world.

I am happy to think that the new South Africa and the new Germany will continue their sound and long-standing economic, political and cultural relations and we are looking forward to continued co-operation for many years to come.

The commemoration of a country's national day is a happy and unifying experience. Through unification Germany has achieved a goal to which we in South Africa are still aspiring — a unified South African nation at peace with itself. Therefore, my best wishes go out to the German people on their day of national unity in 1992.

ANC curbs radicals

'SA better off after Codesa collapse'

ARG 14/10/92 (304A)

Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa is probably better off as a result of the collapse of Codesa 2 May this year, parliament has been told.

Veteran Opposition MP Mr Colin Eglin said in debate yesterday that this had created a greater awareness of the consequences of failure.

"I believe the agreement that will yet be fashioned on the tough anvil of South African realities will prove more durable than one that may have been put together in May this year."

But Mr Eglin said that while the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC provided a starting point for the resumption of formal negotiations, the way ahead would require all parties and organisations to reassess their attitudes and their priorities.

Violence remained the top priority and all leaders should examine the behaviour of their organisations in relation to violence.

The ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party should make a special effort to achieve reconciliation.

The second priority was to get the economy going again, particularly the job-creating part of the economy.

"Even ahead of the political settlement, every attempt should be made to get an accord on economic and job creation involving the business sector, labour and political leadership."

The third priority involved an "attitude".

"I do not expect leaders to abandon firmly held principles, but I do expect them to display a spirit of generosity towards those with whom they are negotiating. I do not expect leaders to forget the past, but I do expect them to show some faith in a better future."

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ARG 14/10/92 (304A)

PRESIDENT De Klerk has warned the ANC it will not be welcome to join the National Party in a government of national unity unless it curbs radicals in its ranks.

In a firm statement of the government's expectations of its chief negotiating partner, Mr De Klerk said during reply to the debate on his speech in parliament yesterday that the ANC needed to transform significantly.

"I am not prepared to sit with the ANC, as it is now, in a government of national unity," he said.

"It will have to change. It will have to come to grips with its radicals, become a political party and subject itself to the rules of democracy.

"I am not saying it must abandon its policies and views, but it must become a party like us, and transform itself from a militant movement into a political party, stripped of uniforms and weapons and with policies as its basis."

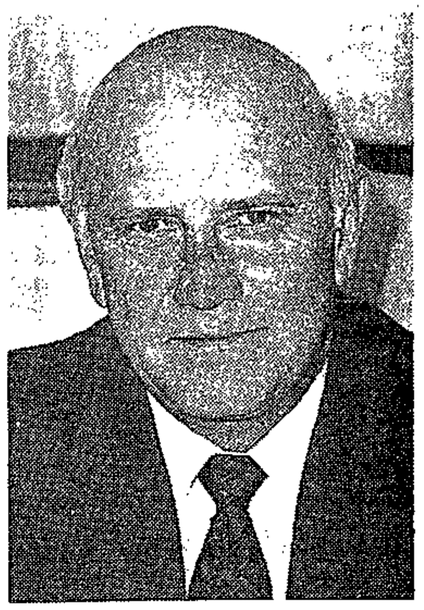
He was dismissive of the South African Communist Party, declaring he did not think it would earn enough support from the electorate to gain a place in a future government.

The ANC, however, would be a significant member of a government of national unity.

In a wide-ranging speech characterised by sharp party-political sniping at the Conservative Party, Mr De Klerk accused Dr Andries Treurnicht's party of being racially motivated, and spurred by a desire for war rather than constitutional solutions.

He emphasised that negotiations — and a government of national unity committed to achieving reconciliation and co-operation — offered the only real hope for the future.

Mr De Klerk said he sympathised with those who felt afraid and uncertain, but did not believe *kragdadigheid* was the remedy. He assured parliament that the government would not give in to radical pressure or surrender the country to domination.



President De Klerk ... unrolling a welcome mat of conditions.

The next government must be one of national unity.

In view of this, no party was in a position to make electoral promises.

"We will then have to put our heads together and decide what must be done."

Meanwhile the present parliament remained the lawful legislature.

Mr De Klerk also:

- Reaffirmed his Winburg apology for the National Party's commitment to apartheid long after it knew it was unworkable;
- Insisted that nothing in the Record of Understanding with the ANC was contrary to the principles of the NP, or that the agreement contained any constitutional principles that had not already been agreed to by most parties at Codesa; and,
- Said that the government would have implemented the specific actions contained in the agreement — on hostels and dangerous weapons — even in the absence of an agreement.

He added that it was nonsense to suggest the ban on dangerous weapons was aimed only at cultural weapons. Indeed, exemptions could be sought for cultural weapons.

FW demands

Nat arrogance 'remains a problem'

ARG 14/10/92 (304A)

THE National Party's arrogance and commitment to white supremacy remains a problem, says Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse.

Speaking during debate on the State President's vote yesterday, he said the LP condemned violence unreservedly, but believed that the cause-effect nature of violence had to be understood.

"In our concern over the violence in the country, we abhor the beating of the war drums and the arrogance which was again so evident at your congress in East London."

The past had to be acknowledged so that the future could be met with a clean conscience.

Mr Hendrickse said he was unable to forget claims by former policeman Colonel Jan Horak that the police had been responsible for a grenade attack on his (Mr Hendrickse's) Uitenhage home.

Mr Moolman Mentz (AVU, Ermelo) said violence and anarchy could be prevented by cleaning the slate in respect of past offences, abolishing the concept of political crimes and by strict law enforcement through an independent police force. — Sapa.

Mr Colin Eglin ... 'awareness of failure'

A wicked past haunts a new nation's birth

(304A)

S/Times 4/10/92.

THE New South Africa, that rough beast whose hour has come round at last, slouches towards its birth in great moral confusion, if not moral turpitude.

The multitudes cheered when ANC killer Robert McBride proffered Adolf Eichmann's excuse for slaughtering innocents: "I was following orders". For that answer, the Israelis executed Eichmann, and the Americans jailed Lt Calley, the murderer of My Lai.

Not that McBride was the worst. The nauseating Barend Strydom scuttled from prison clutching a contract for his "story" of mass murder — while one of his victims, sacrificed before the idolatrous statue of Hans Strijdom, was still languishing, crippled, in hospital.

The government tried to pretend at first that Barend Strydom was released as part of a deal with the ANC to foster a spirit of conciliation and forgiveness, but Mr Nelson Mandela quickly repudiated that suggestion. The government, it appeared, had released Strydom to shore up its right flank, tainting the spirit of conciliation with cynicism and political expediency.

Under the circumstances, it came as comic relief to discover that an evil but quite ordinary gangster, one Lucky Malaza, had been released in error. The prisons' authorities threw up their hands: they were, like McBride, simply carrying out their orders.

Malaza's name, along with the names of a dozen other common criminals, appeared on the ANC's list, so Malaza went free.

Did nobody check the names? Well, apparently not. The list has been blamed on the Human Rights Commission, a self-appointed tribunal which, I do believe, generates more imaginative fiction than anybody since Charles Dickens. The HRC's propaganda on violence has lately been subjected to scorching criticism by Anthea Jeffrey of the Institute of Race Relations, in a paper called Spotlight on Disinformation.

By now, of course, our government is so flustered by international pressures, by mass action, by rebellious bantustans, by mounting debt and a crumbling economy that it can't be expected to keep track of such small matters as the identity of its prisoners. If the ANC says, let our people go, the people go.

But it does raise the question: what on earth does President De Klerk think he's doing, rushing into half-baked "deals" which must be cobbled together in marathon sessions so that Mr Mandela can leave for his important meetings in Beijing?

What lies behind the endless muddle and confusion of what, after all, should be a relatively simple matter of negotiating a definition of political crimes, matching criminals to the definition, and releasing those who fit the definition?

The answer, of course, is that the government has been unable to formulate a definition that will cover both the ANC's political offenders and its own. The ANC defines political prisoners simply as people "incarcerated for their opposition to apartheid"; the government has tried to widen that to cover all people who committed offences "on the assumption that a particular cause was being served".

The aim, of course, is to protect not only those people, like the killers of David Webster and Anton Lubowski, who "followed orders". It is to protect also those who gave the orders: the generals, certainly. The security council, perhaps. Maybe even members of the cabinet. All those, in other words, who might face justice, or retribution, under a new government.

FOR the government, the protection of "political offenders" within its own ranks constitutes a second, hidden agenda, which has seriously weakened its negotiating position. The problems, intellectual and political, of safeguarding hidden criminals under the pretext of pardoning known criminals have proved insurmountable.

In its efforts to get a "deal" that would cover the political criminals hidden in its own ranks, the government has offered one concession after another to the ANC. It has retreated from one untenable position to another. It has fallen about in the most ridiculous fashion, squandering its credibility.

At one point, President De Klerk turned down applications for pardon from 364 people on the grounds that their offences were too serious; soon afterwards, he released Daniel Mbokwane and Linda Hlope, both convicted for the pitiless killing, on television, of Maki Skhosana.

To cover its retreat, the government released Jack la Grange and Robert van der Merwe, two policemen convicted of killing a drug dealer for no political cause whatsoever.

THEN followed three amnesties in seven months, which spewed the contents of the jails across the streets. The ANC wanted 4 000 prisoners, President De Klerk gave them 57 000. The Sharpeville Six went free, and the unbalanced David Protter, and in Parliament the Minister of Justice whimpered that it was all necessary to persuade the Americans to lift sanctions.

Now Robert McBride is free, and the Prisons Department is working blindly down the ANC's list, and there's not much more that President De Klerk can give. But he still does not have ANC agreement for an indemnity for the generals, and the police, and the political leaders who must be presumed to have committed crimes too dreadful to confess, even to get indemnity.

When President De Klerk threw open Mr Mandela's cell, it was an act of magnanimity and statesmanship that ignited the idealism of a nation trying to be born. Last week's shabby deal gave us, instead, Barend Strydom and Robert McBride and a gangster released by mistake.

The New South Africa, the rough beast whose hour has come round at last, still slouches towards its birth, but it follows a path littered with broken hopes and haunted by ghosts from our wicked past.

KEN OWEN

Admiration on the wane

JOEL MERVIS observes the parting of the ways between the liberals and the ANC

(304A)

S/Times 4/10/92.

FEW people were more delighted than South Africa's white liberals when, in 1990, Nelson Mandela was released from jail and the ANC unbanned. How times have changed!

In the 30 months that have elapsed, the ANC has not only managed to offend and alienate its white liberal admirers, but it has virtually driven them into the arms of the Nationalists.

The event is notable not only as an example of a stunning switch in political attitudes. The change of heart by the white liberals carries with it the explicit censure of ANC strategy and deeds.

The liberals, after all, are not burdened with an apartheid millstone around their necks. They occupy the high moral ground. They voice their disapproval of the ANC not as a suspect enemy. They were, until recently, a warm friend, filled with goodwill and eager to help a people who have suffered not merely for 40 years but for generations.

That is the stated case. Nor is there any shortage of evidence to prove the white liberals have indeed become disillusioned. Nobody has conveyed this more forthrightly than John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As is well known, the institute is not a political organisation but primarily a fact-finding body. Despite its liberal orientation, it is committed to sticking objectively to the facts.

Mr Kane-Berman no doubt had at his disposal the facts on which he based his recent remarks to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business. These were reported in the Star on September 18: "The major reason for violence in SA was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable. The ANC's strategy of a people's war was formulated in the 80s to focus on the government. It was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community."

Further evidence of the gap is provided by Dr Zach de Beer, who speaks from the largest liberal base in the country. Formerly leader of the Progressive Party and now of its largest successor, the Democratic Party, Dr De Beer has for years fought for the political emancipation of blacks, and never more hopefully than in the euphoric days of 1990. How does he feel now, after 30 months of ANC activity?

Dr De Beer does not beat about the bush. Addressing a DP congress in the Free State last month, he warned the ANC to break with the Communist Party or "be dragged into ever-increasing stubborn and violent conduct".

The clear implication was that the ANC was already involved. Dr De Beer went on: "The greater the polarisation between the ANC and the NP, the greater the likelihood that the security forces would intervene. Civil war and total destruction of the economy would follow." Strong words indeed.

Expressions of liberal disappointment with the ANC have come from many sources. Dr Frederik van zyl Slabbert, former leader of the Progressive Party and a man tipped to play an important part in a future dispensation, declares himself to be an admirer of Mr Mandela and in sympathy with ANC aspirations. But he warns the ANC to give up its links with the SACP. "If they don't, they don't get my vote," says Dr Slabbert.

Mr Tony Leon MP, successor in Houghton to Helen Suzman, notes that the link between liberals and the ANC was a forced relationship. "Apartheid threw us into each other's arms. We had little else in common. But now that we know each other better, we find there are more and bigger things that divide us."

Mrs Sheena Duncan, former president of the Black Sash, says the organisation was always in broad sympathy with the ANC's objectives, but a gap between them was developing.

Dr Willie Breytenbach, a political authority from the University of Stellenbosch, said recently: "Disillusionment with the ANC has clearly made its appearance in liberal circles."

The liberals have made clear their strong disapproval of the ANC strategy on violence, mass action and the SACP. One wonders whether the ANC, in turn, has asked itself where it went wrong in alienating white friends.

The answer seems to lie in its eagerness to gain political power. But there can be no quick fix for our problems. These are massive and their solution must take time, patience and forbearance on all sides.

We look forward to the new era in SA

S/Times (BUSS) 4/10/92

The Federal Chancellor of Germany, HELMUT KOHL, wrote this message to readers:

(304A) (90)

THE Sunday Times is marking the anniversary of German reunification by graphically describing to its readership the situation and current developments in united Germany, as well as the state of German-South African relations.

I welcome this successful endeavour to forge a link between our peoples which shows the interests and sympathy felt by many South Africans towards Germany and the Germans.

For our part, we feel the same friendship towards the people of South Africa. This is particularly true during the current phase of South Africa's history which is characterised by unsettled questions, and indeed fears, especially, however, by high hopes and the determination of all people of goodwill to make a completely fresh start.

Within the context of the far-reaching, even revolutionary, changes in Europe during the last three years, we Germans have succeeded after many decades in overcoming the inhuman division imposed upon our country and in restoring our national unity in peace and freedom.

That is why we Germans are following the dramatic changes taking place at the Cape with particular attention and active interest.

We are very pleased that the process of relinquishing the system of racial segregation, which likewise divided the people of South Africa for decades, has become final and irreversible within a relatively short period in history.

The present negotiations, which are to lead to a democratic constitution founded on the rule of law for all South Africans, give rise to justified hope that despite all the problems remaining, a forward-looking solution based on broad consensus can be found.

We Germans are aware from our own experience of the political, economic, financial and social difficulties and not least the personal hardships arising from the integration of a previously divided society. Our daily experience has taught us time and again that the central issues of rapid integration and harmonious co-existence can only be resolved in a spirit of reconciliation and tolerance, compromise and solidarity.

We have also learned, and precisely this is now being borne out anew by many peoples in Europe, that the political and cultural freedom of the individual flourishes most in a democratic and pluralistic constitutional system.

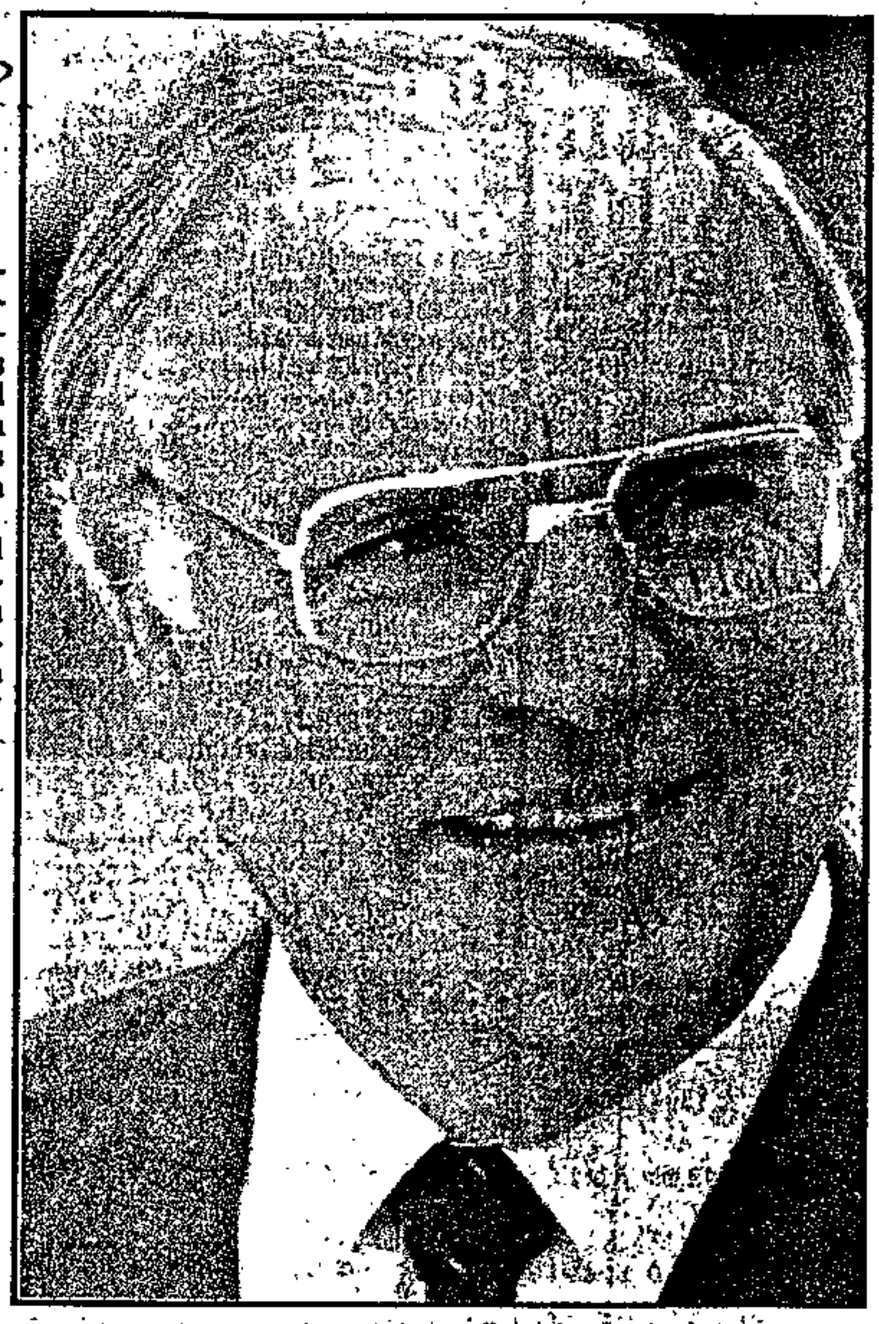
Equal economic opportunities, too, can best be created, and the situation of the poor most effectively improved, where individual initiative and willingness to work receive active encouragement and previously disadvantaged sections of the population are given special support within the framework of a social market economy.

We Germans not only follow developments in this direction in South Africa with sympathy, but also wish to do everything we can to further them. We will therefore continue to provide and, if possible, further extend aid in the spheres of vocational training and housing, where the leeway to be made up especially among your country's black population is considerable.

In this way we will be able to contribute towards the unification of your country.

We are very much looking forward to co-operation with a new South Africa which, on the basis of inner reconciliation and the participation of all South Africans in the political process, will occupy a respected position in the international community and play a fitting role in world affairs.

I would like to convey my sincere wishes to all South Africans commemorating with us our day of national unity!



CHANCELLOR HELMUT KOHL: Exchanges of friendship

S/Times 4/10/92

Zambia likely venue for PAC talks

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

ZAMBIA is the most likely neutral venue for crucial bilateral talks between the PAC and a government delegation, which are expected to be chaired by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda.

This would be the third preparatory meeting aimed at setting up a meeting between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and President FW de Klerk.

A government delegation first met with the PAC on April 10 in Arusha, Tanzania, under the chairmanship of the Nigerian Foreign Minister.

On August 25 Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer met a PAC delegation headed by the movement's foreign affairs secretary, Mr Gora Ebrahim, in Johannesburg.

A PAC spokesman said "at this stage" talks with the government are "preparatory and exploratory", which would hopefully set the stage for the summit.

ON NEUTRAL GROUND ... The PAC's Barney Desai, left, Azapo's Molahlegi Thlale, the University of Natal's Prof Mervyn Frost and Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport in Germany. ■ Pic: ZB MOLEFE

Ideas traded on federalism

APRES 4/10/92 (304A)

Last week an Institute for Multi-Party Democracy delegation – consisting of ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and NP/government representatives – attended a conference on federalism in Germany with constitutional scholars and scientists from around the globe. Deputy Editor ZB MOLEFE accompanied the delegation and gives his impressions in this first article of a two-part series.

GERMAN Institute for Federal Research director Professor Hans-Peter Schneider reckons that the debate around federalism will be one of the main problems in the making of the SA constitution.

"It might be the key question," his voice rang across the conference hall in Hanover's landmark Leibnizhaus.

At the Natal NP congress last weekend State President FW de Klerk said the government believed federalism was the only constitutional deal which would work in SA as a bulwark against majority domination.

In mid-September CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said in Pietersburg that he was negotiating with "anti-communist" leaders such as the Ciskei's Brig Oupa Gqozo to lay the foundations for a confederal or commonwealth system.

While the government is laying stress on devolving real political power to regions with consequent weakened central government in a future SA, black liberation movements, particularly the ANC, are talking of a strong central government.

In fact, the ANC is also pointing to the Bosnian nightmare in Eastern Europe as holding a grave warning for a future SA if it opted for a weakened central government.

In all, judging from the SA liberation movements' representatives in the IMPD delegation in Germany last week, federalism lies somewhere on a road strewn with minefields – if it is not already doomed in favour of a unitary post-apartheid SA.

Swiss scholar Prof JF Aubert set the cat among the pigeons after he had detailed the intricacies of federalism in his homeland. "The SA situation is complex. The Swiss model will not give them a solution," he said.

That seemed to have been the cue the South Africans were waiting for. It became clear that the European, American and Australian academics did not know what emotions federalism can stir among South Africans.

The PAC'S Barney Desai retorted: "The disparities (in our country) are of such a kind to make conflict inevitable. We have heard (in this conference) that the cultural factor is the soul of federalism. Where is culture in our country? It does not exist."

Desai told the conference that SA had "a terrible history of distrust, a history of oppression".

Then journalist Phillip van Niekerk wanted to know why SA needed federalism when there were pressing and specific needs. These, van Niekerk said, were the desire for peace, addressing white fears, and the need to stop township violence.

"To what extent does federalism answer these questions? The question in Natal, which might threaten secession, is an ideological one between Inkatha and the ANC. There's also the question of the Afrikaners who talk about a separate state. The debate (in SA) is not honest. Is federalism on the table to block the possibility of an ANC majority government?" he asked.

Schneider reminded SA delegates at the conference that "federalism will not give you fresh water".

"If you ask questions about violence, you must ask what are the reasons. Otherwise you will continue with an oppressive government," he added.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport warned that South Africans must not allow federalism to become a theoretical debate.

"We have been propagating federalism as a starting point. A constitution can't create a welter of confidence. It can't build a nation. It can only create a framework to address issues. We must not run away from reality," he said.

That seemed to have stung ANC constitutional committee chairman Zola Skweyiya. He charged that since 1990 the NP had been quiet on federalism.

"It (the NP) comes out only now with federalism when everybody comes with liberation. Why create a cloud around federalism? Where did federalism work? I don't think there is any party in Africa which can agree to this," he said.

On the last leg of the Germany trip the IMPD delegation spent two days in Bonn where it met a number of government officials and held a lively press conference.

It was here that some "home truths" emerged when German journalists put some probing questions to the delegation.

TV journalist Klaus Rommerskirchen asked why different SA liberation movements were meeting in Germany as a united front.

Desai explained that his movement had a principle of unity among the liberation movements. For instance, Desai pointed out, when the ANC and Inkatha first confronted each other about four years ago, "we offered our facilities" to resolve the problem.

"Had it not been for the Bisho massacre, Mandela and (PAC president Clarence) Makwetu would have long met on this question of unity. The OAU has constantly urged to meet in a united front," added Desai, who said his movement was hopeful the Patriotic Front would be revived.

Inkatha central committee member Dr Dennis Madide added: "Let us look constructively at our politics, so that we can challenge the system (as a united black front)."

Skweyiya concurred: "Our coming here has provided us with a forum to listen and share ideas as South Africans. And I hope it will not end here."

■ NEXT WEEK: How does federalism operate in countries that have embraced it?

Guarantees 'worthless' — Treurnicht

ARG 6/10/92 (304A)

Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa needs a crackdown on the ANC, not a plea to come to the negotiating table, says Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

In a statement declaring President De Klerk's guarantees worthless and his integrity "tattered", Dr Treurnicht said the National Party leader's speeches "said nothing to anybody and pleased nodoby, least of all the backbenchers of his own parliamentary caucus, who seem uneasy at the NP's direction".

He added: "His speeches revealed no plans to take decisive steps against the ANC's mass action campaign.

The wheels are in motion

C/Press 4/10/92

BACK ON TRACK . . . After months of deliberation, negotiations finally seem set to roll following a recent summit between the ANC and the government.

Plans can take place within specific parameters, says expert

C/Press 4/10/92

Last Saturday's summit between the government and the ANC has produced various important concessions which could considerably promote the constitutional debate. Our SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT reports on the opinions of constitutional expert Bertus de Villiers.

APART from the fact that both the ANC and the government had made concessions on constitutional matters, one of the most meaningful messages of the summit is that the key players still abide by the most important agreements reached at Codesa's Working Groups 2 and 3 before the suspension of the negotiations.

"This is imperative," says Dr Bertus de Villiers, head of the Centre for Constitutional Analysis at the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). "It gives the immediate assurance that planning can take place within specific parameters.

"Secondly, it appears as if the interim government, which was agreed upon in the working groups of Codesa 2, could be instituted in the last part of the year, or next year.

"This is the joint executive authority which will not be an elected body, but constituted from the ranks of Codesa.

"The third matter of importance is that, while the ANC used to be in favour of a mere amendment in the present constitution to serve as a transitional constitution, the parties have now agreed that a fundamentally new constitution must be provided to control the transitional process.

"It shall therefore not be a somewhat amended constitution. There will have to be basic amendments in respect of regional government, a Bill of Human Rights and other issues.

"While the ANC initially perceived the interim government as a government ruling by decree, this government will govern with constitutional power and legal authority.

"The fourth matter is that the new constitution will provide for regional government. This is apparently a strong federal tendency. The moment a constitution provides for regional government, one moves into the debate on federalism.

"I think this is an important concession by the ANC."

"It does not appear to me that, with the application of an interim constitution, all the regions need to be demarcated. It rather appears as if the constitution will provide for regions and the regions will be delimitated later. The interim constitution could be phased in."

Progress regarding the issue of a Bill of Human Rights is probably one of the most far reaching. The parties have agreed that provision for a bill of rights should be made in the interim.

"This is very positive, but specific questions must be asked in this regard," said De Villiers.

"As far as the bill of rights is concerned, one can say that basic agreement has already been reached on 80 percent of the new bill of rights.

"One finds it in the ANC's proposals, in the Law Commission's proposals, but no consensus has yet been reached on 20 percent of the bill of rights. These are the most crucial aspects.

"The first is the compilation of the judiciary. What the ANC and the government are respectively proposing are relatively divergent.

"Secondly, the provision for affirmative action in the bill of rights, as proposed by the ANC and by the Law Commission, are poles apart. To reach agreement on this could entail long-lasting negotiations.

"The same applies to socio-economic rights. The ANC provides that people should have the right to employment, a home, and schooling. The government foresees that people must have the right to work. There is a big difference. With one you should have the freedom to look for employment, with the other, the government must provide you with work.

"While socio-economic rights only form 10 percent of the bill of rights, the implications of socio-economic rights and affirmative actions will have a profound effect on the future economic dispensation.

"Another interesting aspect is that provision is being made for one or two chambers in the constituent assembly.

"The ANC shifted fundamentally. Provision was made for a single chamber consisting of 400 members.

"The fact that provision is now being made for a second chamber is very important. This means that a future parliament will probably also consist of two chambers."

De Villiers noted the following four important uncertainties:

- There is no clarity about the position of a future head of state, also not in the interim. The government still adheres to its idea of a presidency consisting of two, three or five people. The ANC adheres to the idea that the head of government must be elected directly.
- The second uncertain issue is whether a parliament can simultaneously draw up a constitution. This is the double function which is being provided for the constituent assembly. This will cause a tremendous workload.

It could also cause political problems, which may arise from day to day, and could flow over to the process of constitution making.

- The third uncertain issue is the time limit to which reference has been made. The ANC's latest proposals indicate that, after a constituent assembly has been elected, a constitution must be approved within nine months, or the assembly will dissolve and another election must be called.

"The question is what would be the sense of providing for such a comprehensive interim government as agreed upon between the ANC and the government if it would only apply for nine months. I have an inclination that the ANC would be compelled to scale down its expectations.

"The duration of an interim constitution will probably be longer than what the ANC is anticipating," says De Villiers.

- The fourth uncertain issue is what is being considered to be the interim constitution and what would be considered to be the final constitution.

It is very clear that the interim constitution will contain much more detail than initially foreseen.

"The parties have shifted positions as far as all these things are concerned. The most important shift is probably that the NP has now committed itself irrevocably to an interim government which will replace the present government. The 1983 Constitution will be replaced by an interim constitution.

"Secondly, the NP now accepts that a constituent assembly will have the authority to conclude the process. It will write the constitution and should the public approve of it with a specific majority, the constitution will become operative.

"Previously the government had insisted that parliament should approve the new constitution. There could be referendums, but the present parliament had to approve it. This is a shift away from the previous stand.

"The ANC has agreed to a relatively detailed interim situation. The more detailed the interim situation, the more drawn out it will be. It strengthens the impression that the transitional period will last relatively long because it will be the phase of learning, adaptation and application.

"I think this is all in line with the Codesa process before it was suspended. At the end of the day, the direction of the negotiations still remain unchanged."

While the government had foreseen an interim period with the maintance of the present constitution, it now foresees an interim body which will replace the present constitution.

the nation in brief

Mandela, FW nominated

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela are among a record number of nominations for this year's R3,7-million Nobel Peace Prize. Sowetan 5/10/92

The two South African leaders have been nominated for working to end apartheid and violence in the country. (HA) (30CA)

Among national leaders in this year's nominations list are US President George Bush, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak and former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir.

The award will be announced in Oslo, Norway, on October 16.

'Cancel this session of Parliament'

(304A)

STAR 5/10/92

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has called on the Government to cancel the forthcoming parliamentary session.

Dr Treurnicht said yesterday the session was intended to introduce legislation enabling the National Party to set up an interim government and cancel future by-elections.

"Mr de Klerk stated that he does not wish to exclude any parties with regard to their right to participate fully in constitutional negotiations.

"If he is to be believed, then the best way of proving his sincerity would be to cancel the forthcoming parliamentary session," Dr Treurnicht said.

The only supporters of the proposed interim government were the NP and the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, he said. — Sapa.

Mohammed Valli Moosa puts the case for the ANC's 'Transition to Democracy Act'

Simplicity is not always enough

STAR 5/10/92 (300A)

VARIOUS members of the Democratic Party, including Tony Leon and Ken Andrew, have criticised ANC's proposed "Transition to mocracy Act" on the grounds it it links far too closely governce during the transition period d the constitution-making pross.

They proposed that the first nocratic elections in this coun should result only in the creaa of a democratic constitutionking body. The constitutionking body will do just that — t is, make the constitution. In meantime, the NP should conue to govern the country while tricameral Parliament passes islation.

'he DP's proposals are indeed active, mainly for their simity and neatness. Unfortunatea constitutional process which neat, simple and clinical but ning else may fail dismally to wer the requirements of presday South Africa, with all its plexities.

ncidentally, the DP and the PAC have a very similar model for the transition. Both have an aversion to the notion of an interim government. The DP is concerned about the implementation of an interim government operating in terms of an interim constitutional framework, whereas the PAC does not want to soil its hands by being part of a multiparty interim government.

The ANC is of the view that the realities of this country compel all of us to establish an interim government of national unity as soon as possible.

● The first demoratic election will be a very significant and dramatic political, social and psychological event for the South African nation. The product of the elections must seek to meet the spirations of the people. For years and decades, the majority of South Africans have yearned for an end to white minority rule. It would be inconceivable to ordinary South Africans if after they have voted for the party of their choice, they still live under white minority rule. The lack of authority and legitimacy of the NP Government and the tricameral Parliament, and the resultant inability to govern the country, would be exacerbated tenfold after the elections.

● We have seen from our recent experience, that for negotiations to proceed smoothly and for the transition to work, the population at large must have confidence in the process and the governing authority. Negotiating a new constitution and the process of reconciliation and building of trust must go hand in hand. The former will not work without the latter.

● Economic recovery should not be postponed for a single day if possible. The major international institutions have made it clear that they are unwilling to negotiate agreements with an unstable and unrepresentative minority government. This is what drives (Finance Minister) Derek Keys to being so vocal about the need for an interim government.

Most important for the international financiers, of course, is that the establishment of an interim government of national unity would be the first real sign of political stability.

Ken Andrew expresses the view that it is inadvisable for the same people to be writing the constitution and attending to legislative functions. The implication of this view is that the tricameral parliament should continue making laws in spite of the fact that there would exist a democratically elected body.

The ANC's draft "Transition to Democracy Act" makes it clear that the two functions viz constitution-making and law-making *must be separate*. But to do this does not require the discredited tricameral Parliament. It proposes that elections be held for a National Assembly which would:

1. Sit as a Constituent Assembly bound by certain rules, procedures and General Constitution principles.

2. Sit as an Interim Parliament bound by a different set of rules and procedures.

The two functions will be kept separate and not enmeshed. The advantage of this is that both structures would be democratically elected and therefore legitimate.

Mr Andrew also seems to suggest that the executive authority should be appointed by the present State President in consultation with a Codesa-type structure. This could only result in the extremely warped representation which exists in Codesa.

Our proposal is that the interim executive authority should be a product of the elections. All parties which enjoy more than at least 5 percent of the vote should be represented proportionally in the executive authority. This Cabinet should seek to operate as a government of national unity by, as far as possible, operating as a consensus government.

Mr Andrew also says that there is a danger that the interim government may be tempted to perpetuate its existence for a prolonged period. We cater for this by insisting that the Constituent Assembly complete its work within a fixed time-frame and that adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms be agreed upon beforehand. Mr Andrew would know that it was precisely the NP's refusal to agree to a fixed time-frame that contributed to the Codesa 2 deadlock. In the Record of Understanding between the ANCand the Government the principle of fixed time-frames and deadlock-breaking mechanisms have now been agreed to.

In any event, we believe that if there is any constitution that has a self-perpetuating tendency, it is the tricameral Parliament in which people who would otherwise lose an election enjoy a position of privilege and power grossly out of proportion to their actual voter strength.

I do find it surprising that Mr Andrew raises objections when the DP, and he personally, was party to the adoption of a scenario for interim rule which was agreed upon in working Group 3, prior to Codesa 2, and which has now become part of the Record of Understanding. □

● *The author is a top ANC negotiator at Codesa.*

STAR 5/10/94

Ramphal blasts apartheid

By Brian Sokutu (304A)

Not until Friday did Benoni pensioner Monica Masondo know who Sir Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal is.

"But I've heard of the contribution against apartheid by people like him," said Mrs Masondo, who boarded a taxi from Benoni to Sandhurst to meet the former Commonwealth secretary-general hours before he left South Africa.

It was an emotional experience for Sir Shridath, who met Mrs Masondo and a group of other well-wishers, some of whom came from as far as Bloemfontein to attend his farewell party at the Sandhurst home of ANC chairman Oliver Tambo.

The president of the World Conservation Union was in South Africa to help launch the Matla Trust, a non-governmental development agency.

He told the guests: "Comrades, there are some moments in your life that become precious to yourself — what you hope another generation will remember you for. This is one of those moments.

"It was a great honour and duty to do whatever we did to advance the struggle for South Africa. We're not heroes, but people who played a part in what will be regarded as a struggle for freedom. Apartheid is slavery's counterpart in this century.

"I would be happy if my grandchildren and great-grandchildren would be in a position to say: 'You know, in the 20th century there was an evil called apartheid and my great-grandfather played a role'."

Godfather of the Gleneagles Agreement on sport sanctions and the 1986 Eminent Persons Group, and the man behind South Africa's isolation during the years of official race discrimination, Sir Shridath said the international community had put sanctions on hold pending political developments in South Africa.

However, he warned: "There should be no question of me campaigning for the reimposition of sanctions if the Government fails to deliver."

During his visit Sir Shridath met business and political leaders and visited Boipatong.

"I was moved by what the survivors of the Boipatong massacre told me. It was distressing to hear that not only were the attackers from the hostel but that as the victims fled, security forces opened fire on them."

Honoured . . . former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath Ramphal shares a drink with ANC chairman Oliver Tambo. Picture: Alf Kumalo

Buthelezi issues ultimatum

B/DAY 5/10/92

TIM COHEN (304A)

INKATHA leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a potentially crippling ultimatum, ruling out national negotiations until the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) was disbanded.

In a strongly-worded speech which disregarded diplomatic and government efforts to woo him back to negotiations, Buthelezi called on his followers to be prepared for death.

Buthelezi was speaking in the Hlabisa district of Natal in the latest of a series of Shaka Day speeches.

Buthelezi said he would not stand by and watch his people massacred in the ANC's "bloody battle for power".

"It is time to say: Thus far and no further. If that means we will die, so be it."

The ANC's support in KwaZulu was negligible and hence the destabilisation of the KwaZulu region was high on the ANC's agenda, he said.

Arms caches had been recently discovered outside Ulundi, "intended for the use of the ANC marchers in their attempt to topple the KwaZulu government".

Issuing an ultimatum to government and the ANC, Buthelezi said without the immediate disbandment of the ANC's "ruthless army" and the demobilisation of its military personnel, negotiations could not proceed.

"MK has got to go. There can be no negotiations at a national level while the ANC's army remains intact.

"If it is to remain and to continue after an interim government is established either on its own, or as part of the SADF, ... count me out of these agreements."

☐ To Page 2

Buthelezi

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(304A)

☐ From Page 1

He said the Zulu people had been dealt the ultimate betrayal by government, who was supporting the ANC's vendetta against Inkatha and the KwaZulu government.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi told a meeting at Umbumbulu on the Natal South Coast on Saturday if government erected fences around hostels to cage in his people, he would ask them to tear them down.

Buthelezi also threatened to consider pulling out of the national peace accord.

Regarding the ANC's proposed march on Ulundi, Buthelezi said he was surprised government and the international community had so far said nothing about protecting the Zulus during such a march.

He said if they intended to stand by and watch the slaying of innocent human lives, then the Zulus would defend themselves.

CP in call to scrap session

(304A)

PRETORIA. — Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht has called on the government to cancel the forthcoming parliamentary session.

Dr Treurnicht, in a statement yesterday, said the session was intended to introduce legislation enabling the National Party to set up an interim government and cancel future by-elections. CT 5/10/92

He called the planned move a serious infringement on the democratic rights of white voters.

The only supporters of the proposed interim government were the NP and the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance, he said.

"No other parties have consented to this legislation, despite the fact that it affects everyone in South Africa. It is now clear that Mr De Klerk is in fact doing the bidding of the ANC, to the exclusion of everyone else."

Dr Treurnicht took strong exception to bilateral agreements.

"Mr De Klerk's exclusive agreements with the ANC must now come to an end. Other peoples in South Africa can no longer tolerate the NP/ANC alliance's peremptory decisions over their future." — Sapa

It's hard to see any purpose in destabilisation by violence, writes **Stanley Uys** from London

Digging the white man's grave

STAR 6/10/92.

(304A)

YOU can call this the Confessions of a Puzzled South African, who has been asking himself what motive could possibly exist for the manipulation by whites of the violence that has been tearing South Africa apart.

Black-on-black violence — between the ANC and Inkatha, for example — I can understand. They are fighting over territory and power, as has been man's habit since history began. But why would whites want to encourage the slaughter, when the result will be to fragment the country politically, reduce the chances of a mutually beneficial settlement being negotiated, and dig the white man's grave?

It's the apparent irrationality of white manipulation of violence that puzzles me.

It must be obvious, even to the thickest of the manipulators, that the weaker the two major parties (NP and ANC) become, the more unstable the ultimate settlement will be, the more the economy will slide downhill, and the smaller the slice of the cake will become that the whites will want to claim as their share.

Leave aside the question of which whites are manipulating the violence: just say they are rightwingers who do not want to see blacks take over even one rein of government, let alone both. Their strategy then is to "destabilise" the ANC, the obvious inheritor of power, and imperil the negotiations.

"Destabilisation" has succeeded like a dream. It has made it difficult, sometimes impossible, for the ANC to organise and recruit in the townships, and to protect its people from killings. Its stature among blacks, particularly that of its "moderate" leadership, is at an all-time low in the Vaal townships, and even in Alexandra, while more and more of its regions, anxious to march on Ulundi, Bisho, Mmbatho, or wherever, are becoming increasingly rebellious.

The "third force," therefore, has triumphed in its immediate aim. It has undermined the ANC's urban support base. But, at the same time, it has strengthened the radicals, who in turn are making it increasingly difficult for President de Klerk to strike a deal with the "moderates".

Take the analysis a little further — beyond the perception that violence divides and rules and that it confirms that blacks cannot run a bath, let alone a country — and the picture is no longer as simple.

If "moderates" in the ANC are being steadily undermined by white manipulation of violence, and the radicals are being strengthened, what possible benefit is there in this for South Africa's whites?

This is what puzzles me. If 28 million blacks are politically destabilised, the result will be something approaching anarchy, or ungovernability, and that will be the end of economic recovery. Where will the whites, rightwingers and manipulators no less than reformists, go from there?

Consider another, more sophisticated, scenario: that the violence will so diminish the ANC leadership's ability to deliver the black constituency to a negotiated settlement that the only choice left to it will be to join forces with the NP and for the two of them then to ram a settlement down everyone's throat.

Such a development would create political vacuums — for the Right, the Left and the Centre — and destabilisation could then begin in real earnest. I doubt very much whether the white manipulators of violence think in such sophisticated terms, but political vacuums could be an unintended consequence of orchestrated violence.

The new Right could embrace (loosely, not necessarily in a formal alliance) homeland leaders (Buthelezi, Gqozo, Mangope, maybe Kenneth Mopeli), the Afrikaner Volksunie, what is left of the CP, and the "third force". The emergence of such a conservative front might well be an invitation to NP supporters to defect in sizeable numbers.

The new Left could be a workers/socialist party led by Chris Hani, and a Centrist party could emerge under Dr Oscar Dhlomo, Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and (who knows?) defectors from the ANC. My guess is that if such a Centrist party is formed, the NP hurriedly will change its name and persona to salvage its position as the major white party.

What a Tower of Babel South African politics would then become. In a new Right, the manipulators of violence would be considerably strengthened, acquiring a more tightly focused political aim, namely, to protect regional or minority rights in the company of black allies.

From the flanks they will harass the ruling parties with guerilla-like attrition, deepening the instability and inexorably dragging the economy down.

So what are the white manipulators of violence up to? As they dig the white man's grave, is it because they are stupider than one has imagined them to be, or is there simply something in the dark recesses of their psyches that drives them to this self-destruction? Or is there a strategy somewhere that I have missed, because I am sitting here 10 000 km away — some aspect of white manipulation of violence that even remotely will benefit the whites, or even a section of whites? Can someone tell me? □

'Harambee' for a new SA

STAR 6/10/92 (304A)

The Urban Foundation advises caution in planning a new South Africa. The future depends on finding the correct blend of three basic requirements — democracy, development and economic growth. MICHAEL CHESTER reports.

MY introduction to Africa came in the 1960s on arrival in Nairobi to witness the ceremonial lowering of the Union Jack and the funeral of colonialism in Kenya. Celebrations of independence and the birth of a new republic were in full swing.

The atmosphere tingled with optimism. In Kenya and over the borders in Tanzania and Uganda, shouts of "Uhuru" (Freedom) echoed everywhere. "Harambee" — "Let's all pull together" — was a common greeting even between strangers, white or black made no matter.

Another regular Swahili exchange was "Umoja", meaning "Unity" — a bit more difficult to understand why so popular until one learnt that Kenya alone had no fewer than 48 tribes, many of which had been deliberately kept divided if not antagonistic towards their neighbours by former British rulers with various political motives.

Across East Africa, Jomo Kenyatta and Julius Nyerere and Milton Obote beamed wide smiles from huge posters that seemed to inspire confidence that magic wands were soon to be waved to end an era of oppression and create a perfect new society.

There had been recent similar new dawns elsewhere in Africa as former rulers sank their last sundowners. More were to follow.

Examples of Utopia are still hard to find...

Now, 28 years later, in Johannesburg, there seem many parallels in watching the funeral of apartheid and the dawn of a new South Africa.

Suspicion

The atmosphere is much different, charged by undercurrents of violence and suspicion rather than the echo of the equivalents of "Uhuru" and "Harambee".

However, Africa teaches newcomers to tame their optimism about promises of the creation of ideal statehood.

Even so, simple logic makes the point that at least South Africa has the advantage of being able to take stock of the countless errors that have been made elsewhere on the continent — and ensure it lays much firmer foundations for longer term ambitions. The lessons that should be noted are by no means confined to Africa alone. The disintegration of the former Soviet Union and the rubble of fallen idols in Eastern Europe have added to the list.

Perhaps, on reflection, it means there can be merit in the current mood of caution about the future. At least the caution should serve as protection from the dangers of disillusionment that may follow the first one-man, one-vote elections... when, inevitably, the magic wands seem slow in working.

Insiders know better than to trust in assurances about quick fixes. But must the solutions be beyond reach?

Not so, argues the Urban Foundation. All may depend, however, on the realism shown by a new South Africa about the scale of problems to be solved — and how it tests the real viability of various strategies.

In particular, the Urban Foundation believes the basic conundrum to solve is how to blend three vital ingredients that can be crucial to success but are all too often difficult to blend in the correct proportions — democracy, development and economic growth.

Is it failure to find the right recipe that has made Utopia so elusive?

To put the issue under the microscope, the foundation has created a special division called the Development Strategy and Policy Unit, headed by Ann Bernstein, who earned her reputation for no-nonsense approaches to complex problems as executive director of the Urbanisation Unit.

The search for the key to the puzzle has been started with a series of behind-the-scenes workshops that have managed to create a truce between combatants across a wide spectrum while they talk it over.

The exercise has by no means been confined to local participants but has drawn in overseas experts to take closer looks at international experience to help trace the best guidelines.

For example, the Urban Foundation searched as far as the United States to find the ideal candidate to lead the study teams and found Professor Peter Berger, director of the Institute for the Study of Economic Culture, based at Boston University.

Also drawn in from the US is Professor Myron Weiner from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

And instead of an exclusive fixation on the rest of Africa, the think-tank has pulled in experts from such far-flung places as South America, South-East Asia and Eastern Europe.

Analysis has delved into the track records of such diverse examples as Chile, Taiwan and Hungary.

Ms Bernstein believes the workshops have already yielded several key guidelines. Among them: "The momentous events in the former USSR and Eastern Europe have removed any serious debate around the choice between capitalist and socialist paths to development."

However, debate has so far raised as many new questions as answers. For instance, what sort of capitalism? "Market-oriented policies are not inevitably successful," notes Ms Bernstein, "nor is there a single path to market-based economic, political and developmental success."

So, what kind of market economy would suit South Africa best? What kind of economic strategies? What kind of social policies? What kind of democratic society?

"The achievement of universal franchise in South Africa is long overdue," the think-tank agrees. "However, a society in which all citizens vote will not guarantee that poverty will be eliminated, that prosperity will follow or be more widely distributed, that ordinary people will have increased control over their own or their children's lives, or that public resources will be used to the benefit of all South Africans.

"South Africa in the 1900s will face three great challenges: a transition to democracy; a return to economic growth; and achieving socio-economic development on scale."

The links between the challenges will be inextricable, say the researchers. And success will depend on simultaneous progress with all three issues.

Vision

Ms Bernstein adds in a progress report on the debate: "A new government will need a strategic and conceptual vision — a package — that combines clear economic and fiscal choices with hard political realities.

"Meeting the economic and development challenge is the base on which the country's attempt to build a truly discrimination-free and truly democratic society rests.

"In the tough sequence of demands that the society faces, stability is necessary for economic growth — but that stability can only be attained if we have an inclusive society governed by the rule of law.

"What this will mean, in effect, is that the kind of 'national accord' we really need must be one that extends further than only the 'big three' — business, organised labour and the state — but an accord that includes sufficient numbers of ordinary South Africans for them to form the bedrock of support, hope and stability as the society works towards a better future."

The study unit plans regular publication of discussion documents as the debate presses ahead. It has also invited submissions from outside the think-tank to widen the search for solutions.

At the moment, democracy, development and economic growth each in turn demands to rank as the main priority. But can they be harnessed to pull together towards ultimate goals?

The enthusiasm of the unit inspires hope there may still be a chance for South Africa to serve as a model example of "Harambee". □

New alliance gets off the ground

Sowetan 6/10/92 (304A)

PRIME MOVERS Inkatha gathers supporters together to challenge FW, Mandela summit decision:

AN ALLIANCE of homeland and right-wing political parties opposed to the Government and the African National Congress gets off the ground at a conference near Johannesburg today.

The meeting follows talks between prime movers, the Inkatha Freedom Party/KwaZulu government, the leaders of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Conservative Party over the past two weeks.

Initially these parties were drawn to each other because of their support for the regionalism/federalism concept.

Opposition, and open hostility, to the ANC and Government grew after the signing of the Record of Understanding at a peace summit between State President Mr FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on September 26.

The IFP initiated today's meeting and issued invitations to all homeland leaders and parties as well as political parties sharing their views.

Among those having confirmed are the CP, its newly formed rival the Afrikaner Volksunie, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, QwaQwa and Gazankulu.

An IFP spokesman said that by late yesterday more parties and business leaders were still indicating their willingness to attend the conference.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose will open the meeting at 9am at the Indaba Hotel in Witkoppen. The agenda will be finalised at the meeting, the IFP said.

The homeland trio of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana and the two right-wing parties have charged that by reaching agreement with the ANC - on the future of negotiations - the Government deliberately excluded other players, especially those who took part in the Codesa process.

However, speculation abounds that today's summit will yield an alternative negotiating forum and thwart any agreement De Klerk and Mandela might reach in future.

The right-wing parties have said the Government was now an ANC ally and was yielding to the organisation's demands.

The homeland trio have said De Klerk re-

Graham Linscott comments on the plans of a good-humoured nationalist

Koos and the new Namaqualand

STAR 6/10/92. (304A)

EXPELLED Conservative Party MP Koos van der Merwe breezed through the Last Outpost the other day, exuding confidence about another Last Outpost — this time of Afrikanerdom.

There are two ways of looking at this kind of thing. One can either nudge and wink and make jokes about oxwagons trekking off into the sunset or one can wonder whether the Van der Merwes of this world have not leapfrogged conventional wisdom.

Mr van der Merwe propounds something which sounds a bit like the Volkstaat of Professor Carel Boshoff, former chairman of the Brooderbond and Hendrik Verwoerd's son-in-law.

Like Professor Boshoff, Mr van der Merwe wants an Afrikananer settlement in Namaqualand, in the arid north-west Cape, which would take in two or three existing small towns, would have irrigation from the Orange River, would presumably include the huge (but underdeveloped) natural harbour of Saldanha Bay and would, after rain every few years, bring forth the most spectacular display of wild flowers.

Like Professor Boshoff, he also wants the place to be to the Afrikaner what Israel is to the Jew. Although he might never visit it and probably will not settle in it, he likes it to be there — a *heenkome*, an anchor of security.

Unlike Professor Boshoff, he does not want the homeland to be for white Afrikaners only. Namaqualand is already, as he says, the most Afrikaans part of the world. The coloured folk who live there speak Afrikaans and hold Afrikaner values.

This would appear to invest Mr van der Merwe's scheme with a degree of realism from the start. Also, unlike Professor Boshoff, he wants the homeland — he calls it Westerland — to be part of a federation, initially, at least, where the Afrikaner could live according to his norms and values.

If the new South Africa should collapse — "go the way of Africa" as he puts it — the Afrikaners will have their homeland to fall back on. He stresses that his homeland will be a place for modern Afrikaners — scientists and engineers who will make the desert bloom the way the Israelis have done. He also says he discussed the concept in London with ANC moderates, long before that organisation was unbanned.

Mr van der Merwe came across with great good humour: "I am an Afrikaner nationalist, not a right-winger. I don't wear torn green underpants."

He delineates what is emerging as one of the critical demarcations in the constitutional debate — federalism versus the centralised unitary state. It is an intriguing question. Will the unitarists allow people like Mr van der Merwe to maintain their present good humour? And if they don't?

Behind the scenes, politicians are preparing for a titanic electoral contest, reports **Alan Dunn**

Parties getting ready for 'mother of all elections'

STAR 6/10/92. (304A)

SOUTH Africa's main political groups are getting themselves ttle-ready for what President Klerk has dubbed "the mother all elections".

When it is, what form it will ke and which rules will apply, e largely conjecture at this ıge. Arduous negotiations await e politicians before such details n be nailed down.

But all parties are on election ert: "We must be fully geared to by the end of October," said a w Democratic Party strategy cument for the Natal region.

The National Party started its mpaign in July under the slon, in six languages, of "everye wins with the NP". The new nner reads: "Work and win tother".

The NP is hoping to stage 2 500 eetings countrywide before ristmas and make inroads into e vast, unfathomed reservoir of ıck votes. "We are planning to ht the mother of all elections," Cabinet Minister George Bartlett, party leader in Natal, told NP congress-goers in Durban.

Electoral fitness was very much the theme of his address, which was intended to fire up delegates for the monumental tasks of organising and outreach before mounting South Africa's first one-man, one-vote poll.

While Nationalists are energetically pursuing the votes that surveys suggest they need, the ANC, which has the numbers but lacks the NP's powerful, efficient election machinery and knowhow, is working to correct that weakness.

ANC president Nelson Mandela recently confirmed the ANC's electoral frame of mind when he cited the election campaigns of South Africa's political juggernauts as a mistake. The ANC and NP were simultaneously trying to negotiate, he noted, and that meant they were trying also to undermine each other.

Even the resistance-inclined Conservative Party, still licking its wounds after its trouncing in the March 17 referendum, speaks these days — somewhat ominously — of "mobilising".

It is a time for honest self-examination among the political groups. Few are as open and candid about their findings, warts and all, as the DP.

"It will have to move rapidly away from being a predominantly white suburban political organisation," DP members said of their party in a strategy document, emphasising the need for vigorous campaigning.

Part of the plan is for Chief Whip Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, to individually confront Natal's other 10 MPs: "Either they are going to get involved in the party," said DP strategist Kobus Jordaan, "or let us know they are in semi-retirement."

The document concluded that there were Democratic MPs, like some in the NP, who do not see a future for themselves in politics.

In the most recent session of Parliament, it became apparent who these people were. Several MPs became visible by their absence, as a pall of political mortality hung over the institution.

The truants were trying, their colleagues believed, to re-seat themselves in their businesses, partnerships, legal practices and so on as Parliament moved to implode itself in favour of a truly democratic institution.

Personal insecurity was a hallmark of the last session between January and June. Many MPs were effectively voting themselves out of jobs, so searches started for alternative livelihoods as they sought assurances about their pensions.

"It is also questionable whether all MPs devote most of their time to the party and its interests," the DP's document went on.

The analysis listed the party's weaknesses as: lacking sound management; non-coordinated activities; no clear targets; not perceived as potential winners; poor media marketing relations; ineffective use of organisational abilities and membership; not positioned clearly enough on the political spectrum; perceived to be a white, rich, suburban, liberal party; a white mindset; Natal coast fever; lack of charisma and emotion; and lack of political killer instinct.

The strengths it listed included: a responsible liberation party with a history of opposition to apartheid; genuinely non-racial; a strong moral position; a history of non-violence; sound, workable policies; dedicated people and core activists; relatively affluent supporters; relatively sound organisation abilities; and press support.

Mr Jordaan and his fellow strategists, who are working behind the scenes for a formidable centrist force in South African politics to oppose the NP, ANC, and Inkatha Freedom Party, believe much can be done to expand Democratic support.

There should be active recruitment at grassroots level, it said. "However, it is unrealistic to expect that leaders will emerge from grassroots structures sufficiently fast to provide the leadership figures the DP needs to be able to transform itself and maximise its potential in the time available before the first elections."

It was therefore essential that the DP attracted public endorsement or support from prominent, credible (black) leaders, it said. "Those who wish to do so would then become part of the leadership corps of the DP," it said.

They would play key roles in transforming the DP's appearance and substance into a functioning, non-racial organisation representative, at all levels of the DP, of the communities from which the DP wished to draw support. □

Stop squabbling, says Pik

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

(30cm)

The signing of a formal ceasefire by Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama in Rome on Sunday, and the completion of elections in Angola, presented a challenge to all South Africans to put their house in order, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

Addressing a press conference at Jan Smuts Airport on his arrival from Rome, Mr Botha said the two major developments — in which South Africa had played a role — challenged local political leaders to stop squabbling, put an end to violence, and solve the country's problems so that South Africa could play its role in the region.

STAR 6/10/92

Mr Botha said although the implementation of the Mozambican ceasefire would not be easy, no talk of implementation could have been possible without the agreement.

South Africa had played "a small part" towards bringing the Mozambican government and Renamo to the negotiations table, he said.

During a visit to Rome a few years ago, he had asked the Pope to nominate a church leader in Mozambique who would be acceptable to both sides to act as mediator. That had been done and had led to the signing of the ceasefire agreement, Mr Botha said.

A number of commissions would be created to implement the agreement and prepare the ground for elections in Mozambique next year.

On Angola, Mr Botha said his latest information was that Unita had polled about 40 percent of the vote, "which is a considerable amount of support to have". Unita had not been "overrun", and would play a significant role.

The Government had sent a message to President Eduardo dos Santos and Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to work for reconciliation and a government of national unity, he said.

Pik Botha . . . SA must put house in order.

Buthelezi told not to 'go it alone'

STAR 6/10/92.

(30414)

On the eve of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Buthelezi's alliance-building summit, the Government cautioned him last night against trying to go it alone in negotiations.

Opening the Cape National Party congress in East London, Cape NP leader and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers warned against separatist tendencies.

Chief Buthelezi meets Bophuthatswana President Dr Lucas Mangope, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaners Volksunie in Johannesburg today to discuss a negotiations alliance.

Dr de Villiers said no political dispensation aimed at restoring peace and stability would be viable unless it enjoyed the support of the majority.

"We must negotiate ourselves out of the morass in which we find ourselves. We need the IFP and Chief Buthelezi. Neither the ANC nor the goverment can go it alone," he said.

The Government was devoting attention to stumbling blocks preventing the IFP from taking part in negotiations.

The Minister of State Affairs, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, told the SA Institute of International Affairs in East London last night there had been no "capitulation" to the ANC in agreements reached in the "Record of Understanding" at the Government/ANC violence summit.

There had been no "ganging up or exclusivity" against other parties, he said.

Angered

Today's alliance-building meeting, which an IFP source said would be attended by political and business leaders, comes a week after Chief Buthelezi met Dr Mangope and Brigadier Gqozo in Mmabatho.

Chief Buthelezi, angered by the signing of the "Record of Understanding" by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela on September 26, withdrew from all further contact with the Government and consulted his allies in an attempt to form an anti-ANC alliance.

They agreed to meet again today to discuss the way forward.

Yesterday, the IFP would not release a list of the organisations attending the summit or its agenda.

The CP's high-powered delegation, to be led by leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, will include deputy leader and Transvaal leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, foreign affairs spokesman and Soutpansberg MP Tom Langley, Natal leader Carl Werdt, Cape leader Jan Hoon and Free State leader Alex Danzfus.

In the Afrikaner Volksunie delegation will be Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, Bethal MP Chris de Jager, Standerton MP Rosier de Ville and Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz, who recently broke away from the CP to form the new party.

● AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche offered his full support to Brigadier Gqozo when the two leaders met in Johannesburg yesterday.

Brigadier Gqozo and Mr TerreBlanche said in a joint statement released after their meeting they had agreed the ANC "should immediately cease its violence, cowardly behaviour and intimidation".

"The AWB will support the Ciskei government if the ANC threatens its authority with violence," the statement said. — Political Reporter and Sapa.

NP spotlight on freed prisoners

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The Government could come under fire from its own ranks here during the Cape National Party congress for its controversial handling of the release of political prisoners.

Although the issue is not on the official agenda — printed before the prisoners were freed — Cape MPs believe it will nonetheless be raised by delegates.

MPs say the issue might be addressed by Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers — who opened the congress last night — or by President de Klerk who is to speak today.

They expect the congress to reflect unhappiness in the party at the Government's apparent back-tracking by releasing hard-core ANC prisoners such as Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride.

They say there is also dismay about weekend reports quoting mass murderer Barend Strydom as saying he had done nothing wrong and was willing to kill again.

'Power-sharing period likely'

B/Day 6/10/92 (304A)

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The average finding of more than 20 opinion surveys demonstrated that it was very unlikely the ANC would obtain an absolute majority in a future election, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) GM Lawrence Schlemmer said at the Western Cape Growth Organisation annual meeting yesterday.

He said when taking all the findings together, the ANC would probably garner support of between 45% to 50% of the electorate, the NP would get about 25% to 30% and Inkatha 10% to 12% with smaller parties taking up the rest.

Schlemmer said the findings took into account rural opinion polls which were normally excluded from research surveys.

He added that such an election outcome could hold in store some surprises, and give relatively small parties such as the CP, the DP and the PAC a certain amount of leverage to form alliances.

In this context he thought it unavoidable that there would be a period of power sharing between the ANC and the NP.

Because they needed each other, they would have to govern together, but unhappily so. This would result in a lot of dualism, a continuation of mass action by the ANC and manipulative strategies by state institutions.

Schlemmer believed there would be two dominating forces in policy making — a commitment to social welfare policies, high levels of state expenditure and state intervention in the economy, and on the other hand, constraints by minority-controlled state institutions to check such populist policies.

Power sharing would probably be tense, resulting in trade-offs and a fair amount of instability.

Regional powers would be fairly limited because of duress at the centre of the political system.

Schlemmer said such an outcome would mean moderate business confidence, foreign capital from loans rather than investment, an average GDP growth rate of about 2% to 3%, high levels of state spending, and an inflation rate of between 14% and 16%.

Trade unions would be agressive and wages would tend to rise about 2% above the inflation rate while unemployment would continue to rise. The division of society into First and Third World components would have to be accepted and development strategies devised for each sector, giving emphasis to productivity and self-sufficiency.

The present tax regime would probably continue, with the addition of a capital gains tax.

A more optimistic scenario of the NP and ANC forming a centrist alliance was unlikely, Schlemmer said.

RAY HARTLEY reports the ANC has stepped up its preparations for a future election and advertised 23 posts on its elections commission.

The organisation has trained thousands of supporters in everything from how to cast a vote to campaign strategies and public speaking.

One of the officials, a communication systems operator, would take responsibility for setting up and operating a computer network between the ANC's national office and its 14 regions, according to the advertisement.

Fourteen regional and two national organiser posts have been advertised.

The organisers would "work with ANC regions in implementing the elections campaign, facilitating the setting up of structures, advising on organising methods, running workshops and promoting voter education", the advertisement said.

Other posts advertised included a receptionist, senior administrator, accountant and fundraiser.

to be to resume multiparty talks, he said. | holding out for at negotiations. | rocketing food prices.

Interim govt needed to give police credibility

B/DAY 6/10/92.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — It would be difficult to convince the wider community that changes were taking place in the police force when it was seen as an instrument of an unrepresentative government, Idasa executive director Alex Boraine said last night.

The police had to experience a remarkable shift in perceptions when former enemies and terrorists became partners in negotiations, and they did so against the background of bitter hostility from the majority of black South Africans.

"It is often overlooked that there is a policy within some black organisations to 'kill a cop a day'."

It made sombre reading that 107 policemen were killed in 1990, 145 in 1991 and 174 up to September this year, he said at the opening of an Idasa conference on policing in Vanderbijlpark.

"An understaffed, overworked, underpaid and pressured police force cannot on its own bring about the fundamental changes which need to take place."

Boraine said a strong, united national police force, subject to discipline and accountability, was urgently needed during transition.

The controversy surrounding the Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu police forces underlined this necessity.

"The sooner SA proceeds to an interim government which will include joint responsibility for the security forces, the sooner the image of the police force will change to that of a force at the service of all South Africans."

The police force should be made as attractive as possible in terms of wage levels and training opportunities.

There should also be a move away from the militarisation of the police force.

The question of recruitment, training and the democratisation of command structures to encourage public accountability should also be examined.

Boraine said delegates should avoid the mistaken belief that problems in the police force could be ascribed to a few so-called "rotten apples".

The police force had undertaken an internal audit and a commitment towards significant changes within its structures and its practice, but it was impossible for the police to undertake this task without community involvement, Boraine said.

DP unveils plan for a future voting system

RAY HARTLEY

(304H)

A FUTURE electoral system for SA would have to promote alliances and coalitions and transcend historical divisions, a DP discussion paper released yesterday said.

B/DAY 6/10/92.

The paper listed five requirements for an ideal system, namely that it should be:

- ☐ Equitable and not distort "the translation of votes into seats";
- ☐ Easily understandable and fair;
- ☐ Easily supervised to minimise electoral malpractices;
- ☐ Immune from "gerrymandering"; and
- ☐ A system which resulted in effective, accountable government "at the same time as providing equitable representation for minorities".

The document recommended the establishment of a permanent independent electoral commission with the legal capacity to enforce electoral law.

The proposals suggested a 400-strong national assembly elected on an adapted form of proportional representation every four years.

DP spokesman James Selfe said yesterday the system aimed to balance the choices of the majority with representation by minority parties who had small but geographically concentrated constituencies.

Three hundred of the seats would be elected proportionately, with three candidates from each of 100 constituencies. The remaining 100 seats would be chosen to balance this constituency approach with the feelings of the electorate as a whole, he said.

Radicals 'showing their true colours'

EAST LONDON — Both left- and right-wing radicals had unmasked themselves through their actions and the world was beginning to see them for what they really were, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said last night.

"The government did not ban their activities. We allowed them the democratic freedom to show their undemocratic natures," he said at the official opening of the Cape NP congress in East London.

The government had conducted itself with patience, reserve and responsibility.

Law and order had been maintained as well as was possible under "horrendously difficult conditions" B/Day 6/10/92

The influence of left- and right-wing radicals was beginning to wane and the opportunity was available for genuine negotiators to come forward, said De Villiers.

"Responsible and constructive people seek to pioneer the road to the future through negotiation rather than conflict. The discussions between the government and the ANC have taken this process further forward."

It was regretted that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had decided to withdraw from negotiations on the basis of incorrect allegations against the government.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without Inkatha, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA," De Villiers said.

The NP would devote attention to the stumbling blocks which kept Inkatha from participating in negotiations. The overriding aim had to be to resume multiparty talks, he said.

NP leadership faces concerned congress

B/Day 6/10/92 30(A)

Political Staff

EAST LONDON — The NP leadership — reeling from a series of setbacks in negotiations — will face the music when the party's Cape congress gets under way in the city today.

Growing perceptions among the party rank-and-file that the ANC has won the lion's share of concessions at recent bargaining sessions and fears that government could be alienating its potentially valuable election allies like Inkatha will have to be addressed directly by government ministers.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's recent decision to break off talks with government will also be dealt with by President F W de Klerk, party sources indicated yesterday.

They say delegates will be looking to De Klerk, who addresses the congress this morning, to allay many of their fears and uncertainties about the future.

These anxieties are reflected in the resolutions to be debated at the two-day congress.

De Klerk is also expected to deal with the growing furore over the release of political prisoners — as well as a number of hardened criminals released as political offenders.

Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, will also be called on later today to allay concerns about the nature of the deal government is holding out for at negotiations.

A resolution which Meyer will have to respond to calls for a commitment that a new constitutional dispensation will ensure that "civilised norms, values and standards remain intact" and that Afrikaans be retained as one of the official languages.

A total of five constituencies have expressed their "deepest concern" over the corruption, fraud and malpractices taking place in government departments and have called for tough action against offenders, including the instant dismissal of officials with loss of pension benefits — instead of the now common practice of transferring guilty parties to other government departments.

With legislation designed to outlaw hard gambling due to be tabled in Parliament next week, another hot topic at the congress is bound to be a request for the government "to clarify its policy with regard to casinos", sources say.

A number of MPs are known to oppose government moves to close up to 2 000 private gaming clubs that have mushroomed across the country in recent months.

Other topics to be debated include the high incidence of violence throughout the country and the "deteriorating security situation in the Transkei", the growing squatter problem across the country, rising unemployment and rocketing food prices.

Stern govt warning to Inkatha

(304A) Political Staff

EAST LONDON — Government last night issued a stern warning to Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a "go-it-alone" option was not on and represented a road to more conflict and violence.

Speaking on the eve of a meeting between disgruntled homeland leaders and right-wing parties, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers said he hoped the "immensely regrettable" decision to pull out of talks did not emanate from the belief that Inkatha and Natal could chart their own political future.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without Inkatha, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA," De Villiers said at the opening of the NP's Cape congress.

"The ANC cannot go it alone, nor Inkatha, even with limited support from other parties — solutions must be found on a multiparty basis," said De Villiers.

TIM COHEN reports that three homeland leaders are meeting in Johannesburg today to "chart a course back to negotiations" against a background of intensified efforts by government and the ANC to placate them.

The ANC yesterday said it would consider favourably a meeting between it and Inkatha at presidential level "provided thorough preparations aimed at making

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Inkatha

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☐ From Page 1

such a meeting a success are made".

The ANC was responding to an ultimatum issued by Buthelezi that his party and the KwaZulu government would not take part in negotiations until the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe was disbanded.

This call was inconsistent with the search for a political settlement in SA, the ANC said in a statement.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said yesterday that Ciskei's military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope would attend today's summit. All have rejected government's Record of Understanding agreement with the ANC.

Other parties, including other homeland leaders, the CP and the Afrikaner Volksunie had been invited, but because of the short notice given to the parties, it was not clear who would attend.

The summit, called The Conference for Concerned South Africans, would discuss what was required before multilateral negotiations could begin again.

Felgate said a top-level meeting between Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela could not be held until mediation — agreed to by the national peace accord — between the two leaders by former Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda had occurred.

However, Sapa reports that Kaunda has called off the SA visit.

"That mission is no longer possible — I don't think there is any need for it," Kaunda was quoted as saying before leaving on a two-week trip to the US.

Felgate said Inkatha would also not attend the reconvening of the peace accord signatories, due to take place later this month, until the mediation process had taken place.

Pik offers Mozambique SA's help with ceasefire

B/Day 6/10/92 (3044)

SA WOULD consider taking part in overseeing Mozambique's ceasefire if asked, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said yesterday.

He told a news conference on his return from Rome, where an accord ending 16 years of civil war was signed on Sunday, that various commissions were being created to monitor the ceasefire and help Mozambique along the road to democracy.

"We would be prepared to sit on some of these commissions, but only if asked," he said.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano and Renamo rebel leader Afonso Dhlakama signed the ceasefire after more than two years of peace negotiations in Rome mediated by the Roman Catholic church and the Italian government.

Botha warned that difficult times still lay ahead for Mozambique, one of the world's poorest countries devastated by war and the worst drought of the century in the region.

"This agreement has now been signed, but it doesn't mean implementation will be easy," he said.

"We are relieved that this important step has now been taken."

Relief officials said refugees were still fleeing the famine in Mozambique into Malawi, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and SA. More than 2-million Mozambicans are refugees in neighbouring states, while millions more of the 15-million population have fled their homes within the country.

Botha said a return of refugees would have to be discussed with Mozambique's leaders.

Now, after the major events in Angola and Mozambique, SA was being challenged to solve its own problems and to stop the violence, Botha said.

He called on political parties to put SA's interests first, and not their own narrow party political interests.

Asked about his meeting in Rome with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, Botha said prospects were good for diplomatic relations eventually being established between the two countries.

However, Pretoria would not push for the opening of relations, but would wait for an improvement to come about naturally.

He said trade and communication links between the two countries were already good.

On Cahora Bassa, Botha said if the water project was resuscitated, about 15 000 workers would be needed to remove the vegetation underneath the power lines.

The Mozambique peace agreement would not only improve trade in the region, but would also pave the way for holidaymakers who wanted to visit the region.

The Foreign Minister said that while in Rome, he had discussed with a senior UN official the UN observers' function in SA and how they should co-ordinate their work with local structures such as the Goldstone commission.

Meanwhile, in Maputo, the Mozambican defence ministry has ordered all military units to adopt a strictly defensive position because of the signing of the peace agreement.

Immediately after Sunday's signing of the accord, Defence Minister Alberto Chipande ordered the armed forces to call a halt to any offensive actions. — Sapa-Reuter.

Banda rules out change in Malawi

B/Day 6/10/92

LILONGWE — President Kamuzu Banda has ruled out a multiparty system in Malawi, saying it was unsuitable and would cause corruption and strife.

"There is no question of multipartyism here," Banda, president for life of the central African nation, told a convention of his ruling Malawi Congress Party at the weekend.

Malawi would remain a one-party state whether the country's "friends or enemies like it or not", he said, according to the official Malawi News Agency.

Banda, who has banned opposition parties and ruled Malawi since independence from Britain in 1964, said pluralist politics "bred corruption, political instability, poor economic performance and civil and tribal strife". — Sapa-Reuter.

Breakaway gunmen seize key points in Madagascan port

B/Day 6/10/92

ANTANANARIVO — Breakaway gunmen have seized control of key installations in Madagascar's main port town, Toamasina, in continuing violence in the runup to multiparty presidential elections next month.

Travellers returning from the port said groups of gunmen had taken over Toamasina Airport and were threatening to shoot down any aircraft attempting to land.

Travellers said the government sent troops to Toamasina at the weekend and to Toliara, 600km to the southeast, to end violence by supporters of regional rule.

Returning travellers from both towns said the gunmen were in control of local radio and television stations which they were using to broadcast demands for regional rule.

In Toamasina, they said they planned to take over banks, the local treasury, the railway network and power and water plants to back demands for a federal state.

The transitional government announced on Sunday that presidential elections would be held on November 25, pitting Didier Ratsiraka, who has ruled for 17 years, against some 15 hopefuls from Madagascar's six provinces.

Madagascar has been in a state of political and economic upheaval for more than a year since Ratsiraka bowed to the democracy movement sweeping Africa and agreed to share power with a transitional government before general elections.

Toamasina, birthplace of Ratsiraka, has been the focus of violent opposition to a continued unitary state in recent weeks by supporters of regional rule.

Anti-ANC front meets

Sowetan 6/10/92. 304A

ALLIANCE LAUNCH Looking to thwart any plans

ANC, Government may have for the future:

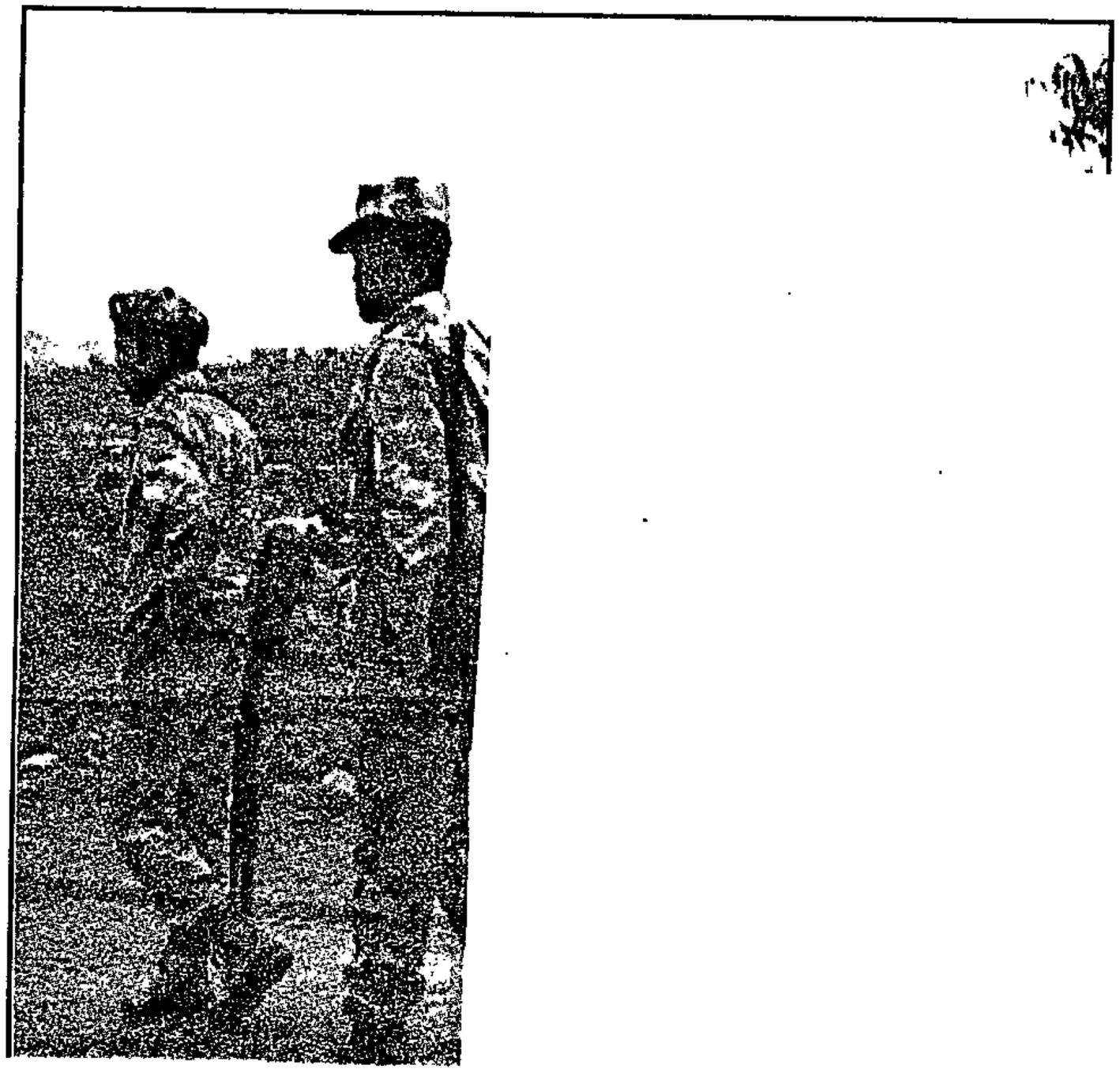
OPPOSITION to the Government and African National Congress moves a step further with the launching of an alliance of homelands and right-wing political parties today.

At a conference at the Indaba Hotel at Witkoppen near Johannesburg the Inkatha Freedom Party/KwaZulu government, leaders of Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and its newly formed rival, the Afrikaner Volksunie, are set to lay the foundations for an alternative negotiating forum to thwart any agreement the Government and ANC might reach in future.

The catalyst to the new formation is the signing of the Record of Understanding at a peace summit between State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on September 26.

An IFP spokesman, whose party initiated the summit, said that by late yesterday more parties and business leaders were still indicating their willingness to attend the conference. It was reported yesterday that Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo held discussions with the CP's Andries Treurnicht.

See story page 2



Interim rule 'priority for stability'

(304A) ARG 6/10/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

AN interim government of national unity is the government's priority, Cape Nationalists have been told at their provincial congress in East London.

This was vital for national stability, Cape leader of the NP Dr Dawie de Villiers told about 500 people at a public meeting at the East London City Hall last night.

He said the outlook was good for a resumption of full-scale multi-party negotiations.

It was possible that more parties than before would become involved, but he warned that the favourable prospects for a resumption of negotiations did not mean the negotiators would reach a speedy agreement.

However, the National Party was determined to approach negotiations in a spirit of reconciliation "with openness and reasonableness aimed at finding solutions".

He said: "It is in everybody's interests that progress is made in negotiations and that a government of national unity is achieved as soon as possible for the sake of stability.

"This is now our priority," he said.

In a wide-ranging and well received speech, Dr De Villiers sharply criticised "extremists" on the right and left of the political spectrum, accused both sides of delaying a settlement, and causing disruption and instability.

He said that just as the right was intent on jeopardising an orderly transition to a new order, so leftist extremists were intent on disrupting the country and rendering it ungovernable.

In a particularly strongly worded broadside, Dr De Villiers blamed radical elements in the ANC alliance for a fading in investor confidence in South Africa, the high level of unemployment, the poor school performance of black pupils and the slide in order and stability.

Mass action with revolutionary goals, strikes, and school and rent boycotts made no contribution to the search for solutions.

The international community was beginning to recognise this too.

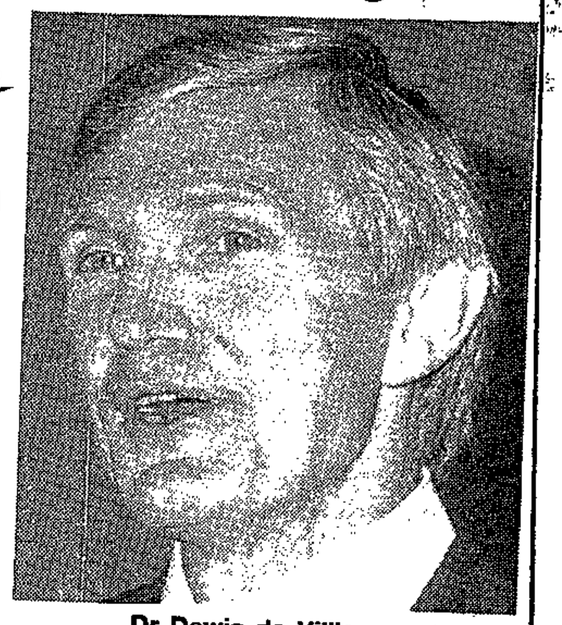
Meanwhile, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to withdraw from talks was regrettable, Dr De Villiers said, particularly as it appeared to have been prompted by a wrong assessment of the agreement between the ANC and the government.

The government would seriously tackle stumbling blocks that stood in the way of Inkatha's return to the negotiation table.

He hoped Inkatha would not consider a "go-it-alone" option in Natal because this was bound to lead to more conflict and violence, economic decline, unemployment and poverty.

Dr De Villiers acknowledged that changes since 1990 had brought many problems and conditions of uncertainty, but the situation would have been much worse if the NP had not hauled itself from "the dark pit of apartheid".

The challenges of the present and future demanded of South Africans a pioneering spirit, and the qualities of courage, faith and endurance.



Dr Dawie de Villiers

Kriel wows them in fluent Xhosa

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was given a round of applause when he opened the National Party's Cape congress in East London with a welcome in three languages.

Mr Kriel, who was chairing a public meeting addressed by Cape NP leader Dr Dawie de Villiers yesterday, welcomed delegates and others in English, Afrikaans and fluent Xhosa.

"This is the new South Africa ... we talk this language," he said.

The audience of about 500 was mainly white and coloured.

Thanking Dr de Villiers at the end of the meeting, the MP for Kalahari, the Rev Andrew Julies, said the NP was "the party that forgives".

"And therefore each citizen of South Africa should forgive the NP for its mistakes of the past." — Sapa.

NP sets up committee on shape of 'new Cape'

(304A) ARG 6/10/92

Political Correspondent

THE National Party in the Cape has appointed a committee to investigate how the province could, or should, be divided into federal or regional entities.

Cape leader of the NP Dr Dawie de Villiers said at the party's provincial congress in East London last night it was conceivable there could be at least two federal states within the present Cape boundaries, assuming that Transkei and Ciskei were re-incorporated.

This would be on the basis of several key criteria, such as economic viability and demography.

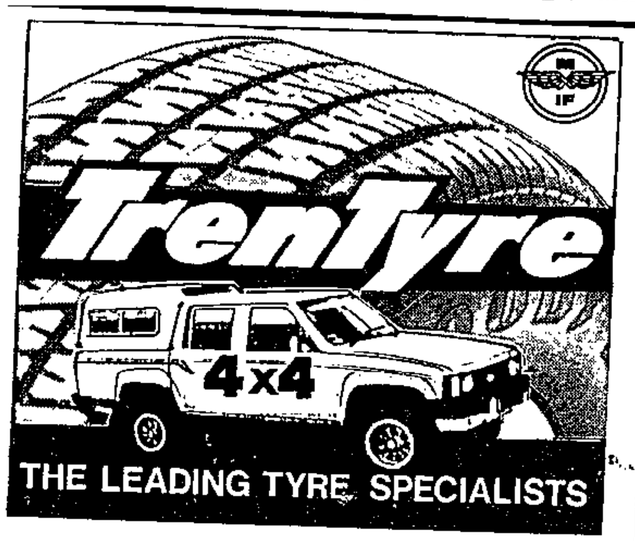
He said, however, the delimitation question was sensitive and emotional.

For this reason, the head council of the NP in the Cape had appointed a committee to investigate and consult widely before reporting back.

Dr De Villiers said it was important the NP promote and popularise federalism.

It intended hosting a second conference on the subject later this year, possibly with international participation.

The National Party was in favour of regionalism, or federalism, because it brought government closer to the people.



Cape Nats told to broaden power base

Political Correspondent

ARG 6/10/92 (304A)

EAST LONDON. — Cape Nats have been told bluntly that their party has no future if they don't make a real effort to broaden its traditionally white power base.

In a rallying speech at the beginning of the 1992 Cape NP congress here last night, provincial leader Dr Dawie de Villiers praised efforts in the Cape in the past year to extend the support base, "but there is lots of room for improvement".

"It seems there is not a general sense of urgency and seriousness about this,' he said.

"If Nationalists throughout the Cape don't get cracking to consolidate and extend support and banish the divisions of the past, the party will not be successful."

He added: "It is not just a question of recruiting new members. It has to do with the attitude that is propagated in each community. People must reach out to each other. The National Party can become a catalyst in the Cape."

Dr De Villiers said he was disappointed that there were so many local authorities dragging their feet in promoting single, non-racial local government bodies.

This was critical in achieving stability.

NP reveals plan to divide Cape

CT 6/10/92

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

EAST LONDON. — The Cape could be divided into two autonomous provinces in a new dispensation, National Party Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said last night.

Speaking at the party's Cape congress here, he announced that the head council of the NP in the Cape had appointed a committee to consider boundaries and powers.

The Public Enterprises Minister also revealed that a follow-up conference on federalism, to which international experts would be invited, is being considered for later this year.

He told delegates there were many sensitive and emotional issues surrounding the regional government issue, but the most important questions concerned the powers and responsibilities of these governments and, above all, the borders.

"If the position of the Cape must be determined from ... criteria such as economic viability, demographic distribution, surface area and so on, then it would appear as if two autonomous

World panel for forum on federalism

provinces are possible within the prevailing provincial borders."

He emphasised, however, that this arrangement was based on the notion that Transkei and Ciskei would be reincorporated into the Republic of South Africa.

"If Bophuthatswana also decides again to become part of South Africa a section of the Cape may well fall within a third province of a federal state."

He added: "The borders which must be determined are an extremely serious and emotional issue."

Dr De Villiers said that a system of autonomous regional and federal government had already been proven in many of the successful democracies of the world.

He said the examples of countries such as American, Canada, Germany, Switzerland and Australia "reinforces the argument that it ensures good and stable government".

The advantages of such a form of government for South Africa had to be marketed further and popularised, he added.

Meanwhile the National Party leadership — reeling from a series of negotiations setbacks — will face tough questions when the congress begins today.

President F W de Klerk addresses the congress this morning. Later today Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer will also be called on to allay delegates' fears about the type of deal the government is holding out for negotiations.

Congress delegates are also expected to discuss during the two-day conference resolutions on violence, negotiations, the release of political prisoners, a new constitutional dispensation, the "deteriorating security situation in the Transkei", the growing squatter problem, rising unemployment, rocketing food prices, government corruption and the future of gambling.

Dr Andries Treurnicht examines what he believes is the root of the violence in SA

Power struggle is the catalyst

STAR 7/10/92

(304A)

JUST before the referendum I wrote in a newspaper article that "after a Yes vote on March 17, nothing could be as awesome as the resistance to Xhosa/ANC hegemony by the numerically superior Zulus who ... will never accept ANC/SACP rule".

Apart from everything else that has gone awry since the Yes vote was cast, the core problem — the jostling for power in a post-February 1990 South Africa — remains, and this struggle has now become the catalyst for the destructive conflict now enveloping South Africa. It is strange that F W de Klerk refuses to acknowledge this fact, and that a unitary state under an ANC government can never survive.

Even liberal whites are having second thoughts about an ANC takeover: the organisation has shown its true colours these past months and confidence in the NP's new South Africa has understandably taken a dive.

Our economy reflects this lack of faith in the future, despite brave words from our captains of commerce and industry who funded the Yes campaign.

An HSRC survey revealed that only a small percentage of whites are prepared to live under an ANC regime, yet the Government beseeches the ANC's presence at the negotiating table, and pays a heavy price for this in concessions.

Millions of blacks have borne the brunt of ANC coercion, and self-governing and independent states are the victims of the ANC's march to power. One can thus understand the inability of numerous experts to stop the violence consuming our country.

De Klerk talks of federalism as the new panacea for a shattered South Africa. Others talk of regionalism as a reluctant sop to the diversity of peoples in this part of the world. But federalism does not address the crux of the dilemma; nationalism and the instinctive desire of peoples to be with their own.

Whether nationalism is seen as a problem or as a solution, it exists to such a degree that peoples throughout the world are prepared to die for their flag, their language, their culture, their nation. The conflagration in Eastern Europe is just one example of this conundrum.

Unless a future constitutional dispensation addresses the problems of ethnicity and self-determination, it is a waste of time and a recipe for discord. In a federal or regional South Africa, whites will still be unable to rule themselves. Although the proposed regions appear to be demarcated along ethnic national lines, whites will have nothing of their own.

The Conservative Party believes in economic interdependence and political independence, a system similar to the European Community where trade and aid are interchangeable. We cannot, however, subscribe to a policy where the central government has the real power and where regional autonomy is only as autonomous as the central administration permits. This is not independence, and the growing unease in Europe about subsuming national political and monetary power to a central administration in Brussels is one reason why the Maastricht Treaty could be a "dead letter", as one British journalist put it.

Confederation or a commonwealth of independent sovereign states allows peoples to govern themselves while interacting with each other within the limits which each one of them has set.

In other words, a KwaZulu or a Bophuthatswana government within a South African confederation maintains control over its own budget, its schools, its culture, its security forces. If it so desires, it may — in conjunction with other nations in the region — decide to allow matters such as transport, systems, economic concerns or foreign affairs to be handled by a central structure which would only function within the parameters allocated by the nation states within the confederation.

The fear of losing one's power base, of being swamped by another nation, of disappearing from the face of history is perhaps the most important reason why the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and QwaQwa have withdrawn from negotiations with the Government.

They see their sovereignty being taken away by virtue of the bilateral and prescriptive agreement recently signed by the ANC and the Government, and they have done the most natural thing in the world. They have retreated to their heartlands and have said they will defend their countries. The same sentiments are expressed by white patriots.

Add to this the relentless dishonesty displayed by the National Party over the past years (to their own voters as well as to other political forces) and we have a surefire recipe for conflict.

The Government's regular capitulation to every ANC demand has not gone unnoticed in Ulundi. Mmabatho and Bisho, and De Klerk's agreement with the ANC to allow a "democratically elected" constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and serve as an interim parliament must have been the last straw for those who naïvely believed he would consult them about a future dispensation.

What must be done now? Every effort must be made to stop the NP/ANC/SACP alliance in its tracks. The De Klerk administration has not only deceived its own supporters but it has deceived those who went to Codesa with the mistaken idea that there really would be round-table discussions about the future of this country.

An alternative forum must be created as a substitute to the failed Codesa, a forum for those who value their heritage and who respect the traditions of others. □

● *The writer is leader of the Conservative Party*

FW vows to halt marches

Stop your nonsense, ANC told

(304A) STAR 7/10/92

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

EAST LONDON — In a broadside against the ANC, President de Klerk has vowed that he will not allow the organisation to proceed with any march which was unlawful or could be expected to lead to violence.

Stung by sharp criticism from within the National Party's own ranks that the Government was kow-towing to the ANC, De Klerk yesterday used the Cape NP congress as a platform for one of his toughest attacks yet.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said bluntly after the first day of the congress that the Government would not allow the Ulundi and Mmabatho marches to go ahead. He hoped the ANC would decide to call them off. If not, the Government would stop them, using security legislation.

In his speech De Klerk said the ANC "must stop their nonsense. We expect them to stop underground activities.

"South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and their arrogant intolerance of political opponents," he said.

"We cannot accept that any party involved in the negotiation process can say against a co-signatory of the peace accord, 'I am marching on you to topple you.'"

The aggressive speech prompted a sharp counter-attack from the ANC, and the cordial relations achieved at last month's Government/ANC summit appeared to be under threat.

At the congress five demands were identified by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Meyer said the Government had fulfilled its side of the bargain and it was now time for the ANC to reciprocate by:

- Returning to multiparty negotiations.
- Reviewing its mass action programme.
- Playing an active role in ending violence.
- Ending the armed struggle and disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe.
- Ending political intolerance towards its opponents.

Responding, ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the organisation's national executive had already indicated its willingness to return to multiparty talks but believed that negotiations were best advanced at this stage in bilateral talks.

Macozoma said the ANC had undertaken to review mass action as progress was being made in breaking the negotiations deadlock.

"However, no climate of free political activity exists in a number of bantustans and mass action commensurate with the repression we experience is necessary. If Meyer does not like mass action his Government must ensure that a climate of free political activity exists."

The ANC had for some time tried to end violence in the country and was the organisation which "sired" the National Peace Accord, Macozoma said.

The ANC would disband MK only once an interim government was installed.

At the congress De Klerk responded to criticism from delegates and from the NP mouthpiece Die Burger that the Government had given in too easily to the ANC.

Die Burger called for "strong and inspiring leadership" and De Klerk attempted to provide just that.

He said it was time for the ANC to stand up and discipline its members, and to curb those acting against the peace accord. He had called for a meeting of all the peace accord signatories.

"In the meantime you may rest assured the Government will take firm steps on marches with unlawful pur-

● To Page 3

Stop your nonsense, ANC told

304A

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● From Page 1

poses or under circumstances which can be expected to lead to violence. Should they take place, the Government is duty-bound to prevent such marches."

Macozoma told The Star last night: "It is to be expected that Mr de Klerk should sound this bellicose in the light of the rearguard action by the supporters of apartheid who met yesterday afternoon." (the meeting of homeland leaders and rightwingers).

"The sad thing about Mr de Klerk's outburst against the ANC is that it shows his weakness as a political leader. He is unable to stand the pressure of reactionary forces when they confront him about decisions that will help advance a settlement."

The ANC rejected the threat to prohibit marches. "There are laws and conventions in South Africa that determine whether certain types of actions are acceptable or not."

In his speech De Klerk said the Government's undertakings to prohibit dangerous weapons in public and fence hostels would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently. The final responsibility for order lay with the Government. The options were to reintroduce a state of emergency, to ban people and to imprison them.

"But we say 'no' to that option because it is not in the national interest. It is not a sign of weakness to talk to your opponents ... I give the assurance that it is not our intention to exclude people in bilateral talks but to get everyone back to the negotiating table.

"Our responsibility as Government made it essential that we also get the ANC back to negotiations. 7/10/92.

● The ANC's western Cape region yesterday announced further protest action, including a march on Parliament.

● The Methodist Church of Southern Africa has appealed to the ANC alliance to call off its proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

John Kane-Berman responds to critics of Dr Anthea Jeffery's report, "Disinformation about Violence in SA"

We cannot pretend that blame lies on one side only

STAR 7/10/92.

(304A)

JUDGING by the anger it has aroused in some quarters, Dr Anthea Jeffery's report, "Disinformation about Violence in South Africa", has struck home. In criticising it in The Star on September 22, Dennis Davis and Gilbert Marcus ignore Jeffery's explicit acknowledgement (on page 9 of her report) that Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) are not courts of law and that they may legitimately therefore contend that they are not bound by rules of evidence and procedure.

Her report goes on, however, to make the point that in a volatile political climate "these organisations have an overarching responsibility to be circumspect, to hear and report both sides to conflict and to guard against accepting at face value allegations that have not been tested in any way".

Amnesty, the ICJ, and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) may indeed not be commissions of inquiry, but that does not absolve them of a general responsibility to tell as much of the whole truth as they possibly can.

The passage about the Crossroads massacre which Davis and Marcus accuse Jeffery of omitting is in fact reproduced, virtually verbatim, on page 43 of her report.

The opinion surveys to which Davis and Marcus refer were not conducted by the Institute of Race Relations, as they suggest, but by a professional market research organisation commissioned by us to conduct the survey.

Jeffery points out that the HRC, Amnesty, and the ICJ are "fully justified in recording and criticising crimes committed by members of the IFP or the SAP". She then points out that all three reports ignore, inter alia:

- The ANC strategy of fostering "ungovernability" through mass action;
- The ANC's refusal to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe or to surrender its secret arms caches;
- The ANC's refusal to desist from the establishment of township "self-defence units", contrary to the provisions of the National Peace Accord;
- The frequent incidence of attacks on members of the South African Police, which resulted in the deaths of more than 120 policemen in the first seven months of 1992; and
- The high number of IFP officials and members — now allegedly totalling over 1 000 — killed in recent years.

Allister Sparks is in America. His column will resume in November.

Davis and Marcus would have us believe that our drawing attention to these omissions is a trivial quibble!

The Davis/Marcus article suggests that the Institute of Race Relations should formulate "constructive suggestions to curb abuse of power by the State". The institute's record in exposing abuses of power by the State over decades is of course second to none. Our annual surveys — the 56th edition of which is now in preparation — constitute a meticulous, factual and damning indictment of the apartheid system, unrivalled anywhere.

We have also put a great deal of energy into suggesting how abuses by the State can be stopped.

Last year we helped to promote the ideal of drawing up codes of conduct for the police (and for demonstrators).

We also published a 262-page report entitled "Riot Policing in Perspective", which Jeffery also wrote and which was submitted to the multinational panel set up by the Goldstone Commission to advise on the lawful control of demonstrations in South Africa.

In presentations the institute is currently making about violence to a variety of audiences, we are urging specific steps to be taken with regard to the "riot" police, among them developing a specialised corps, removing the R-1 rifle from the police in crowd control, and making the Minister politically accountable for unlawful police behaviour.

However, we have also said that demonstrators need to play their part in reducing the potential for conflict by adhering to a code of conduct.

I have indeed pointed out on a number of occasions that apartheid policies are at the root of violence, but that is very different from saying that the Government (however appalling its track record) is responsible for all the current violence.

Only the wilfully blind will take the view that the abuse of power by the State, whether at Bisho or anywhere else, is the only cause of violence, or indeed any longer even the major one.

The physical war in South Africa's black communities is accompanied by a propaganda war waged through the media.

Far from being "largely irrelevant and unhelpful in addressing the current problem of violence", the institute is playing a vital role in focusing public attention on aspects of violence too long hidden beneath the disinformation smokescreen.

No problem can begin to be solved unless its causes are fully analysed and understood, not hidden beneath reports which pretend that violence emanates only from one side. □

● The writer is Executive Director of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

FW threat to stop homeland ANC marches

Political Staff (30417)

EAST LONDON — President F W de Klerk yesterday put himself on a collision course with the ANC by threatening to stop its marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

In a tough keynote address to the NP Cape congress, De Klerk said government was "duty bound" to prevent marches which could result in violence.

Responding to mounting unease and criticism of his leadership style from party ranks, De Klerk moved sharply to reassure the party faithful by launching a blistering attack on the ANC.

In particular he lashed out at the ANC's revised position on mass action, dismissing it as "totally unsatisfactory" and warning that it should "stop the nonsense" as well as its underground activities.

The time had arrived for the real leaders of the ANC to stand up and discipline their regional leadership and "dissident radical elements". B/DAY 7/10/92

De Klerk said it was "completely unacceptable" that parties involved in negotiations could threaten to topple from power those around the table.

South Africans could "rest assured" that government would take firm steps against actions that could lead to violence.

Sapa reports the ANC last night reacted angrily to De Klerk's attack.

The organisation said laws and conventions determined whether certain types of actions were acceptable or not. "It is not the government's political palate that determines what is acceptable and what is not. The ANC observes both the law and those conventions of its own volition, not because of threats from Mr De Klerk."

It said phase four of its protest campaign would be reviewed now there had been movement on talks between itself and government.

● See Page 5

Call to scrap Codesa

(304A) ARG 7/10/92

Anti-ANC summit parties 'not bound' by Record of Understanding

NEW TRADITIONS: Conservative Party leaders Dr Andries Treurnicht and Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg greet Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he and other leaders would ask President De Klerk not to implement the Record of Understanding he signed with ANC President Nelson Mandela.

The agreement, signed on September 26, paved the way for the release of political prisoners, the banning of all dangerous weapons and the fencing of hostels.

Chief Buthelezi said a meeting would be sought urgently with Mr De Klerk to convey the leaders' concerns about the agreement and proposed legislation to be tabled next week.

The Kwazulu Chief Minister made his statement yesterday after a "Conference for Concerned South Africans" at the Indaba Hotel outside Johannesburg, attended by, among others, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope.

Chief Buthelezi said organisations represented at yesterday's meeting would not be bound by any agreements or legislation to which they were not party.

The meeting endorsed Chief Buthelezi's earlier calls this week for the immediate disbanding of the ANC's Umkhonto weSizwe (MK), saying no negotiations would take place unless this was done.

The meeting demanded the broadening of future negotiations to include organisations such as the Pan Africanist Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, the CP and the Afrikaner Weerstandbeweging.

The conference, which elected a steering committee to form a liaison structure to plan the way forward, also recommended the scrapping of Codesa and its replacement with a more inclusive forum.

Delegates felt that statements at the weekend by an ANC leader that mass action would continue, notwithstanding the organisation's commitment to review mass action in terms of the Record of Understanding, was "confrontational in the extreme and brought into serious question the sincerity of any agreements entered into by the ANC alliance".

Some speakers attacked the ANC, the government and the Press for its alleged bias, with Chief Buthelezi saying Mr De Klerk was now "actually helping Mr Mandela to bring his campaign against the hostels and the IFP to victory".

Mr Mangope, who said attempts by the ANC-led alliance to march on Mmabatho would be met with the full might of his government, warned that Bophuthatswana would withdraw from negotiations "if the South African government and the ANC persisted in the practice that has led to the Record of Understanding".

South African Chamber of Business director-general Raymond Parsons and Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell attended as observers.

Official languages to stay

AFRIKAANS and English would be official languages in a future dispensation, National Education Minister Piet Marais said yesterday.

Marais told the NP's Cape congress it was not feasible that Afrikaans would disappear when 6-million South Africans used it as their home language and 18-million citizens could speak it.

He said government would not allow Afrikaans to be dropped as an official language.

B/DAY 7/10/92

'Buthelezi's protests are not justified'

B/Day 7/10/92 (30cm)

EAST LONDON — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reasons for pulling out of negotiations were unjustified, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer also called on the ANC to finally commit itself to ending the armed struggle and to disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). He said multiparty talks might resume before the end of the year.

Addressing the NP's Cape congress in East London, Meyer said Buthelezi's recent pronouncements were unjustified.

He could give details of how President F W de Klerk and Cabinet Ministers had kept Inkatha leaders informed of developments in government's bilateral meetings with the ANC.

One had to accept, however, that Inkatha was an independent party with its own political agenda.

Just as government had undertaken to get the ANC back to the negotiating table, it would continue to do the same with Inkatha and other parties.

Meyer said it was now time for the ANC to show its worth.

The organisation had to return to multiparty negotiations, as there were no further excuses for it not to resume full talks.

He said the ANC should review the programme of mass action ~~and its use~~ as a threat in negotiations.

In the current climate of violence, mass action, as in the proposed march on Ulundi, was more likely to inspire violence than the carrying of dangerous weapons.

The ANC should contribute to fighting violence and commit itself finally to ending the armed struggle — including the dissolution of MK.

Meyer said the reform process was still on course.

He feared much of the criticism of the Record of Understanding agreed to between government and the ANC at talks on September 26, were based on misconceptions or total ignorance.

He gave an assurance that nothing in the record had not already been agreed on in Codesa structures.

The aim of the last weeks' talks with the ANC had been precisely to get confirmation of what had already been agreed.

Meyer said government intended organising a public conference, hopefully before the end of the year, to further the concept of regionalism or federalism.

It would invite representatives of all political parties, universities and various institutions. — Sapa.

Govt 'concern' at corruption

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Administration Minister Dr Org Marais said the government could not act too hastily in clamping down on corruption because those accused could take legal steps against the state.

G 1/10/92

He was responding to a resolution at the Cape National Party congress expressing "deepest concern" over corruption in government departments.

304A

Talks with Volksunie 'fruitful' — Meyer

(304A)

CT 7/10/92

EAST LONDON. — Monday's talks between the government and the Afrikaanse Volksunie had been fruitful, Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Speaking at the National Party's Cape congress, he said agreement had been reached that there was room for further talks "specifically with the Beyers group" on the basis of their ideals and the government's stand on regionalism.

Mr Meyer also said Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's reasons for pulling Inkatha out of negotiations were unjustified.

One had to accept, however, that Inkatha was an independent party with its own political agenda.

Just as the government had undertaken to get the ANC back to the negotiating table, it would do the same with Inkatha and other parties.

He called on the ANC to finally commit itself to ending the armed struggle and to disbanding uMkhonto weSizwe. — Sapa

Call off Codesa, demands summit

(304A) CT 7/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The mini-summit of homeland leaders and right-wingers yesterday resolved to call for the scrapping of Codesa, the special session of Parliament and the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

The "Conference for Concerned South Africans" brought together Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

The troika were joined yesterday by the Conservative Party, the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Afrikaaner Freedom Foundation.

The conference also supported Chief Buthelezi's demand that without the "immediate disbandment of the ANC's private army, uMkhonto weSiswe", negotiations could not proceed.

The grouping called for a national multi-party conference of review to examine both the negotiating and peace processes.

It resolved that a delegation from the forum would request the government not to proceed with the forthcoming special session of Parliament and that the Record of Understanding be "stopped".

The grouping also resolved to establishing a steering committee which would approach like-minded parties.

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From page 1

Chief Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on President F W de Klerk, and said an appeasement of the ANC meant ANC political dominance.

Mr Mangope said Bophuthatswana remained committed to democratic negotiations, but if Mr De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela persisted in the practice which led to the Record of Understanding, the homeland would have nothing further to do with "so-called negotiations".

Brigadier Gqozo said the government had embarked on the disastrous path to an African socialist tyranny.

● Dr Treurnicht said last night that people at the moment did not want to talk to the government but to the CP.

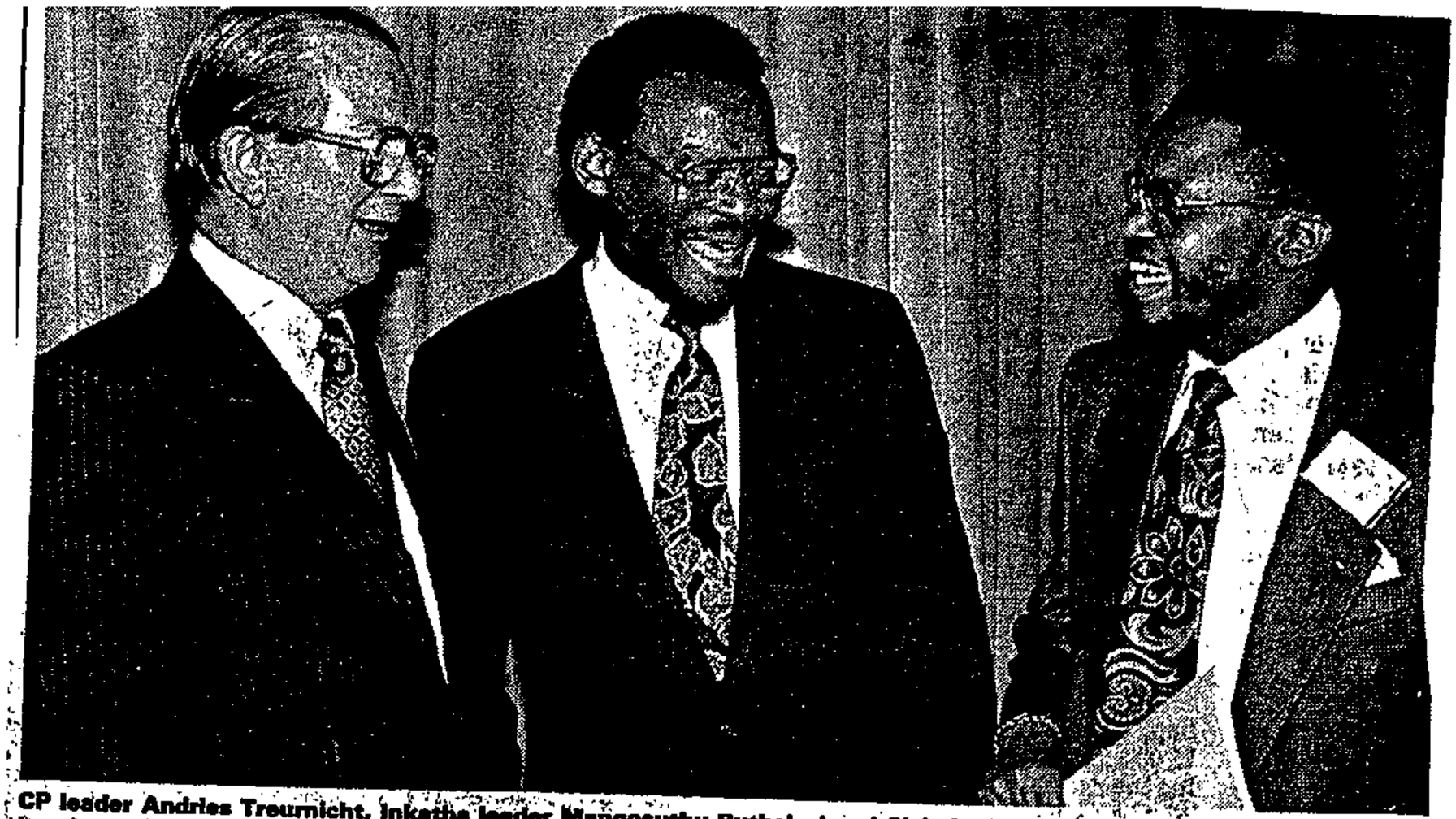
Asked whether he had changed his position that the CP would not talk to the ANC he said the participation of the ANC in talks "is not relevant".

Before he would talk to the ANC he would have to ask them whether they had undergone a conversion and now believed that self-determination applied to all people, including the Afrikaner and the Zulu. Matters like this were "non-negotiables", he said.

● Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe said yesterday he was asked by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha to try and persuade Chief Buthelezi to rejoin Codesa.

Mr Mugabe said he had replied that he could not intervene unless it was as "a last resort". — Own Correspondent. Sapa

(304A) CT 7/10/92



CP leader Andries Treurnicht, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo during a break at yesterday's summit.

Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

Homeland leaders unite with right

(304A) TIM COHEN (121)

HOMELAND and right-wing leaders united yesterday in opposition to the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

At a summit in Johannesburg, the trio of homeland leaders from Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu joined the CP and the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie in rejecting the Record. B/DAY

Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo elicited applause from about 30 delegates by describing the Record as a "recipe for war".

"Our dignity has been trampled on by miscalculating fools who believe that they can get away with these injustices, but they cannot," Gqozo said. 7/10/92

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said if government and the ANC persisted in the practice which led to the Record, "we will have nothing further to do with so-called negotiations".

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a national "multiparty conference of review" to establish a negotiations structure which would prevent a repetition of the failures of Codesa.

The new conference would establish a structure that would ensure that no-one could back out of the talks, he said.

CP leader Andries Treunicht said he supported the homeland leaders' rejection of the Record of Understanding.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said his party supported the call for a multiparty conference of review.

Leaders of the groups denied they were forming an alliance or pact.

Homeland leaders, right-wingers want Codesa scrapped

B/DAY 7/10/92 (304A)

TIM COHEN

HOMELAND leaders and right-wingers who met yesterday resolved to call for the scrapping of Codesa, the special session of Parliament and the government-ANC Record of Understanding.

The Conference for Concerned South Africans brought together parties disgruntled by government's bilateral agreements with the ANC.

They included Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope; as well as the CP, the Afrikaaner Volksunie and the Afrikaaner Freedom Foundation.

The conference decided to support Buthelezi's demands that ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) be disbanded immediately, its military personnel demobilised, its arms caches surrendered and its cessation of recruitment and training before negotiations could proceed.

The grouping called for a multiparty conference to examine both the negotiating and peace processes.

It resolved that a delegation from the forum be sent to government to convey the concern about aspects of proposed constitutional legislation.

The delegation would request government not to proceed with the scheduled special session of Parliament and that the Record of Understanding be "stopped". It also resolved to attempt to increase its life and size, establishing a steering committee to approach "like-minded" parties and arrange a further conference.

Buthelezi told a news conference the special session of Parliament "would again represent exclusive — and unacceptable — decision-making.

"The conference discussed at length ways and means of overcoming the polarisation and frustration caused by bilateral agreements between the SA government and the ANC," he said.

There had been total agreement among delegates that without the immediate disbanding of MK, the surrender of its arms caches and the cessation of recruitment and training for military purposes, negotiations could not continue, he said.

"The conference resolved unanimously to resist any enticement to return to negotiations which could in any way be hijacked and turned into the farce which had resulted in the government and the ANC arriving at the so-called Record of Understanding," said Buthelezi.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that it was

☐ To Page 2

Homeland leaders

(304A)

☐ From Page 1

announced yesterday that Buthelezi would meet a PAC delegation led by president Clarence Makwetu in Ulundi tomorrow.

Publicity and information director Waters Toboti said the organisation was embarking on an initiative to get the patriotic front going again. It would include Inkatha and other black leaders in an attempt to stop the violence. B/DAY 7/10/92

"We will be discussing violence and how the warring factions can come together to rid our country of the scourge of apartheid," he said.

Makwetu had also written a letter to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and would meet ANC president Nelson Mandela when he returned from his trip abroad. Toboti said the intention was to unite all leaders to find active solutions to the violence. Once this had happened a united front could force the necessary changes in SA. He said the PAC intended to get the ANC and Inkatha to meet.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was possible that the ANC would meet Inkatha formally at presidential level but there would have to be a period of thorough preparatory talks, much like the bilaterals with government.

● See Page 3
● Comment: Page 10

(304AA) 7/10/92 ARG

De Klerk lashes critics

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk dispelled National Party fears that he was bowing to the ANC with one of his most vigorous attacks yet on the government's negotiating partner.

But he also sent a strong signal to the NP not to expect a return to the "kragdadigheid" of the past, and reaffirmed his commitment to negotiations.

And, in one of his most public clashes with a party mouthpiece, he dismissed as "sharp and unfair" the suggestions in a political column in Die Burger that the NP leadership lacked strength and inspiration and was too willing to concede to ANC demands.

"Nothing, in any agreement we have reached," he countered, "contains any concession on principles for which we stand."

President De Klerk — whose tough speech was matched by a second broadside from Constitutional Development Minister and key negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer — earned several rounds of applause from delegates at the Cape congress of the NP with a salvo of criticisms of the ANC.

The ANC's apparent refusal to review mass action was "totally unsatisfactory", he said.

"South Africa and all its people expect the ANC, now, to become a political party operating peacefully. They must stop their nonsense.

"We expect them to stop underground activities. There is no room for underground organisations continuing to cultivate violence.

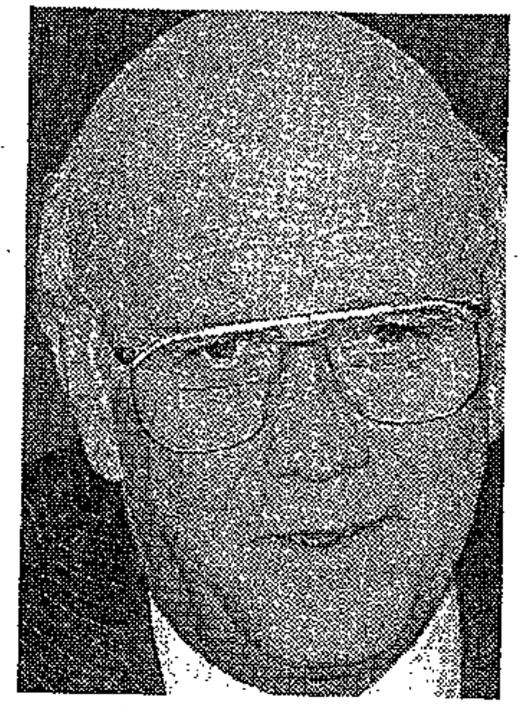
"South Africans are sick and tired of their inflammatory speeches and arrogance, and intolerance of the rights of others.

"We cannot accept that any party involved in the negotiation process can say, against a co-signatory of the peace accord: 'I am marching on you to topple you'."

He said it was time the ANC leadership disciplined its members — and "radical voices in their own top executive".

"We say the ANC must get its house in order. It must rectify these militating approaches against the peace accord, and against the (record of understanding) agreement of September 26."

Mr De Klerk said he had called for a meeting of all signatories of the peace accord, but that, in the meantime, the government would halt any ANC marches that were expected to lead to violence.



President De Klerk

"If they take place, we are duty-bound to prevent such marches."

He told delegates not to be afraid of ANC "propaganda and threats".

"They want us to be afraid in the hope that we will make mistakes," he said.

He assured the congress that the NP "will never accept a simply unitary domination model" for South Africa.

"We do not contemplate handing over all power to the ANC, or to any other party. We also do not contemplate retaining all the power, as we have it at the moment."

But the NP "is prepared to transfer power to a transitional government representing all South Africans, and one that is democratically elected".

"We are working towards this, we want to reach it as soon as possible," he said.

Earlier Mr Roelf Meyer delivered a five-point challenge to the ANC.

It was now up to the ANC to:

- Return to full-scale negotiations with all parties;
- Review entirely the present "unacceptable" programme of mass action;
- Play a more active role in combating violence;
- Commit itself finally to abandoning the armed struggle by disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe; and,
- Abandon its "political intolerance" and resolve differences with political rivals through negotiation.

De Klerk moved by tribute

Political Staff (304A)

EAST LONDON — President F W de Klerk appeared close to tears when the combined Robertson/Ashton youth wing of the NP serenaded him at the party's Cape congress. B/Day 7/10/92

The chorus, huddled around a microphone in the Orient Theatre, might not have been entirely in tune, but the message clearly moved the President and delegates, who responded with the biggest cheer of the day.

"We love you F W, because you make our dreams come true, in the new South Africa," they sang to the accompaniment of a guitar.

De Klerk was clearly moved by the tribute.

NP Cape leader Dawie de Villiers quipped afterwards: "We are going to get that one on the hit parade."

UN team is no second XI — King

W/Mail 8/10-15/10/92

The UN's Angela King

The United Nations mission in South Africa is seen as a 'second XI', reflecting the country's low international priority. **ARTHUR GOLDSTUCK** *spoke to its Jamaican-born head, Angela King*

"GLASS palace" was John Vorster's scathing term for it. And as little as a year ago, the idea of involving the United Nations in solving South Africa's problems was unthinkable.

Yet by the time the UN Observer Mission in South Africa (Unomsa) set up office in Johannesburg last month, it blended almost immediately into the South African political scenery.

"I think South Africans have adjusted exceptionally fast to the idea of transition towards a democratic society," said Angela King, chief of the mission, in an interview at her office in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. "The reaction to our arrival has been warm and welcoming."

Jamaican-born King (54) moved into the Unomsa hot seat — her first UN post as a "field worker" — from a position as director of staff administration and training in the UN office for human resources management. Before that, she was director of recruitment and placing.

Why was a personnel manager chosen for a peacemaking job? "You'll have to ask (UN secretary general) Boutros Boutros-Ghali," she says, adding that effective use of people's skills is as crucial in human resources management as it is in a UN mission.

She bristles at the suggestion that the mission is a "second division team", foisted upon South Africa because more seasoned observers were busy in other trouble spots. In part, the perception arose because of the mission's small size — 50, as compared with 800 in Yugoslavia.

"This is not a 'second eleven'. We have a clear mandate from the Security Council. The numbers of the force and the nature of their deployment were left very much to the discretion of the secretary general.

"The original team in Yugoslavia was 30-strong. UN people also went to Namibia in phases. They started with probably 150, and then as they established themselves on the ground it went wider. By the time of the election it was 800."

King stressed that the size of the mission was linked to requirements on the ground. In Namibia, for instance, the UN was involved in anything from setting up electoral districts to training workshops on how to run an election. In Cambodia, the UN was asked to move into virtually every government department and get the country running again.

The UN and the Security Council looked very carefully at the African National Congress' demand for 400 monitors, King said. It decided that because of the sophistication of the peace infrastructure in South Africa, observers, not monitors, were appropriate.

"In South Africa you have well-developed structures, you've got the National Peace Accord (NPA), you've had Codesa. We will liaise with these structures and report back to the secretary general on whether the UN mandate needs to be broadened.

"The decision was that the mission should be enlarged in a phased way rather than by pre-judging the situation. The Security Council did give the secretary general the authority to deploy any amount of people, and a total of 400 has not been ruled out."

The delay in the arrival of the full UN team has fuelled criticism that the demand for a UN presence in regional disputes around the world means it cannot give South Africa the attention it needs.

So far 23 observers have arrived in the country, with a total force of 50 expected to be in place by the end of the month. A third of the Unomsa team was expected to arrive from Angola with the conclusion of that country's first democratic elections. With uncertainty surrounding Unita's response to the results, a delay is inevitable.

"It would be naive to say that those conflicts have not affected our mission," says King. "But any UN mission would be affected. They are all equally affected by very severe cash-flow problems in the UN."

King is aware of suspicion of Unomsa in some anti-government circles, based on a perception that it works hand-in-glove with the authorities. There has also been criticism of the UN allowing the security forces to provide them with transport in certain cases.

"We've been at pains to be in touch with all parties involved in the NPA," she explains. "We have had offers of assistance not only from the government but from the major parties concerned, for transport, arranging meetings, and so on. But we have for the most part been relying on the National Peace Secretariat.

"If a local dispute resolution committee chairperson drives ahead to show the way, in some areas this may translate into a police escort. That is co-operating with the dispute resolution committee — we don't see it in any way as co-operating too closely with the police."

Unomsa's assertion of its neutrality ranged from the liberal use of UN flags and stickers on cars to its refusal to go on platforms that were not part of NPA structures.

The NPA has itself been under fire, however, for being tied to its signatories and not having a life of its own. But rather than undermine the role of Unomsa, says King, this makes it more vital. The Security Council resolution (number 772) that created Unomsa specifically requires the mission to "strengthen and reinforce the indigenous mechanisms set up under the National Peace Accord, so as to enhance their capacity in the building of peace".

South Africa's network of peace structures, says King, in fact offers tremendous hope for the future, because "so much work went into thinking out the structures — the UN did not have to amend the structures, and were able to leave the political process to the South African signatories".

The real role of Unomsa, in short, is not to tell South Africans what to do.

"We are here to try and help, by our presence, to defuse tensions which may prevent the transition to democracy. The structures are there and the means are there for it to happen."

Strange bedfellows at indaba

STAR 8/10/92 (304A)

On the road to the new South Africa, the strangest people bump into each other. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA describes the informal side of this week's gathering of homeland leaders and white rightwingers near Johannesburg.

CISKEI military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was deep in conversation with Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope when Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht walked towards them.

The diminutive brigadier — who, a day earlier, had met the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's Eugene TerreBlanche — stood up, shook hands with Treurnicht and hugged him like an old friend. Press photographers kept clicking their cameras as the two men, later joined by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, engaged in animated discussion.

It was the same with the leadership of the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie, headed by Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers. There was no language problem: as Gqozo had already demonstrated on the SABC's "Agenda" programme, he speaks *suiwer* Afrikaans.

The "Conference for Concerned South Africans", held at the Indaba Hotel, outside Johannesburg, on Tuesday, was full of such politically incongruous sights. One of the odder alliances to be thrown up by the new South Africa was on display.

At the conference Gqozo clearly felt he was among friends. On his arrival, he said it was normal among Africans for neighbours to rally around one another when one of them was in trouble.

The meeting, he said, was such an exercise.

The headmaster-like Mangope was not as visibly excited about the cross-cultural indaba. He had been sitting on the sofa quietly chatting to Gqozo before the CP leaders came their way.

There was, it seemed, a lot on his mind. But he, too, exchanged pleasantries with Treurnicht.

Sitting alone in a corner were two National People's Party delegates, talking quietly to each other. Fraternising or socialising was not for them — and neither, it seemed, were other delegates eager to strike up a conversation with them.

Then, to complete the mosaic, there was Chamber of Mines president Bobby Godsell, an observer rather than a delegate, who looked fairly uncomfortable. Already in the conference hall was a delegation from the SA Chamber of Commerce, led by director-general Raymond Parsons.

Godsell was overheard asking Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Suzanne Vos: "Where is your leader?"

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, clearly the man of the moment, was not there. His guests — including conference co-conveners Gqozo and Mangope — had arrived at 9 am, but he did not make an appearance until 10 am.

Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the ANC and the Government, but the more vicious personal attack of President de Klerk came, somewhat surprisingly, from IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Mdlalose, who said the different leaders had gathered "to strike a blow for democracy in South Africa", said De Klerk was "becoming a threat to the negotiations process", and that he and his Government had "turned to political expediency in bowing to ANC demands".

"We now see that he was trading on the support that we were giving to whatever he did right. He basked in the warmth of applause for what he did that was right, and when it came to opposing the ANC, he always claimed that he was in good company, and pointed to us and other black parties who opposed the ANC.

"When the ANC was at its worst, President de Klerk was at his conciliatory best.

"Our experience leads us to the conclusion that we have to prepare for a negotiating future in which Mr de Klerk will not be able to cross back to where he was before when he opposed the ANC. It is now a matter of having to deal with him protected by the ANC," Mdlalose said.

His message was well received by the new allies.

Although they met and talked to many people, the CP and Afrikaner Volksunie delegations appeared purposely to avoid one another. This was just one of the day's oddities: former rightwing white colleagues finding it easier to chat to black South Africans than each other.

Asked if he had exchanged pleasantries with his former leader Treurnicht, Afrikaner Volksunie leader Beyers gave a curious answer: "We have no problem". It was that kind of day. □

Odd alliance . . . Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht and deputy Ferdi Hartzenberg greet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at Tuesday's "Conference for Concerned South Africans" outside Johannesburg.

Shun racists, Hani tells IFP

304A

Sowetan 8/10/92

■ Reference to mini-summit between homeland leaders and white right-wingers:

MEMBERS of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) should distance themselves from the warm embrace their leader gave to diehard white racists this week, South African Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday.

Hani was apparently referring to Tuesday's mini-summit which was attended by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozò, Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope, and right-wing groups including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

"Enough is enough. Every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths to which Buthelezi has now plunged himself," said Hani.

Buthelezi had once presented himself as an anti-apartheid fighter and had even borrowed the colours of the African National Congress for his IFP, he said.

Racist white foremen

Yet, CP leader "Dr Andries Treurnicht represents racist white foremen who daily make the lives of migrant workers a misery. His followers represent the most backward white farmers who oppress farm labourers", charged Hani.

Whatever the IFP's differences with the ANC alliance, his relationship with white racists was degrading, said Hani. - *Sapa*

Symbols fall to change

304A

■ **Clear signal about Cape Town's square:**

Sowetan 8/10/92

STALPLEIN, to be renamed Albert Luthuli Square during next week's protest outside Parliament, got its name in the 18th Century when the Burgher Council resolved to build stables on the site.

It has been targeted in the way that all *ancien regime* symbols and statuary are set up for toppling when political winds change.

All over the world, effigies of generals - British, German, Belgian, Portuguese, KGB - have ended saluting the pavement.

The square is home to the statue of first Union prime minister Louis Botha, a monument which more than once has been draped with the black, green and gold flag of the movement born during his term of office.

Perhaps one day the graven image of Albert Luthuli, the chief stripped of his title by the apartheid government he defied, will stand in Botha's place. Chief Luthuli, leader of the ANC from 1952 until its banning, won the 1961 Nobel Peace Prize.

He was banned in 1952 from entering any major city. This was extended the following year to a ban limiting him to the Lower Tugela magisterial district.

De Klerk dispels the party jitters

(304A)

ARGT 8/10/92

Debates full of angst for the future

When President De Klerk rounded on one of his most loyal supporters, Die Burger newspaper, in East London this week, he cast in sharp relief the doubts, fears and uncertainties of the Nationalist establishment ... and of much of the white minority. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

IN one respect this year's Cape National Party congress was no different from the one last year, or even the year before that.

Like the other two post-1990 congresses, the gathering at the Orient Theatre on East London's breezy beachfront was dominated by the handful of topics that make up modern South Africa's most pressing concerns — the economy, the next government, crime, violence and living standards.

Unemployment, squatting, food prices, the future of Afrikaans ... these are perennial issues.

What distinguished this week's debates was the degree of angst.

The prevailing mood was captured by an almost heretical and — as it turned out — catalytic commentary in Die Burger last weekend.

Here the unnamed columnist "Dawie" chided the Nationalist leadership over its performance in negotiations and administration, venturing to suggest that politics had taken a disturbing course and that the party and government appeared to be giving away too much to the ANC.

"Dawie" — and this probably hurt the most — said Nationalists wanted strong, inspiring leadership and urged "NP leiers" to do some really serious introspection "over the whole negotiation strategy".

This commentary — which undoubtedly reflected party-wide concerns — did, indeed, stir the "leiers" and it had the effect of making President De Klerk's appearance on Day 2 of the congress the high point.

His speech was the key element of the three-day meeting, not because of what it revealed about the President, or even the political process, but rather what it revealed about the party.

If ever there was any doubt about jitters in the NP, President De Klerk's masterful performance dispelled them.

It was in making "Dawie" the central theme of his speech that Mr De Klerk betrayed his own worries about his followers.

And it was probably the first occasion since 1989 that he borrowed something of the grim, finger-wagging style of his dour predecessor.

Nationalists felt it was time he got tough with the ANC, and he did, and it worked.

There was a palpable thrill at his exhorting the bolshy liberation movement to "stop their nonsense".

The audience loved his "never will the NP hand over all power to the ANC" approach.

The fact that Mr De Klerk leavened the pugilism with a dose of reality about the inevitability of ending white rule appeared not to distract his audience unduly.

Indeed, two years after the president signalled the end of white rule, the question that bears asking is whether the white ruler — the electorate — is ready to relinquish power.

To some extent the question is academic.

But for the ruling party it is probably one of the most important tactical considerations.

Relinquish power it must, but the extent of its influence in the future will depend critically on how it fares in the next national ballot ... and that depends on its cohesion, spiritedness and sense of purpose.

The NP cannot afford pessimism and hopelessness.

Just as Mr De Klerk understood the necessity of rallying the troops this week in East London, Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers understood it too.

In his closing address, he told delegates: "The politics of today is difficult. It is the politics of the head, not of the heart, that will win.

"It is difficult, because we are inclined to react to the heart, to the stomach."

It is certainly clear that dispiritedness in the governing party will be getting more attention in the months to come.

Seldom has so large a political credit been squandered in so short a time, writes R W Johnson

FW overplayed his hand and threw away the game

STAR 8/10/92.

(304A)

F A WEEK is a long time in politics, then the period since W de Klerk's triumph in the ite referendum of March 17 ust be counted as part of a dif- ent political epoch. Contrast his sition then and his position now. On March 18 he was basking in e extraordinary triumph of a ore than two-thirds victory over ces which everywhere else in rica had managed to bring wn white-led reformers. road, he received a degree of claim enjoyed by no other South rican leader since Smuts. Dom- ically, he had the ball at his t.

Today, this initiative has been t. The constitutional deal which med within De Klerk's grasp in ne has so far escaped him that has just half-conceded the C's terms before proper talks ume at all. Having hung tough r mass action through a long ter he has now had to make a miliating climb-down over po- cal prisoners and take enor- us flak for having released all nner of clearly recidivist psychopaths, necklace murderers and assorted hooligans.

On top of that, he has managed to outrage his most powerful potential ally, Chief Buthelezi, and to alarm the minority parties by doing a bilateral deal with the ANC over their heads.

Seldom has so large a political credit been so rapidly and fruitlessly squandered: the question is, how and why?

Something could be put down to bad luck — Boipatong came out of the blue and De Klerk sought but failed to head off the Bisho disaster. And it was hardly his fault that he found himself having to deal with so irrational an opposition, which could denounce him as a murderer at one moment, then be all smiles, handshakes and warmth the next. But South Africa is now a country in which Boipatongs and Bishos will happen if things are allowed to drift, and the ANC's blend of accusation, authoritarianism and sentimentality is, as a glance to the north reveals, par for the course for an African nationalist party. Even De Klerk's bad luck, in other words, might not have happened or not have been decisive, had he not surrendered the initiative.

Far greater blame must be attached to governmental incompetence of every kind. Who on earth decided that the Government's chief negotiator, as the Codesa negotiations entered their crucial final phase, should be Tertius Delport, a junior Minister with no authority to make a deal, who had to stop and refer every important decision to absent principals unable to judge the precise impact of their decisions? Why the crazy decision to stick fast on the need for a 75 percent majority for constitutional amendment, only to abandon this and much more soon after the talks broke down? The fact is that the Government had a remarkable deal virtually wrapped up in June only to throw it away by overplaying its hand.

Hitherto, De Klerk retained the initiative by correctly perceiving what he would, in any case, have to concede and then volunteering it ahead of any pressure. This knack he has, crucially, lost. It would not have been difficult to see that 32 Battalion and Koevoet would have to be withdrawn, that the improvement of the SAP's image might require the sweeping retirement of generals, or that many dubious political prisoners would have to be released, but instead of biting the bullet and doing these things ahead of time, De Klerk was allowed them to be extracted from him one by one.

Other Government moves smacked of sheer stupidity, such as the decision to announce De Klerk's visit to Boipatong ahead of time, thus guaranteeing a hostile reception and an international PR disaster. The truth is that this Government has less talent at its disposal than any since 1948.

Finally, there has been a crucial misjudgement of the international environment. The Government saw its referendum victory as a major blow struck for its view of the constitutional future, and consequently hung tough.

The major foreign players took the simpler view that the referendum had cleared a major obstacle from the path and that the Government could now move rapidly towards the predestined end to all this bickering and dramatics, notably an interim government and universal suffrage elections.

Crudely put, London and Washington are far less bothered about the fine print of the ultimate deal. They are well aware that the ANC may be incapable of running a sweet shop, let alone a government, and they are no keener than De Klerk to see the SA Communist Party in Union Buildings. But from their point of view they have been trying hard, for more than 30 years, to knock the lesson of the "winds of change" into Pretoria's skull and they are impatient to see the "South African problem" resolved.

They feel, wearily, that all the worries De Klerk has over the SACP or the ANC's lack of governmental competence have been made far worse by Pretoria's refusal to hear what Harold Macmillan was saying back in 1960.

Thus when the Bisho aftermath produced an opportunity for reconciliation, the international community stepped in, banged heads together on both sides and forced through the new (and admittedly imperfect) summit accord. The lesson to be learnt is that if De Klerk fails to stay ahead of the game, the ANC will try to seize the initiative — but that it doesn't really have the ability to do so. The result, as we saw, was a terrifying, rudderless drift, ended only by a quasi-colonial intervention.

This is a reality that De Klerk, Mandela and Buthelezi must all take into account: they are in a game which none of them can individually control but in which they cannot play out a nil-all draw, for foreign pressure will then simply impose a crude penalty shoot-out. If they wish to avoid that they have no alternative but to get back on the field and accept whatever result comes in a sporting spirit. □

● *R W Johnson is a don at Magdalen College, Oxford, and is presently on sabbatical at the University of Natal, Durban.*

Now Stoffel castigates the ANC

Sowetan 8/10/92.

■ **Van der Merwe says the NP has studiously avoided attacking the person, character of Nelson Mandela:**

(304A)

THE National Party yesterday warned the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance that if their "irresponsible propagandists" did not cease forthwith, the NP would have no choice but to start responding in kind.

NP general secretary Dr Stoffel van der Merwe was commenting on the ANC's rejection of President FW de Klerk's warning on Tuesday that the country was sick and tired of the ANC's inflammatory statements, arrogance and intolerance of the rights of others.

Van der Merwe said the attack on De Klerk went "way beyond what is reasonable and, to use a term from the ANC's own statement, is absolute twaddle".

He said despite strong temptations to the contrary, the NP had studiously avoided attacking the person, character and integrity of ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in order not to "bedevil" the negotiation process. However, the same consideration was not given by the ANC/SACP alliance in their "hysterical attacks".

"True, the State President castigated the ANC on Tuesday for their arrogance and their intolerance. All his accusations can be fully substantiated and, once again, he did not stoop to attacking the leadership, the character or the integrity of the leader of the ANC.

"He simply berated the ANC/SACP as organisations for their failures," Van der Merwe said.- *Sapa*.

'Unholy alliance' dangerous - callers

Sowetan 8/10/92

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback

with Tim Modise

By Lulama Luti (HA) (304A)

THE newly-formed anti-ANC/Government alliance between homeland leaders and rightwing parties came under heavy fire for the second time last night.

Speaking during the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show, political journalist of *The Star*, Mr Kaizer Nyatsumba, said the alliance had a potential to plunge the country into even deeper political crisis.

"I think the ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Government should be concerned because the alliance is capable of even more chaos," he said.

Nyatsumba added that while all the participants in the mini-summit on Tuesday were denying there was an alliance, the fact that they did not dissolve, and sought instead to form a steering committee, showed clearly that there was an alliance.

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came under heavy attack as listeners predicted he might even lose support for his participation in the summit.

Mohale of Cape Town said the alliance was not only a ploy to disorganise and destabilise the country, but it was also carefully designed to instil fear in the masses.

Andrew of Daveyton, Benoni, said Buthelezi owed South Africa an explanation.

"I'm very happy about the summit. I'm particularly overjoyed that Buthelezi stooped so low as to connive, unapologetically, with racists. However, I'm disappointed at Mangope. I thought he was much more intelligent than that."

Max Mokgale, Cape Town

"I'm not surprised that Buthelezi chose to associate with those rightwingers, especially the CP. For someone to stoop so low, he must be extremely desperate. I have no doubt that his supporters will be disappointed with him and gradually grow weary of him and leave the IFP."

Joe Bloggs, Maritzburg.

"It's time for them to tell all concerned South Africans as to what their good intentions are. That is what we would like to see in the future."

Andrew, Daveyton

NP congress closes with ANC-bashing

(304A) STAR 8/10/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The National Party completed its provincial congress season here with a round of anti-ANC sabre-rattling at the Cape congress to reassure the party faithful.

President de Klerk delivered one of his strongest attacks on the organisation, warning it to abandon mass action and become a normal political party.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer then presented the ANC with a list of five demands, including the termination of the armed struggle and the disbanding of its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel followed with a few sharp digs of his own at the ANC.

Prosecuted

Responding to criticism of police misbehaviour, Kriel said the SAP prosecuted policemen who did wrong.

"We don't protect them the way the ANC protects Ronnie Kasrils," he added, referring to the ANC's refusal to censure the SA Communist Party member for his conduct on the day of the killings in Bisho, Ciskei.

The reason for the bellicose tone of the NP leaders was the negative reaction among their rank-and-file to the Record of Understanding which the Government signed with the ANC on September 26 for the release of prisoners, the guarding of hostels and banning of weapons.

Delegate Koos Lloyd, a retired MP, expressed the feeling of the congress when he stood up and urged the party leadership not to crawl and kow-tow to the ANC.

Political stability 'vital step'

Political Correspondent (304A) ARG 8/10/92

A GOVERNMENT of national unity would provide the best hope of generating a new spirit of co-operation, the Cape National Party congress has been told.

Minister of Planning and Provincial Affairs Mr Leon Wessels told delegates that the many challenges the country faced could not be tacklled properly without politcal stability.

"There must be a constitutional dispensation with which all South Africans can identify," he said.

"This will have the effect of shifting the focus of people away from constitutional issues on to other challenges and problems."

There were major problems in various key areas:

- Investment and confidence had declined.
- The population growth rate of 2,8 percent was "unacceptably high".
- Productivity was too low.

The government was doing all it could to tackle these problems but the issue that consumed most effort was the political problem.

This was evident in the trade union sphere, where unions had taken on an overtly political role.

"I do not believe the government's view is simplistic — that once we have a government of national unity we will be able to get people to co-operate and work harder for the country, and get unions to curtail their demands and reach a point where it will not be necessary for unions to mount campaigns to achieve political goals," he said.

Wessels on squatting

B/Day 8/10/92

EAST LONDON — Squatting was a worldwide tendency but it was a more emotional problem in SA because legislation had for so long prevented blacks from owning land, Local Government and National Housing Minister Leon Wessels said yesterday at the NP Cape congress.

"It is a more emotional and intense problem because the NP, with the full support of its congresses, for so many years placed legislation on the statute books allowing forced removals and preventing blacks from owning property," he said.

It was easier said than done to ensure that timely provision was made to ensure that the quality of life of all was not undermined, but it remained the aim of government.

He said government realised it had to tread carefully to meet the aspirations of the homeless and, in the process, not undermine vested interests. — Sapa.

Police not our private army, NP congress told

(304A)

B/Day 8/10/92

EAST LONDON — The SAP was not a private army of the National Party or the Broederbond, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

He told the Cape NP congress in East London he rejected ANC claims to this effect. In the end, it was the SAP and SADF that stood in the way of a power takeover by the ANC, he said.

The SAP was an impartial law enforcement agency whose members did not belong to political parties.

"Now, it is this 'private army of the NP' that must recover the stolen vehicles such as BMWs of the national executive of the ANC ... that have to protect the million-rand houses of the communist leadership of the ANC," he said.

It was also this "private army" that had to be used to prevent mass action from turning into total disaster.

Kriel said the ANC claim was just the sort of inflammatory statement condemned on Tuesday by President F W de Klerk. He asked what sort of impression the ANC statement would create in the townships.

An average of 20,88 policemen a month had been killed this year. This was a scandal. Most of them had not been on duty. In the last 12 months 68 black policemen had had their houses burned, attacked or partially destroyed, he said.

Between February 12 1991 and July 31 this year, card-carrying and identified members of the ANC alliance had been involved in 29 attacks on security forces, Kriel said, asking if this was not perhaps the third force which had been mentioned.

Something had to be done about police safety. A system was being investigated in which police vehicles would use loudhailers to order people out of stopped vehicles and into search positions before police got out of their own vehicles.

He also said the SADF had created an atmosphere in which the government could negotiate from a position of strength.

People forgot too easily that there had been violence in the country before February 1990. The present violence would have been 10 times worse had it not been for the developments of February 1990, he said.

"Thanks to the initiatives of F W de Klerk we can still deal with the violence in this country," he said.

He said when wrongdoers in the police were discovered, action was taken.

"We do not protect our police like the ANC protects Ronnie Kasrils," Kriel said. — Sapa.

De Beer backs NP-ANC talks

De Beer backs NP-ANC talks

NO PROGRESS can be made in negotiations until the ANC and the NP agree — but "they will need to talk to us later", says DP leader Zach de Beer. (304A)

De Beer spoke at a breakfast meeting of the AM Business Club which was held in Johannesburg yesterday. B/DAY 8/10/92

"I think it is quite right at this stage for the two big parties to talk bilaterally. Of course, this does not mean the rest of us are eliminated from the process altogether; they will need to talk to us later.

"But in the first place they must identify the agreements which they are able to reach between the two of them. For one thing is certain; no progress can be made unless and until they do agree."

Confirming the DP's continued support for the negotiation process and Codesa, De Beer said he believed Codesa had played an important role in bringing together South Africans who had been strangers, and even enemies, before then.

It made some progress, too, until the NP and the ANC started fighting with each other, he said. He quoted ANC president Nelson Mandela, who said recently one of the mistakes made by both parties was to have embarked on an election campaign, trying to undermine each other while negotiating. — Sapa.

● See Page 10

Dawie: Nats will win poll

(304A)

EAST LONDON — The NP was going to win the next general election, Cape party leader Dawie de Villiers said yesterday. B/DAY

He told the congress an election lay "12 months ahead or maybe longer".

In the interim, the NP had to put its stamp not only on the election, but on the pattern of how SA was to be governed afterwards.

"We are going to win. We have been called to bear a winning message. Our cause is just." 8/10/92.

On reform, he said: "This is not the time for turning back. It's now time for greater determination to do what is right." — Sapa.

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Independent bodies to deal with police

B/Day 8/10/92

RAY HARTLEY

TWO new independent bodies would begin by December to deal with serious complaints against the police, and with creating new training methods, police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said yesterday.

The formation of the two bodies was among reforms announced by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel last week.

A panel, consisting of judges, advocates, political leaders and community representatives, would hear serious complaints about police conduct and report to parliament.

A second independent panel on training, which would "represent the whole spectrum of the population", would appoint new police trainers and develop new training programmes.

Responding to criticism of the police made at an Idasa conference on policing, he said careful note was being taken of what delegates had said.

Affirmative action was under way in the police force and the 55% black and 45% white ratio would "change rapidly".

"My big questions is: we can reform, but when are different sections going to look at themselves to reform and accept the hand of friendship we are holding out?" Malherbe said.

Party political use of SAP 'must end'

B/Day 8/10/92. 30LEA

RAY HARTLEY

A FUTURE ANC government would be tempted to follow the NP's example and use police for party political ends, unless dramatic moves to depoliticise the force were made immediately, SACP official Essop Pahad said in Vanderbylpark yesterday.

"This government must stop using the police as their personal instrument and the police must stop being used," he told delegates at an Idasa conference on policing.

"I don't think (Law and Order Minister) Hernus Kriel has the capacity to act with the breadth and vision to take the police into a new era."

A new independent trade union for policemen, that was not tied to any political party and represented all political persuasions, was needed to give policemen a say in their work, Pahad said.

"There is no earthly reason why police should not be allowed to have trade unions. The police must form a trade union so there is an organised body that will act for them."

The peace accord specifically stated that permission was not required for protests, yet police continued to insist on being asked for permission.

Local dispute resolution committees could form the basis of a new, improved relationship between the community and police, he said.

"We need to move as rapidly as possible to the first phase of transitional arrangements so that we can begin to have multiparty control over the police.

"We would be naive in the extreme to think that a police force that has been trained to view us as the enemy, can change overnight," Pahad said.

"The overwhelming majority of our people are fed up with the spiralling crime rate and are fed up with the violence.

"They want to know what it is that prevents the police force from dealing with violence.

"Why can't the same police force, which was so effective in dealing with the ANC's underground structures, deal with the violence?" he asked.

ANC legal expert Matthew Phosa told the conference police needed to be "thoroughly democratised".

He said police should be service oriented and accountable.

"The police must serve the people by guaranteeing their rights to live in freedom and to exercise their lawful, democratic rights," Phosa said.

Non-partisanship, openness and professionalism were needed along with the minimum use of force.

"The interests of all in the community should be considered and the poorer communities should not be discriminated against because of a lack of resources," he said.

Meetings

Meanwhile the ANC said yesterday it was dismayed by Idasa director Van Zyl Slabbert's suggestion that ANC president Nelson Mandela should meet police generals and not just criticise them from a distance.

"In the first instance, Mandela has held frequent meetings, at his request, with the police at various levels of seniority.

"Secondly, virtually all Mandela's visits to different parts of the country include a visit to police stations and discussions with the commanding officers and senior staff," an ANC statement said.

ANC and PAC behind famine-relief concert

WILSON ZWANE

INTERNATIONAL and local musicians are expected to converge on Harare for a concert next year to raise funds for famine relief.

The concert, organised by the ANC, the PAC and 10 southern African states, will be the first major concert held for this purpose in Africa.

The event — the Concert for Southern Africa — will be in Harare on April 17 next year.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, PAC president Clarence Makwetu and heads of Angola, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia will be invited.

PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille said in a statement preparations for the concert began yesterday after the Southern African Development Community approved the project. B/Day 8/10/92

"Proceeds will go to the Southern Africa Recovery Fund, whose board of advisers comprises representatives from the ANC, PAC and permanent representatives to the UN from the governments of Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho and Mozambique," she said.

The recovery fund would use concert proceeds to transport food to famine-stricken areas of southern Africa and to sponsor education programmes and workshops on farming techniques and business development.

US-based accounting firm Ernst and Young would administer, manage and disburse the proceeds, the PAC said.

De Lille said world-renowned US musician Quincy Jones would be among the performers. He had been "persuaded" to cancel another concert to support this one. Names of other musicians would be released later.

Tickets to the concert will cost US$4 each.

Homeland, right-wing alliance played down

B/Day 8/10/92.

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Politicians and diplomats yesterday played down the formation of an association of homeland leaders and right-wing groups who have called for the scrapping of Codesa and a review of the whole negotiation process.

SACP general secretary Chris Hani described the partnership as "degrading", saying "every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths into which Chief (Mangosuthu) Buthelezi has now plunged himself".

He called on Inkatha members to distance themselves from the "warm embrace" Buthelezi had given to "diehard white racists".

The SACP had been disturbed by many things the leadership of Inkatha had been saying over the past few years. "But enough is surely enough", he said.

Andries Treurnicht's CP represented the most backward white farmers who oppressed farm labourers, he said.

The NP, while welcoming the prospect of talks on aspects of the negotiations process, has said the meeting between the groups does not constitute a threat.

Secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe indicated the parties did not have any fundamental basis for co-operation. Inkatha had always opposed apartheid, while the CP was seeking to reintroduce it.

Diplomats said yesterday the group's long-term interests were fundamentally different, although a review of the negotiations process could be valuable.

A succession of ambassadors have visited Buthelezi recently, partly to encourage him to rejoin the process, but the meeting on Tuesday rebuffed those efforts.

Political groups venting their frustrations was not a bad thing, one diplomat said, although it did mean that a meeting between Inkatha and the ANC might have to be shelved for some time.

Our political staff reports from Durban that PAC president Clarence Makwetu is due to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister and IFP president Buthelezi today, thursday to discuss the continuing carnage and interparty rivalry in Ulundi.

Makwetu will be accompanied by his deputy Dikgang Moseneke and four other national executive committee members.

PAC spokesman Patricia de Lille said the meeting had nothing to do with the recent homeland leaders and right-wing organisations summit held recently.

Other high-ranking PAC officials expected at the meeting will be secretary for projects development Elizabeth Sibeko, legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Serati, senior publicity and information officer Sipho Makhanda, and national executive committee member Joe Mkhwanazi. It is not known which IFP officials will accompany the IFP president, but IFP's national chairman Frank Mdlalose is expected to attend.

Tickets to the concert will cost US$4 each. | could be valuable. | lose is expected to attend.

conference in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Volksunie support 'growing'

(304A)

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — There were signs of growing grassroots support for the newly formed Afrikaner Volksunie, the CP breakaway group's leader Andries Beyers said yesterday. B/DAY

He neither ruled out nor predicted that more CP or NP MPs would join the fledgling group, although he said it was getting support from a wide range of organisations. 8/10/92

The Volksunie was formed after five CP MPs walked out of their party in protest at the CP's non-participation in negotiations and out of a desire to place Afrikaner nationalism firmly on the negotiations agenda.

There were signs the NP was concerned about the formation of the group as supporters suspected the NP had capitulated to the ANC, he said.

The group was getting grassroots support from CP members who were frustrated with CP reluctance to become involved in negotiations.

But Beyers said the party was not primarily involved in a struggle with the NP or the CP.

"Our organisation is not important," he said. "It is important that our cause should prosper."

It was therefore encouraging that the CP had taken part in the conference on regionalism and the meeting of homeland leaders and right-wing groups held on Tuesday.

Beyers hinted that the party would meet the ANC soon and had met senior government members yesterday.

The organisation said the Afrikaner nation was incorrectly categorised along racial lines. It was against such a "white nation" characterisation and was against racism.

By participating in negotiations, it ought to be possible to ensure that Afrikaners were not placed in a position where they were forced to be the enemy, Beyers said.

'Eyes in the sky' valuable to SAP

STEPHANE BOTHMA

COMPLAINTS about noisy SAP helicopters circling residential areas were outweighed by the value of policing from the air, Witwatersrand police liaison officer Capt Eugene Opperman said yesterday.

It was unfortunate some people complained about helicopters patrolling suburban and other areas from time to time.

However, the number of calls received from residents expressing their gratitude for the police presence outnumbered the complaints, he said. B/DAY 8/10/92

With the Witwatersrand Air Wing's two helicopters taking part in almost 500 operations a month, the SAP was convinced of the value of "eyes in the sky". Fixed-wing craft were also being used by the SAP unit.

Cosas fears exam disruptions

B/DAY 8/10/92

(52)

WILSON ZWANE

THE Congress of SA Students (Cosas) appealed yesterday to the national peace secretariat and UN observers to monitor the writing of matric examinations in unrest areas.

Cosas publicity secretary Ishmael Ralebese told a Johannesburg news conference yesterday that the appeal for the monitoring stemmed from his organisation's concern that examinations could be disrupted in "certain areas" by intimidation of pupils.

Ralebese cited the Border/Ciskei region and Katlehong on the East Rand as areas where intimidation was most likely to occur.

He also disclosed that the Cosas executive committee had resolved last week to call for a boycott of the Department of Education and Training (DET) examination fees next year.

Earlier this year, the DET increased fees for a school-leaving certificate from R54 to R64.

Ralebese said his organisation believed that education should be free.

"Next year we won't pay the examination fees at all," he said.

DET spokesman Corrie Rademeyer said it was not only the DET matriculants who paid the fees. "The paying of the fees is a requirement for all matric candidates," he said.

On possible disruptions of examinations, Rademeyer said regional chief directors would monitor the situation. Should the need arise, alternative examination centres would be found for affected pupils.

He would not comment on the threatened boycott of examination fees next year.

Sapa reports that Ralebese said at the news conference: "Although we acknowledge the frustrating circumstances under which our students studied throughout the year, we call on them to write the 1992 examinations."

British Ports Holdings PLC and leader of

CONFERENCE

NP and ANC find retaining support for talks a struggle

B/Day 8/10/92. (304A)

ZACH DE BEER

ALL OF us have experienced periods of high hopes and of near despair during the past three years. It was probably inevitable that this would be so.

People tend to overdramatise the situation, and think in terms of the party leaders only. But no party leader is a free agent. One is a leader only because one has followers. If one acts in such a way as to alienate those followers, one is out of business as a leader. This has been especially true of President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela.

The people on whom De Klerk relies were all firm supporters of apartheid until three years ago. They are accustomed to thinking of people in terms of ethnic groups. It does not come naturally to an Afrikaner nationalist to put individual human rights first. De Klerk has performed a great feat of leadership in bringing his people so far and so fast along the road to liberalism.

On the other side, Mandela's followers tend to have, with reason, perceived themselves as oppressed for decades by a bunch of white supremacists. Now they are being asked to trust these same people, to negotiate and compromise with them — and it is hardly surprising that they find this very difficult.

As MP Colin Eglin put it recently: "De Klerk's momentous leadership decision and its implications did not filter down sufficiently to the opposing popular forces. This is one of the reasons why both the NP and the ANC have found it necessary at various times to mobilise and consolidate their constituencies, even at the risk of jeopardising the negotiation process."

Students of the negotiating process must be fully aware that it is extremely difficult to keep the two opposing constituencies committed. Never was this better illustrated than in the process leading up to Saturday October 26, when De Klerk and Mandela shook hands, and we were all able to feel that the process was back on track.

This was a joyous event; but it was achieved only through an agreement to release a number of prisoners, some of whom had committed awful crimes. No one feels that they deserved to be released on their merits. Some are convinced that no political dividend can justify the wrongness of these releases.

Once again, it is the strength of feeling of the ordinary people which creates the political imperative. To Mandela's followers, McBride, Nondula and Mncube are freedom fighters. The perception in ANC circles was that they were still being held simply because their victims had been white people. Furthermore, the ANC believed that government had been committed for months to releasing these three, and was dragging its feet.

Quite literally, the price for getting negotiations back on track was the release of these three men. I think it was right to pay that price. De Klerk showed rare political courage in deciding as he did, and he deserves support and praise for it.

The September 26 agreement may have been a bit less difficult for Mandela than for De Klerk. After all, he was widely seen as having gained a great deal and given very little. Yet he, too, deserves credit for what was achieved. It is extremely difficult for a white audience to understand how great is the pressure on Mandela.

It is so easy for black South Africans to take the position that, firstly, they have suffered all the wrongs, all the oppression for hundreds of years, so why should they make further sacrifices or compromises now? Secondly, their numbers and the justice of their cause have finally brought the whites to the brink of surrender. Blacks have only to tough it out for the whites to collapse altogether.

The mainstream ANC leadership around Mandela resists this kind of thinking. They do not seek a crushing victory. For moral reasons, but also for excellent practical ones, they want the white population to stay here and to contribute its great skills and influence.

But while I have confidence that this is the view of the mainstream leaders, I do not have the same confidence in regard to their allies.

From February 2 1990 until September 7 1992, it seemed to me that the communists within the ANC were lying low. But the episode at Bisho and its aftermath have entirely changed my view. Communist leaders and most particularly Chris Hani played the major part in drumming up support for the march.

What you may be less well aware of is the interpretation which the communists sought to put upon the massacre at Bisho. In a speech made that very day, Hani was reported as saying: "Our people have learnt a lesson from the struggle and that lesson is that they will free themselves. They will not be freed by sweet talk around a negotiating table."

Hani is saying is that he has nothing but scorn for the negotiating process. The ANC leadership is committed to that process, but the communists reject it. And this is not just a flash in the pan. For this, of course, there is a perfectly good reason. If one negotiates for power, or enters into a democratic competition for it, one is likely to end up with some form of shared power. But if one seizes power by force, one is likely to have total power — and that is what every totalitarian wants.

I do not believe that Nelson Mandela is a totalitarian. I do believe that Chris Hani must be one, for otherwise he could not be secretary-general of the SACP. This distinction is going to become very important during the months ahead.

Codesa made some progress until the Nats and the ANC started fighting with each other. Starting shortly after the referendum, Codesa lost its constructive, creative spirit and became dominated by brawling and quarrelling between the Nats and the ANC. And, bit by bit, every other party at Codesa except the DP took sides.

To the extent that it remains true that other delegations are supporters of either the ANC or the Nats, there is no need to call them all together, except for what one might call ceremonial reasons. That is why it is quite right, at this stage, for the two big parties to talk bilaterally. Of course, this does not mean that the rest of us are eliminated from the process altogether; they will need to talk to us later. But in the first place they must identify the agreements which they are able to reach between the two of them. For one thing is certain: no progress can be made unless and until they do agree.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has publicly expressed his disappointment at the attitudes I have taken up. I have a good deal of sympathy for Inkatha's position and certainly have no wish to offend that party. Its agreement and participation in any new SA constitution is very desirable. I hope that peace and friendship between Inkatha and the ANC can be restored, and we shall certainly do anything we can to promote this.

It is extremely urgent that rapid progress now be made in the negotiating process because the economy is deteriorating faster and faster. If the political settlement is delayed for very much longer, we could reach a point of no return.

It is late, but not yet too late. Most of the principles upon which the new SA must be based have already been agreed. What is needed now is chiefly the will to make it work.

☐ This is an edited version of a speech delivered yesterday by DP leader De Beer to the Drake International Business Club.

Nat 'liberalism' would smother democracy

B/DAY 8/10/92. (304A)

ANTONY ALTBEKER

EVERYBODY knows by now that the NP's constitutional proposals amount to establishing an entrenched veto for parties with limited support. Indeed this is its self-proclaimed objective.

The NP claims that its proposals are grounded on the principle, taken from liberalism, that an ideal constitution must protect citizens, especially minorities, from the "tyranny of the majority". The left argues, perhaps with some justification, that this commitment to liberalism is merely a ruse behind which the NP really intends to guarantee minority privileges.

More important is that the NP's proposals, because they are not based on liberal-democratic principles, are liable to facilitate the emergence of an unaccountable state with totalitarian tendencies.

This is not to say that minorities do not need protection. However, the best protection lies in accepting a democratic conception of politics rather than the conception embedded in the NP's proposals.

A democratic conception of politics says that the only manner in which a party can come to use state power is through persuading people of the rectitude of its positions. Symbolically, what happens is that state power comes to be seen as an empty place to be occupied. Occupation cannot be achieved by anything other than persuading people to accept a particular perspective. In essence, no one party is deemed to know automatically what is true, or even what is best. Anyone has the capacity to win people to his/her position.

This is in opposition to any conception of society that sees it as unfolding along a predetermined path, or of having pre-given patterns of conflict and antagonism. Any conception that holds that there are inevitable and unavoidable relations between groups must delimit debate by virtue of this "knowledge of truth". The democratic conception forbids this delimitation.

In concrete terms, these differing conceptions of politics result in different 'types' of constitutions. A democratic constitution constructs political institutions which ensure that anyone may try to occupy the state. Undemocratic constitutions proclaim that one party is always correct because its perspective always knows what is true. Obviously, if one party always knows what is true, opposition is always illegitimate and unjustified. In democratic politics, however, because no one can claim absolute knowledge, opposition can never be illegitimate.

The NP proposes a future constitution which necessitates the establishment of a coalition between all major parties, even if one of them achieves an outright electoral majority. This is intended to prevent a single party's domination of the state and its becoming totalitarian.

Aside from the paradoxicality of the claim that one can protect democracy by entrenching a minority veto, the conception of politics embedded in this argument does not accord with democratic politics.

In contrast to the apartheid era, when the NP aimed at silencing all debate, today it merely wishes to predetermine the outcome of debate. Instead of occupation of the state being dependent on how many people's support a party can win, it is guaranteed to all parties with limited support. The result is that the place of power, rather than being occupiable by anyone, is filled before debate, before discussion, and before elections. The NP seems to be saying that, while no party can claim to "know the truth", it, in combination with the ANC and Inkatha can approximate it.

Liberals have always maintained that power corrupts, and that absolute power corrupts absolutely. The NP's constitutional proposals grant a future government absolute power by effectively denying the possibility of its ever being removed.

The real question is whether a government in which all major parties were guaranteed a place would be inclined to protect human rights. This seems unlikely.

At its worst, such a government could combine the ineptitude of the ANC, the corruption of the NP and the hysterical intolerance of Inkatha. What opposition group would be left to ensure that such a government remained committed to protecting human rights?

The most likely outcome of NP constitutional proposals appears to be the emergence of a corrupt and unaccountable political class. Over a short period of time all political leaders, like the pigs and the farmers in George Orwell's Animal Farm, would come to look alike. Most frighteningly, because these parties would be entrenched in government, ordinary citizens would have no constitutional way of removing them.

No one should dispute the fact that individuals must be protected from excesses of the state. The best protection, however, is not the entrenching of any one party, or combination of parties, in power. The best protection lies in ensuring that opposition is always legitimate and that incumbents can be removed.

Naturally voluntary coalitions, entered into on the basis of a liberal constitution, do not violate these principles.

A liberal-democratic constitution legitimises opposition, no matter who is in power, by denying to everyone a privileged claim to knowing the truth. It is far better to live under a government with which one does not agree but which can be opposed, than under a government that can never be removed, even if it was formed with the best intentions.

☐ **The author is an honours student in the political studies department of Wits University.**

LETTERS

Parliamentary session to rationalise 'own affairs'

B/Day 8/10/92. 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

NEXT week's special Parliamentary session will see the beginning of the end of "own affairs" administrations and departments, laying the foundation for an interim arrangement.

President F W de Klerk is determined to push ahead with the session despite vociferous opposition from Inkatha, the CP, Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei, who said this was the first stage of an interim government.

This will not happen. Earlier expectations that government would be introducing enabling legislation for the first phase of interim government have been scotched by disagreement between government and the ANC.

De Klerk confirmed yesterday he would not consider postponing the session. He said a purpose of the session was to allow discussion and debate over the progress made in negotiations and related matters.

Legislation will be considered which can be regarded as essential. Some Bills needed to be promulgated urgently, a statement from De Klerk's office said. Senior negotiation sources say there has not been time to get essential agreement on draft legislation from the ANC and other parties and government is wary of doing it unilaterally.

Two Bills dealing with own affairs departments have been passed by the parliamentary standing committees and it is expected that, apart from the CP, there will be no opposition.

Both the House of Delegates and the House of Representatives chairmen urged De Klerk earlier this year to scrap own affairs.

However, De Klerk did not want to tamper with the constitution piecemeal but wanted to amend it once to become an interim constitution. The joint effect of the Bills gives De Klerk a free hand to rationalise own affairs as he sees fit.

One of the Bills deals with rationalising the three own affairs administrative departments into one.

The second is an amendment to the annexure of the Constitution Act which gives De Klerk the power to proclaim any own affairs department or function as general affairs.

There is also a Bill which scraps all further by-elections, in keeping with De Klerk's commitment to scrap apartheid laws in the statute book.

The controversial Gambling Amendment Bill will also be piloted through this session and is likely to be passed with the major amendments to the initial Bill.

However the DP will oppose it because it entrenches monopoly rights for Sun International.

The most controversial Bill will be that dealing with blanket amnesty. De Klerk has been adamant he will push it through despite the ANC's objections and a possible backlash from the population. The Amnesty Bill will be based on the principles agreed with the ANC for the release of political prisoners: that there was a political motive; that it would foster reconciliation; and that there would be disclosure to government on the same basis as used during the granting of indemnity to ANC exiles.

● Comment: Page 10

Dawie: We'll win first non-racial election

CT 8/10/92 (304A)

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The National Party would win the country's first non-racial election, upbeat Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers told delegates in his closing address to the provincial congress here yesterday.

The Public Enterprises Minister was speaking against a background of growing unease among the party rank-and-file about the future course of the party and its leadership style.

The three-day congress had begun with a marathon session of the provincial head committee which Nationalists frankly admitted was characterised by direct talking.

"They let it all hang out and there was quite a row," said one source who attended the behind-closed-doors meeting which lasted from 9am to 6pm.

However, by yesterday it appeared that hard-hitting interventions by President F W de Klerk, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel had helped give the party a greater sense of confidence and direction.

Much of the bullish mood which developed during the congress was stimulated by vigorous ANC/SACP bashing.

Dr De Villiers was warmly applauded yesterday when he said a "fresh wind" was blowing through the party and delegates would return to their contituencies with their batteries fully charged.

He said he expected the election within 12 months and warned that the task of transforming the NP into the country's biggest political force "is not going to be easy".

However, the NP would win the poll. "I am convinced of it. We have been chosen. Our case is right. We have the right people and policies," said Dr De Villiers.

Govt gives approval to 'house schools'

Political Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The government yesterday approved "house schools" or home education up to Std 2 for platteland areas where schools were closing down.

National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais said the shutting of rural schools was hastening the collapse of these communities. For this reason the government had decided to allow qualified teachers to use their own homes as schools, he said.

"A mother who is a teacher in a remote area will not only be able to educate her own children at home, but also other children in the area."

Zach urges compromise

CT 8/10/92 **Political Staff** (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — If political settlement was delayed for much longer, South Africa could reach the point of no return, Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer warned yesterday.

"It is absolutely not in the interests of the country as whole for the Nats and the ANC to hold things up for any longer," he told a breakfast club here. "They both must be ready to compromise in order to get agreement.

"It is late, but not too late. Most of the principles upon which the new South Africa must be based have already been agreed. What is needed now is chiefly the will to make it work."

CCV

13.00: Mopheme
13.30: PM Show
14.00: ZD. (Repeat).
14.30: Kideo
15.00: Crossover
15.25: Living 'n Loving
15.30: Teleschool. Turn on to Eng
16.00: Midnight Patrol
16.30: Kimboo
16.40: Days of our Lives
17.30: The Bold and the Beautiful
18.00: Toyota Top 20
18.57: Devotion
19.00: News
19.30: Prospects
20.00: Inkom 'Edla Yodwa. (Ngun
20.30: Ezodumo
21.00: News update
21.14: Separate but Equal
22.07: Sisters

Hani tells IFP: Drop die-hard white racists

JOHANNESBURG. — Inkatha Freedom Party members should distance themselves from the warm embrace their leader gave to die-hard white racists this week, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani said yesterday. CT 8/10/92

Mr Hani was apparently referring to Tuesday's mini-summit which was attended by the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana's Dr Lucas Mangope, and right-wing groups including the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

"Enough is enough. Every decent black person and democrat in our country is nauseated by the depths into which Mr Buthelezi has now plunged himself," said Mr Hani.

Chief Buthelezi had once presented himself as an anti-apartheid fighter and had even borrowed the colours of the African National Congress for his IFP, he said.

Yet CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht "represents racist white foremen who daily make the lives of migrant workers a misery. His followers represent the most backward white farmers who oppress farm labourers." Whatever the IFP's differences with the ANC alliance, Chief Buthelezi's relationship with white racists was degrading, said Mr Hani.

● The IFP said yesterday that it would never allow the National Party and its "new-found allies", the ANC and SA Communist Party, to dictate to the majority of South Africans and destroy their future. — Sapa

Dawie: Nats will win poll

EAST LONDON — The NP was going to win the next general election, Cape party leader Dawie de Villiers said yesterday. B/DAY

He told the congress an election lay "12 months ahead or maybe longer".

In the interim, the NP had to put its stamp not only on the election, but on the pattern of how SA was to be governed afterwards.

"We are going to win. We have been called to bear a winning message. Our cause is just." 8/10/92.

On reform, he said: "This is not the time for turning back. It's now time for greater determination to do what is right." — Sapa.

The ANC should stop being distracted by the homelands, argues **Cosmas Desmond**

Deal with the organ-grinder

STAR 9/10/92

304A

"THE homelands have no meaning without the apartheid state ... when apartheid is abolished they too will crumble."

The ANC would do well to head the advice Aneurin Bevan once gave to his opposition colleagues in the House of Commons:

"It is not necessary to attack the monkey when the organ grinder is present. I trust it will be appreciated that this is a metaphor and that it will not be taken literally, as an insult to the individuals concerned".

President de Klerk must be laughing all the way to the Constituent Assembly as attention is diverted from himself and focused on his puppets; which is how the ANC has for long described homeland leaders.

One of his own agents could well have been planted in the ANC to come up with the suggestion that, being at a loose end owing to the suspension of negotiations, they should turn their attention to the homelands.

CIA and MI5 colleagues would doubtless have supported him, since it could only enhance the image of "their man" to have the ANC wanting to entrust millions of people to his direct (and therefore presumably benign) administration.

De Klerk and his government, it seems, are no longer the real enemy; they must be dealt with by negotiation or not at all, while mass action and confrontation are reserved for Gqozo and company.

But De Klerk's government is not only just as illegitimate and undemocratic as those of the homelands, it is also responsible for their illegitimacy. De Klerk is still the organ grinder.

Apart from any other consideration, the ANC's present policy towards the homelands seems to me to accord a legitimacy and importance to them which they have never had and still do not have; it is also an acknowledgement of the success of the apartheid policy. That policy was deliberately designed to thwart the growth of a unifying African nationalism, by defining and dividing people according to their ethnic identity.

I was certainly not alone in saying, over 20 years ago, that this would inevitably, and purposely, lead to conflict between blacks. It has. But it is the cause rather than the effects of the divisions and conflicts which needs to be attacked. The inhabitants of the homelands, even the leaders, oppressive as they themselves might be, are still oppressed by apartheid. In being liberated from the homeland governments, they will only be jumping from one frying pan into another.

It was white rule which created the climate of violence that so cheapened the lives of black people that they could be massacred almost with impunity, whether at Bullshoek, Sharpeville, Langa, Boipatong, or Bisho. Like his mentors Gqoza did not kill any white people. And few white lives would be endangered by further planned marches.

I am not suggesting they should be — I rather value my own — but I do not see why not only the agents, but also the objects, of mass action should be almost exclusively black. The people who paid the price for apartheid are also being charged for its replacement.

The homelands have no meaning and no relevance without the apartheid state, which created them and continues to sustain them. When, or perhaps if, apartheid is abolished they too will crumble; even the Nationalist Government now acknowledges that they have no future. They were created, partly, according to Verwoerd himself, as a sop to international opinion, in an attempt to lend an air of legitimacy to the policy of separate development, and as a means of exercising political control.

Of course, they are oppressive; they were meant to be. And their rulers have proved to be adept pupils; though I doubt that they have yet outdone their masters.

Political leaders may be able to prescind from their own oppression and votelessness and treat with members of the ruling class in "white" South Africa as former oppressors; but for the vast majority they still very much are. Freedom of expression, despite its exalted status in Western society, is not the only, or even the most important, human right. For many, probably most, the right to eat, the right to work, the right to have accommodation are all more pressing; and are denied them, whether or not they live in certain homelands.

I hold no brief for the homelands or the actions of their leaders, but if violations of human rights are now restricted to them, the rest of us could at least be told.

We should, I suggest, be more concerned about the creators of apartheid than about its creatures. Old-style apartheid served all sections of the white community very well; though some did very much better out of it than others. But it is not they who are being made to accept responsibility for its failure and for its lasting effects on the rest of the population.

Mass action is undoubtedly a democratic right and probably the most effective tactic to hand at present but it is surely worthy of more significant targets.

If, however, the ANC choose to go ahead and exercise their moral right to march on Ulundi, they might consider the epitaph of a self-righteous motorist:

"This is the grave of Mike O'Day,
Who died maintaining his right of way.
His right was clear, his will was strong,
But he's just as dead as if he'd been wrong." □

● *Cosmas Desmond is a former priest who was banned and placed under house arrest while working in South Africa.*

Rightwing sidesteps homeland's quick step....

(304A)

W/Mail 9/10 - 15/10/92

By JAN TALJAARD

WHILE recent discussions between rightwingers and homeland leaders may have succeeded in pushing these groups towards some kind of prominence again, any prospect of a more formal alliance between them may be very short-lived.

At the moment agreements revolve around the rather dubious principle that "an enemy of my enemy must be my friend" and a resolution on both sides that the National Party and African National Congress will not be allowed to make decisions on their behalf.

Pundits agree that other differences between the two groups are too pronounced for more than a temporary arrangement.

As far as the Conservative Party is concerned, its deeply entrenched dogma of ethnicity still lies at the root of all policy decisions.

Any organisation going into a formal agreement with the CP will have to subscribe to some extent to the CP's views on ethnicity.

It is for these reasons that CP spokesman and chief secretary Dr Lem Theron is careful when asked about the possibility of alliances.

Traipsing daintily in the sidestepping footsteps of his leader, he says it will not do to be in a hurry in making certain initiatives known.

He will only say that there is a good understanding between the parties and that bilateral discussions will go on. And more can be achieved by bilateral talks than at a multilateral forum like Codesa.

He does, however, admit that serious differences do exist, one of these being between a confederal dispensation as envisaged by the CP and a less partitioned federalism as foreseen by leaders such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The breakaway leader of the Afrikaner Volksunie, Andries Beyers, is more than willing to point out the real hitches between the CP and homeland leaders.

The CP's policy is still racially based, Beyers bluntly states. Opposed to this, he claims that the AVU has removed all vestiges of racism from its policy. Although the AVU wants a homeland for the Afrikaner people, "other citizens" living and working in such a homeland will be accorded the same privilliges of citizenship to be held by the Afrikaners living there.

He does not, however, foresee rightwingers and homeland leaders drawing together in a laager and forming a power block against the NP and ANC. Although a loose structure of co-operation has been established during talks this week, the AVU feels the government has more in common with them than with the ANC and that some kind of agreement may eventually emerge.

Avstig leader Carel Boshoff is for one not willing to give up his independence or to compromise on his ideals by entering into an alliance.

"We want to negotiate with everyone on an equal level in order to establish a Volkstaat." He says it serves no purpose to form an alliance with one group at the cost of relations with another group.

It seems that a formal alliances between rightwingers and the homelands may remain the domain of the politically naive and opportunistic. An example of this can be seen in what transpired between Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Ciskeian leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo during the last month.

Leading Gqozo to believe that the AWB disposes of a fierceful and mighty private army, Terre'-Blanche promised to come to his aid with around 50 000 men, should the ANC decide to march on Bisho.

When the march seemed inevitable and Gqozo took Terre'-Blanche up on his promise, the leader was unfased. So sorry, he said, but his men were all deployed around the white suburbs.

The gullible brigadier continued the contact with mutual promises of armed aid and support. This week it culminated in a farce at a Sandton hotel when AWB members were seen guarding the two leaders while they were busy with discussions that Gqozo dearly wanted to keep secret.

Government underlines regionalism importance

STAR 9/10/92

By Helen Grange
Pretoria Bureau

304A

The Government is planning a multilateral two-day conference on regionalism to follow last month's conference in which the Government proposed strong autonomy for regions with decentralised powers.

Announcing this at the opening of the Administrators' Conference in Pretoria, President de Klerk said the regionalism debate now required top priority.

He said he hoped differences of opinion on other matters would not delay co-operation on this fundamental issue.

The Government's position on regionalism contrasted with the official policy of the ANC, which was still clinging to the idea of a strong centralised government with legislative powers over regions, he said.

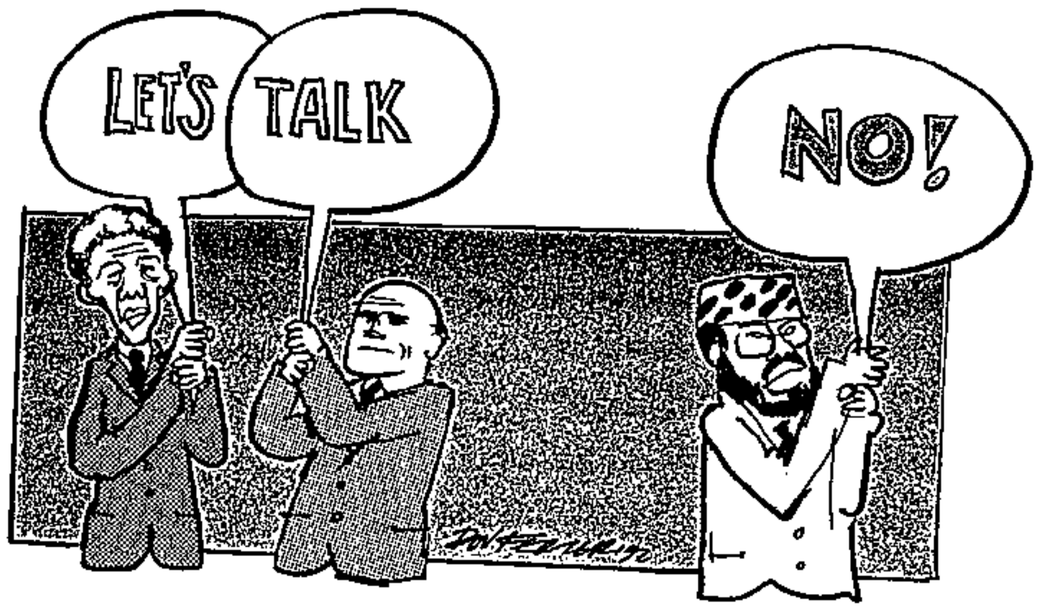
De Klerk said the Government's view was that regional functions would have to be allocated in terms of the national constitution. The constitution would also have to prohibit the arbitrary withdrawal or amendment of regional functions without the express agreement of regional legislatures.

Talks and ruffled feathers

(304A) FM 9/10/92.

Government statements clarifying — and downplaying — the status of the Record of Understanding signed between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela on September 26, may yet defuse Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rage and draw him back into the negotiation process.

State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen — apparently back in action in the mainstream — this week reiterated that the government-ANC agreement was not an act of ganging-up against other parties, but an effort to bring the ANC back into multiparty talks. Nor, he emphasised, did government agree with the ANC that the issue of arms caches should be left to an interim government to deal with — which should comfort the Zulu leader.



In an address in East London at the Institute of International Affairs, Viljoen defended bilateral talks of the kind which led to the Record of Understanding. He explained that the meeting with the ANC was aimed at bringing the organisation back to the table. "This bilateral effort was necessary because no really viable multilateral solution is possible without the ANC as one of the major role players." But neither could other parties, Inkatha in particular, be sidelined, warned Viljoen, formerly government's chief constitutional negotiator and still a close De Klerk adviser.

According to Viljoen, it had all along been government's intention to seek multilateral support for the agreement. "The government, therefore, considers it urgent to achieve multilateral consideration of those aspects of the Record of Understanding which affect more parties than the authors of the Record."

He explained that it was a serious misjudgment to suppose that a range of constitutional matters had been negotiated and agreed on in the course of formulating the Understanding. "There is still a big job awaiting Codesa to actually negotiate agreements on all these vital issues."

Dealing with the obvious contradiction of prohibiting dangerous weapons in public (one of Buthelezi's sore points) while there was no apparent action over the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), Viljoen stressed government's disagreement with the ANC's view that the question of arms caches should await an interim government. The Record of Understanding, he pointed out, provides for further talks on such unresolved matters. Among these are covert operations and special forces and violence (*Current Affairs*, October 2).

Viljoen also underlined the point that the understanding with the ANC contained nothing new in constitutional terms. It provides for a transitional constitution "which still has to be negotiated at Codesa" to accommodate national and regional government during the transition period (see next article).

It was clear, he added, that the issue of regionalism would be a hard nut to crack in negotiations.

While all this might appear to give succour to Buthelezi, his great objection, leading to his withdrawal from talks recently, is that Inkatha and others were not party to the agreement affecting, as it does, other players like himself.

The question is whether, in making the disbanding of MK such a hard-and-fast condition for his re-entry to talks, Buthelezi has set an impossible condition. Everybody remembers Mandela's blistering attack on De Klerk at Codesa 1 for daring — quite legitimately — to raise the matter of MK.

Including Buthelezi

Few believe that Buthelezi and Inkatha could or should be bypassed — even the ANC is prepared to "favourably consider" (provided it's guaranteed to succeed) a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi. But government does not regard wooing him back as a one-way affair.

Opening the National Party's Cape congress on Monday, Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers came close to warning Buthelezi not to abandon the negotiation process and attempt to "go it alone." His withdrawal was based on incorrect allegations against the government, said De Villiers.

"Just as it is unlikely that a lasting solution is possible without the IFP, they surely do not imagine that they can go their own way without the co-operation of the other parties in SA. We must negotiate ourselves out of the morass. We need the IFP and Buthelezi. Neither the ANC nor the goverment can go it alone."

De Villiers also attacked "leftwing radicals" in the ANC alliance for seeking to create a climate of ungovernability through mass action aimed at the overthrow of the government. "The radicals want confrontation so that the government can be blamed. It would have suited them if the government had announced a state of emergency. Then they could have blamed the undemocratic forces in a police state. But, instead, we have given them democratic freedom to demonstrate their undemocratic methods."

The mass action campaign had hampered efforts to set up an interim government; radicals in the ANC's national executive committee would have to take responsibility for poor investor confidence and the poor performance of black schoolchildren.

Meanwhile, on Tuesday, Buthelezi, together with Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo plus the Conservative Party and other rightwing Afrikaans formations, all opposed to the Record of Understanding, duly convened their summit meeting in Johannesburg, to "examine obstacles" to the negotiation process.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose reportedly explained at the start of the gathering that their meeting was not regarded as an alternative to Codesa. This would, at least, appear to leave the door open for all parties to come together again at Codesa 3, which can't be too far off.

Such gatherings and common fronts raise the possibility of some bizarre electoral alliances. ■

CONSTITUTION FM 9/10/92

To build on

(304A)

A constitutionally entrenched finance commission has been suggested by the DP as a way of ensuring the equitable distribution of taxes raised by a future federal government. The suggestion is part of a discussion document on constitutional proposals published by the DP in Cape Town this week.

It proposes a constitution that is above ordinary law. The courts, or possibly a special constitutional court, should have the power to overrule laws or executive acts that violate the rights of individuals or the basic principles of the constitution.

continue →

Changes to the constitution should require a two-thirds majority in each of the proposed two houses of the federal parliament and simple majorities in three-quarters of the proposed 10 state assemblies.

The document argues in favour of federalism as a means of bringing government closer to the people and as a defence against tyranny. It proposes 10 states based on the nine existing development regions, plus a new region comprising most of Ciskei, Transkei and Border.

The states should have considerable autonomy over most matters including state taxation. The federal government should look after issues of national interest such as foreign affairs, defence and macro-economic policy.

Each state and local authority would be entitled to a share of revenue raised by the federal government. The share would be determined by a federal finance commission chaired by a judge of the constitutional court and include wide representation.

One of President F W de Klerk's closest Cabinet advisers, Gerrit Viljoen, has said it was imperative that each region should be in a financial position to carry out its functions which, in turn, should be constitutionally defined. If a region is unable to provide services, financial transfers should be considered.

Viljoen says such a system should not empower central government to influence regional government just because it holds the purse strings — but he should know that the reality of politics dictates otherwise in such situations.

The DP document suggests a federal government structure with a dual executive, comprising a president elected by the two houses of parliament for six years and a prime minister appointed by the president. The prime minister, who will be a member of the national assembly, will form a cabinet.

Representative Cabinet

To facilitate national reconciliation, the first cabinet should be proportionally representative of all parties with 5% or more support in the national assembly. This provision should lapse after four years.

The national assembly should comprise 400 members elected by proportional representation for four years. There should be 100 constituencies each of which should be represented by three members and a national list from which 100 members should be elected. Such a system would help to avoid the dangers of a pure proportional representation "party list" system, which puts all power to select candidates in the hands of party managers.

Each state should elect between four and nine senators, depending on the number of registered voters. The national assembly should elect another group of senators equal to one-quarter of the number elected by the states. They would hold office for six years.

A bill of rights would protect individual freedoms. ■

PROPERTY

Oil slicks

Applications to rezone a Pretoria area to allow the building of a petrol filling station have resulted in an inquiry ordered by the Ombudsman, Mr Justice Piet van der Walt, into allegations of corruption and bribery. The names of three senior NP city councillors, including the chairman of the management committee, have been mentioned in a document presented to the judge.

Findings of the TPA-appointed commission of inquiry could have far-reaching effects on the future appointment of city councillors. The judge asked the TPA to investigate "possible corruption or bribery" regarding the rezoning for land use for filling stations," as well as "maladministration" claims against "certain council members and officials." He has also asked the inquiry to decide whether it is "fitting for serving council members to be directly or indirectly involved, during their term of office, in property development in the council's territory."

The outcome could mean that architects, town planners, estate agents and conveyancing attorneys would be barred from serving on city councils.

It has also emerged that the complainant, Pretoria town planner Erroll Bryce, is a shareholder in a company whose application for a filling station in the same suburb was rejected. He applied for the rezoning of a portion of the Hatfield suburb, on behalf of Hildarc Properties. On the same day a similar application by Pretoria businessman Charl Nienaber was heard by the town planning committee. His application was approved unanimously by the six NP and four CP councillors while that of Bryce was denied.

Afterwards, in papers submitted by Bryce to Judge Van der Walt, the names of management committee chairman Pieter Smith and councillors Lappe Laubscher and Justus van Zyl were mentioned. It is alleged by Bryce that the three councillors "have been acting incorrectly by ensuring that certain town planning applications receive positive recommendations by the city council's town planning committee, in spite of objections by council departments on technical and professional grounds."

Bryce reiterated his allegation to the *FM* that Van Zyl had told colleagues that a

LOCAL EXPERTS TO ADDRESS *FM* CONFERENCE

With world currency markets in turmoil, and the volatile economic and political situation at home, investors are apprehensively looking for guidance. To help them the *FM* has invited top SA and international experts to address this year's *FM* annual investment conference — *Investing in 1993* — at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel on October 29-30.

Simpson McKie partner and investment strategist Peter Trengove Jones will examine "The outlook for industrial shares." He was quoted in January as believing that economic recovery, while delayed, had not been cancelled and that there was value to be had in shares. However, the JSE has taken a buffeting since mid-year and in the firm's June monthly investment letter he acknowledged "there are more than adequate grounds for caution in the short term."

Another local speaker is property economist and founder of research firm Real Estates Surveys, Erwin Rode, who will speak on "Prospects for the residential & nonresidential property markets, with reference to the political environment."

Rode consults to the Bureau for Economic Research at the University of Stellenbosch and some of SA's largest financial institutions and property developers. He was the first to forecast the property boom of the early Eighties and encouraged Old Mutual Properties (for which he worked) to buy about R70m worth of prime office buildings in 1979-1980. Since the late-Seventies Rode has done pioneering research on forecasting rentals, cap rates, house prices and the property cycle.

One of SA's best-known tax fundis, Pierre du Toit, will present his views on "Business, tax & the people." After practising at the bar, Du Toit joined Arthur Andersen & Associates in 1973, where he became an international partner in 1980 and is now senior tax partner.

Du Toit, a frequent commentator on tax matters on radio and TV, has also lectured widely on the role of tax in the new society and how business should react to it. He lectures part-time at Wits Business School and is SA correspondent for the London *Financial Times World Tax Report*.

Readers who would like to hear these and other top speakers charting the future of domestic and international business and finance, should call Brigitte Petty (011) 497-2135 or Cindy Beatty (011) 497-2134, or write to Box 260022, Excom 2023.

Du Toit

Rode

Peter Fabricius reports on the disquiet among the NP rank-and-file

Even Dawie was unhappy with FW

STAR 9/10/92 (304A)

DAWIE must surely be the National Party's most loyal political commentator. He is the fictitious personage whose column in Die Burger, "Uit My Politieke Pen", has, over generations, distilled to its essence the voice of the newspaper, itself a pretty pure expression of Nationalism.

Dawie has faithfully tracked the party's frequently convoluted spoor over the years, justifying every switch, rarely complaining about sudden changes of direction.

The occasions when he differed with the party are so rare that each is remembered — like his quarrel with Verwoerd for removing coloureds from the voters roll. So when Dawie started last Saturday's column with the following words, the Government knew it had to sit up and pay attention:

"The disturbing course of politics over the last week has caused nationwide disquiet which requires urgent self-examination by the National Party leadership."

There followed an extraordinarily frank critique of the NP's recent performance in negotiations with the ANC.

The freeing of "murderers and terrorists" and ordinary criminals under the September 26 Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC was serious enough, Dawie said. Worse still was that the impression created by the ANC — that it would curb its mass action — had proved to be a "mirage."

And to make matters worse, the agreements with the ANC had estranged two of the Government's important allies, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope.

Overall, Dawie said, these events had created the impression that the ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance was getting its way far too easily.

"Nationalists countrywide long for strong and inspiring leadership," Dawie said, implying very clearly the present lack thereof.

At the Cape NP's private head council meeting before its congress in East London this week, MPs took the leadership to task for giving too much to the ANC.

Feelings bubbled to the surface again in public debate when former Nat MP Koos Lloyd accused the leadership of "crawling" before the ANC (and of even cruder displays of obsequiousness not mentionable in polite company).

F W de Klerk responded with probably his most passionate speech since he took office.

He said the Government had not conceded a single principle in the Record of Understanding and launched his strongest attack yet on the ANC, warning it to stop its "nonsense", to terminate its underground activities and become a normal political party.

The "kragdadig" option — a return to bannings and the State of Emergency — was still available, De Klerk said, although only to be used if talks failed completely.

The audience lapped it up, and Dawie, in his Wednesday column, pronounced himself satisfied.

But the episode left doubts about the readiness of the NP rank-and-file to accept change.

As senior Nationalists confided, Dawie and the NP grassroots seemed to have balked at the first concrete manifestation of negotiations — the freeing of hard-case ANC prisoners. How would they react to the moment of real transfer of power?

That question obviously had implications for the way the Government proceeded in negotiations.

Superficially, the week's events strengthened the Cabinet conservatives, who saw it as evidence that the leadership had been moving too fast.

Cabinet "liberals" disagreed, saying the problem was that the freeing of prisoners, banning of weapons and securing of hostels should have been done long ago. By delaying, the Government had been manoeuvred into a position where it seemed to have done these necessary things at the ANC's behest.

Clearly the Dawie saga will continue to have repercussions. □

afford these costs on their vehicles. | the solutions. cake as a means of redistribution.

Ramaphosa's restructuring plan

B/Day 9/10/92

HILARY GUSH

A RESTRUCTURING programme based on stability, growth and socio-economic development is needed to ensure the success of a democratic SA, says the ANC.

ANC economist Tito Mboweni, speaking on behalf of secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "We are well aware we need to restructure the economy ... within the context of the maintainance of macro-economic stability."

Public sector corporations should be rationalised, restructured and subject to competition. This did not spell out privatisation, but rather managerial accountability and transparent budgetary systems.

Reducing the size of the public sector would enhance efficiency and advance affirmative action while ensuring consumer protection and workers' rights.

Restructuring of the national budget by redirecting expenditure away from unproductive current expenditure and towards socio-political development, so as to bridge the racial welfare gap, was also called for.

The ANC stood firm on its policy of income redistribution, which would provide the means for mass consumption and alter the industrial sector's response to shifting demand patterns.

Redistribution of income at the low end of the scale might be an essential requirement for the growth of the labour intensive component of the manufacturing sector.

Department of Trade and Industry director-general Stef Naudé stressed the need for an export-led recovery, based on final manufactured goods.

"SA's future economic development depends largely on industrial growth, which will also have to be much more export-oriented to increase the import capacity of the economy," Naudé said.

DP launches campaign for election funds

BILLY PADDOCK (304A)

THE DP has swung into election mode despite its leader Zach de Beer's criticism that it was the electioneering of the ANC and the NP that was preventing a speedy negotiated settlement for SA. B/Day 9/10/92

At a media breakfast yesterday, De Beer launched a national fundraising campaign to collect R15m by the end of the year to help pay for a general election campaign.

Southern Transvaal regional fundraising co-ordinator Ronnie Napier said the party hoped to raise R4m in this region alone.

Whereas the DP had previously fought elections in chosen constituencies, the upcoming general election would involve proportional representation from a national electorate, which meant it had to canvass and fight for support at grassroots community levels, said De Beer.

The DP was expecting to win 10% of the national vote in an election.

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Offer and general meeting results

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Political deal needed for investment

BILLY PADDOCK

THERE was an urgent need for a political settlement because, while it would not stop the ANC and Inkatha fighting, it would bring the stability to stimulate investment, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking at the Blueprint conference, he argued that this settlement would have to contribute to the demise of a third force. B/Day

Persistent violence was the single most discouraging factor for investment. It would be a negative factor even if there was political stability and the causes of the violence were fully understood.

De Beer said that if some of the violence was designed to prevent a political settlement, then the need for the settlement was more urgent.

However, there was no certainty that it would stop the fighting between the ANC and Inkatha, he said. "After all, both organisations are parties to the peace accord and to the Codesa Declaration of Intent, and that has not helped." (304A)

De Beer said it appeared that the leaders of these two organisations had limited control over their followers. 9/10/92

Governments and political organisations would in the future be judged by their ability to deliver economic prosperity.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 9/10/92

Terse PAC reply

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday denied it had tried to act as a mediator between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"We told the ANC to convene a meeting between (PAC) president Clarence Makwetu and (ANC) president Nelson Mandela to discuss political intolerance and violence," the PAC said in a terse statement.

According to the PAC, the ANC was reacting to praise that the PAC might get for its efforts to end the violence and this was a typical sign of political immaturity.

"The PAC position is not inconsistent with the ANC national executive decision that they are prepared to meet with all parties to discuss the violence," the movement added. - *Sapa.*

Sowetan 9/10/92

Children catered for

THE Department of Education and Training yesterday officially opened a R17 million industrial school at Ogies in the Eastern Transvaal.

The school, which was built by the Transvaal Provincial Administration and is known as the Vikelwa School for Industries, caters for neglected children and is being run by the DET.

In his address the Minister of Education and Training, Mr Sam De Beer, emphasised the need for making the education of "our children" relevant to the needs of the country.

He said teaching at Vikelwa was centred on life skills, social rehabilitation, labour practice training and entrepreneurial skills. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

Sowetan 9/10/92

Cast conference

THE Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal will hold its first biennial congress at the World Trade Centre today, Cast general secretary Mr Dan Mofokeng said yesterday.

Topics to be discussed at the three-

Sowetan 9/10/92

day conference include the rent, bond and service boycotts, the disbandment of white and black local authorities, and the approach to democratic elections. New leadership will also be elected.

Vista students picket

ABOUT 40 students of Vista University's Mamelodi campus yesterday picketed outside the institution's head office in Pretoria to show their disatisfaction with their examination roster. Sowetan 9/10/92.

Police spokesman Major Andrew Lesch confirmed that student representatives were holding a meeting with Vista's management council, and that no violence was reported. - *Sapa*

DP goes it alone

THE Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday warned that his party would not be "sucked into either the National Party or the ANC".

De Beer was speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg to announce the party's aim to embark on a massive fundraising and election campaigns in preparation for the election.

"We have never been associated with corruption in any form. We have no connection whatever with any of the violence which has marred and scarred the face of South africa," said De Beer. Sowetan 9/10/92

End call-up call

THE End Conscription Campaign has called for decisive action to end South Africa's whites-only military call-up.

A statement yesterday by Chris de Villiers of the ECC calls on all those affected by the call-up either to refuse outright to serve, or to actively avoid their call-ups. Sowetan

"By standing together, we can end the call-up and move one step closer to really closing the book of apartheid. *Sapa.* 9/10/92

Amnesty bill set to top agenda

Nats to play it safe . . .

ARG 10/10/92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Weekend Argus Political Staff

■ As MPs converge on parliament, the government is unlikely to pass legislation for any interim structures without agreement with the ANC.

STATE lawyers are scrutinising draft legislation on political amnesty to ensure there are no loopholes ahead of next week's special session of parliament.

Government sources expect the contentious Amnesty Bill to be tabled on Tuesday or Wednesday.

It is almost certain the government is not in a position to table enabling legislation of any kind to prepare for interim rule — its original intention when the special session was announced midway through the year — and MPs will have to settle for a more general debate on the status and direction of negotiations.

The government has indicated that it is wary of introducing important measures unilaterally.

In the absence of agreements with the ANC and others, there is little scope for passing enabling laws intended to prepare the path to interim government.

It has argued that there cannot be reconciliation, peace and constructive negotiation as long as society is divided and continually agitating about people who are in jail for deeds committed in a time comparable to a state of war.

Besides the Amnesty Bill, other draft legislation due before the session includes measures to:

■ Rationalise the costly and controversial "own affairs" administrations;

■ Tidy up the gambling laws;

■ Make it possible for someone who is not a member of parliament to be in the Cabinet;

■ Suspend parliamentary by-elections under the present system.

affirmative action

SA must draw youth back into 'culture of learning'

SOUTH 8/8 – 12/8/92

ONE of the most devastating side-effects of the struggle against apartheid has been the widespread disruption of education in black schools as the youth took up the call to make the country ungovernable.

The result is thousands of poorly educated young people.

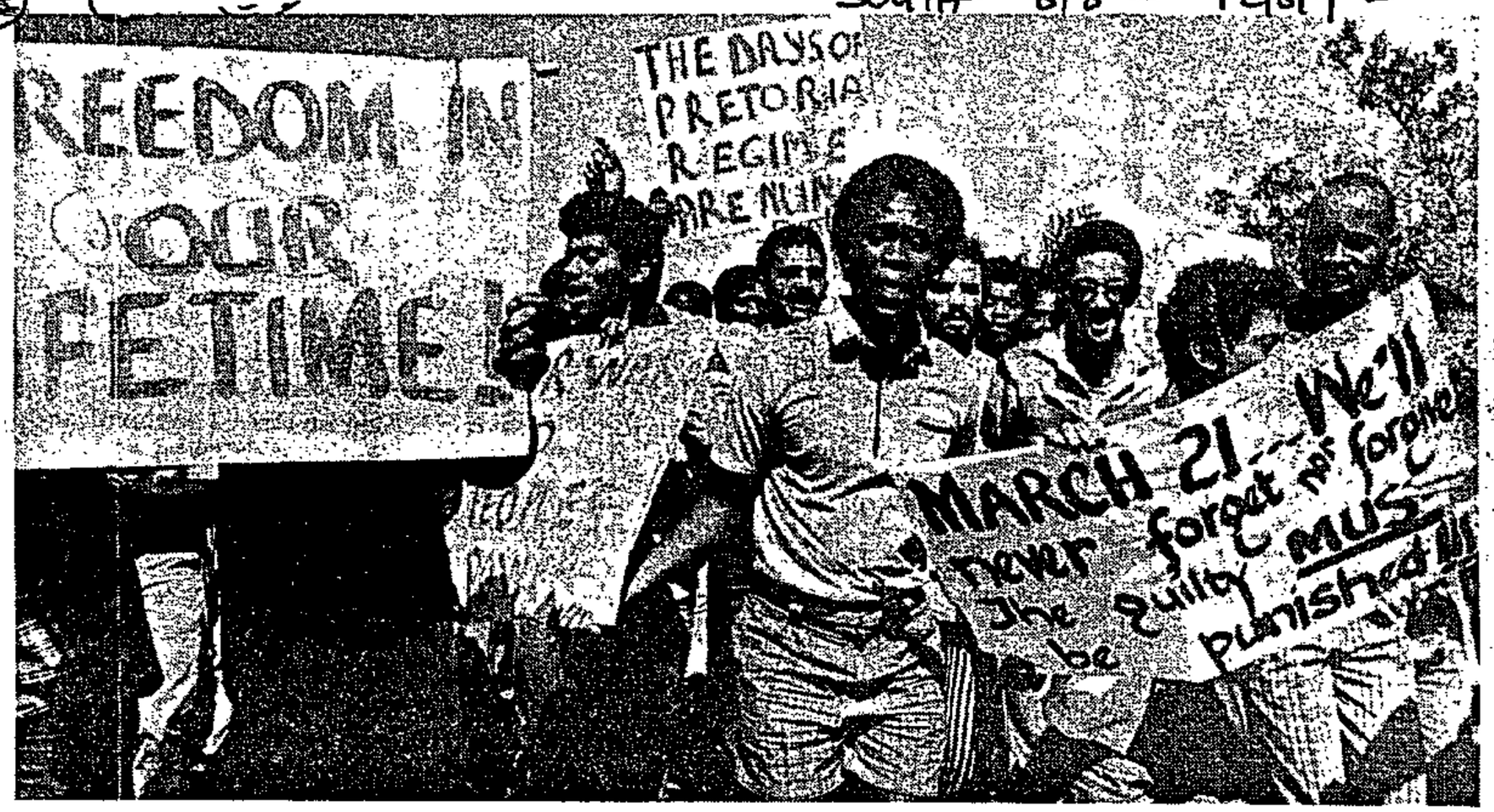
The question now large in the minds of many is how these young people are going to be drawn back into education, trained and given a fair chance to earn a decent living — and the answer will probably be the biggest affirmative action of all in South Africa in the 1990s.

The first prerequisite will be peace in the schools and communities. A culture of learning cannot be developed and nurtured in a climate of frustration and fear.

Politicians now dithering about Codesa and negotiations carry heavy responsibility here. The longer they fail to reach agreement, the longer violence and disruption will continue.

There will also have to be an equalisation of funds spent on education for all South Africans. More appropriate curricula must be developed and teacher training improved.

But the fruits of all this will take time to work through the system. There is also still the question of what to do with scores of illiterate workers or unemployed adults who missed out on education altogether, as well as Department of Education and Training (DET) pupils who want to study at universities or technikons.



SCHOOLS CRISIS: Special action is needed to counter the effect of disruptions in education

At the University of Cape Town, the Academic Support Programme (ASP) started some 10 years ago has been radically revamped. Its aim is to cater specifically for students who have been educationally disadvantaged and need some form of affirmative action programme to give them a better start.

The ASP offers one or two semester courses on language skills development for Arts and Social Science students. It also has special bridging programmes, which count as credits and cover language skills as well as curricula for students in the sciences, commerce, engineering, medicine and law.

But the ASP's acting director and the co-ordinator of UCT's alternative admissions research project, Ms Nan Yeld, is keen to stress this is just the start of what she sees as an overall educational development programme to examine what is taught — and how it is taught — at the university.

"It is becoming increasingly obvious that, even for privileged white students, there is no neat hop from school to university. Most students now take four years instead of three to complete their first degrees," she said.

This points to the need to restructure curricula at school and university. In the absence of tangible change at school level, UCT is taking it upon itself to restructure its curricula for students who are increasingly going to be black and educationally underprepared.

ASP courses can add an extra year to an ordinary three-year degree. But Yeld says this seems to be becoming the norm and means UCT has better graduates.

Through the alternative admissions research project, UCT is also trying to identify more DET students who could cope with university but, because of their lack of confidence in the standard of their school education, don't apply.

This programme offers students the opportunity to be tested by ASP staff before they write their matric. These tests are conducted throughout the country and if they do well, ASP re[illegible]ends that they be offered places at UCT regardless of what kind of matric pass they get.

Those who do not do well are not prevented from registering at UCT, but are then judged on their actual matric results.

Yeld believes that one of the major constraints on providing university education for black students is the lack of adequate bursary funding. Many who could attend — and would do well — simply do not because they cannot afford university fees.

She also believes more attention has to be paid to developing and promoting higher education as a whole, not just university education.

She sees scope for regional co-operation between universities, colleges and technikons with greater movement of students between them as needed to meet the real skills development potential of all students, regardless of race.

MPs 'squabble over perks'

(204A) CT 20/10/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

RUMBLINGS among so-called "brown Nationalists" about the division of spoils in the own affairs Ministers' Council is threatening to break into open revolt.

Disgruntled MPs — said to number about two dozen — are pushing for a special meeting to resolve their differences with Mr Jac Rabie's Ministers' Council and some MPs were hopeful that a meeting could be arranged as early as today.

The clash was summarised by one MP in the House of Representatives as "a squabble involving perks and personalities".

Among the reasons cited for anger among the rebel MPs:

- The failure of the Ministers' Council to make good on promises to MPs when they defected to the NP to look after the needs of their constituencies regarding housing and other services.
- The apparent unwillingness of the entrenched Ministers' Council to consider a system of rotating ministers which would spread the high pension and retrenchment packages enjoyed by ministers more evenly.
- The promotion to ministerial status of some of the last — and allegedly less competent — defectors to the NP.
- The manner in which overseas trips for MPs are awarded.

Senior Nationalists yesterday dismissed suggestions that there were any serious divisions or tensions in the party.

Elections as soon as next year?

(304A) CT 10/10/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

THE government and the ANC are close to agreement on plans for the first phase of transitional government — and both are gearing up for an all-in election as early as this time next year.

Senior National Party and ANC sources said yesterday that although the implementation of interim government could be delayed by the current boycott of negotiations by Inkatha and its allies, this was not considered a major long-term problem.

Although earlier plans to pass enabling legislation on multi-party transitional executive councils (TECs) during next week's special session of parliament have been dropped, the major players believe an agreement on the first phase of power-sharing is within reach this year.

A deal on the establishment of TECs for joint control over key areas such as the security forces, the economy, foreign affairs and the elections could be clinched at a government-ANC "bosberaad" planned for after the short session of parliament.

Senior ANC negotiators were confident that the first phase of transitional power-sharing would effectively be in place — irrespective of whether legislation had been passed — before the end of the year.

F W offers apology for apartheid dream

WINBURG. — State President F W de Klerk yesterday apologised for apartheid, saying Nationalists had clung too long to a dream of separated nation states.

Speaking at a function to mark Winburg's 150th anniversary, Mr De Klerk said Nationalists had strayed and this had led to discrimination.

"For too long we clung to a dream of separated nation states when it was already clear that it could not succeed sufficiently.

"For that we are sorry. That is why we are working for a new dispensation."

He said he would steadfastly champion strong regional government because this would eliminate the possibility of domination in a new constitutional dispensation.

South Africans had to "build a nation — on the cornerstone of justice for all". — Sapa

FW talks tough

'The ANC must stop their nonsense'

CT 7/10/92

(304A)

By CHRIS WHITFIELD and ANTHONY JOHNSON

EAST LONDON. — South Africa is sick and tired of the African National Congress's inflammatory speeches, its arrogance and its intolerance in recognising the rights of others, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

"They must stop their nonsense and stop their underground activities. There is no room for underground activities in South Africa," he said.

"The time had arrived for the real leaders of the ANC to stand up and discipline their regional leadership as well as dissident radical elements."

Mr De Klerk's outburst came in a tough keynote address to the National Party Cape congress here.

"The National Party is not on the run. We will not be intimidated by mass action," he said.

Responding to mounting unease and criticism of his leadership style from party rank-and-file, the State President moved sharply to reassure the party faithful by launching his blistering attack on the ANC.

In particular he lashed out at the ANC's revised position on mass action, dismissing it as "totally unsatisfactory".

He said the government was "duty bound" to prevent marches which could result in violence.

His fiery speech followed strident criticism of the ANC by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, who said to resounding applause that the time had finally arrived for the ANC to end its armed struggle and to disband uMkhonto weSizwe.

Mr De Klerk and Mr Meyer defended their September 26 "summit" agreements with the ANC and said IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's angry reaction was unjustified and arose from misunderstandings.

However, Mr De Klerk said he had no doubt a basis would be found to restore the "warm co-operation" that had existed between them.

Mr Meyer said the planned marches on the strongholds of KwaZulu's Chief Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope were more likely to fan violence in the volatile political climate than the carrying of dangerous weapons.

Mr De Klerk also said steps announced by the government in connection with hostels and dangerous weapons would have been taken even if talks had not been held with the ANC recently.

The government was not taking sides on the hostel issue, he said. "It simply must be done to stop violence and prevent further killings."

Certain hostels controlled by the ANC were also involved in violence. It was the government's duty to do something.

Mr De Klerk said it was "completely unacceptable" that parties involved in negotiations could threaten to topple from power those around the table by resorting to mass action.

"The government is duty bound to prevent such marches."

Both Mr De Klerk and Mr Meyer strongly dismissed suggestions that the government had capitulated to ANC demands at the September 26 summit — as well as criticism from within the party that the party now was in urgent lead of self-examination and strong leadership.

Mr De Klerk said the release of political prisoners was one of the hardest decisions he had ever had to make as a politician, but the country had to choose either reconciliation or clinging to power by putting its opponents behind bars.

STRANGE BED-FELLOWS . . . Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht (left) greets Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi (centre) and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo before discussions yesterday. Picture: AP

Now FW says it: I'm sorry

(304A)

ARG 10/10/92

WINBURG. — President De Klerk has apologised for apartheid, saying Nationalists had clung to a dream of separated nation states for too long.

Speaking at a function to mark the Free State town's 150th anniversary yesterday, Mr de Klerk said Nationalists had strayed and this had led to discrimination.

"For too long we clung to a dream of separated nation states, when it was clear that it could not succeed.

"For that we are sorry. That is why we are working for a new dispensation."

He said he would steadfastly champion strong regional government because this would eliminate the possibility of domination in a new constitutional dispensation.

Notwithstanding South Africa's diversity, citizens shared a common destiny.

"Therefore we will have to make peace with each other and build a nation — on the cornerstone of justice for all."

Mr De Klerk said he would not tolerate any attempts, in a new dispensation, to break down history.

"Yes, we have made mistakes. But that we were evil, malignant and mean — to that we say 'no'!" — Sapa.

Recipe for conflict!

ARG 10/10/92 (304A)

With political events changing rapidly in South Africa, most parties are constantly reviewing their policies and standpoints. In this article, Dr A P TREURNICHT, leader of the Conservative Party, comes out firmly in favour of a confederal system for the New South Africa.

JUST before the referendum I wrote in a newspaper article that "after a Yes vote on March 17, nothing could be as awesome as the resistance to Xhosa/ANC hegemony by the numerically-superior Zulus who ... will never accept ANC/SACP rule".

Apart from everything else that has gone awry since the Yes vote was cast, the core problem — the jostling for power in a post-February 1990 South Africa — remains, and this struggle has now become the catalyst for the destructive conflict now enveloping South Africa. It is strange that Mr De Klerk refuses to acknowledge this fact, and that a unitary state under an ANC government can never survive.

Even liberal whites are having second thoughts about an ANC takeover; the organisation has shown its true colours these past months and confidence in the NP's new South Africa has understandably taken a dive. Our economy reflects this lack of faith in the future, despite brave words from our captains of commerce and industry who funded the Yes campaign.

A recent HSRC survey revealed that only a small percentage of whites were prepared to live under an ANC regime, yet the government continually beseeches the ANC's presence at the negotiating table, and pays a heavy price for this in concessions.

Millions of blacks have borne the brunt of ANC coercion, and self-governing and independent states are the victims of the ANC's march to power. One can thus understand the inability of numerous experts to stop the violence which is consuming our country.

□ **CP LEADER:** Dr A P Treurnicht

Federalism

Mr De Klerk talks of federalism as the new panacea for a shattered South Africa. Others talk of regionalism as a relunctant sop to the diversity of peoples in this part of the world.

But federalism does not address the crux of the dilemma — nationalism and the instinctive desire of peoples to be with their own. Whether nationalism is seen as a problem or as a solution, it exists to such a degree that peoples throughout the world are prepared to die for their flag, their language, their culture, their nation.

The conflagration in Eastern Europe is just one example of this conundrum, a predicament which even the United Nations cannot resolve.

Unless a future constitutional dispensation addresses the problems of ethnicity and self-determination, it is a waste of time and a recipe for discord.

In a federal or regional South Africa, whites will still be unable to rule themselves. Although the proposed regions appear to be demarcated along ethnic/national lines, whites will have nothing of their own and will be nothing more than economic vassals within all of the proposed regions.

The Conservative Party believes in economic interdependence and political independence, a system similar to the European Economic Community where trade and aid are interchangeable.

We cannot, however, subscribe to a policy where the central government has the real power and where regional autonomy is only as autonomous as the central administration permits.

This is not independence, and the growing unease in Europe about subsuming national political and monetary power to a central administration in Brussels is one of the reasons why the Maastricht Treaty could be a dead letter, as one British journalist put it.

Confederation of a commonwealth of independent sovereign states allows people to govern themselves while interacting with each other within the limits which each one of them has set.

In other words, a KwaZulu or a Bophuthatswana government within a South Africa conferation maintains control over its own budget, its schools, its culture, its security forces. If it so desires, it may — in conjunction with other nations in the region — decide to allow matters such as transport systems, economic concerns or foreign affairs to be handled by a central structure which would only function within the parameters allocated by the nation states within the conferation.

The fear of losing one's power base, of being swamped by another nation, of disappearing from the face of history, is perhaps the most important reason why the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and QwaQwa have withdrawn from negotiations with the government.

They see their sovereignty being taken away by virtue of the bilateral and prescriptive agreement recently signed by the ANC and the government, and they have done the most natural thing in the world.

They have retreated to their heartlands and have said they will defend their countries with all they have. The same sentiments are expressed by white patriots.

Add to this the relentless dishonesty displayed by the National Party over the past years (to their own voters as well as to other political forces) and we have a sure-fire recipe for conflict.

The government's regular capitulation to every ANC demand has not gone unnoticed in Ulundi, Mmabatho and Bisho, and Mr De Kerk's agreement with the ANC to allow a "democratically elected" constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution and serve as an interim partliament must have been the last straw for those who naively believe he would consult them about a future dispensation.

What must be done now? Every effort must be made to stop the NP/ANC/SACP alliance in its tracks. The De Klerk adminstration has not only deceived its own supporters but it has deceived those who went to Codesa with the mistaken idea that there really would be round-table discussions about the future of this country.

An alternative forum must be created as a substitute to the failed Codesa, a forum for those who value their heritage and who respect the traditions of others.

(304A) ARG 10/10/92

Another regionalism conference planned

HELEN GRANGE
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE government is planning a multi-lateral two-day conference on regionalism — to follow up on last month's regionalism conference in which the government proposed strong autonomy for regions with decentralised powers.

Announcing this at the opening of the Administrator's Conference in Pretoria, President De Klerk said the regionalism debate now needed top priority attention.

He said he hoped differences of opinion on other matters would not delay co-operation on this fundamental issue.

The government's position on regionalism — and that of a number of other parties including some under the ANC alliance — starkly contrasted the official policy of the ANC, which was still clinging to the idea of a strong centralised government with legislative powers over regions, he said.

Mr De Klerk said the government's view was that regional functions would have to be allocated in terms of the national constitution. The constitution would also have to prohibit the arbitrary withdrawal or amendment of regional functions without the express agreement of regional legislatures.

Regions would have to have the necessary financial, economic and fiscal infrastructure to perform their functions, but the government was in favour of inter-governmental transfers should a region be short of income.

Each "province" should have its own constitution, but it would have to adhere to a "certain basic framework", Mr De Klerk said.

The legislative authorities could function as single chambers known as the provincial assemblies. These bodies could also make provision for the representation of traditional leaders.

The members of the provincial assemblies could be elected on the basis of proportional representation.

Unlike the present single-member constituencies, future electoral districts could then function as multi-member districts and their borders could correspond geographically to development areas within regions.

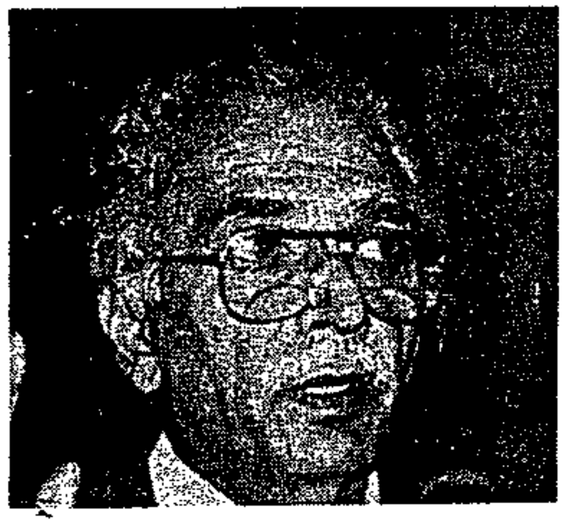
October 10 to October 14 1992

Democracy: the road to peace

South 10/10-14/10/92

POLITICAL leaders in the Western Cape agree that democracy is essential to peace and prosperity in South Africa.

But the road to democracy will be difficult and challenging



Mr Barney Desai, Pan Africanist Congress national publicity secretary:

Democracy means government by consent. If democracy is to be effective, it has to give all citizens an equal chance to influence the process of government. In this it needs grassroots participation in structures and the devolution of autonomous power to the regions. This will not be easy.

Mr Tony Yengeni, African National Congress regional secretary:

Democracy means that grassroots people — from squatters to factory workers and those in the rural areas — will have a say in the decision-making of the country.

All organisations, not only political ones, but trade unions and civics too, should be part of democratising the country. They should remain vibrant, independent organisations.

Ms Hilda Ndude, ANC Women's League national executive member:

My understanding of democracy entails the participation of everybody in whatever decision is taken and the agreement of at least the majority on that decision.

But the legacy of apartheid is that many people have had no experience of democracy. Teaching about the concept is therefore a vital but necessary challenge.

Dr Neville Alexander, chairperson of Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action:

Democracy is not simply the representation of people in parliament — it goes beyond the enjoyment of political, civil and legal rights by all people.

True empowerment extends to the economic, cultural and social spheres.

The only real guarantee of a democratic culture is an established and vibrant civil society comprising, among others, independent trade unions, civics and organisations for women, sport and churches.

WHAT IS DEMOCRACY? PART 1

The value of your vote

South 10/10 - 14/10/92 (3049)

DEMOCRACY is defined as "rule by the people". But in many countries, it is politicians who rule, not the people.

The development of nation states which cover vast territories has made it difficult to implement "rule by the people".

It has been substituted with representative democracy, where the people rule through their elected representatives.

Some forms of direct democracy still exist — as is the case when a government calls a referendum to test public opinion on an issue.

An example of this was South Africa's referendum in March on whether or not negotiations between the government and the ANC should continue.

But this was not democratic because only whites could vote.

In the modern world, most people rely on their political party or representative to make correct decisions on their behalf.

This is what makes the vote such a significant political right. It allows ordinary people a significant say in who should rule and what policies should prevail in the government of the day.

Because of this, it is important that people remain informed about the policies of political organisations so that on election day, they can make a choice which guarantees that their interests will be served by the party or person they voted for.

There are additional safeguards for the voter under a democratic form of government — the checks and balances built into the constitution of the land. These safeguards are aimed at preventing abuse of power.

The specific types of checks and balances are generally decided on in advance — when a constitution is adopted.

It is important that once a constitution is chosen for South Africa, people become aware of the precise limitations to the unilateral exercise of power that the government is allowed.

One consequence of the scale of democracy practised in the massive nation states of today is the greater political rifts encompassed with the widening of the boundaries of the state.

A much greater variety and complexity of political interest groups co-exist within the national boundaries.

Political rifts within a country can lead to political violence and intolerance depending on the type of political culture prevailing there.

The only antidote to disruptive political conflict is if all citizens and parties recognise the legal finality of free and fair election results.

Once citizens have voted and if they are convinced that the elections were free and fair, then it becomes their democratic duty to accept the legal authority of whichever party comes to power as a result.

In the context of the extreme political intolerance in South Africa at present, it is vital that all people prepare themselves in advance for the possibility that even if the party of their choice does not win the election, they are nevertheless bound to accept whichever party has been elected into power.

To fail to react this way would mean nullifying the power of the very vote for which black South Africans have been clamouring for decades.

An offshoot of constitutional democracy at governmental level has been the adoption of democratic principles and procedures at the level of non-governmental organisations such as trade unions, societies and clubs.

Democratic ideals have so greatly impressed human thought that very often modern families implement democratic type decision-making and consultation within the home.

Certain essential pre-conditions must exist in order for democracy to succeed. An important one of these is an independent media.

Once the government of the day owns or controls some of the media, the freedom of speech and objectivity of that media is inevitably compromised.

During election campaigns, all parties contesting elections rely heavily on favourable media coverage. Ordinary citizens are faced with a variety of parties clamouring for their votes. It is essential that citizens are able to rely on a relatively non-partisan media to keep them informed in as objective a manner as possible about each party and prominent politician.

In South Africa, the current state ownership of television means that during an election campaign, the present government would enjoy an unfair advantage over the other parties contesting the elections.

A basic principle of democracy is that government exercises as little control as possible over the media. The media should be allowed to play a watchdog role and assist the people in finding out when the government abuses its power.

Shining examples of the media playing such a role were the Watergate scandal in the United States which resulted in the toppling of the Nixon administration. Another example is the exposure of the My-Lai massacre perpetrated by American troops in Vietnam and which fuelled the growing resistance of ordinary citizens to the involvement of their government in the war.

In South Africa we had the Information scandal which brought the cabinet of then-prime minister BJ Vorster crashing down.

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Voteless protest but parliament pushes on

Special Correspondent

A HECTIC week in South African politics starts tomorrow when the focus shifts to parliament in Cape Town.

The special brief session, expected to last eight or nine days, will start tomorrow amid a mass demonstration at the parliament buildings in which an expected 20 000 supporters of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance will participate.

Alliance leaders will address the crowd in front of the entrance to Tuynhuys in Stalplein, the official office complex of the State President in Cape Town.

While the demonstration is in process, State President FW de Klerk will address the three houses of parliament on the present situation in the country.

He will then introduce a motion for a general political debate which will mainly revolve around the contentious issues of the negotiation process, the ongoing violence and distressing state of the economy.

A heated debate is expected. The debate, which will last for seven hours, will be continued on Monday evening and Tuesday afternoon.

Burning issues likely to be raised include the release of political prisoners; the anger of Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders about the agreement reached between the ANC and the government; mass action and the Bisho massacre.

The government has dropped its initial plan to submit legislation which will provide for a transitional government. This will stand over until next year's session of parliament.

The session, starting tomorrow, will be an historic occasion in the sense that members of the respective houses in parliament will for the first time not sit separately in the great hall.

A new seating plan has been drawn up to allow members of political parties to sit together and not as members of the different houses. This means the so-called coloured and Indian members of the National Party and of the Democratic Party will now sit with their respective white colleagues.

The new arrangement has caused the Conservative Party to lose its status of being the largest opposition party, because the new DP now has one member more than the CP.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Kiewa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

FW must face the hounds in Parliament

(304A)

S/Times 11/10/92

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk faces an acid test when he opens Parliament tomorrow. Only a commanding performance on his part will still mounting criticism, even from within his own ranks, of his leadership of the country.

The combination of endemic violence, a sustained economic downturn and his perceived capitulation to the ANC on prisoner releases has seen support for Mr De Klerk plummet among all voters.

At the same time grumbling among more conservative-minded members of his National Party caucus about the government's approach to negotiations has grown into outspoken criticism of his leadership.

Mr De Klerk's efforts to mollify these members will not have been made any easier by his "we are sorry" apology for apartheid on Friday night in Winburg.

While the apology has won approval in several quarters for Mr De Klerk, the coterie of rebels in his midst is likely to regard it as yet another "bended knee" response, in this case to calls for atonement for the past, at a time when what is required is strong leadership.

National Party conservatives say they are coming under increasing pressure from supporters who have grown disillusioned with the government.

They add that this disillusionment is being reflected in private polling by the party.

□□□

After criticism of his leadership by the NP Cape mouthpiece, Die Burger, Mr De Klerk responded at the party's Cape Congress this week with a "stop your nonsense" warning to the ANC.

However, the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance has ignored Mr De Klerk, and its "nonsense" planned for tomorrow includes a legally sanctioned march on Parliament and the renaming of Stal Plein outside the gates of the State President's Tuynhuys offices to Luthuli Square.

Mr De Klerk's original reason for calling the October sitting of Parliament was premised on the belief that negotiations would have reached an advanced stage.

It would have been possible, he believed, to introduce legislation to provide for the appointment of multi-party committees that would work in conjunction with the cabinet in overseeing key aspects of government before the holding of non-racial elections.

But because of the delay caused by first the ANC's and now Inkatha's boycott of talks, the legislation has been put on ice.

Instead, other measures necessary to expedite the demise of the much-flawed tricameral system are to be proceeded with.

While Parliament is sitting, the President's Council will meet on Wednesday to debate the report of its committee for constitutional affairs on a proportional-representation voting system for South Africa.

After Mr De Klerk opens Parliament tomorrow it is expected that a proposal will be made for a seven-hour general debate.

The most controversial piece of legislation to be discussed will be the Amnesty Bill, expected to set the parameters for amnesty to those who claim political motives for committing crimes.

MAN WITH NO PENSION WORRIES

President de Klerk: Smiling all the way to retirement

(304A)

S/Times 11/10/92.

By MIKE ROBERTSON

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK, his Cabinet and most members of Parliament have set themselves up to live like millionaires in the new South Africa — on pensions and gratuities which must be the envy of the man in the street.

By a supreme irony, it is the same Cabinet which will consider proposals made this week to slap a tax on pension contributions.

The Jacobs committee recommended that a third of an individual's and 20 percent of employers' pension contributions be taxed in future.

But the proposals would leave the Cabinet largely untouched. When, as expected, the majority of present parliamentarians lose office in the first non-racial elections, they will still be set for life.

The principal beneficiary of the lucrative pension rights is President De Klerk himself.

Like Britain's Queen Elizabeth, Mr De Klerk does not pay tax. Nor does he have to set aside part of his salary in pension fund contributions — like all other South Africans.

Escape

On retirement, Mr De Klerk is guaranteed by the constitution to receive a pension of R193 080 a year tax free — the same as his presidential salary. In other words, R16 090 a month or more than R500 a day.

His pension as well as those of his Ministers and MPs will be paid by taxpayers, because parliamentarians do not have a properly funded pension scheme.

Mr De Klerk is exempted from ever having to pay tax again by a little known section of the Income Tax Act which reads: "There shall be exempt from paying tax ... the salary and emoluments payable to the State President" and "any pension payable to any person or his surviving spouse by reason of such person having occupied the office of State President".

To illustrate just how generous Mr De Klerk's pension is, the Sunday Times sought the assistance of pensions experts.

They calculated that a senior company executive with 20 years' service — the period the President has spent in Parliament — would receive a pension of R96 000 a year, almost R100 000 less.

But the executive would have had to pay into his pension scheme for the full 20 years. Mr De Klerk had to make pension fund contributions for only 12 years — the maximum period required in Parliament.

The majority of Cabinet members are in the same position, having paid contributions for the maximum period. They, too, will escape the proposed taxing of pension contributions.

To receive a pension of R193 080 a year in the private sector, Mr De Klerk would have to invest R1 031 a month for 20 years in a retirement annuity.

Or he would have to invest more than R1,1-million in a participation mortgage bond — the highest interest-bearing investment one could make at the moment — to get an annual payment equivalent to his pension.

Democratic Party spokesman on pensions Brian Goodall pointed out that, had the parliamentarians' pension scheme been properly funded, the total cost to the taxpayer for Mr De Klerk's pension over a period of 20 years would have been R247 598.

But because it is not, taxpayers would end up paying some 15 times more.

Rules

Mr De Klerk will not receive a lump sum payment when he retires, but in terms of the parliamentarians' pension scheme he was entitled to receive a sum in excess of R300 000 when he retired as an MP and became State President just over three years ago.

It could not be established whether Mr De Klerk actually took advantage of this option.

The Jacobs committee this week made no new recommendations in regard to lump-sum payments.

This will be welcomed by Ministers, MPs and civil servants who, in terms of the present regulations, do not have to pay a cent in tax on the gratuities they receive upon retirement.

The Margo commission had earlier suggested that they be subject to the same rules as people in the pri-

□ To Page 2

Miss World scores a Trump

CELEBRITY JUDGE ... Ivana Trump, who will be at the Lost City for the Miss World contest

By STEPHANIE HULL

INTERNATIONAL celebrity Ivana Trump will be one of the judges in the Miss World contest at the Lost City on December 12.

Ivana, 43, a successful hotelier, public speaker and author, is best known for her highly publicised divorce from American casino magnate Donald Trump after he publicly jilted her for model Maria

visit to Africa.

"I hope to tour Soweto and other areas where Operation Hunger has projects and I will do anything I can to raise as much money as possible," she said.

The qualities she will look for in the next Miss World are "beauty, intelli-

FW's PENSION

S/Times 11/10/92 (304A)

□ From Page 1

vate sector, who are only entitled to receive a maximum tax-free lump-sum payment of R120 000.

As long as this discrepancy remains, Mr De Klerk's senior Ministers, Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers and Kobie Coetsee, will be guaranteed a minimum tax-free lump-sum payment of R512 676 when they retire.

Forestry Minister Magnus Malan and Dr Gerrit Viljoen, Minister Without Portfolio, will receive a minimum tax-free payment of R465 427.

All the above ministers will receive minimum pensions of R170 892.

They have all served, or are close to serving, the period of 12 years which the Parliamentarians Pension Act requires for them to receive a pension equivalent to their salary upon retirement.

But the parliamentary pension gravy train does not only richly reward long-serving ministers. The newcomers, too, are looked after.

For example, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Jacob de Villiers, an appointed MP who has never won an election and served for only three years in Parliament, will on his retirement receive a minimum lump-sum payment of R58 000 and a yearly pension of R6 241.

Examples

The gravy train extends beyond the Cabinet to other office-bearers such as white opposition leader Andries Treurnicht, but it is not possible to give examples of the payments they will receive because there is a quaint tradition in the House that their salaries, and those of ordinary MPs, are not divulged.

However, a Democratic Party MP told the Sunday Times the salary of an ordinary MP was about R120 000 a year. There are 23 office-bearers in Parliament, not ministers or deputies, who earn more than this.

More than half of the ordinary MPs (the total number is 308) have served more than the 7½ years which guarantees them a minimum pension of R60 000 a year and a gratuity of R120 000.

Maximum

Mr Goodall said that, had MPs' pensions been properly funded, they would have cost the taxpayer about R3,6-million a year or a total of R54-million over 15 years, the maximum period of pensionable service of an ordinary MP.

Instead, it had now been estimated that the total cost to the taxpayer of MPs' and ministers' pensions will be R840-million.

The ANC's economic head, Trevor Manuel, has called the pensions bonanza parliamentarians have secured for themselves "highly immoral" and said his organisation was in the process of re-assessing the entire system.

Mr Slovo tempts the Nats with their base desires

304A

S/Times 11/10/92

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- A so-called "sunset clause" that would guarantee cabinet portfolios to President De Klerk and his closest party colleagues for a fixed number of years in an ANC government;
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In return for pensions, jobs and forgiveness, the Nationalists are asked to yield power. Mr Slovo's price, however, is high and the main features of that price deserve careful examination:

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There will be no minority veto, whether by a second chamber or by any other device. The CMB will operate "democratically", presumably meaning it will take decisions by majority vote. The day it sits, the Nationalists will be emasculated.

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Thirdly, the boundaries, functions and powers of the regional governments, and indeed the whole question of federalism, must be determined by the CMB, where the Nationalists and the federalist Democratic Party will be outvoted, not by prior negotiations in which all parties have equal weight.

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To put it succinctly, if President De Klerk accepts Mr Slovo's offer, we shall quickly end up with a centrally controlled state, presiding over weak regional structures, and unfettered by constitution or by law in anything it chooses to do in the name of righting past inequalities. It will have the power not only to tax, confiscate, redistribute and nationalise the private wealth of the nation, but also to plan, manipulate, or command the economy.

The minorities — in particular, Afrikaners and Zulus — will find, on the very day of the election of the CMB, that they have lost all power to direct the future, or even to protect themselves.

Their representatives, fat with perks and promises of pensions, will sit without power in the cabinet, without power in the CMB, without power in the central government, and without power in the regional governments. After a while, they will be put out to pasture.

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KEN OWEN

No single road to a federal solution

Cpress 11/10/92.

304A

'Whatever works for you' seemed to be the conclusion on federalism, an Institute for Multi-Party Democracy delegation consisting of ANC, PAC, Azapo, Inkatha and NP representatives heard at a conference on the topic in Germany two weeks ago. Deputy Editor ZB MOLEFE, who was there, gives his impressions in this final article in a two-part series.

IT'S hung around with bad company, the Aborigines don't think it's very important, and some people don't think it exists at all!

It is federalism and – despite the criticisms – delegates from all over the world travelled the distance for an intense yak on the topic.

Most delegates, however, remained firm believers. Australian academic G Craven suggested that his country had probably the best federal system in the world.

This seemed to dovetail neatly with the views of Canadian academic GA Beaudouin, who urged: "We should look at federalism as an instrument for problem-solving. The question is: 'What is the (constitutional) problem you want to solve?' Federalism facilitates this."

It took Prof Craven 15 minutes to make his case about how Australia lives happily with federalism.

Craven said Australian federalism rested on three pillars.

One was the constitution which maintained a high standard of federalism and could not be easily changed.

The other was that Australians "think and feel federal". This was evident in the country's political parties and churches.

The third pillar was that the Australian State had strong feelings towards federalism. "This," said Craven, "is often misunderstood by Europeans. They don't know that our federalism is not based on ethnicity, but is culturally based."

So why had Australian federalism failed to solve or come to grips with its Aborigine problem? This question came from KwaZulu Finance minister and Inkatha central committee member Dennis Madide.

Cutting through the dignified atmosphere in the hall of the historic Leibnizhaus building (rebuilt after being bombed during the World War 2) Madide said: "We learn that Aborigines are a minority but they make up the majority of your prison population."

Responded Dr Craven: "In my country – with a 40 million population including 150 000 Aborigines – we are faced with the tragic circumstances of the Aborigines. They are scattered around the country. Federalism is not their prime concern at the moment, but I'll say it is not true that that most of them are in jail."

The conference changed complexion when Canadian academic Lloyd Brown-John said: "It is a word which is badly abused because it has hung around with bad company. The Soviet Union is an example of this bad company."

Prof Brown-John said it was imperative that there was a "symbiotic relationship between federalism and democracy".

He said Canada was a federal state moving towards a Switzerland-style federalism. But it was hampered in that it was mired in a 19th century constitution which was "a highly centralised document".

"What we have learnt about federalism in Canada," Brown-John observed, "is that in the modern State it is no longer sufficient for a dozen males to sit in a room and decide for others."

It was at this stage of the seminar that federalism revealed its many faces – a far cry from the single-mindedness of some pro-federalist views in SA!

US academic M Rosenfeld painted a different picture of how federalism worked in his country.

It was essentially a constitutional system that "protects citizens from the tyranny of the majorities" he pointed out.

The relationship between the federal government and the states had drastically changed over the last 200 years, said Prof Rosenfeld.

"In the past 15 years there has been a debate which has become intense, that the federal government extracts more tax than it gives to the states. But, ironically, the virtues and vices of our constitution gives the notion that federalism allows our states to be liberators (of the citizens)," he said.

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KEN OWEN

May I have the next dance, FW?

By QUINTON RHODES

There's a logic in the unusual shifting of political alliances, the most recent example being the meeting between Inkatha and the far right. Reporter QUINTON RHODES argues it's a case of strength in numbers.

THINK of a game of political musical chairs. South African politics has looked a lot like that recently.

When the music of the last round of talks stops, everybody sits in the closest chair. Then, in the political version of the game, you form an alliance with whoever happens to be sitting in the chairs closest to you.

Sometimes in the game you try to sit on more than one chair when the music stops. But whatever, the real fun of the game lies in hurling abuse at whoever happens to be sitting on the chairs not included in your alliance.

At least that is the way it has appeared to bewildered observers.

How else do you begin to understand the image of white racist CP leaders Andries Treurnicht and Ferdi Harzenberg embracing and kissing black homeland leaders at this week's Conference of Concerned South Africans? Or the burgeoning alliance between the far right AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo? Or the footsy-footsy being played between the government and the PAC? Or the sudden softening of the ANC's hardline position in relation to the government? Or for that matter the way State President FW de Klerk's major partner in federalist scheming and in political powerplays against the ANC – Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi – has now become his most implacable enemy?

In looking closely at the shifting of alliances, they are far from random.

In general they represent one of two things: either an acceptance in the wake of protracted deadlocks and restatements of ideological position, or the essentially reactive banding together of minor players seeking strength in numbers in the fight for their political lives.

Crucially, there was a moment of rapproachment between the government and the ANC which accompanied the Mandela/De Klerk summit of two weeks ago. De Klerk was forced to accede to ANC demands for a ban on dangerous weapons, an isolation of violence-prone hostels, and the long outstanding release of political prisoners.

The summit itself was crowned by a Record of Understanding, which appeared to signal a period of renewed rapid movement in the negotiations process.

This version of the negotiating process represents the fruition of a shift in ANC strategy – though of course it reverts to the mode of functioning in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur Minutes. It is equally significant that the international community has also been active in reinstating this interpretation of the settlement in SA as one essentially between the ANC and the government.

This follows a shift in blame which places Inkatha at the centre of the recent violence.

With Buthelezi effectively sidelined, the ANC went a step further at last week's NEC meeting, essentially modifying its earlier confrontational mass action-based tactics with regard to the homelands.

The NEC decided on – but did not publicly announce – a move to lock the homeland governments of Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana into a series of bilateral discussions aimed at securing a climate of free political activity for the ANC within the relevant areas. Mass action will only be used as a last resort.

Although the issue of SACP chairman Joe Slovo's so-called sunset clause calling for the guarantee of a period of power sharing has been publicly shelved in the face of NP nerves and Buthelezi's petulance, it is still being explored behind closed doors. It remains the most significant intervention of the immediate past.

Of course an incipient NP/ANC alliance is the worst of all nightmares for the lesser figures in South African politics. It would spell the demise of the homeland regimes and the end of big brother De Klerk's protection of the powers of their leaders.

The point is that none of the homeland leaders – and this includes Buthelezi – can afford a democratic political process.

The hidden agendas behind the federal alliance, which De Klerk was trying to put together before the Bisho massacre, were essentially aimed at avoiding open elections and maintaining the homelands status quo.

Particularly at risk here was Buthelezi's power base in KwaZulu. The nod-and-wink agreement embodied within the federal alliance was that, by careful manoeuvring, he would be guaranteed at least the northern areas of Natal.

But with the signing of the Record of Agreement, all that slipped away, not only because the government was begining to pursue different relationships at his expense, but also because his militarist trump cards – traditional weapons and the hostel armies – were taken away.

The government pulled the carpet out from under Bop's feet too by endorsing in the Record of Understanding the ANC's right to free political activity in the homelands.

Hence Bop's hardline rejection of the Record of Understanding, the Goldstone report's similar insistence on free political activity, and its threats of force against mooted mass action.

Ciskei was presented with a special problem.

With the continuing insistence by Mandela that Bisho should again be targeted for the ANC's next show of popular force, Gqozo knows its defence force simply cannot afford to react the way it did on September 7.

However, homeland hardliners received some respite when NP leadership had to face the Cape Congress in East London this week.

The overwhelming message they delivered was one of anger against the ANC.

There is also real anger growing against the ANC for failing, as De Klerk sees it, to honour written and unwritten undertakings which came out of the summit.

First among these is the agreement that the ANC would "review" its mass-action campaign – which it has done only to the extent that certain protests have been scaled down and others deferred.

There is also the question of a general amnesty for State-connected political criminals, which individual members of the ANC promised would be endorsed as a quid-pro-quo for releasing political prisoners. It has since become clear that the ANC has no intention of supporting legislation De Klerk will be passing through parliament this month in an attempt to close the book on the past, thus avoiding further inquiry into State crimes which would certainly reach cabinet level.

In the end the homelands, fabrications of the more deranged fantasies of apartheid that they are, cannot survive without the support of De Klerk. He in turn has no alternative but to pursue bilateral talks with the ANC.

STAR 12/10/92

Special session seen as futile

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Parliament meets today for a special session which political commentators believe to be unnecessary. (30 LA)

In the absence of any substantial legislation to usher in transitional government, President de Klerk is expected to use the session as a convenient platform for a strong attack on the Right and Left.

De Klerk called the session in June, intending to approve legislation to implement interim government. But none has been agreed to in negotiations. Instead, the 10-day session will be devoted to peripheral legislation.

A necessary step or a curb to transition?

(304A) CT 12/10/92

The constitutional and legislative committee of the Black Sash questions the purpose of the short session of Parliament.

WHEN the special short session of Parliament was announced by the State President several months ago, the indications were that its purpose would be to deal with any legislation needed to set the framework for an interim government and the establishment of a constituent assembly.

Such legislation may yet be forthcoming, but so far very little has been published. This has not been surprising in the light of the long period of stalemate in negotiations, but it is now a matter of urgency.

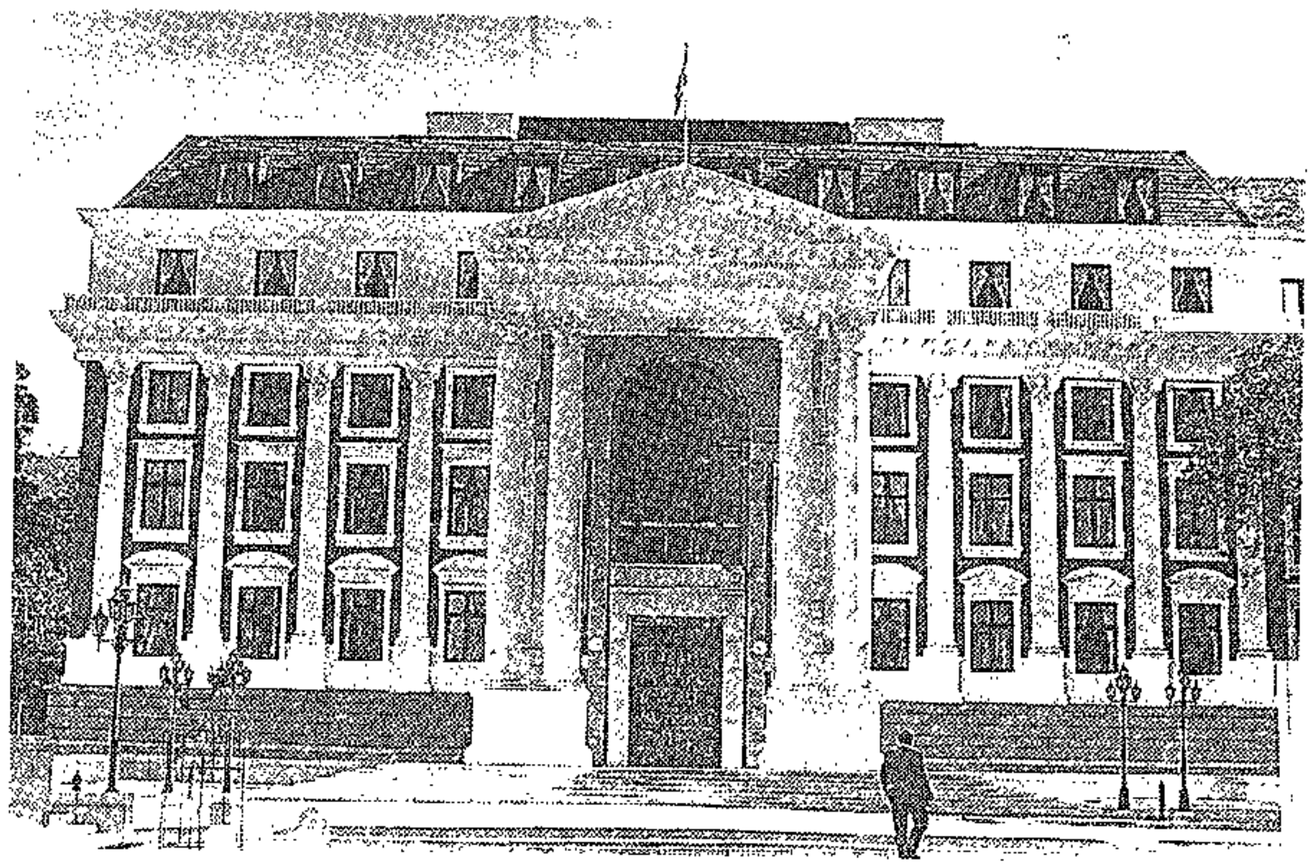
Government spokesmen have made statements about other legislation being prepared by their various departments. The State President, for example, spoke of the phasing out of "own affairs" (and we have seen this translated into a Bill) and also of proposed protections for the rights of women.

Controversial

There is a new draft of the Public Service Labour Relations Bill which, it is said, might be enacted this session. Plans are being made to change the gambling laws. The Director of Fund-Raising has circulated a memorandum seeking a response to suggestions for changes to existing regulations which would have far-reaching effects.

We may safely expect proposals concerning provisions for an amnesty and that they will be controversial.

Government departments have been preparing legislation, but until recently nothing has been available for public scrutiny. This raises serious questions about what the government's role should be in this transition period, and also about its intentions.



FINAL SESSION . . . is this special sitting meant to pave the way for peaceful transition?

The government's stated commitment to a process of change leading to democratic decision-making should surely mean that its present role should be limited to such legislation as may be necessary for the continuing management of the country (eg budget appropriations) and to measures repealing apartheid laws or introducing the procedures for taking forward the transition process.

Instead, we are concerned legislation with important implications for the future is being rushed through Parliament at a rate which prevents proper study or intervention. During the past session of Parliament (February-June 1992) 142 Acts were passed, of these 35 were concluded on June 18 and 19, and others a week earlier on June 11. Of these, 19 were tabled only in June, and most of the rest late in May.

Discussion

It may not be unusual in the end-of-session rush to finalise a number of statutes, but the short period which elapses between first sight of a Bill and its enactment does not allow much possibility of public debate.

Furthermore, even in Parliament itself, much of the discussion takes place behind closed doors in the committees of the three Houses, and there is little discussion on the open floor.

The legislation which was passed, far from being the bare necessities, included measures which have far-reaching implications, and even some which continued the imposition of apartheid provisions.

Most of the legislation did not fall in the category of either eliminating outdated apartheid practice or of establishing the necessary conditions for introducing a new constitution.

Furthermore, once a new government assumes office, it may find it burdensome or even impossible to reverse some of these decisions.

Pensions

There has been a discernible trend towards shoring up the status quo and protecting the privileges of those who are in control at present. This extends beyond legislation into the area of regulations and administration.

● *Pensions.* Not only done by the very office-bearers and bureaucrats most likely to benefit.

● *Land.*

It is incumbent on the government to act with the greatest circumspection in this area, and the White Paper on Land Reform published last year indicates an awareness of this. One of its provisions was that no more land should be incorporated into the homelands.

In spite of this it appears three million hectares of state land were transferred to the six self-governing homelands in March, and a few weeks ago the government was revealed to be about to place some 600 000 hectares under the KwaZulu administration, and another 600 000 under the administration of other homelands.

A distinction was drawn between "incorporation" and this transfer of "administration", but the storm of protest showed that it was equally unacceptable, and no transfer has as yet taken place. In July, 6 000 hectares of public land were sold to white farmers, even though state officials knew black former occupiers had lodged claims with the Advisory Commission on Land.

Local

These episodes demonstrate that while negotiations have been stalled, the ruling party holds the ability to take action which has an impact not only on the future, but even on the negotiation process itself, since the transfer of land can be seen as a form of patronage.

● *Local Authorities.* The Interim Measures on Local Government Act (1991) is being implemented with considerable haste, and the Minister of Local Government, Mr Leon Wessels, has said that white city councils may be penalised if they have not formed joint administrations with black townships by January 1993.

This too has been seen

are pensions still governed by apartheid rules, both in the amounts paid to different population groups and in their administration, but we are seeing provisions being made for civil servants to take early retirement and to draw pension benefits from the age of 50 after 10 years' service.

The subject of pensions has been made particularly sensitive by the proposals revealed in August concerning increased safeguards and benefits for political office-bearers — proposals which were soon scotched but which served to alert the public to the kind of thinking ahead that was being as a unilateral attempt to restructure forms of government in advance of the national negotiating process.

Opposition from the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has largely been ignored, and many local authorities have already formed joint bodies simply by merging white councils with Black Local Authorities, which are not seen by the people themselves as representative and which have been a source of conflict ever since they were introduced.

Dismantling

Quite apart from the problem of legislation which goes beyond the immediate needs of the country in this interim phase, there is the question of legislation which ought to be drawn up and enacted as soon as possible, but which does not appear to be receiving attention.

The Joint Administration of Own Affairs Bill which has just been published, and which is aimed at merging "own affairs" departments, may be a step forward, but what is really required is the complete dismantling of the racially defined departments, especially those which deal with education and health and welfare (there are at present 19 education departments and 17 welfare divisions, including those of the TBVC states).

The Bill will need careful study. The objective should be to enable the same quality of service to be provided to all citizens, and to remove discrimination on the basis of race classification. Economic considerations clearly indicate that savings in government expenditure must be pursued, but the focus should be on eliminating wasteful duplication.

There can be no doubt that this short session of Parliament must be the subject of the most serious attention. If it is to pave the way for a smoother transition to a new constitution then it is to be welcomed. If, however, legislation is to be pushed through which will hinder the proper construction of a more equable and democratic society, then it must be regarded with the gravest misgivings.

12/10/92

(3044)

SOWETAN Monday October 12 1992

/ found slain

PAC, Govt to meet in Botswana

304A

Sowetan 12/10/92.

■ **Summit will be neutral:**

A HIGH-powered meeting between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress will take place in Botswana on October 23 and 24.

The meeting was announced in a joint statement to *Sapa* by the Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim.

Government will be represented by senior Cabinet members and the PAC by senior members of its national executive committee.

The Government's delegation is likely to be led by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

Deputy president of the PAC, Mr Dikgang Moseneke, might lead its delegation.

The Gaborone summit will be the culmination of "talks-about-talks" encounters, which began in August.

While the PAC considers the summit a victory for its demand that the Government meets with them at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, the Government's ultimate aim is to draw the organisation to a multiparty conference table, hopefully Codesa 3.

The Gaborone meeting is expected to formalise a future summit meeting between De Klerk and PAC head Clarence Makwethu.

Illegitimacy' focus of march

(304A) Sowetan 12/10/92

Tuynhuys rally will be addressed by Ramaphosa, Slovo:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

MEMBERS of Parliament aligned to the ANC will join thousands of people in a march on the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town today to protest the statutory exclusion of black people from central Government.

An expected 25 000 people will assemble on Cape Town's Grand Parade by mid-morning and proceed towards Parliament where they will sit for an hour.

The march and protest sit-in will be followed by a rally at the front entrance to Tuynhuys - the office of the State President - which will be addressed by the ANC's secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and South African Communist Party chairman, Mr Joe Slovo.

The march will coincide with the opening of an extraordinary Parliamentary session, called by State President FW de Klerk earlier this year.

De Klerk initially called the session to pass legislation drafted by Codesa and in negotiation forums.

A spokesman for the ANC's Western Cape Region, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said yesterday that the march will focus on "the illegitimacy" of the white controlled Parliament and Government's continued (unilateral) legislative process.

"The only path left for this Parliament is to pass legislation necessary to phase itself out and to implement negotiated aspects thereof," Hofmeyr said.

Independent MPs who are members of the ANC are expected to join the march.

Mr Pierre Cronje and Mr Robert Haswell, two MPs who joined the ANC earlier this year, confirmed yesterday that they would march.

ANC's R200m campaign

DIRK HARTFORD

THE ANC is considering raising between R200m and R300m locally and internationally for its election campaign — and it is suggesting government establish an electoral fund from which parties could claim on the basis of votes received.

The R200m figure is based on an estimated 20-million voters at R10 a voter. B/DAY 12/10/92

The NP and DP are reportedly aiming to raise R50m and R15m respectively for their campaigns.

The ANC's framework for an election strategy was thrashed out at a weekend workshop with its allies two weeks ago.

It envisages placing 15 000 full-time campaigners in the field in the month leading up to the election.

The ANC's strategy is to lead an alliance including the SACP, Cosatu and other political organisations and individuals, who would be brought on board following bilateral discussions.

All will campaign under the ANC banner and symbols. Candidates, even if from other organisations, will stand under the ANC banner on the ANC's election list. 304A

The meeting rejected the ANC campaigning alone, or with its alliance partners, or with patriotic front members.

It believes it could win 68% of the black vote, 20% of coloureds, 30% of Indians and 3% of whites based on a 100% poll.

It argues for special approaches towards the white, coloured and Indian constituencies as well as targeting groups such as sports, church and cultural bodies.

Popo Molefe, a former UDF leader and ANC NEC member, is chairing the team managing the ANC's election strategy.

Cohen in SA on official visit

JOHANNESBURG. — Deputy Secretary of State for African Affairs Mr Herman Cohen is on an official visit to South Africa, the United States Embassy confirmed today.

Mr Cohen was scheduled to meet African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela at the organisation's head office in Johannesburg today. ARG 13/10/92

He is also expected to meet senior government officials. — Sapa (304A)

Diplomatic coup for SA in Riyadh

PETER DELMAR

BAHRAIN — Foreign Minister Pik Botha will visit Saudi Arabia next month in SA's biggest diplomatic breakthrough in the Middle East.

The visit is expected to pave the way for the establishment of an SA representative office in the capital, Riyadh.

News of Botha's visit comes after the successful SA trade exhibition in Dubai, United Arab Emirates (UAE).

Deputy Trade and Industry Minister David Graaff — who opened the exhibition last week — said SA also planned to open representative offices in Bahrain and Dubai, the two leading distribution centres in the Gulf. B/Day 12/10/92

It is believed Foreign Affairs is keen on establishing a Saudi office first because it is the region's most politically influential state and biggest market.

Because of Arab League sanctions, likely to be dropped only once an interim government is installed in SA, an official diplomatic presence in the Arab states is not being considered yet.

Virtually all exhibitors at the Dubai trade fair expressed their satisfaction with the four-day show which ended on Friday. In one breakthrough, Cape Town-based Protackle clinched a deal to supply inflatable boats for coastal patrol duties.

☐ Meanwhile, Arab carrier Gulf Air has confirmed it will start flights to Johannesburg in December. The flights will be direct from the UAE capital of Abu Dhabi.

A yearning for the peaceful days of white tyranny

B/Day 12/10/92 (304A)

PEREGRINE WORSTHORNE in London

THE road to hell is paved with good intentions. Seldom can there have been a period so full of examples to illustrate this truth as this one. European unity was a great ideal. Those who inspired the European movement after the last war certainly had the best of intentions. But where will it all end? Perhaps not in hell. But on present showing certainly not where it was meant to. It was meant to bring peace between the European nations.

Never again, for example, would the German ambassador have to be angrily summoned to the Foreign Office or the German chancellor and the British prime minister have to exchange bitter recriminations in public.

Unfortunately, the bad old days are returning. One can see it in our leaders' furtive, frightened faces. By their fruits shall ye know them. What are the fruits today of the European movement? Not so much peace and plenty as suspicion, deception and confusion. Far from the road to European unity leading to the end of nationalism, it is now leading fast and furiously to its revival.

South Africa is another case in point. If a bloody civil war breaks out there, one wonders whether Bishop Trevor Huddleston, say, and the other campaigners for civil rights will accept any responsibility for this dreadful outcome.

At one level there is no reason why they should. Their intentions were of the purest. They simply wanted to put an end to white tyranny. But as that goal is about to be achieved, and one looks beyond it, a truly hellish prospect looms up. Just as one never expected to see a German ambassador angrily summoned to the Foreign Office again, so one never expected to see the Zulu tribe seriously preparing for war again.

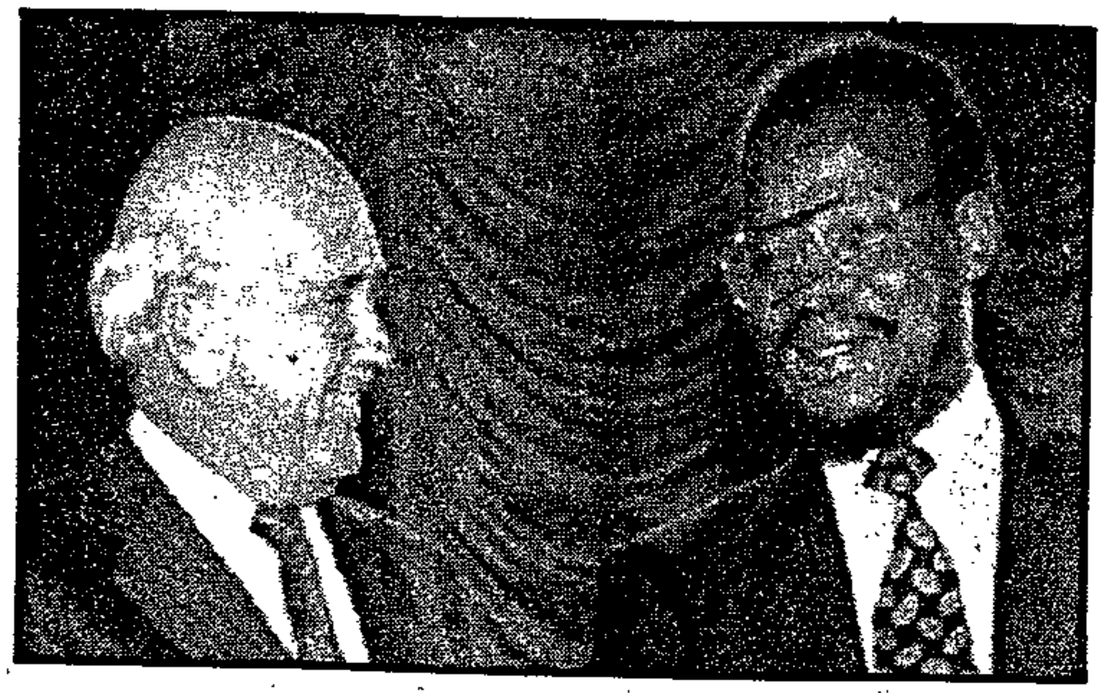
SA could go the way of Yugoslavia. If it does the cameras of the world will be recording such scenes of savagery as to make the Sarajevo killings look quite civilised. All this was predictable, as were the dire consequences of a premature rush towards European unity. Idealists, however, never listen to wiser counsel; only to the dictates of their own consciences.

White tyranny, however discriminatory and cruel, was not the worst fate that could befall the SA blacks, any more than Tito's communist dictatorship was the worst fate that could befall the peoples of Yugoslavia. Leave ill alone does not sound a very humanitarian thing to do, but often it can save lives. Not that in SA there is any chance of going back to the relatively peaceful days of white tyranny. The reformers have seen to that, God bless them.

With every step towards majority rule, the number of blacks killed increases. Not nearly as many blacks died in the heyday of apartheid as now die during its decline and fall. At least under white tyranny the economy improved, from which blacks benefited. It is not improving now and, realistically speaking, has no chance of improving in the foreseeable future. By their fruits shall ye know them. What are the fruits of black majority rule likely to be in SA? Not so much peace and plenty as civil war and famine.

Realistically speaking, the only stable multiracial future for SA would be under a condominium of the two militarily strongest tribes — the Boers and the Zulus. President F W de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi should make common cause. If there were to be a civil war, those tribes would certainly win it.

So what stops them imposing their joint rule now, before a bloody conflict, rather than after? Huddleston stops them. Such a move would run up against the conscience of the West. The conscience of the West demands one man one vote majority rule and nothing else — even if this does mean reducing the country to a desert. In effect, the conscience of the West will not be satisfied until the ANC rules SA. Only then will the UN be allowed to give its blessing.



Joint Boer-Zulu rule — SA's best hope?

Once again the best is allowed to be the enemy of the good, or at any rate the least bad. A Boer-Zulu condominium would not be a model democracy. Human rights would not be guaranteed. But at least apartheid would have been completely destroyed without this leading to such a degree of chaos and disorder as to reduce the economy to ashes. A Boer-Zulu hegemony would not be the best of all possible worlds. But it would certainly not be the worst.

Yet where would we be without the idealists? Clearly they are a necessary evil. If everyone was as clear-headed about the consequences of trying to do good as are died-in-the-wool cynics like myself, then that would be no good either. Too little optimism is as corrupting of judgment as too much.

In any case, nobody is consistently cynical. I was certainly not cynical about the consequences of overthrowing communism in the Soviet Union and eastern Europe. Such doubts as one had were suppressed. Sufficient to cross those rivers of blood when we came to them.

Famine could easily break out this winter in Russia, leading to bloody civil conflict, and if it does I hope we Cold War warriors, while not accepting blame, will at least not be too disappointed if communist totalitarianism ends up by being replaced by military rule rather than democracy. Half a loaf is better than no loaf. After all, simply getting rid of communist totalitarianism should be more than enough.

Which springs us back to Europe. When will the Euro-idealists realise that in greedily reaching out for the whole loaf of monetary and political union they are in danger of losing the half loaf, or three-quarters of a loaf, that is already in the oven? In none of the main EC countries is there the necessarily wholehearted consent of the people to justify further unification. If it comes it will have to be imposed from above, and anything of this order imposed from above will eventually be destroyed from below. Even the American union came near to being destroyed by one of the bloodiest civil wars in history.

Cannot idealists have second thoughts or, better still, first doubts? In the past 40 years staggering progress was made in burying European hatchets. Not once was there an occasion in these years when a German ambassador had to be angrily summoned to the Foreign Office. Not once did the (bad) blood pressure of the European body politic have to rise so high. Cannot idealists ever leave well alone?

All the old warning signs are beginning to blink. Why are the European leaders not heeding them? From where comes the momentum that seems to be driving them blindly forward? Misplaced idealism would appear to be the answer.

O liberty! what crimes are committed in thy name! cried Madame Roland. Must unity, too, soon earn itself a criminal record? — Sunday Telegraph.

This diplomat is no mere glorified head waiter

B/Day 12/10/92. (304A)

TIM COHEN

FILM star Peter Ustinov once said that a modern diplomat was nothing but a head waiter who was allowed to sit down occasionally.

It's hard to think of a more inappropriate description of SA's new senior non-political diplomat, Rusty Evans, who took over as Foreign Affairs director-general at the beginning of this month.

Evans emerged from a school of diplomatic practice in which the aim was to get things done, rather than to be a quasi-observer of foreign events.

While holding the post of deputy-director for Africa, Evans set a goal that was considered almost impossible at the time: ensure that SA's new acceptability in Africa found concrete expression.

Through direct contact with African leaders and frenetic efforts, the door that African leaders opened a crack was prized open further, and SA's role in Africa is now widely considered pivotal.

His energy is reflected in the fact that, at times, his own department was not sure which African coutry he was visiting.

Evans's success in Africa had a lot to do with blind luck: President F W de Klerk's February 2 speech made possible what was impossible before. Almost at the same time, Europe began to lose interest in Africa as eastern Europe competed for European leaders' attentions.

In addition, SA's role in the Namibian independence process, widely regarded as positive, laid a solid foundation for the development of the country's relations with Africa.

But the existence of an opportunity and an achievement are two different things. The peculiar sight of African leaders adopting a non-confrontational stance towards SA at the UN is, to an extent, the fruit of his efforts. The notion that SA's destiny lies in Africa has become generally accepted, he says, indicating that it has been necessary to change some minds at home.

He was deeply involved in the development of a policy of prioritising certain African countries which were considered of particular importance because of their economic strength and positions on the continent. The countries were Egypt, Nigeria, Kenya and Morocco.

The policy was subsequently taken up by Nigerian president Ibrahim Babangida, who suggested that these countries, including SA, might become "focus points" within their regions, with benefits flowing outward from these points.

The idea was not received with enthusiasm by smaller countries because they felt threatened by the idea of "power points".

But it was a tribute to Evans that the idea was supported by Babangida, one of Africa's most prominent leaders. He was quoted as saying that there was not a single OAU member country with which SA did not trade.

In his last portfolio before becoming director-general — deputy director-general for overseas affairs — Evans brought another novel position to the fore: a focus on the Far East, eastern Europe and Russia as major areas for SA involvement.

The West's commitment to SA had probably reached a ceiling and was more likely to decline than increase. It took a back-seat to dynamic areas of the world which were also making a new starts. The result of these two developments was that SA trade with Africa and the Far East emerged as the major growth points in an otherwise gloomy economic scenario.

The past three years have seen a fundamental reorientation in SA's posture towards international affairs, he says. SA's main traditional relationships, with Britain and the US, although important, no longer enjoy the priority they did in the past. SA's main trading partners are the EC and the Far East, and our main potential trading partner happens to be Africa, he says.

Evans is unusual in another way. Of remote Welsh descent, he is one of the few English speakers in an Afrikaans-dominated bureaucracy. When he joined the department in 1966 he could not speak a word of Afrikaans. However, after postings in Brazil, Washington and London, (and marrying an Afrikaans woman) he is now fluent.

Whereas his predecessor, Neil van Heerden, has been philosophical and always diplomatic, Evans is more pragmatic. He enjoys politics and the pursuit of political relations. He admits frankly that he will not enjoy the large amount of administration involved in his new job.

The man who is credited with coining the term "veldskoen diplomat" is not armed with traditional diplomatic tools: rigid protocol, patience and finesse — probably the strongest assets of his predecessor.

He points out in his defence that the nature of diplomacy is changing worldwide (although this is probably wishful thinking).

"Old world diplomacy is totally ineffectual," he says tartly. "Why send aide memoirs in the diplomatic bag when you can send a fax?"

Evans comes from a strict Catholic background. He spent four years in a seminary after leaving school.

He divorced his first wife, Kathleen, with whom he had four children, and married Gerda, a Foreign Affairs staffer from a conservative background.

With an interim government just around the corner, there is a possibility that his term in his current job will be short, but Evans's reaction is typically offhand. "I regard myself as dispensable to government, whatever government that is.

"I will continue to place my services at the disposal of the government of the day," he says.

Like Van Heerden, the government of the day might find he has talents and support in unusual areas which cannot be disposed of lightly.

focus on Parliament

Sowetan 12/10/92. (304A)

The opening of the special session of Parliament in Cape Town has been branded a waste of money. If there had to be a session, it would have been better if Cabinet started preparing voters for a constituent assembly, reports **ISMAIL LAGARDIEN.**

PARLIAMENT opens today with less pomp and ceremony than usual - even by State President FW de Klerk's standards.

The reasons for the almost subdued - more like the mere creak of a door - opening of the country's legislature are multi-fold, and are rooted in everything from stubborn obduracy to futility.

The two-week parliamentary session which runs through next week, was initially planned to push through legislation which was to have resulted in the creation of a network of transitional executive councils (TEC) and their respective departments.

However, after Codesa's second plenary session on May 15 this year failed to ratify agreements which would have resulted in the appointment of these TEC's, these two weeks in Parliament were "a waste of time and money".

Mr Ken Andrew, the Democratic Party's spokesman on the Budget, yesterday explained that the market cost of flying Members of Parliament, their wives and a handful of civil servants to Cape Town could amount to as much as R2 million.

While this did not impact seriously on a budget of R100 million, one must be careful not to waste such an amount of money when there are people starving in the country, Andrew said.

"It was very wise, and made good sense, to set aside the time for Parliament to meet (now) to ratify, through legislation, the products of Codesa.

"But after it became obvious that there was not going to be any agreement, the sensibile thing to do was to call off the session (of Parliament)," he said.

De Klerk's obduracy to continue with the present session is perhaps firmly rooted in his tendency not to listen to his opponents in and outside Parliament.

The ANC has said that any legislation that is passed, and which impacts on the transition or which attempts to approach the contentious issue of an amnesty or indemnity for State officials unilaterally, would be deemed "null and void".

The Amnesty Bill is expected to be tabled early this week, possibly tomorrow.

The ANC, selectively, however, has made little to no objections about the other legislation which is expected to come before Parliament over the next two weeks.

Besides, then, the amnesty or indemnity legislation, three pieces of legislation that will come before Parliament are of particular significance in terms of the unfolding political debate in the country - only one of which has anything to do with the transition, as it were.

The one will propose to rationalise Own Affairs structures (but not quite the bedrock) of the tricameral Parliament.

There will not be much pomp and ceremony at the opening of Parliament.

In simpler terms, the legislation would enable the State President to amalgamate certain (multiplicated) departments of Government into a single one, but does not get rid of the "coloured" and Indian Houses or Minister's Councils.

The second will effectively freeze all by-elections to Parliament. The upshot of this "freeze" will be that when the need for a by-election does arise, the last party to hold that seat will be able to nominate a candidate.

This basically means that the ruling National Party will not have to fight the Conservative Party in a by-election again - lest it loses.

These two pieces are the most positive signal, yet, that the tricameral Parliament's seams are coming apart.

The most significant piece of legislation - in terms of the transition - that is expected before Parliament over the next two weeks, will be that which will enable the State President to appoint black people to the Cabinet.

While the possible appointees will presumably be nominated by Codesa or a similar multiparty conference, the second part of the legislation is aimed primarily at avoiding having Minister of Finance Mr Derek Keys entering a by-election to become an MP.

In terms of existing laws, any person appointed to the Cabinet has to become an MP within one year - Keys was appointed to the Cabinet earlier this year.

The Government could also prepare legislation for the re-arrest of Lucky Malaza, and the release of whatever political prisoners there may still be.

After the two-week session, then, there will be few technical and legal issues that have cluttered the Government's desk - such as the simmering issue of "hard gambling".

But the issues that clutter the route to a democratic settlement have not been cleared.

IFP and government may meet this week

Political Staff (304A)

THE government and the Inkatha Freedom Party are expected to meet this week in an effort to patch up the quarrel which led to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi pulling out of negotiations.

ARG 12/10/92

And the government and the PAC are to meet in Gaborone, Botswana, on October 23 and 24 for a meeting which could see the PAC entering formal negotiations for the first time.

As a result of these hopeful developments, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday expressed the hope that Codesa-style multi-party negotiations could resume by November.

He said that the IFP — and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments — asked for a meeting with the government last week.

Although no date had been set, delegations of the Soutxh African government on the one side and the three homeland governments on the other were likely to meet later this week.

The three homelands met the Conservative Party recently to form a joint opposition to what they regarded as exclusive bilateral negotiation agreements between the government and the ANC.

They were angered by the September 26 Record of Understanding signed by the government and the ANC for the release of political prisoners, a ban on the public carrying of weapons and measures to guard hostels.

Mr Meyer said if the government meetings between the PAC and homeland leaders succeeded, multilateral negotiations could resume by November.

These would not necessarily be in the same form as Codesa or have the same name. They could be expanded to include the PAC and rightwing groups such as the Afrikaner Volksunie, which recently broke away from the CP.

Government sources said the government was ready to agree to the PAC's demand for a meeting outside South Africa to help the organisation out of the corner it had painted itself into.

The PAC has insisted all along that it will meet the government only at a "neutral" (foreign) venue.

The government hopes that after the first meeting outside South Africa, the PAC will be prepared to meet again inside the country.

ıfrikaner ıome idea doomed'

)HANNESBURG. — tempts by the Conser- tive Party and the frikaner Volksunie VU) to establish their vn Afrikaner home- nds were doomed be- use there was no re- on in the whole of outh Africa which ould boast a white ma- rity, said Boerestaat arty leader Mr Robert ın Tonder at a Kruger ay rally at the week- nd.

And in Krugersdorp ı Saturday the leader f the Conservative arty, Dr Andries Treun- ht, warned the day ould come when the frikaner would have no ther choice but to de- lare war. CT 12/10/92

Addressing a crowd of 000 at the Paardekraal ıonument, Dr Treur- icht said the CP reject- d domination by the eaders of others. — apa (304A)

Policemen wounded by robbers

JOHANNESBURG. — Two policemen were critically wounded and another received slight injuries yesterday after robbers held up a supermarket in Lenasia.

The robbers entered the supermarket, held up the owner and stole cash and goods.

As they fled, they fired at policemen in a vehicle on the Soweto highway, critically wounding two and slightly injuring a third.

Police asked the public to be on the lookout for a BMW with a Bloemfontein number, and said the occupants were heavily armed and extremely dangerous.

● An assistant constable was wounded by a gunman firing an AK-47 from a car on the Golden Highway about 8am yesterday. Police said Constable R Farret was taken to hospital. — Sapa

Buthelezi: 'No right-wing alliance'

CT 12/10/92

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Chief Minister of KwaZulu and president of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, has denied that last week's talks between members of the Conservative Party and the Volksunie Party as well as certain black leaders, represented an "alliance with right-wing parties".

He was addressing a crowd of about 7 000 members and observers at the Inkatha Women's Brigade's annual conference at Ulundi, drawn from 1 000 branches of the party throughout the country.

"It is amazing that both the Afrikaans press and the English press have tried to portray that picture," he said.

"The only white political parties that were represented at the meeting were the CP and the Volksunie Party.

"Political parties and governments that were represented included the Bophuthatswana government, with a government delegation led by President Mangope, the Ciskei government led by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, the delegation of the Ximoko Party of Gazankulu led by Chief Nxumalo, Mr Ismail representing the National People's Party, and the IFP led by myself," Chief Buthelezi said.

The IFP president said the time was now ripe to get a multi-party conference of review off the ground.

He called for uMkhonto weSizwe, the military wing of the ANC, to be disbanded, negotiations to be put back on track and mass action to be suspended, and said marches against capitals to topple governments had to be abandoned.

Hope for resumed talks

CT 12/10/92

Political Staff

CHIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi could meet President F W de Klerk as early as this week to discuss issues that have driven a wedge between Inkatha and the government.

And there is optimism in government circles that multi-party negotiations could resume by the end of next month.

Plans are under way for a meeting between Mr De Klerk and a delegation from last week's Conference of Concerned South Africans, which was attended by Chief Buthelezi, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday the meeting would probably be while Mr De Klerk is in Cape Town for the short session of Parliament.

Its delegation will probably include Chief Buthelezi and possibly Brigadier Gqozo and Dr Mangope.

SHOW OF STRENGTH . . . IFP members with their weapons inside the gates of a workers' hostel in Thokoza yesterday. There was tension after an ANC march passed the Zulu hostel on the way to a rally. Picture: AP

Top ANC man gunned down

CT 12/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Senior ANC official Mr Prince Mhlambi was one of three men killed when gunmen riddled the victims' car with bullets at the weekend.

Two others were injured in the incident, which police said took place in Mapanga Section, Katlehong. Witnesses, however, said the shooting took place in Thokoza.

Police spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Dave Bruce could not confirm Mr Mhlambi's death.

The two wounded men were treated at Natalspruit Hospital. The names of the dead have been withheld pending identification.

According to witnesses, the four youths in the car with Mr Mhlambi when the attack occurred were all members of a local football club.

In other unrest, a grenade was thrown through a window of the Diepkloof police station in Soweto yesterday, wrecking a toilet. No-one was injured.

At Bridgeton, near Oudtshoorn, a policeman sustained injuries when a group threw stones at police vehicles.

At Alexandra a man was stabbed, and in Katlehong a man was necklaced. — Sapa

FW will try to win confidence

(304A) CT 12/10/92

Political Staff

WHEN President F W de Klerk addresses Parliament today he will try to restore confidence in the negotiation process and demonstrate to jittery Nationalists and business people that he has not lost his nerve.

In the face of mounting economic pressures, mass action by the ANC alliance and increasing criticisms about the cost and purpose of the 10-day short session of Parliament, Mr De Klerk will want to show that his government remains firmly in control.

As he affirmed at last week's Cape congress of the National Party, he is convinced he is on the right path, and he will fight off criticisms of the government's role in negotiations.

Mr De Klerk wants it to be seen that he is effectively leading the country to the new South Africa and that he is on the most sensible course towards transition.

The government hopes the session will consolidate parliamentary support behind its strategies about negotiations.

The ANC leadership, meanwhile, faces internal criticism from activists who believe it has made too many concessions to the government for it to be able to fight elections by next year.

Attacks on right, left expected today

ANC marchers outside Parliament today will symbolically rename Stalplein — in front of Mr De Klerk's Tuynhuys offices — Albert Luthuli Square.

Under pressure from some in his party who believe the government has been "soft" on the ANC, Mr De Klerk is expected to continue bashing the organisation.

He will also direct some of his venom at the Conservative Party, which believes it has taken on new life since its meeting with KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders last week.

Mr De Klerk is expected to assert that his falling out with Chief Buthelezi has arisen over details and not principles.

The short session has largely been dimissed as a waste of time.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday described the session as financially wasteful and "another racist and unrepresentative exercise".

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said the stated reason for the session — to pass legislation agreed to in negotiations — had not materialised and so it was something of a "face-saving" exercise for Mr De Klerk.

Legislation to be passed during the session will empower Mr De Klerk to rationalise the Own Affairs administrations and appoint people to the cabinet without their having to become MPs within a year. This would allow him to appoint blacks to the cabinet, although the government has stressed that it has no such plans at this stage.

Other legislation will end by-elections, make provision for a general amnesty for all "political" crimes committed before October 1, 1990, and outlaw hard gambling.

Dr De Beer said the rationalisation of Own Affairs — if part of the broader rationalisation of the civil service demanded by Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys — might save money.

He said the legislation could have a bearing on the negotiation process in that Mr De Klerk "is taking steps to dismantle the tricameral system".

BUSINESS DAY, Monday, October 12 1992

FW to open Parliament by closing own affairs

(304A)

B/Day 12/10/92

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk opens the special session of Parliament today by announcing government's intention to phase out own affairs administration and setting the stage for implementing cuts in state expenditure.

In his opening address, De Klerk is expected to state that government will go ahead with amnesty legislation despite its rejection by the ANC.

The legislation is understood to be based on the same principles as those agreed on for the release of ANC political prisoners. The DP and the Labour Party have already indicated they will oppose it.

The changes to the constitution affecting own affairs essentially give De Klerk a free hand, through proclamation, to rationalise the duplication of the tricameral system.

The hope is that this legislation will send out a strong signal to the international community that government has irreversibly turned its back on apartheid.

De Klerk's apology last week for the effects of the apartheid system has set the tone for his opening address.

He is likely to argue that the constitutional changes phasing out own affairs are designed to smooth the way for implementing negotiated agreements emanating from multiparty talks.

A senior government negotiator said De Klerk was not going ahead with enabling legislation on the first phase of an interim government because there was no prior agreement. Government was "not interested" in going ahead unilaterally but would negotiate agreements on constitutional issues.

Other legislation that will be put to Parliament is designed to scrap further by-elections under the present constitution; enable non-MPs to be appointed to the Cabinet; and outlaw hard gambling while allowing a moratorium on current operations until February next year.

● Comment: Page 6

FW 'not sorry enough'

(304A)

CT 12/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk's apology for apartheid at the weekend was not enough, the ANC said.

The organisation welcomed the apology but said: "He does not acknowledge that apartheid is fundamentally wrong and evil.

"Any adequate apology for apartheid will have to recognise that it is based on the concept of racial superiority, and this must be rejected in principle."

Mr De Klerk apologised for clinging to a dream of separated nation states.

"By refusing to acknowledge this terrible reality Mr De Klerk shows gross insensitivity towards the victims of apartheid." — Sapa

New call on State financial controls

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

FINANCIAL administration in the central government was "inadequate and leaves much to be desired", an all-party parliamentary committee warned today.

In a report to parliament, the public accounts committee says it is "perturbed that current management arrangements still leave much to be desired despite specific requests during 1988, 1989 and 1990 for an improvement in financial administration".

It has called on the Director-General of the Department of State Expenditure to "continue urgently" with steps to bring about better financial management.

● The committee also expresses dissatisfaction that no finality has been reached in a dispute over a calculated shortfall of R150 million in Transnet Ltd Pension Fund. The committee wants an independent investigation of the fund.

● The committee has urged the Chief of the Defence Force to take all possible steps to recover about R3 million in a pension fund set up by a member of the Civil Co-operation Bureau.

The committee is concerned that the SADF allowed the fund to be placed under the control of the CCB member who, when the bureau was disbanded, was able to withdraw the assets of the pension fund and deposit them in an account under his sole control.

The committee also finds it disturbing that a foreign bank account totalling more than R865 000 was under the control of a single member of the SADF without the authority or knowledge of the Department of State Expenditure.

● See page 5

ARG 13/10/92 (304A)

Constituent assembly elections possible late in

No 'quick fix' –

(304A) STAR 13/10/92.

By Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson

CAPE TOWN — South Africans must not expect dramatic or early developments in the constitutional negotiation process. That was the message delivered by the Government at the opening of the special session of Parliament yesterday.

First, President de Klerk laid down the Government's bottom line on negotiations, vowing that an elected constituent assembly would not be given a blank cheque to negotiate any constitution it wanted.

And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said even if multiparty negotiations resumed immediately, elections for a constituent assembly could probably not take place before the last quarter of next year.

More reports - Page 7

Mr de Klerk said no constitutional agreements were possible until political violence had been curtailed, and warned that the Government would intensify its control of mass action and step up efforts to seize illicit arms and arms caches.

Earlier, thousands of ANC supporters staged a peaceful march on Parliament to protest against the short session of the "racist" body.

Last night, the ANC expressed its dissatisfaction with De Klerk's speech, saying it contained "little that was new".

De Klerk re-committed the Government to a negotiated settlement and said the legislative programme for the present short session would take reform further without compromising future negotiations.

But he warned that there could be no elections for a transitional parliament, a constitution-making body or constitutional agreements before political violence had been curtailed. This could happen only if all political parties stopped condoning violence.

In coming negotiations the Government would focus its attention on the following obstacles:

- Parties which "regularly clashed" — such as the ANC-SACP, the PAC and the IFP — would have to reach an understanding.
- Mass action which could lead to violence would have to be stopped.
- The armed struggle would have to "make way completely for negotiations". Private armies — including by implication the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) — would have to be "completely de-activated".

● To Page 3

No 'quick fix' – Govt

STAR 13/10/92.

● From Page 1

(304A)

and then dissolved".

- All participants in negotiations would have to become political parties.
- A follow-up conference of the signatories of the National Peace Accord would have to be held as soon as possible to eliminate problems.

He said the coming negotiations would concentrate on "unambiguous principles" which would bind the constitution-making body.

These would include the basic principles of democracy and the most important elements of a free-market economy, including private-property rights.

They would also include strong and entrenched regional governments, a bicameral central parliament with a senate to protect regional and "certain specific interests", power-sharing in the executive and a supreme bill of rights.

The ANC said in a statement De Klerk had merely "rehashed" well-known NP positions, reports Esther Waugh.

The organisation's department of information and publicity said: "At a time when SA cries out for bold and imaginative leadership, (De Klerk) seems incapable of meeting the demands of the moment."

It accused the President of "dressing up (NP positions)" as a consensus reached among the negotiating parties.

"That he and members of his party still entertain the vain hope of sowing tension in the ANC by targeting those of its members who are communists, betrays a naivety that is laughable," the statement said.

The NP's "eleventh hour" conversion to federalism was a device to conceal its intention of clinging to power.

In Cape Town, the ANC's march on Parliament yesterday was boisterous and at times chaotic, but peaceful.

The protest ended with a denunciatory speech by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, who "renamed" Stalplein outside Tuynhuys "Albert Luthuli Square".

Freed MK bomber Robert McBride received a rousing welcome from the crowd.

Support for Slovo's proposals spreads

(304A) STAR 13/10/92.

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Support is spreading for SA Communist Party national chairman Joe Slovo's compromise proposals for the transition, according to the weekly newsletter Southern Africa Report.

Slovo outlined the idea of sunset clauses — including compulsory power-sharing for an agreed number of years — in a paper entitled "Negotiations: What room for compromise?"

Although the article contains Slovo's individual views, the newsletter said: "But independent confirmation that this view is dominant in some departments of the ANC indicates that it is spreading throughout the alliance."

ANC sources yesterday told The Star the Slovo article had not yet been discussed within the organisation and therefore also not with the Government.

Joe Slovo . . . his recent proposals include compulsory power-sharing.

It is expected to be discussed at the executives of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu which meet separately this week before a proposed alliance summit. The alliance is then expected to meet the Government in a "bosberaad" to discuss issues not dealt with at the violence summit last month.

Southern Africa Report said power-sharing was being discussed among senior members of the ANC and Government.

"The compromise arises from the realisation that they are both in a no-win situation.

"The ANC will win an election but will be unable to govern, except in name, because it will be incapable of manning the civil service. The NP Government will lose the election but will have the administration of the country firmly within its grasp because its followers are the civil service."

This meant that the two parties would be forced into an alliance or coalition, the newsletter said.

FW sends out message govt is poised to crack down on mass action

B/Day 13/10/92

(304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday signalled that government was poised for a crackdown on mass action, illegal arms and arms caches and private armies.

He also spelt out government's bottom line for a new constitution, flatly insisting that a range of controversial principles would "have to be negotiated in advance".

And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer dampened speculation that the country's first nonracial election was imminent, saying that even if multiparty negotiations began soon it would probably not take place within a year.

De Klerk, opening the "state of the nation" debate in Parliament with a speech designed to calm jittery NP supporters, said government intended focussing strongly on steps to prevent violence.

These included "intensified control of mass action and continued, expanded action in respect of illicit arms and caches".

A free general election "in which all will take part is possible only if peace prevails in the country and intimidation is curtailed", said De Klerk.

Peace was only possible if:

- Parties, including the ANC, the IFP and the PAC, whose followers clashed violently, got together and reached an understanding among themselves;
- Any mass action planned with an aggressive motive was stopped. The ANC, specifically, had to honour undertakings in this regard;
- "Inciting" speeches were ended and every leader helped create a climate of tolerance, and;
- The so-called struggle made way for negotiation and a democratic conduct of politics. "This means the complete deactivation of private armies and the democratic conduct of politics."

De Klerk said when the transitional parliament came to write the final constitution it would not "simply be able to do what it likes".

"There is no question of a blank cheque being given to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly," said De Klerk.

It would be bound by clear principles on which adequate consensus had been reached. Government insisted agreement had to be reached on:

- Strong and entrenched regional government with constitutionally entrenched authority;
- A bicameral central parliament with a Senate able to meet the need for "protection of regional interests and certain specific interests";
- Power-sharing at the level of the executive authority, meaning that excessive power in the hands of only one person or party had to be prevented.

● See Page 4

FW's warning to military wings

Sowetan 13/10/92

■ LUTHULI SQUARE ANC's Walter Sisulu leads 3 000 marchers to Parliament to rename Stalplein:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk warned yesterday that "the struggle" must end and negotiations must resume or the Government would clamp down on the ANC and PAC military wings.

Opening the short session of Parliament yesterday, De Klerk said negotiations could not continue while "underground activities" and mass action continued or while there were still arms caches stored in the country.

He said the unbanning of certain political organisations did not give them licence to continue their "revolutionary" objectives.

De Klerk said the ANC and PAC (as well as the AWB) would have to "deactivate and dissolve" their private armies completely.

"It remains a crime to be in illegal possession of weapons, to be in control of arms caches, to take part in illegal marches," De Klerk said.

He said considering the intensified violence and breakdown of negotiations over the past four months, Parliament was gathering under difficult and challenging circumstances.

This short sitting of Parliament was not a denial of the importance of negotiations.

Meanwhile, the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, led about 3 000 people to Parliament yesterday in a march and rally that was a lot cooler than a Cape Town spring Monday.

After the weekend estimates of 25 000 marchers, the small crowd marched from Cape Town's Grand Parade to the House of Parliament, to rename Stalplein - a square outside Tuynhuys, the office of the State President - Albert Luthuli Square.

Meanwhile, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has confirmed the meetings with the PAC and IFP, and said that they bode well for the speedy resumption of multi-party negotiations, as early, possibly, as November.

The Government is confident that multi-party talks will resume within a month as it prepares for two high-level meetings with the Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party this week.

NEWS Bophuthatswana human rights abuses to be highlighted at conference

SACC to examine human rights abuses

Sowetan 13/10/92. (304A)

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

HUMAN RIGHTS abuses in Bophuthatswana will go under the microscope at a three-day conference which begins in Bloemfontein today.

The South African Council of Churches (SACC) said in a statement that it had called the seminar in line with its 1992 annual conference resolution on Bophuthatswana.

"Fifteen victims of the Bophuthatswana regime, including pensioners and returned exiles, will share with us their experiences in the homeland.

"Since its 'independence' in 1977, the bantustan has been characterised by massive repression through detention, harassment, arbitrary dismissals from work, deportation, torture and death."

The SACC said the purpose of the conference was to receive reports on human rights abuses and their implication in the wider South Africa.

SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane will be among the speakers. The keynote address will be given by the Reverend Nōko Kekana on the topic "What is the theological challenge for the Church".

The ANC, PAC, Azapo and the Progressive People's Party of Bophuthatswana will attend as observers.

VICTIMS TALK Bantustan accused of repression and harassment:

DP is official opposition

T 13/10/92 (304A)

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party yesterday became the "official opposition" in joint debates following the scrapping of racial seating in Parliament.

After the defection of six members of the Labour Party to the DP, it now has 37 MPs, one more than the Conservative Party. As a result DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, was the first to speak after President F W de Klerk yesterday.

The CP objected to the new seating arrangements before the President spoke yesterday, but were told by the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw, that the seating arrangements were his prerogative at a joint meeting.

Earlier the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, gave notice that he would move today that the parliamentary session should be halted because the government was unable to proceed with its agenda and the sitting was a burden on taxpayers.

The ANC regarded the present parliamentary session, which would cost the taxpayer more than R10 million, as a total waste of time and he and its other members would not support any of the legislation, Mr David Dalling (Ind Sandton) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the President's address, he said none of the bills before Parliament were urgent or essential and the ANC would "not assist the President in this farcical window-dressing".

The ANC-aligned MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, has been reinstated to Parliament following his suspension after he claimed ex-President P W Botha knew about the existence of hit squads.

FW pledges crackdown on armed wings

CT 13/10/92 (304A)

OLD STRUGGLERS ... Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter Sisulu leave the "renamed" Stalplein after the rally. In the background are the Houses of Parliament and the statue of General Louis Botha on his horse. Picture: BENNY GOOL

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has promised to take "strong action" in cracking down on private armies, underground activities and mass action that has an "aggressive motive".

He also warned that there was "no question" of the government's implementing agreements reached in constitutional negotiations or taking part in elections until violence and intimidation had been curbed.

Spelling out the government's bottom line for a new constitution, Mr De Klerk insisted that a range of controversial principles would have to be negotiated in advance. An elected constitution-making body would not be given a blank cheque.

Mr De Klerk's sabre-rattling took place against a background of unease in National Party ranks that the government was losing its nerve and being outmanoeuvred in negotiations by the ANC/SACP alliance.

As thousands of ANC protesters bayed outside Parliament for its disbanding, Mr De Klerk told a joint sitting of MPs that the "so-called struggle" had to make way for "negotiations and the democratic conduct of politics".

In an address that hit hard against what he called "radicals inside and outside Parliament", Mr De Klerk said — amid a steady heckling — that "the law remains the law".

The government insisted on the dissolution of private armies, he said, adding that the country "cannot afford the violence any longer".

The government would undertake strict law enforcement, intensified control of mass action and extended steps against illicit arms and armes caches.

In a wide-ranging address, designed largely to convince jittery Nationalists and the business community that the government had not capitulated to the ANC, Mr De Klerk:

- Appealed to all political leaders to work for a "drastic turnabout", saying only radicals could benefit from disruption and deprivation.
- Dismissed "scare-mongering propaganda" that a constitution-making body would be given a "blank cheque". Agreement would have to be reached in advance on entrenching strong regional government, a senate to protect regional interests, a power-sharing executive and an executive subject to a constitutional court.
- Insisted that parties whose followers regularly clashed violently would have to reach an undertanding among themselves.
- Issued a warning to the ANC that the government was alert to strategies designed to delay negotiations unnecessarily.

Mr De Klerk said it remained the government's goal to get multi-party negotiations back on track as soon as possible.

Van Eck's suspension revoked

STAR 13/10/92

Political Staff (304A)

Controversial ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck, back in Parliament after the Government revoked his six-month suspension from the House, will be re-paid the full sum deducted from his salary since June.

His daily allowance amounting to about R2 500 a month — a third of his MP's salary — has been deducted monthly from the date of his suspension.

Van Eck was initially suspended until the end of January next year over reported allegations about the role of the P W Botha government, and the present Government, in the assassination of black activists.

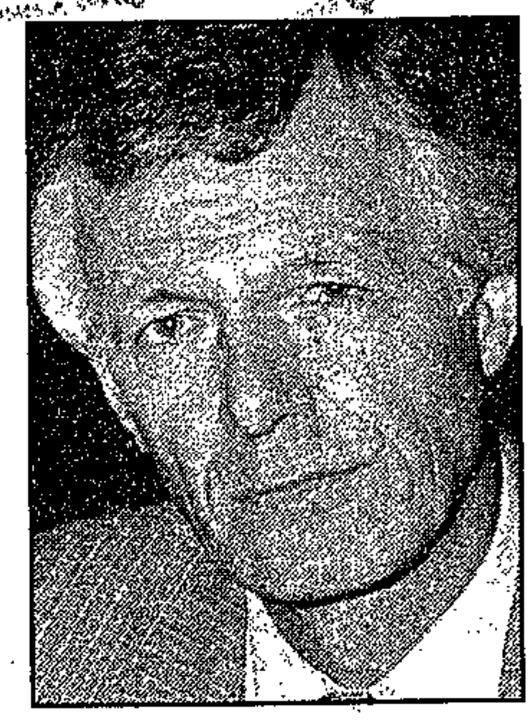
His suspension was strenuously opposed by the Conservative and Democratic parties.

Opposition parties argued that Van Eck's contentious speech was not a breach of the parliamentary privilege of free speech.

In an unopposed motion yesterday, Leader of the House Adriaan Vlok proposed that Van Eck's suspension be lifted with effect from July 1 this year.

Reacting, Van Eck said: "However tempting it might be, an ANC government in the future will not do to National Party MPs what they did to me. We are democrats."

He said he had made no representations for his reinstatement, but was grateful for the pressure brought to bear on the Government on his behalf from within the ANC.



Jan van Eck . . . grateful for ANC pressure on Government to reinstate him.

Poll unlikely before late next year

STAR 13/10/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday he did not expect elections for a transitional government to take place before the last quarter of next year.

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, Meyer said there were many things to be settled before these elections could take place.

The first priority was for negotiations to focus on restructuring a multiparty negotiation forum. Once this was achieved, the forum would have to agree on details such as the first phase of a transitional executive structure which would provide for councils and sub-councils to prepare the basis of a real transitional government.

The councils would have to deal with elections, regional and local government, rationalisation of the security forces, and other matters before a transitional government could come into operation.

He said the contents of a transitional constitution would also have to be negotiated at multilateral level. The general principles on which the final constitution would be based would have to be focused upon.

Only once all this had been agreed on could elections for a transitional government take place.

Even if multiparty talks were reopened before the end of this year, "I do not think it will be possible to have elections before the last quarter of next year", Meyer said.

Every delay in restarting the negotiations would delay the entire process.

It was a pity that the IFP had decided to withdraw from the negotiations, he added.

The Government had undertaken to keep the IFP up to date with what had been discussed and would do so this week. The IFP had not been kept in the dark and the Government was convinced that the party's participation was essential for a negotiated settlement.

The IFP should explain how it could co-operate with an apartheid party such as the Conservative Party which believed in racism. — Sapa.

'Much to do before elections'

Political Staff 504A

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer has warned that even if multilateral talks resume this year, it is unlikely that elections can be held before the last quarter of 1993.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's "State of the Nation" address yesterday, Mr Meyer said many things had to be resolved before elections could take place. CT 13/10/92

Initially Codesa would have to be restructured and later its participants would have to agree on the first phase of transition.

This would require a transitional executive council and sub-councils that would prepare the way for interim government.

Echoing a statement by President F W de Klerk, Mr Meyer said the principles of the final constitution would also have to be negotiated before elections could take place.

Mr Meyer said it was sad that the Inkatha Freedom Party had withdrawn from negotiations. The government would meet the IFP this week and believed its participation was essential if there was to be a settlement.

However, he wondered how IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could justify talking to the "racist" Conservative Party.

"How can the IFP get together with an apartheid party such as the Conservative Party?"

NEWS De Klerk warns ANC and PAC 'struggle' must end

ANC, PAC lash at De Klerk

Sowetan 13/10/92

■ FW 'can't rise to occasion':

STATE President FW de Klerk once again demonstrated his remarkable inability to rise to the occasion when Parliament resumed yesterday, the ANC said last night.

The organisation said De Klerk and the National Party still entertained the "vain hope" of sowing tension in the ANC by targeting those of its members who were communists.

The ANC also criticised the NP's 11th-hour conversion to federalism as a device to conceal its intention of clinging to power despite the verdict of a democratic election.

Amnesty null and void

"Equally, De Klerk's insistence on constitutionality would be more convincing if the NP's track-record demonstrated any real commitment to a government based on laws.

"There are very few parties in South Africa that require instruction in democratic politics from the NP," the organisation said.

In its reaction, the PAC warned the Government that unilateral attempts to pass legislation on a general amnesty would be null and void.

It said only a democratically-elected government could grant such an amnesty.

It said "an illegitimate regime cannot legitimise crimes committed against humanity by declaring a blanket amnesty".

'ANC negotiating takeover'

(304A) (ATP) STAR 13/10/92

The ANC was negotiating to take over the government of the whole of South Africa, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, he said the Government was busy negotiating itself out of a position of governing.

The CP believed a nation's right to self-determination was non-negotiable.

A settlement without the Afrikaner was impossible.

There could be no talk of a democracy of 25 million people consisting of different nations.

Jac Rabie (NP Reiger Park) said there was a consensus inside and outside Parliament that the status quo could not be maintained. — Sapa.

Andries Treurnicht . . . a settlement without the Afrikaner is impossible.

'Hope if Govt, ANC agree'

STAR 13/10/92 (304A)

The Democratic Party believed that negotiations between the Government and the ANC offered the best hope for progress to a political settlement, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, he said the DP wanted to be part of the negotiation process and expected to be included once the time was ripe.

"But the months at Codesa taught us one thing: when the Nats and the ANC were in agreement, progress could be made. When they were fighting, we all got nowhere. We believe that what is now happening is for the best."

The shocking state of South Africa's economy necessitated an urgent political settlement. All parties had to accept that an early constitutional agreement was vital and more important than its fine detail.

The agreements reached at the September 26 summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were in the national interest.

De Beer said the Government seemed to lack a vision of the future.

He was similarly concerned at the ANC's refusal to become a political party and the growing role of communists within the organisation. — Sapa.

Ex-SA envoy 'optimistic'

304A

WASHINGTON. — A former United States ambassador to Pretoria believes South Africa could have a multiracial government within two years.

In an interview published yesterday in USA Today, Mr Edward Perkins said that even without international pressure, the government would have had no choice but to dismantle apartheid, especially the separate educational systems, "because the country needs more technicians". ARG

Many whites in their 20s and 30s had emigrated. They must be replaced either from outside or from within, "and that means non-whites". 13/10/92

Asked to predict when South Africa would have its first multiracial government, Mr Perkins said: "It can happen in 1994, in my judgment."

African aspirations will be put on ice, says **Barney Desai**

Proposed agreement can lead only to conflict

STAR 13/10/92 (304A)

JOE Slovo's much publicised and praised proposal to "break the logjam" of negotiations is not new and it needs to be noted that the compromise he now suggests was incorporated in a tentative agreement between the regime and the ANC at Codesa months ago (February 1992).

It was the regime's arrogance, after its sweeping victory in the white referendum, that scuttled the arrangement.

Except for intentional leaks, this agreement never saw the light of day. It would not be an unreasonable inference that Mr Slovo of the "militant" SACP is flying a kite for the ANC. This is an exercise to test the reactions of people in what can only be seen as yet another retreat from an unfettered constituent assembly.

The terms (and timetable) of the accord between the regime, the ANC and the Communist Party were as follows.

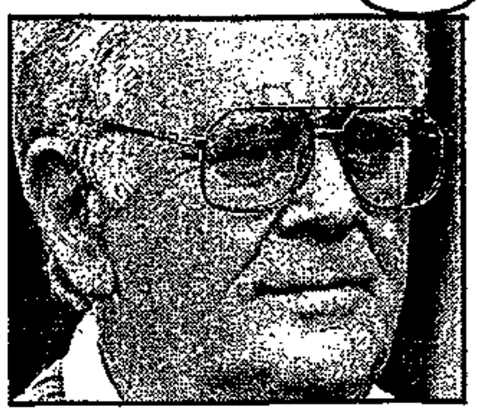
● June 1992 — Interim governing council appointed by Codesa and approved by the racist tricameral parliament for a term of one year. No agreement has been reached on the re-incorporation of the bantustans.

● June 1993 — Elections to a hybrid unicameral legislature on the basis of one person, one vote. This legislature will encompass a constituent assembly and an interim legislature elected by proportional representation.

The tricameral parliament will be dissolved. The constituent assembley will take decisions by a two-thirds majority and the interim legislature by "sufficient consensus". The Cabinet will have representation on the basis of the percentage of voters received with a cut-off point of five percent.

Decisions of the Cabinet will be on the basis of "consensus" not majority. The presidency will rotate.

● March/June 1994 — The new constitution is finalised. There could be new elections but the unicameral legislature could also convert itself into the lower House. (The agreement between the axis makes provision for an Upper House representing regional interest). No agreement had yet been reached on a rotating presidency for this period.



Joe Slovo . . . flying a kite for the African National Congress?

However, the NP/ANC Communist Party axis has struck a deal on matters of far-reaching importance to frustrate the aspirations of the oppressed African masses. The terms are: majority government, with built-in consensus (white veto) for five years, which will elect a new Cabinet — but all parties will be represented in the Cabinet.

Consensus decision-making on the Budget and other matters must be enshrined in the constitution. This agreement has been referred to by the ANC as the "Sunset clause". It's the same clause that Slovo has now pulled out of his hat.

The import of this temporarily torpedoed agreement is that all radical political or economic policies (particularly where they affect white interest) will be frozen for five years unless the whites, by whomsoever they are represented, agree.

Thabo Mbeki of the ANC, who presented this plan to Codesa, explained that one example of the "sunset clause" would be an agreement that the winner of the first election under the new constitution will appoint a coalition Cabinet, or a "government of national unity, that includes all major parties for a given period, say five years".

He envisaged that on its expiry the "sunset clause" would cease to exist. Other "sunset" clauses could provide guarantees that no major changes would take place in the civil service, or that no affirmative action or other economic restructuring programmes would begin for that period. Nelson Mandela has confirmed that the civil service — presently dominated by whites — will not be interfered with.

● March/April 1995 — elections or regions (10 or 11 in number) who will constitute the upper House.

The manner in which the regions will be elected to the upper House had not been finalised. The National Party proposed that each region have an equal number of seats, ie northern Cape region will equal the PWV regions' number of seats in the upper House.

No legislation of the lower House will become law if not approved by the upper House. The regions by this formula will thus be able to frustrate the wishes of the majority in the lower House.

The ANC/Communist Party proposed that the upper House powers be confined to reviewing but not blocking legislation.

The advocacy of a settlement on the aforementioned basis, which effectively means putting African aspirations on ice for a decade, can lead only to prolonged conflict, the dimensions of which are frightening. □

● *Desai is head of publicity and information of the PAC. This is a response to Joe Slovo's remarks revealed exclusively in The Star.*

FW gets tough on mass action

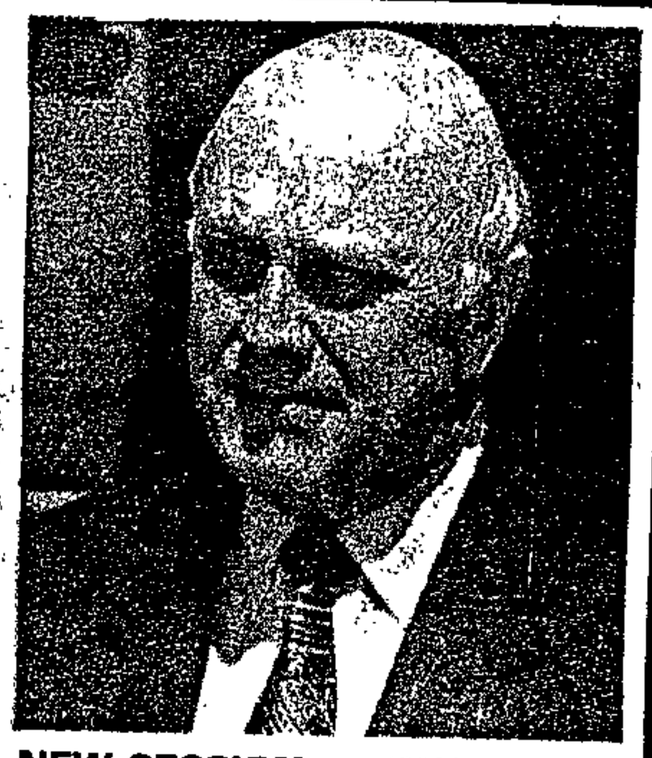
PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has signalled that the government is poised for a crackdown on mass action, private armies and illegal arms and arms caches.

(304A)

He has also spelt out the government's bottom line for a new constitution, insisting that a range of controversial principles will "have to be negotiated in advance". CT 13/10/92

Mr De Klerk, opening the "State of the Nation" debate in Parliament with a wide-ranging speech designed to calm National Party supporters, said the government intended focusing strongly on steps to prevent violence.

REPORT — See PAGE 2



NEW SESSION . . . F W de Klerk

Titanic confusion as benches rearranged

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor (304A)

STAR 13/10/92

CAPE TOWN — The Honourable Members, like school pupils just promoted to a new standard, were not at all sure of where to sit. They blinked and bumped into each other, finally descending into the leather benches and staring about disconsolately at their strange, new neighbours.

The cause of all the confusion was the epochal decision in this special session of Parliament to let MPs sit together as parties, rather than in the traditional race groups. This meant a major realignment — and the downgrading of the Conservative Party from second party overall to third.

Wedged in between the Democratic Party (37 seats) and the Labour Party (27 seats), the CP's 36 members grumbled loudly about this latest step towards the dreaded new South Africa.

Less certain about the turn of events appeared Andries Beyers and his four Afrikaner Volksunie colleagues. From the relative safety of the CP benches last time round, they were now seated within a jungle of independents.

Nobody was quite sure of where to direct their interjections, and many confidential notes were unwittingly passed into opposing camps.

President de Klerk, at the podium, seemed unsure of where the next attack would come from.

After refusing at first, the Speaker, Eli Louw, eventually had to let the CP air its unhappiness about the colour mixing. He tried to calm things down first with a little homespun philosophising: "You've got new neighbours," he told MPs chirpily, "and a neighbour that's close is better than a brother that's far."

The CP remained grumpily unconvinced, and Losberg MP Fanie Jacobs stood to give a long and learned disquisition on the parliamentary rules. In essence, his argument was that Honourable Members should get back to their group areas forthwith.

The Speaker listened patiently and said he would make up his mind later. As the debate dragged on, someone was heard to say: "And some people said this was going to be a waste of time. Don't they realise they're seeing the rearranging of the deck chairs on the Titanic."

DP wants heads to roll

CT 13/10/92

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party last night demanded the resignation of the cabinet ministers responsible for the "spectacular bungling of the release of so-called political prisoners" (30419)

The DP's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew told Parliament the prisoner debacle was just another indication of the government's incompetence.

"Everyone knows that the early release of prisoners is a very sensitive issue. Any competent government would take extreme care to ensure that no mistakes were made."

Mr Andrew said it was "disgraceful" that hardened criminals had been set free because of administrative errors.

"The minister or ministers responsible should resign. If they do not, the State President owes it to the people of this country to dismiss them."

Session a waste of time, says Dalling

(304A)

CAPE TOWN — The ANC regarded the present session of Parliament, which would cost the taxpayer more than R10m, as a total waste of time and he and its other members would not support any of the legislation, David Dalling (Ind Sandton) said in Parliament yesterday. B/DAY

Speaking during debate on the President's address, he said none of the Bills now before Parliament were urgent or essential and the ANC would "not assist the President in this farcical window-dressing".

The October session had originally been scheduled by President F W de Klerk to give legislative effect to agreements reached at Codesa II. 13/10/92.

While no agreements had been reached at Codesa II, De Klerk and the NP had since conceded virtually all the issues raised by the ANC which had led to the breakdown in the first place.

Dalling said the Record of Understanding signed by government and the ANC on September 26 was belated but real progress, and had laid the basis for a resumption of the negotiating process. 13/10/92.

De Klerk should not be deterred by his detractors. He would enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of South Africans in the rapid implementation of the agreements reached on September 26.

Dalling called on the President to take urgent action to restore free political activity in homeland territories, particularly Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu.

He urged De Klerk to call off the present parliamentary session and instead to start preparing to negotiate the transfer of power to the democratic majority. — Sapa.

ANC 'will reject any new law on amnesty'

B/DAY 13/10/92

CAPE TOWN — The ANC would reject any legislation by government for a general amnesty and would refuse to recognise such a law, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu said yesterday.

Addressing an ANC/SACP/Cosatu rally outside Parliament, he said the ANC would continue to insist on full disclosure of criminal activities by state officials. "Before the apartheid criminals can be forgiven, their crimes must be exposed. We must know who did the killing and kidnapping. We must know who stole our taxes. We must know who gave the orders and who committed the murders."

Amnesty could be negotiated by an interim government of national unity only once the offences had been made public.

The only legislation Parliament had still to pass was that which would ensure speedy transition to democracy and installation of an interim government.

Renaming Stalplein Luthuli Square in honour of the late ANC president Albert Luthuli, Sisulu said the ANC had begun a process to ensure that heroes of SA's struggle were recognised and honoured.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said President F W de Klerk had recently used NP platforms to "spit venom at the ANC and abuse us".

Referring to the President's call to the ANC to "stop its nonsense", he said: "It was through our 'nonsense' that we got to Groote Schuur and that we got the government to move on the banning of dangerous weapons, securing of hostels and the release of political prisoners. We will continue with our nonsense."

While De Klerk said SA was "sick and tired of the ANC's arrogance and intolerance", Slovo said: "If anyone is sick and tired after 300 years of racist rule, it is the people of this country. We are sick and tired of the government's delays in the negotiating process, of the way in which it is clinging to power and trying to find methods for a minority veto."

Government had to set the example by disciplining state officials whom commissions of inquiry had shown to be involved in murder.

Slovo also called on government to end its financial and military support for "puppets" such as Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Mass action would continue until demands for an interim government and a nonracial constituent assembly had been realised.

At a small rally in Johannesburg yesterday SACP secretary-general Chris Hani called for the dissolution of Parliament, saying it was convened by people who did not represent most South Africans.

The SACP, he said, was not bound by the decisions of the extraordinary session called to pass legislation drafted by Codesa.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would march on Ulundi, Bophuthatswana and again on Bisho when it chose to, he said.

Before the rally demonstrators marched to the Department of National Health and Population Development's offices to present a memorandum calling for an unconditonal moratorium on restructuring of public services and the economy. — Sapa.

Elections at least a year away, says Meyer

B/DAY 13/10/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday he did not expect elections for a transitional government to take place before the last quarter of next year.

Speaking during the debate on President F W de Klerk's address, Meyer said there were many things to be settled before these elections could take place.

First priority was for negotiations to focus on restructuring a multiparty negotiation forum. Once this was achieved the forum would have to agree on details like the first phase of a transitional executive structure to prepare the basis of a real transitional government.

The councils will have to deal with elections, regional and local government, rationalisation of the security forces and other matters before a transitional government could come into operation.

He said the contents of a transitional constitution would also have to be negotiated at a multilateral level. The principals on which the final constitution would be based would have to be focused on.

Only once all this had been agreed on could elections for a transitional government take place.

Even if multiparty talks were re-opened before the end of this year, "I do not think it will be possible to have elections before the last quarter of next year".

Every delay in restarting the negotiations would delay the entire process.

He said it was a pity that the Inkatha Freedom Party had withdrawn from negotiations. Government had undertaken to keep the IFP up to date with what had been discussed and would do so this week. The IFP had not been kept in the cold and government was convinced that the participation of the IFP was essential for a negotiated settlement.

The IFP should explain how it could co-operate with an apartheid party like the Conservative Party.

Government also welcomed the ANC's undertaking to re-examine its mass action strategy.

"Today's unimpressive performance outside Parliament once again proved that mass action no longer has a role to play," he said. — Sapa.

Govt, ANC 'hold key to progress'

(3044)

CAPE TOWN — The DP believed negotiations between government and the ANC offered the best hope for progress to a political settlement, DP leader Zach de Beer said yesterday. B/DAY 13/10/92

Speaking during debate on the State President's address, he said the DP wanted to be part of the negotiation process and expected to be included once the time was ripe. "But the months at Codesa taught us one thing: when the Nats and the ANC were in agreement, progress could be made. When they were fighting, we all got nowhere. We believe that what is now happening is for the best."

The shocking state of SA's economy necessitated an urgent political settlement. All parties had to accept that an early constitutional agreement was vital and more important than its fine detail.

The key to reopen the door to economic growth was investment, and that depended absolutely on a political settlement.

The agreements reached at the September 26 summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela were in the national interest and had helped to revive negotiations.

"Everything will now depend on whether the process is handled sensibly by the government, the ANC and the rest of us."

De Beer said he was concerned at government's administrative incompetence. It seemed to lack a vision of the future and appeared to rely on ad hoc decisionmaking.

He was similarly concerned at the ANC's refusal to become a political party and the growing role of communists within that organisation. "We will have to look to the ANC leadership to take a firm grip on things and keep the ANC on the road to negotiation."

The recent decision by six former Labour Party MPs to join the DP indicated its principles were gaining ground among all South Africans. In this way the DP was progressively winning the middle ground between the ANC and the NP — Sapa.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Van Eck is reinstated

LEADER of the House of Assembly Adriaan Vlok moved a motion yesterday that independent MP for Claremont Jan van Eck be reinstated from July 1 1992.

This would rescind an earlier decision that Van Eck be suspended until January. The motion was carried unanimously. B/DAY 13/10/92

CP to call for adjournment

CP LEADER Andries Treurnicht gave notice yesterday that he would move today that the short session be adjourned immediately. (3044)

Government was not able to proceed with its stated agenda and it could not afford such a waste of money, he said.

☐ A motion by Vlok that oral questions and interpellations not be dealt with in this session was passed after a division in which the CP and DP opposed it.

ANC 'dragging its feet'

(3044)

SA COULD have been a year further with negotiations had the ANC not dragged its feet, Stoffel van der Merwe (NP Helderkruin) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on President F W de Klerk's address, he said the ANC still wanted a private army.

B/DAY 13/10/92

Parliament 'must repent'

A YOUNG woman was ejected from the public gallery in Parliament shortly before President F W de Klerk delivered his address yesterday, after she called on Parliament to "repent in the name of Jesus". (3044)

As the Speaker, Eli Louw, ended the parliamentary prayer, she stood up and called out: "This government must repent in the name of Jesus."

In the stunned silence that followed, she said: "This nation is crying and it is our cry too . . . I ask you in the name of Jesus, Parliament repent." A man presumed to be policeman led her away.

B/DAY REPORTS: Sapa. 13/10/92

ANC backs Pik's mission

RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC backed Foreign Minister Pik Botha's peace mission to Angola, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki said yesterday.

"To the extent that the SA government can persuade (Unita leader Jonas) Savimbi to accept the result, we have no problem," he said in an interview.

Heavy fighting broke out in the streets of Luanda at the weekend after a rise in tensions following Unita's refusal to accept the outcome of recent elections.

Unita claimed they had not been free and fair.

On his arrival in Luanda yesterday, Botha said: "Not one of us can afford more conflict. There must be a way to avoid futher destruction.

"I am not coming here to preach. I hope I will be received here like a brother who can talk with experience. Our interest is southern Africa. Just as Angola will one day help us, we must help Angola. We are bound together."

Sapa-Reuter reports the UN and Western governments hope Botha can use his relationship with Savimbi during his three-day stay to persuade him to avoid war. A meeting in Savimbi's highland stronghold of Huambo is planned for today.

☐ To Page 2

Pik's mission

☐ From Page 1

Unita is trailing well behind the governing MPLA of President Jose Eduardo dos Santos as results from last month's election continue to come in.

A senior Unita official said yesterday that publishing the results of the poll would bring disaster.

"Now the situation is so grave we cannot imagine a possible publication of such fraudulent results because that will mean immediate war. No one wants war, but whoever continues on this path will be taking the country to catastrophe," said Elias Salupeto Pena.

"To save this country at this grave hour, goodwill is needed from all interested parties," he said.

Troops and police manned roadblocks throughout Luanda yesterday and many people stayed indoors, in the wake of Sunday's gun battles in which at least two people died.

Yesterday Mbeki disclosed that ANC president Nelson Mandela had written to Savimbi and Dos Santos before the election, urging them to accept its outcome and form a government of national unity.

Mbeki said he had been informed the US government believed the result was fair and wanted Savimbi to accept it. The ANC would look at the outcome of a special UN mission sent to Angola to investigate the election before deciding what action it would take.

The UN mission had a meeting with Savimbi yesterday.

● See Page 6

Focus on Africa

Sowetan 13/10/92. (304A)

So much by so many is being done in the name of democracy. Everyone has an agenda. However, when one man's democracy is not the same as another's, a problem arises. **Themba Molefe** cuts to the bone (of contention?) of SA political ideals

LIKE BEAUTY, to an average South African of any colour or persuasion, democracy seems to be in the eye of the beholder.

In the townships it is not uncommon to hear the phrase "democratic forces" thrown around by youths who might be enforcing a stayaway. What do they mean?

Ever ventured to ask someone to define democracy and he replies: "Yes, what is democracy?"

But first, hear this:

Scene 1: In July 1990 a disgruntled man who lost his job in the United States of America was arrested for burning the American flag on the steps of a court building in Chicago. He said it did not stand for what he always believed it did - freedom, justice and security.

The publicity surrounding the man's arrest led to more flag-burning in the US, prompting Congress to hastily push through an anti-flag-torching law. But the US Supreme Court ruled that this law was illegal and it was quickly removed from the Statute Book. The judges said flag-burning was a democratic right protected by the First Amendment of the US Constitution which guaranteed freedom of expression.

Scene 2: In 1989 Wits University students burned the South African flag. They maintained it was their democratic right to burn the "racist flag".

It was while they were exercising this "right" that the South African Police intervened. They sjambokked the daylights out of the protesters. Some were dragged kicking, cursing and bleeding into police vans.

The police were protecting the Government's democratic right to govern and keep the flag at high mast. The then State President PW Botha wagged a finger and said burning the Republic's flag would not be tolerated.

And now, in 1992, how do the "main" political players perform in the democracy stakes?

The African National Congress, whose call for a democratic South Africa could only be transmitted through bush telegraph until 1990, is now marching for a democratic interim government.

The Pan Africanist Congress says democracy can only be negotiated at a neutral venue. It will not regard any democratic outcome, for example through Codesa, as democratic unless it is chaired by a neutral convenor.

So says the Azanian People's Organisation. It has already appointed its convenor - Anglican Bishop Walter Makhudu of Botswana.

The South African Communist Party is an ANC cheerleader, nay, ally, and marches along.

De Klerk, after incurring the wrath of the white right - and centre - defended the SACP's democratic right to exist and unbanned the communists in 1990.

Marchers tear down the South African flag while being watched by police.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is considered a main player in the political sphere.

Leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi actually heaves when he says no democratic dispensation would be democratic without him, the IFP and the Zulu "nation" in that order.

Hold a minute. It is becoming increasingly difficult to distinguish between the IFP - with its suave white English-speaking spokesmen - and the KwaZulu government and Zulu royal kingdom.

For example, at an IFP Press conference in Johannesburg on September 21 a statement said the ANC's planned march on Ulundi would anger the Zulu people.

However, the point is that the IFP/Kwazulu/Zulu Royal Kingdom reserve their democratic right to defend themselves - whatever this means - against the ANC's democratic march for democracy.

Then there is Bophuthatswana. An ANC democratic march for free political activity planned for September 19 was aborted when Mr Justice Goldstone counselled that the march would beget violence.

This was after president Chief Lucas Mangope was televised the preceding week saying in Tswana: "I am like the prickly pear which is sweet inside but thorny and dangerous on the outside."

Mangope was warning the ANC not to exercise its democratic right because he would not hesitate to stop anyone who threatened Bop's democracy.

Subsequent to that Mangope used the homeland's security laws and detained more than 100 University of Bophuthatswana students who protested against "the absence of democracy" in Bophuthatswana.

March on Parliament

ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak and national executive members Mr Kader Asmal and Ronnie Kasrils lead a march of about 3 000 supporters on Parliament yesterday.

Sowetan 13/10/92

■LAWSUIT

Former NSL boss Mofasi Lekota sues *Tribute* magazine for R250 000 for defamation PAGE 3

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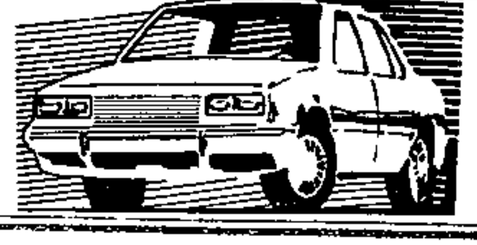

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FW warns MK, Apla

Sowetan 13/10/92 (304A)

■ CLAMPDOWN President de Klerk hits out at "radicals' as ANC marches on Parliament:

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk warned yesterday the Government would clamp down on the armed wings of the ANC and PAC if they continued with underground activities.

Opening a short session of Parliament, De Klerk failed to outline a bold new vision to break the negotiations logjam.

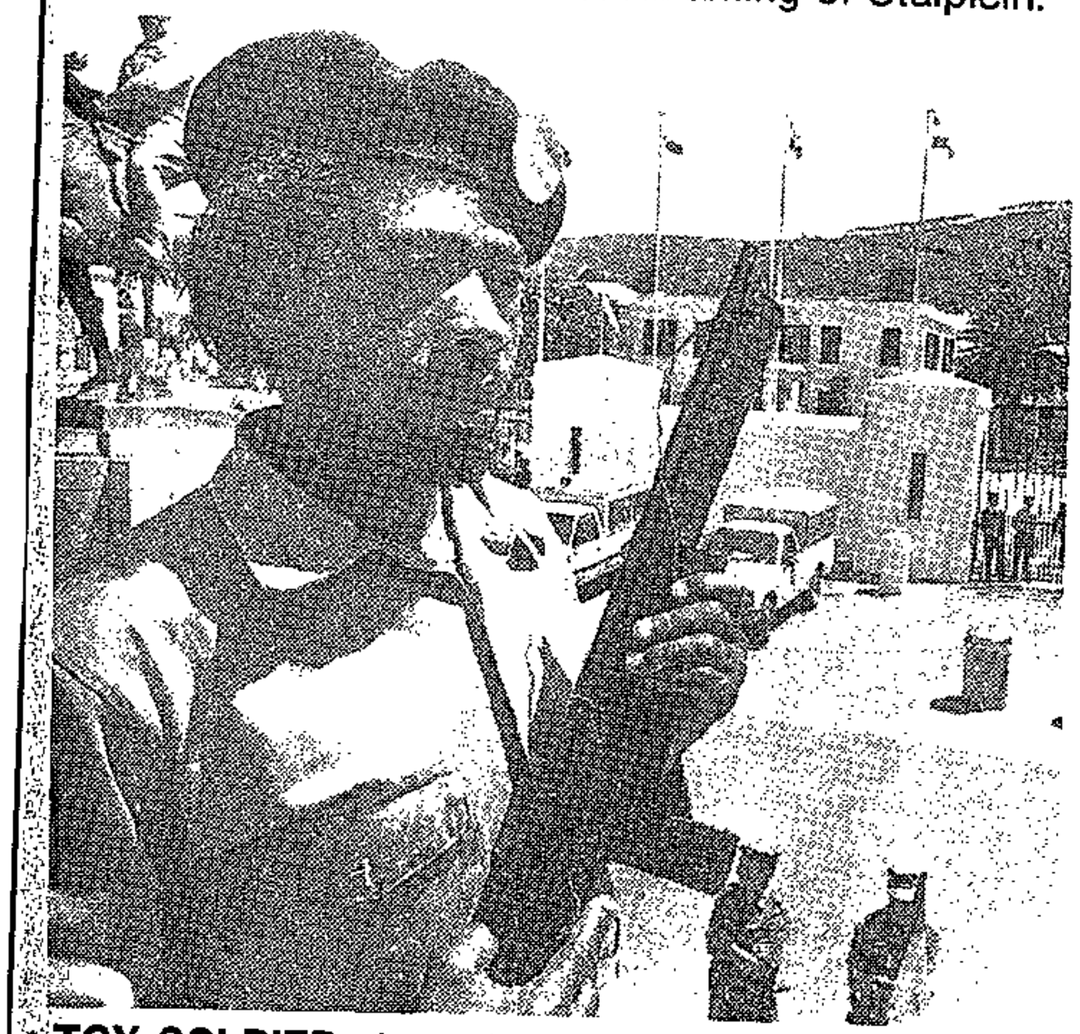
He warned that negotiations could not continue while mass action continued.

Outside Parliament the deputy president of the ANC, Mr Walter Sisulu, led about 3 000 people to rename Stalplein, a square outside the State President's office.

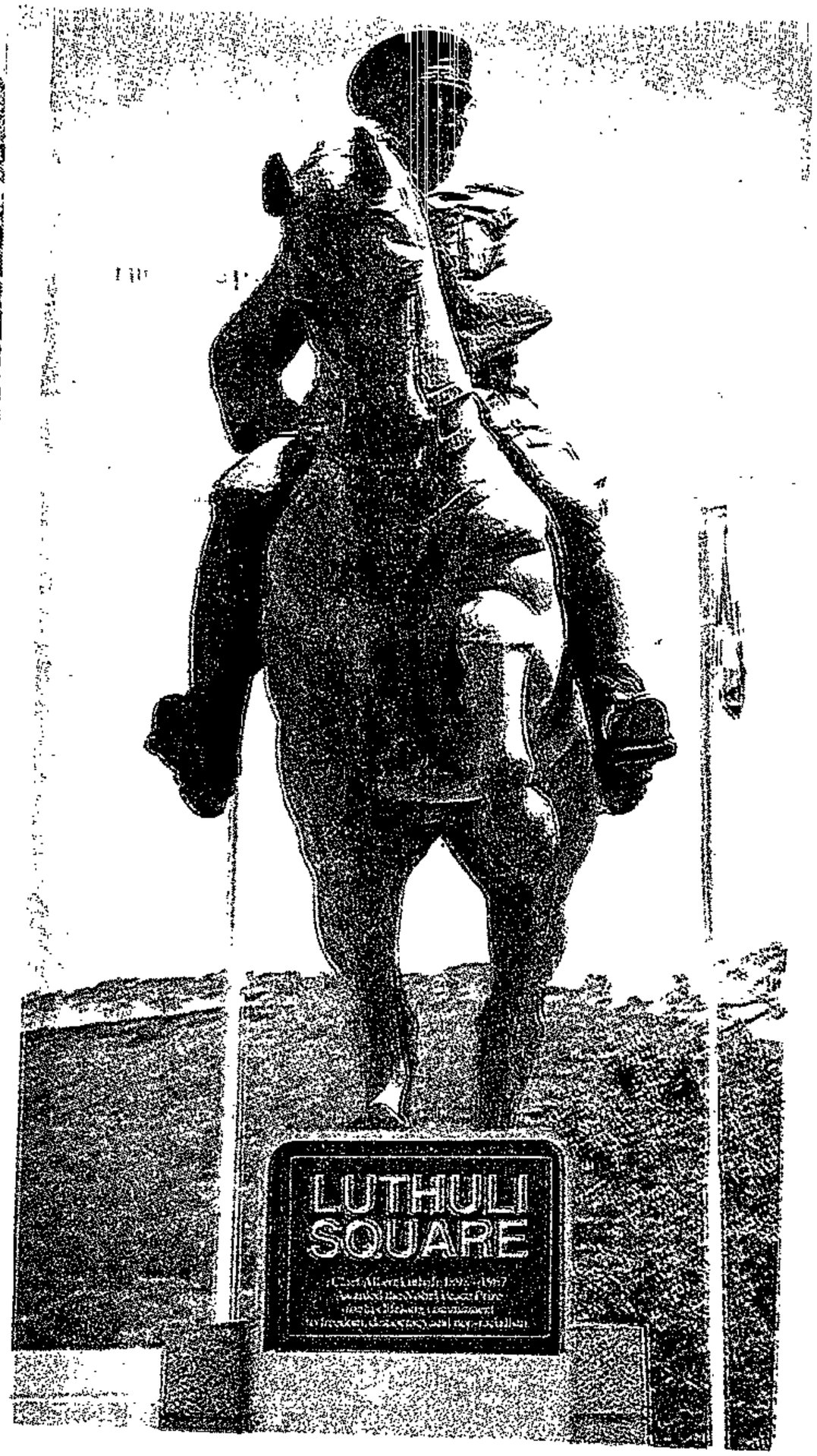
See story page 2

Pictures: LEON MULLER, The Argus.

SEA OF FACES: Television crews jostle with marchers to get a bird's eye view of proceedings during the ANC's unofficial renaming of Stalplein.



TOY SOLDIER: Armed with a wooden version of an AK 47 rifle, an ANC marshal stands guard at Stalplein.



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

DIFFERENT HEROES: Boer War hero General Louis Botha, who for decades has sat on his steed staring down Roeland Street, had his vantage point renamed after another hero, former ANC president Chief Albert Luthuli, yesterday. Officially, though, it is still known as Stalplein.

□ □ □

Old heroes make way for new SA

BOYA

ARG 13/10/92

CLIVE SAWYER, Staff Reporter

IT was a day for a new set of heroes — heroes unrecognised and in many cases unknown to the establishment represented in parliament.

That Stalplein had become Luthuli Square in the eyes of the 3 000 outside parliament was signalled by a board obscuring a street sign.

It noted that Chief Albert Luthuli (1898-1967) had been given the Nobel Peace Prize for his commitment to freedom, democracy and non-racialism.

The African National Congress alliance gave notice that the city council would be asked to make the change of name permanent and that the square was the first of many squares, streets and buildings due to have their names changed.

Yesterday's march from the Parade to Stalplein, while it drew fewer than the 5 000 expected, was in part a sentimental journey for veterans of formerly illegal protest.

Dr Allan Boesak, in the front rank, took part in the 1980s demos in Buitenkant Street which ended in the charge offices in Caledon Street.

Shopkeepers also remembered other marches, and some barred doors and windows.

They need not have bothered. The march was solemn and disciplined, culminating with the ANC alliance leadership gathering at the foot of the statue of General Louis Botha.

At the end of his introductory speech Dr Boesak gestured to the horseman and said: "*Hierdie oomie agter ons gaan ook 'n ander naam dra.*"

Mr Joe Slovo made an ironic play on President De Klerk's appeal to the ANC to "stop their nonsense".

It was this nonsense that had led to the Groote Schuur Minute and the Record of Understanding, and the same nonsense that would close down parliament and replace it with a people's parliament.

"So viva nonsense," said Mr Slovo, to an enthusiastic response from the crowd.

ANC deputy-president Mr Walter Sisulu said the gathering was being held in the middle of a city which belonged to all, but nowhere were there tributes to those who had died for freedom.

The last triumph before the crowd dispersed was news brought from parliament that independent MP and ANC member Mr Jan van Eck, thrown out during the last session for refusing to disclose sources of allegations about former president Mr P W Botha, was being reinstated.

DP wants heads to roll

CT 13/10/92

Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party last night demanded the resignation of the cabinet ministers responsible for the "spectacular bungling of the release of so-called political prisoners" (3049)

The DP's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew told Parliament the prisoner debacle was just another indication of the government's incompetence.

"Everyone knows that the early release of prisoners is a very sensitive issue. Any competent government would take extreme care to ensure that no mistakes were made."

Mr Andrew said it was "disgraceful" that hardened criminals had been set free because of administrative errors.

"The minister or ministers responsible should resign. If they do not, the State President owes it to the people of this country to dismiss them."

'Repent' call in house

A YOUNG woman was ejected from the public gallery of Parliament shortly before the State President delivered his opening address yesterday after she called on Parliament to "repent in the name of Jesus".

As the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw, finished reading the prayer, the woman, with blonde hair, a white blouse and black pants, stood up in the gallery and called out in a thin, clear voice: "This government must repent in the name of Jesus."

In the stunned silence that followed, she said: "This nation is crying and it is our cry too ... I ask you in the name of Jesus, Parliament repent."

She allowed herself to be led out of the public gallery.

OLD STRUGGLERS ... Mr Joe Slovo and Mr Walter Sisulu leave the "renamed" Stalplein after the rally. In the background are the Houses of Parliament and the statue of General Louis Botha on his horse. Picture: BENNY GOOL

FW pledges crackdown on armed wings

CT 13/10/92 (3049)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has promised to take "strong action" in cracking down on private armies, underground activities and mass action that has an "aggressive motive".

He also warned that there was "no question" of the government's implementing agreements reached in constitutional negotiations or taking part in elections until violence and intimidation had been curbed.

Spelling out the government's bottom line for a new constitution, Mr De Klerk insisted that a range of controversial principles would have to be negotiated in advance. An elected constitution-making body would not be given a blank cheque.

Mr De Klerk's sabre-rattling took place against a background of unease in National Party ranks that the government was losing its nerve and being outmanoeuvred in negotiations by the ANC/SACP alliance.

As thousands of ANC protesters bayed outside Parliament for its disbanding, Mr De Klerk told a joint sitting of MPs that the "so-called struggle" had to make way for "negotiations and the democratic conduct of politics".

In an address that hit hard against what he called "radicals inside and outside Parliament", Mr De Klerk said — amid a steady heckling — that "the law remains the law".

The government insisted on the dissolution of private armies, he said, adding that the country "cannot afford the violence any longer".

The government would undertake strict law enforcement, intensified control of mass action and extended steps against illicit arms and armes caches.

In a wide-ranging address, designed largely to convince jittery Nationalists and the business community that the government had not capitulated to the ANC, Mr De Klerk:

- Appealed to all political leaders to work for a "drastic turnabout", saying only radicals could benefit from disruption and deprivation.
- Dismissed "scare-mongering propaganda" that a constitution-making body would be given a "blank cheque". Agreement would have to be reached in advance on entrenching strong regional government, a senate to protect regional interests, a power-sharing executive and an executive subject to a constitutional court.
- Insisted that parties whose followers regularly clashed violently would have to reach an undertanding among themselves.
- Issued a warning to the ANC that the government was alert to strategies designed to delay negotiations unnecessarily.

Mr De Klerk said it remained the government's goal to get multi-party negotiations back on track as soon as possible.

'Much to do before elections'

Political Staff

MINISTER of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer has warned that even if multilateral talks resume this year, it is unlikely that elections can be held before the last quarter of 1993.

Speaking during the debate on the State President's "State of the Nation" address yesterday, Mr Meyer said many things had to be resolved before elections could take place.

Initially Codesa would have to be restructured and later its participants would have to agree on the first phase of transition.

This would require a transitional executive council and subcouncils that would prepare the way for interim government.

Echoing a statement by President F W de Klerk, Mr Meyer said the principles of the final constitution would also have to be negotiated before elections could take place.

Mr Meyer said it was sad that the Inkatha Freedom Party had withdrawn from negotiations. The government would meet the IFP this week and believed its participation was essential if there was to be a settlement.

However, he wondered how IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi could justify talking to the "racist" Conservative Party.

"How can the IFP get together with an apartheid party such as the Conservative Party?"

CT 13/10/92

B/DAY 13/10/92

CP to call for adjournment

CP LEADER Andries Treurnicht gave notice yesterday that he would move today that the short session be adjourned immediately. (304A)

Government was not able to proceed with its stated agenda and it could not afford such a waste of money, he said.

☐ A motion by Vlok that oral questions and interpellations not be dealt with in this session was passed after a division in which the CP and DP opposed it.

Parliament 'must repent'

A YOUNG woman was ejected from the public gallery in Parliament shortly before President F W de Klerk delivered his address yesterday, after she called on Parliament to "repent in the name of Jesus". (304A)

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B/DAY REPORTS: Sapa. 13/10/92

DP is official opposition

W 13/10/92 (304A)

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party yesterday became the "official opposition" in joint debates following the scrapping of racial seating in Parliament.

After the defection of six members of the Labour Party to the DP, it now has 37 MPs, one more than the Conservative Party. As a result DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, was the first to speak after President F W de Klerk yesterday.

The CP objected to the new seating arrangements before the President spoke yesterday, but were told by the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw, that the seating arrangements were his prerogative at a joint meeting.

Earlier the CP leader, Dr Andries Treurnicht, gave notice that he would move today that the parliamentary session should be halted because the government was unable to proceed with its agenda and the sitting was a burden on taxpayers.

The ANC regarded the present parliamentary session, which would cost the taxpayer more than R10 million, as a total waste of time and he and its other members would not support any of the legislation, Mr David Dalling (Ind Sandton) said yesterday.

Speaking during debate on the President's address, he said none of the bills before Parliament were urgent or essential and the ANC would "not assist the President in this farcical window-dressing".

The ANC-aligned MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, has been reinstated to Parliament following his suspension after he claimed ex-President P W Botha knew about the existence of hit squads.

SA elections in 1993, urges US

(304A) CT 14/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The United States government would be "very disappointed if elections did not take place in 1993", US assistant secretary of state for African affairs Mr Herman Cohen said yesterday

Speaking to the media here, Mr Cohen said the US did not wish to impose any time frames on negotiations, but unless a political solution was reached soon the economy would deteriorate to the point where it could not recover.

Responding to President F W de Klerk's opening speech in Parliament on Monday, Mr Cohen cautioned the government against holding progress towards a democracy hostage to violence.

"To do so is to give in to terrorism," he said.

There were elements involved in the violence that did not wish to see progress.

Mr De Klerk said during his opening address to Parliament that no constitutional agreements were possible until political violence had been curtailed.

However, Mr Cohen said he believed violence should not be an element in the decision-making process.

He expressed the hope the ANC and the government would develop what he described as the "main lines" of a future settlement before going into a constituent assembly. "Negotiations should not be by-passed. That is my main message."

He said US government aid to South Africa was unlikely to increase because of budgetary limitations.

He added that the beginning of World Bank and International Monetary Fund operations in South Africa would be a key to economic progress.

Once there was a government with a multi-racial character, the US could remove its objections which had been standing in the way of IMF involvement.

Mr Cohen said the US continued to favour a federal-type system for South Africa, but believed the central government should retain sufficient power and resources to address the distortions caused by apartheid.

● The US and South Africa have agreed on a common policy towards the results of the Angolan election, both vowing to support the United Nations' decision on whether or not it was free and fair, Mr Cohen said..

He said he and Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha had agreed they would urge Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi to accept the final results of the election.

ANC 'has no prisoners'

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday denied the organisation had any prisoners in camps in African countries.

Speaking after a meeting with US assistant secretary of state for African affairs Mr Herman Cohen here, he said he had invited SA Council of Churches secretary-general Mr Frank Chikane and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone to inspect ANC camps.

"No one has taken us up on this invitation."

Mr Mandela said he had briefed Mr Cohen and the visiting director of the Information Agency in Washington, Mr Henry Catto, on the violence in South Africa. — Sapa

Report urges proportional representation

STAR 14/10/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — A proportional electoral system would be more suitable to a deeply divided society such as South Africa than would majority or relative majority systems, according to a President's Council report published today.

The report on a Proportional Polling System in a New Constitutional Dispensation says a proportional electoral system is fair and provides a voice for smaller parties.

Proportional representation is not, however, the answer to the protection of minority rights, but is one method of enhancing other constitutional techniques, such as federalism.

The committee which drew up the report is convinced that a new, durable electoral system should be the result of intensive debate and inclusive negotiations.

The President's Council gathered information worldwide to reach a recommendation for a practical polling system.

The council's constitutional committee believed that any proportional system suitable for South Africa had to be fair, and have maximum proportionality and just relationships between votes cast and representation.

A fixed regional party list system which allowed voters to choose between competing parties and which was easily understood might be the solution for South Africa. This system would incorporate compensatory seats through which the best losers gained representation.

Some of the main recommendations contained in the report are:

- No voters rolls be used, with the only qualification to vote being an ID document and being 18 years or older.
- All votes to have equal value.
- Ballot papers to include symbols of parties.
- Each region to have a different colour ballot paper to facilitate mobility of the ballot paper rather than of the voter. This would mean a person could vote anywhere, using the colour ballot for his region.
- An independent, impartial electoral commission would allocate the number of seats for each region.

The committee said that in any political system a great deal of responsibility and power rested in the hands of the popular representatives. This responsibility and power must, according to democratic principles, be justified by consent of the population. Elections constituted the mechanism that provided this justification. — Sapa.

IFP kept informed, says Meyer

(204A) STAR 14/10/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — The Government claimed yesterday that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi had been kept informed of the "progress and contents" of negotiations with the ANC which led to the controversial "Record of Understanding" on September 26.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told Parliament that it was therefore unfair of Chief Buthelezi to have broken off negotiations with the Government on the grounds that he had not been informed.

Meyer said the Government regarded the IFP's participation in negotiations as important.

The Government would again inform the IFP of progress in negotiations when it met the party this week.

Meyer said the IFP should explain how it could co-operate with an apartheid party like the Conservative Party which believed in racism.

He was apparently referring to the recent meeting and agreement between the CP, IFP and other homelands parties.

Earlier President de Klerk said a series of important bilateral talks would be taking place over the next two weeks between the Government and other parties.

CT 14/10/92

ANC welcomes Van Eck return

(30 WA)

THE ANC's Western Cape chairman, Dr Allan Boesak, yesterday welcomed the decision to re-instate Mr Jan van Eck, the MP for Claremont, to Parliament.

"Mr Van Eck was suspended after a courageous speech in which he drew attention to those who died because of apartheid. When he proposed a minute of silence for them, he was greeted with catcalls and rowdiness. We wish him well," he said.

Call for ANC MPs to resign

NATIONAL Party MP for Klip River Mr Jacko Maree yesterday challenged ANC MPs Mr Rob Haswell and Mr Pierre Cronje to resign their seats if they were not prepared to accept National Peace Committee (NPC) findings.

Mr Maree's call to the two Natal MPs in the "state of the nation" debate followed an attack he made on ANC Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala, who he said had "sneered" at an NPC finding that he had broken the Peace Accord. (304A)

7/4/10/92

Special session 'waste of time, money'

CT 14/10/92 (304)

Political Staff

THE special session of Parliament called by President F W de Klerk will cost R10 million or less than R2m, depending on who is doing the sums.

But opposition parties are united in believing that the session is, at least, a waste of time.

Mr De Klerk, in his closing address, said there was an "element of urgency" about the process in the country and legislation to be passed during the session would facilitate it.

ANC-aligned independent MP for Sandton Mr Dave Dalling lashed out in Parliament at what he believed was a waste of R10m.

He said none of the bills before Parliament were essential or urgent.

He said the extra costs incurred would comprise transport for 308 MPs and their wives and about 150 officials to and from Parliament, accommodation and meals, setting up and re-opening Parliament's catering facilities, hiring service staff and compiling documents and Hansards.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Mr Ken Andrew added up the various costs and felt that those specifically incurred as a result of the session would be less than R2m.

Mr Andrew said the session should have been cancelled when it became evident that Mr De Klerk's reason for calling it — to pass legislation agreed in negotiations — had fallen away.

"The president should simply have called it off," he said.

'State spending fraud' exposed

CT 14/10/92

(304A)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

SHOCK disclosures about fraud, corruption and misspending in government departments were made in Parliament yesterday by the Joint Committee of Public Accounts.

The all-party committee called for a judicial commission of inquiry into the collapse of the multi-million rand Cape Investment Bank (CIB), and slammed the SA Defence Force for allowing individual CCB members to control accounts worth nearly R4 million.

It also criticised the government for building a computer centre, originally estimated to cost R38m but which eventually cost R93m, without obtaining official approval.

The report was "a saga of incompetence, mismanagement and lack of government control over state expenditure", said the Democratic Party's deputy finance spokesman, Mr Jasper Walsh.

"If Finance Minister Derek Keys's intentions to cut expenditure are genuine he should start by evaluating those responsible for administering and spending state funds."

Uncover truth

The committee's call for a judicial commission into the CIB follows the investment of R246 983 463 in the bank by the SA Rail Commuter Corporation Limited and R21,1m accumulated interest when it was placed under provisional liquidation in April 1991.

The committee said it could not uncover the true state of affairs about the motives for placing the investments in CIB "far in excess of the institution's capitalisation, while the interest rates offered by the institution were in some cases only marginally better and for the rest no better than those offered by larger institutions".

Mr Walsh said the former Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, thought he had given the corporation permission to invest R500m, but the corporation thought it had been given open-ended approval to borrow R2,5 billion of state-guaranteed funds in order to make the R500m.

In the process, the corporation had provided 85% of CIB's borrowings and its investments had been made by a man with a Std 8 qualification, Mr Walsh said. The committee found it "disturbing" that R856 964,13 had been placed in a foreign bank account under the control of a single member of the CCB without the authority or knowledge of the Department of State Expenditure.

The committee also expressed its concern that the defence force had permitted the CCB pension fund of about R3m to be placed under the control of a single trustee.

Angolan Interior Minister Francisco Paiva, right, welcomes Pik Botha to Luanda. Picture: AP

Pik bears message from Savimbi to Dos Santos

B/DAY 14/10/92

RAY HARTLEY

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha was scheduled to deliver a message from Unita leader Jonas Savimbi to Angolan president Jose Eduardo dos Santos last night in a further bid to defuse growing tension in Luanda.

Foreign Affairs official Gary Scallan said yesterday Botha was also scheduled to meet Luanda's Catholic bishop Cardinal de Nacimento, who could also play a mediating role, later last night.

Botha met Unita leader Jonas Savimbi in Huambo, central Angola, earlier and could extend his stay beyond today to hold a further meeting with Savimbi, he said.

"At this stage Minister Botha's trying so hard to collect all the data he can. He had his first meeting at 2.30am this morning," Scallan said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Hank Cohen said yesterday in Johannesburg the US and SA had agreed on a common policy towards the Angolan election results and the course of action to be followed to prevent a return to war.

He and Botha had vowed to support the UN decision on whether the election was free and fair and had agreed to urge Savimbi to accept the results.

It was unfortunate that Savimbi had questioned the validity of the elections instead of submitting his allegations to the UN.

He confirmed that the US would establish relations with a government emerging from a free and fair election.

Scallan said UN officials took "a very very wise decision" not to release the election results yesterday.

He said the situation in Luanda had calmed down substantially after restless Angolans were told the results had been delayed. However, sporadic gunfire could be heard on the outskirts of the capital.

Sapa-Reuter reports that two people were killed in Luanda on Monday night, and that yesterday Unita troops mobilised in at least five provinces.

Scallan said there had been a substantial reduction in the number of SA businessmen visiting the capital since tensions flared at the weekend. SAA had "acted pre-emptively" in cancelling a scheduled flight to Luanda on Monday. The move had created the wrong impression about SA's commitment to African countries, he said. The cancellation had left 126 passengers stranded at the airport.

He could not confirm reports Britain had decided to evacuate all non-essential personel from their embassy yesterday.

Scallan said seven Angolan parties supported Savimbi's accusations of electoral fraud.

Development policy for SA on the agenda

B/DAY 14/10/92

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A CONFERENCE on development and democracy in sub-Saharan Africa, convened jointly by the Africa Institute of SA and the Institute for African Alternatives, begins at the Balalaika Hotel in Sandton today.

Academics and policymakers from countries throughout Africa will attempt to map out a new development path for SA.

A spokesman for the Institute for African Alternatives said there were important policy pointers that could be derived from Africa's experience with democracy in the post-Cold War era and with their development efforts since gaining independence.

Topics to be debated include renewing and restoring democracy in Africa, the role of the state and the civil service, growth with equity in regional co-operation, and the need for development-orientated government.

Electoral system proposed

B/Day 14/10/92

LINDA ENSOR (304A)

CAPE TOWN — A fixed party list system combining regional and national elements has been proposed as a suitable proportional electoral system for SA by the President's Council's constitutional affairs committee.

14/10/92

The committee's report on a proportional polling system was released yesterday.

Organisations ranging from the ANC to the HNP presented evidence to the committee and there was broad consensus, the report said, on the need for proportional representation in SA. However, no submissions were made by Inkatha, the SACP or Cosatu, despite invitations to them.

President's Council deputy chairman and constitutional affairs committee chairman J H Heyns said that a fixed party list system fulfilled an essential requirement of any voting system, namely that it be simple and comprehensible. This was needed especially in SA, where there was a high level of illiteracy.

The committee recommended a fixed party list in the regions supplemented by the "best losers" out of the regions, calculated on a proportional basis in terms of the national vote support of the party.

In terms of the proposals, all citizens of 18 years and older will have one vote each in a secret election for the 400 seats in the lower house of Parliament. They would vote on the basis of their identity documents, and the different parties could be designated by a symbol on the ballot paper. There would be no need for a voters' roll.

An independent electoral commission would determine the number of seats to be allocated to each region on the basis of population. The system would ensure that one representative would be elected for every 52 000 voters

Of the 400 seats, 300 would be elected on a party basis on regional lists and 100 compensatory seats would be allocated on a national basis thereafter to achieve higher proportionality.

If the number of seats a party secured out of the 300 regional seats was less than the number of seats to which the party was entitled in proportion to its national support when all the regional voting was combined, this difference would be made up from the 100 compensatory seats.

Heyns said the proposal overcame the weakness of national lists in a proportional system, namely the lack of grassroots contact and accountability of political representatives.

ED BALANCE SHEET

30 Sept 1992	30 Sept 1991	31 March 1992

Interim report

The results for the six months to 30 Septemb
Inhold's 55,3 per cent interest in Investec Ba
subsidiaries. Net income increased by 31,6 pe

ANC must 'change its colours'

B/DAY 14/10/92. (304A)

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk took a stern stand against the ANC yesterday, saying he would not form an interim government with the ANC as it existed now.

He told Parliament he expected the ANC to be transformed from a militant movement into a registered political party and to shed its uniforms and weapons. He did not expect the SACP to be a part of an interim government "because it did not have the support of the people".

Winding up the debate on his opening speech on Monday, De Klerk also reduced the CP to a remnant of a faction which had no right to talk of declaring any war.

He said the only reason the ANC and the CP did not want the short session of parliament to take place was because they no longer held Parliament in esteem and were thinking in extra-parliamentary terms.

He said Parliament should hold the current debate so that voters could be brought up to date with the state of play in politics.

De Klerk said it had been argued that some of the session's envisaged legislation could stand over. This was so, but in the case of others there was an element of urgency. The path had to be cleared administratively for the new constitutional dispensation.

Legislation on by-elections provided for proportional representation. And legislation was envisaged dealing with political prisoners.

He said he stood by the apology he made last week for apartheid. All Nationalists who were instrumental in and who took part in decision making under that policy were also sorry for having clung to it for too long.

He also made it clear that:

- Government would act against any threat to Ulundi or Bophuthatswana;
- No party, including the ANC, was in a position to make promises about what it would do after the next election as it would be part of a government of national unity, jointly deciding what was to be done;
- The Record of Agreement with the ANC did not contain any constitutional principles which had not already been agreed to at Codesa by the very same (homeland) parties which now objected; and
- The Record of Agreement reflected, in terms of action taken on hostels and dangerous weapons, actions government had in any case committed itself to taking.

He said the two "independent" homelands were free to stay out of Codesa and that government would not interfere in their internal affairs but KwaZulu had opted to remain in SA when offered independence.

Inkatha was so far removed from the CP that he failed to see how the parties could sit at the same table. This was clear opportunism by the CP.

He also warned that he would not sit in a unity government with the ANC as it was now. "It will have to change. It will have to get to grips with its radicals."

He did not envisage sitting on a government of national unity with the SACP because he believed the latter lacked popular support. — Sapa.

Committee slams govt over investment record

B/DAY 14/10/92

CAPE TOWN — — A parliamentary committee yesterday slammed government's record on private sector investment, and recommended strict controls.

The joint committee on public accounts said statutory bodies had regularly flouted official guidelines to make suspect or unsound investments.

The committee recommended in a report to Parliament that:

- Private sector investments should be matched by a certificate from the institution attesting that no one was paid a commission or offered an inducement;
- No further investments should be allowed to be based on insurance policies linked to officials' lives;
- Statutory bodies should spread their investments in a manner that ensured the highest rate of return and maximum security for the funds concerned.

The committee also reported on mismanagement in state departments and state-owned institutions.

Criticisms took in the management of the former Civil Co-operation Bureau, the Department of State Expenditure, the Department of Correctional Services, the Human Sciences Research Council, the Meat Board, the SA Medical Research Council and the SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC).

The committee said the SARCC invested R2,6bn for money market transactions aimed at marginal profit, and covered only 29,8% of its expenses. It was expected to make up its annual deficits by borrowing in the money and capital markets. — Reuter.

Investec Holdings Limited

CONSOLIDATED INCOME STATEMENT

CONSOLIDATED

	30 Sept 1992	%	30 Sept 1991	31 March 1992

NEWS Parliament spells out proposals for first non-racial general election next year

System ready for non-racial poll

■ **Report on how all South Africans will be able to vote:**

Sowetan 14/10/92 (304A)

NO voters roll needs to be compiled for next year's proposed non-racial general election as the South African identity card machinery and the population register provides for this function.

This is proposed in a report that was tabled in Parliament yesterday and which explains in a cumbersome but comprehensive way the basis and technical details for South Africa's first non-racial election.

The report steers clear of polemics or party politics and deals only with the technical issues surrounding the election of a legislature for the country - presumably a two-chamber Parliament with an upper and lower House.

The lower House will have 400 seats, 300 of which will be occupied by representatives (seats obtained by any party) with the proviso that such a person (representative) receives more than 52 000 votes in any one or more regions.

While the question of citizenship is still dependent on negotiations, each registered citizen will be able to vote after a "relatively simple form of registration".

● See page 7.

NEWS Guidelines for one person one vote tabled

Fair voting system put to Parliament

Sowetan 14/10/92 (304A)

■ Guildelines for one ~~man,~~ one vote presented after in-depth research:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa's first non-racial general election, mooted for late next year, should take place within a set of guidelines contained in a report tabled in Parliament yesterday by the President's Council.

The Report of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs on a Proportional Polling System for South Africa in a new Constitutional Dispensation has been put together after contributions from political and other organisations ranging from the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress to Vista University and 18 foreign embassies in the country.

It delineates in cumbersome detail the basis for the envisaged one-person, one-vote election and how the representation in parliament's lower chamber should be divided.

This presupposes that a new legislature will have an upper and lower chamber. The upper chamber, the report states, could be elected either directly or indirectly.

The report proposes that parliament's lower chamber should have 400 seats and that representatives be elected on a minimum of approximately 52 000 votes for each representative.

This figure was reached by dividing the estimated number of voters in the country, including the homelands and self-governing states - about 20,975 million - by the 400 seats.

Many factors were taken into consideration in deciding on a fair and just system of proportional representation as an electoral mechanism for a future legislature for the country - most important of all was the extremely high rate of illiteracy in the country.

In terms of figures provided by the Development Bank of South Africa, at least 45 percent of all black people (over the age of 13 and having completed lower than a Standard 4) are illiterate as opposed to one percent whites.

Nevertheless, 300 of the seats in the lower house should be elected through multi-member constituencies or regions. In other words, after it has been decided, through negotiations, how many electoral regions the country will be divided into, parties can nominate their representatives for each region.

The number of representatives in each region is allocated in proportion to the total number of voters in the region, the report states.

In simpler terms yet, a sparsely populated area, such as the Northern Cape, will have fewer seats than a densely populated area such as Natal.

The mathematical example given, based on the DBSA's nine development regions, illustrates the point better still.

As the Northern Cape has an estimated 628 000 voters this region will receive 2,99 percent of 300 seats which amounts to 9.

Natal in turn has approximately 4,7 million voters and could therefore get at least 22 percent of 300 seats, this amounts to about 66 seats.

The remaining 100 seats - to make up 400 in the lower chamber - will be made up of the "best of the losers" in specific regions.

This could mean that if, for example, the National Party, the ANC and Inkatha ran away with the first 300 seats, smaller parties, like Azapo, the PAC and the Conservative Party, with concentrated support in the Northern Transvaal, could steal home in the remaining 100.

This could mean, too, that small parties with no national following, such as Sofasonke in Soweto, might actually get representation.

In the most basic brush strokes, this is how the report suggests a future general election should take place.

And given the fact that there has been considerable agreement on the issue of proportional representation, it can be assumed that the report's proposals are likely to be implemented in a general election.

Proportional representation gets the vote

ARG 14/10/92 (304A)

TOS WENTZEL of The Argus Political Staff analyses a President's Council report which concludes that proportional respresentation would be the fairest electoral system for South Africa.

THE proportional electoral system for future parliamentary elections would be the fairest for South Africa, according to a President's Council report.

The report, by the council's committee for constitutional affairs, says there is a growing consensus among most political parties that a form of proportional representation should be given preference.

The decision to choose a proportional electoral system for South Africa was based on various arguments:

● The democratic principles of representation made this choice imperative.

The process of democratisation in South Africa could not succeed unless all the political institutions created were accepted as legitimate.

This included the electoral system. Many of the most important elements of legitimacy were embodied in a proportional system.

The system comprised maximum proportionality. There was a fair ratio between the votes recorded for a party and the number of seats won by that party.

All votes recorded had equal value, it was a representative system in which the individual vote was not easily distorted by factors such as geographical distribution, race or class. The number of "surplus" votes were minimised.

● There was almost complete consensus that majoritarian electoral systems and relative majority systems were unsuitable for both the first and second levels of government in deeply divided societies.

Because clearly recognisable ethnic bases existed in politics a majority system could possibly hamper changes of government. Thus a permanent majority for a dominant governing group could be created.

● The extremely fragmented nature of South African society, which was reflected in its party system, indicated the solution to be proportional representation.

There were a number of extremist fringe parties who could only be accommodated in conventional politics by the use of a proportional system with a low admission threshold. By including them in the conventional political system unconstitutional action could be avoided.

● Such a system could be based on internationally accepted principles even though adaptations may be necessary to suit local conditions.

It would therefore be possible to rely on the support of the international community, particularly if the first election were to be internationally monitored.

A fixed national party list in some nine regions is suggested as the best system. There will also be compensatory seats if the number of seats a party wins in the regions is less than it is entitled to in proportion to its support throughout the country.

The report points out that the majority systems such as the Westminster system of single-member constituencies being used in South Africa at present create great distortions in election results.

Thus, in the 1948 general election, the National Party alliance drew 42 percent of the vote and 52,7 percent of the seats, while the United Party alliance had 51 percent of the votes and 47,3 per cent of the seats.

The report suggests nine regions in the country with a formula to compensate parties who gain fewer seats at regional level than it is entitled to in proportion to its support throughout the country.

The single-member constituency of the present system will be done away with. The report suggests a system of regions because this would correct the shortcoming of just one national list until proportional representation — the lack of accountability.

It was usually claimed that party elites and a party bureaucracy made decisions on the composition of a national list. Any party wishing to make progress in a democracy would have to take account of the voters at grassroots level in the regions.

With the number of potential voters estimated to be 20 975 000, 400 seats could be allocated to a lower house of parliament, with 100 being compensatory seats.

If a party gained fewer seats than its overall vote in the various regions entitled it to, it would be compensated from the 100 seats.

Parties would have difficulty in expanding if they did not have candidates from the various minority segments of the population. It would be in the interests of the parties themselves to reflect broad society in their regional lists.

If there is a bicameral system the second chamber could be a boidy of some 200 members elected either in direct elections or indirectly or by members of the first chamber.

The report says that proportional representation provides a voice for the smaller parties and therefore by implication to parties with support from minority groups. Ademocratic cultite was extended in this way.

It should however be borne in mind that proportional representation was not the answer to the protection of minoity rights. It was merely one of the secondary methods of further enhancing the other constitutional techiques that could be used such as federalism and division of power.

Supremacists defy FW (304A)

THE white supremacist Boere Weerstandsbeweging yesterday warned it would go underground and start a liberation struggle "that would make Bosnia look like a school picnic" if the Government disbanded private armies. Sowetan 14/10/92

The movement was reacting to State President FW de Klerk's address to Parliament on Monday in which he listed the existence of private armies as one of the obstacles to democracy negotiations, stating they would have to be "deactivated and then dissolved".

'No radicals'

Pik in last ditch peace bid

SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY . . . Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha (left) shakes hands with Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi. He held talks with Dr Savimbi in a last-minute effort to avert a return to civil war in Angola.

Picture: AP

LUANDA. — Unita troops mobilised in several provinces yesterday after two people died in fresh

Eduardo dos Santos. "I am encouraged," he said.

ments in Benguela, Malanje and Huila provinces.

ANC gets ultimatum to change

(3049) CT 14/10/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday dropped a political bombshell by refusing to participate in a government of national unity if the ANC retained its current form.

The hardline ultimatum directed at radicals and communists in the ANC could have major implications for the negotiation process and transition to democracy.

Replying to the two-day "State of the Nation" debate which was dominated by ANC and SACP-bashing by government ministers, Mr De Klerk warned that the National Party was not prepared to sit down with the ANC "as it is now" in a government of national unity. He said the ANC would first have to transform itself by getting a grip on the radicals in its ranks and converting from a militant organisation to a political party "like us".

The ANC would also "have to come and sit here stripped of its uniforms and its weapons" and grasp democracy.

In an apparent insistence that the SA Communist Party should drop its alliance with the ANC, Mr De Klerk said he did not believe the Communist Party would be part of a government of national unity because it did not have enough popular support.

ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said the organisation would only respond in detail to Mr De Klerk's preconditions after a national executive committee meeting today. But she noted that "the government does not have the right to lecture to any party about democracy".

ANC MP for Claremont, Mr Jan van Eck, said Mr De Klerk's attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of another party were "ridiculous", adding that "De Klerk cannot dictate to us who our alliance partners should be".

Mr De Klerk's hardline stance came after he had outlined tough pre-conditions for introducing a transitional government in his opening address.

This contrasted sharply with the praise he handed to KwaZulu's Chief Magosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

Both Ciskei and Bophuthatswana were foreign countries and would not be pressurised into returning to South Africa. "It is their right to say they don't want to come back." But he warned that they were dependent to varying degrees financially on the present government, and would be on any future government.

Referring to the Memorandum of Understanding signed with the ANC after the summit between himself and Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr De Klerk dismissed suggestions that the accord amounted to "capitulation" by the government.

Turning to the blanket ban on the public display of dangerous weapons, he said it was "nonsense" to suggest this was aimed at the carrying of cultural weapons.

The proclamation was targeted at the carrying and display of all dangerous weapons — including AK47s and even the Lichtenburg Target Shooting Club, which would need a permit to carry their weapons in public.

Exemptions from the proclamation would be geared at recognition of the cultural rights of the Zulus in particular, because this was extremely important to them.

Mr De Klerk devoted a sizeable part of his speech to the Conservative Party, which he said was not in a position to declare war, but could only start a rebellion.

He said the CP was being "opportunistic" in its talks with Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu, about what conditions would prevail if the party had its way.

● Minister: MK targets W Cape — Page 2

US warns against delay in nonracial poll

B/DAY 14/10/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

THE US would be "very disappointed" if nonracial elections did not take place in 1993 and felt frustrated at delays in negotiations, Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen warned yesterday.

At a media briefing in Johannesburg, Cohen said politicians had to avoid allowing progress towards democracy to be held hostage to violence, which had to be negotiated to an end.

He was responding to a question concerning President F W de Klerk's statement in Parliament that elections could not be held until violence and intimidation stopped.

This was an "open invitation to people to perpetrate violence, because that is their objective: not to have negotiations".

Cohen said the US government's desire to see a political solution was reached soon was related to its concern that if this did not happen the economy would deteriorate to the point where it could not recover.

He was hopeful that the ANC and government would develop "the main lines of a future settlement" before going into an interim government and constituent assembly. "Negotiations should not be bypassed. That is my main message."

After his meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday, Cohen said there was little difference between government and the ANC on the major constitutional issues. He said Mandela had told him the ANC had agreed there should be a devolution of power to regions but still had to negotiate to what extent this should happen and what the boundaries would be.

Cohen felt positive about the "significant evolution" of ANC economic thinking.

However, he voiced strong concern about the organisation's mass action programme in the homelands, urging it to defer its campaign until an interim government was in place.

● Picture: Page 3

Appointments Bill a 'Draconian' move

304A

ARG 15/10/92

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

A BILL to allow for Cabinet appointments from outside parliament has drawn strong criticism from Opposition parties who object to the creation of an "unhealthy" precedent.

The Constitution Amendment Bill is one of a handful of key pieces of legislation being presented to MPs during the present special session.

Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport told parliament the Bill was not intended to pre-empt negotiated agreements and that appointments made in terms of it would be made only if they were justified by developments in negotiations.

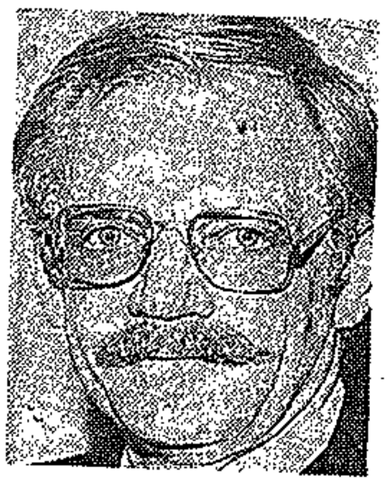
It would be up to the president to make such appointments, and appointed ministers would be answerable to the president.

The Bill also scraps the requirement that a minister must become an MP within a year of his or her appointment.

The Conservative Party rejected the Bill as a Draconian measure that could set South Africa on course to a dictatorship.

Deputy leader of the CP Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in a strongly worded speech that installing people to positions of executive authority without their having been elected to parliament amounted to a major constitutional alteration.

Dr Delport ... 'Up to the president'



Dr Hartzenberg ... 'CP was suspicious'

It could pave the way for the installation of an interim government. The CP was suspicious that the government might renege on its promise to consult voters on important constitutional changes.

Democratic Party constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said the DP was opposed to the Bill because the principle of appointing people to the Cabinet without their having been elected to parliament was unhealthy.

Labour Party MP Mr Miley Richards said it was not in the country's interests to tamper piecemeal with the constitution.

"You have made promises to reform and now come with piecemeal amendments which cause greater confusion."

SA 'should be South Africanised'

CT 15/10/92

SOUTH AFRICA should be "South Africanised" and the country should bring out the full diversity of its people.

ANC constitutional expert Professor Albie Sachs, giving a lecture at the National Monuments Council head office yesterday, said there should not be a "swopping of villains and heroes" when renaming monuments in the new South Africa.

South Africans were reminded constantly of an apartheid past by street names like Jan Strydom Avenue, airports named after past prime ministers and even Jan van Riebeeck's face on coins and notes.

People should define what monuments should be, "what are the sites ... trees, places, whatever they feel matters".

The changes should be made with sensitivity and humanity, "not with bulldozers and dictates".

"You don't want only African or white names — everyone should be represented."

He was against a central group's making name changes. "We should go for neutrality. We need not have portraits on our money — we could have fauna and flora."

Being South African did not mean being a bully and oppressor, it meant finding one's roots and symbols.

"We should not try to root out the past, but try to level it," Prof Sachs said. The name "South Africa" was acceptable. "I think it will continue to be South Africa, unless the majority want it changed."

304A

Symbols were supposed to bring people together, not divide them.

Cosatu says FW looked like PW

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's 'disastrous' performance in Parliament on Monday created the impression that "Groot Krokodil" — ex-President P W Botha — had made a comeback, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) said.

"Mr De Klerk's finger-wagging bluster was completely inappropriate, given the delicate negotiation process.

"It is the intransigence of his government, and its surrogates, who are clinging to power, which is raising the level of tension and conflict in our country."

The ANC said rather than seizing the opportunity to point the country out of the crisis, Mr De Klerk had used it to rehash the well-known positions of the NP.

Sapa reports that Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa objected yesterday to a warning by Mr De Klerk that the government would clamp down on the military wings of the ANC and the PAC. — Sapa

Changes to building societies tabled

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The Mutual Building Societies Amendment Bill, bringing mutual building societies into line with deposit-taking institutions in terms of minimum capital and reserve requirements, was tabled in Parliament yesterday.

The Bill empowers mutual building societies to issue permanent, unredeemable interest-bearing shares to drum up a hard core of capital.

This in turn will enable them to strengthen their capital bases to meet the new capital and reserve requirements.

The memorandum to the Bill, which would come before Parliament next year, said it had become imperative that mutual building societies be subjected to the same prudential requirements as deposit-taking institutions in the light of the greater freedom they had been granted by the adjustments made this year to their mandatory financial ratios. B/DAY 15/10/92.

Competitive

These new ratios made it necessary for mutual building societies to conform with a standard of risk management comensurate with the risk exposures that would be encountered as a result of the extension of their business.

New regulations came into effect on July 1 enabling mutual building societies to utilise their operating capital more profitably in the highly competitive financial services market.

The maximum ratio of operating capital that they were permitted to apply to business advances and general advances was increased from 30% to 70%. The minimum ratio of operating capital building societies were required to apply on housing advances was lowered from 70% to 30%.

Govt forces gambling legislation through

B/DAY 15/10/92.

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — In spite of vigorous opposition, government yesterday forced its controversial anti-gambling legislation — which will outlaw "hard gambling" from February 1 — through Parliament.

Crucial to its success was the support of the ruling House of Delegates party, Solidarity, which had blocked the legislation in the standing committee before the end of this year's parliamentary session on June 19.

The DP, with support from the Labour Party, argued vigorously that the legislation should have been suspended until the Howard commission completed its probe into gambling.

However, the NP majorities in the House of Assembly and the Solidarity support in the HoD gave government the numbers it needed to push through the legislation.

In terms of an amendment to the Gambling Amendment Bill, the legislation will only become applicable on February 1. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said that this was to give "illegal" casinos time to wind up their business.

However, there was still hope for at least some of the estimated 2 000 casinos that have sprung up this year. Coetsee confirmed yesterday that the Howard commission was to be expanded to include an urgent investigation into the desirability of permitting gaming in regions or areas where it was presently banned.

It is understood that areas or cities such as Cape Town, without easy access to a homeland casino, could be considered for an exemption.

Coetsee yesterday defended government's actions, saying it had no other aim than to create order in the present chaotic hard-gambling situation.

The DP mounted a scathing attack on the legislation during the debate, with Houghton MP Tony Leon saying it was a "piecemeal", "futile" and "knee-jerk" measure which made a mockery of careful and considered law-making.

The CP supported the Bill as the party was "strongly opposed to gambling", said Roodepoort MP Jurg Prinsloo.

ANC 'will ignore FW's demands'

B/DAY 15/10/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The ANC has chosen to ignore President F W de Klerk's insistence that it must control its radicals before joining the NP in a government of national unity, saying "we have heard it all before".

Spokesman Gill Marcus said the ANC would not react to the President's hardline pre-conditions, but sources in the organisation have already described them as unacceptable.

Marcus said the ANC's reaction to De Klerk's speech in Parliament on Monday still applied.

In that, the ANC said the President's "indulgence of his McCarthyite proclivities was as undignified as it was puerile. That he and members of his party still entertain the hope of sowing tension in the ANC by targeting members who are communists betrays a naivety that is laughable," it said.

Sapa reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht called for De Klerk's resignation and demanded government crack down on the ANC.

● Comment: Page 8

THE NATIONAL MOOD (304A)

A new kind of standstill

FM. 16/10/92.

Originally intended to ratify constitutional agreements reached at Codesa 2, the short session of parliament which began this week had no agreements to ratify. So it ended up as a symbolic restatement of positions — government within the tricameral system defending its record of caution, the ANC/Alliance surrounding parliament with the now-familiar rhetoric of mass action and personal abuse levelled at President F W de Klerk.

While government will shortly be speaking — at bilateral level — to various notional participants in constitutional negotiations, there is still no indication when full-fledged bargaining will resume at Codesa or its equivalent.

Talk now is of elections for a constituent assembly being held late next year at the soonest. The September 26 Record of Understanding signed between De Klerk and the ANC appears even more irrelevant to a proper settlement than it did at the time. Yet it was bought with the notorious exchange of psychopaths that will haunt the constitutional process for years to come since it subordinates the rule of law to political expediency.

In his address to the nation, De Klerk was quite right to lay emphasis on the unacceptability of mass action — underpinned by the continued existence and activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe — and the evident ascendancy of communist factions within the Alliance. To continued and escalating economic travail has been added a degree of uncertainty that will freeze aid and investment so long as Joe Slovo, Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils lead marches to express their hatred of free enterprise.

Just as these men's interests are ultimately served by the Bisho massacre, economic destitution will turn the masses to their leadership in the name of a vindictive, one-and-for-all appropriation of wealth. It doesn't matter that there will be no wealth left after that — it will be the more formal talking heads of the ANC who, as participants in government, will take the blame when things go wrong.

To the extent that De Klerk has set new preconditions for a national election — of which the cessation of violence seems most impossible to achieve — the groundwork is being laid for a new round of meetings that lead nowhere and a new round of mass action. This may be too pessimistic a view, and exhaustion may yet bring the parties together where reconciliation bristles with cynicism and mistrust.

The national perception is that our leaders are not really leading. Exhaustion, indeed, seems a terribly applicable term for a conclave of political hacks whom outsiders believe are bent on feathering their own nests and who are shadowed by a sense of their own mortality. One is also made a little weary of ANC president Nelson Mandela making his rote statements of gratitude to the regime in China, so grudgingly conceding a "socialist market economy" even as the ideas of capitalism and human rights flash across its provinces.

So we have economic and political stasis interspersed with street theatre, rule by inertia, and a slow but inexorable degradation in the quality of life. Only the work of decent people in the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission, and a few parliamentarians who keep the liberal flame alight pre-empt the kind of naked hostility which presages complete social breakdown.

Where would we be without them? ■

THE CONSTITUTION

De Klerk gets tough

FM 16/10/92 (304A)

Faced with a growing grass-roots rebellion and suggestions of a "split" in his Cabinet, President F W de Klerk this week set tough preconditions for any new move towards a transitional parliament. And Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer indicated that such a parliament, which will be charged with drawing up a new constitution, is unlikely to begin work until early 1994.

The moves were seen as an effort to alter the perception that government is being bullied into bilateral agreements with the ANC, at the expense of constitutional safeguards promised repeatedly since the reform process began nearly three years ago.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus says De Klerk is creating a crisis for himself by making promises he cannot keep. He says government's attempts to unilaterally predetermine important details of a new constitution are totally unacceptable to the ANC.

Some Cabinet Ministers were shocked by the mood at the recent round of National Party provincial congresses. Many delegates believed they were being badly let down by De Klerk and his senior negotiators. One party source says there is a perception that the more De Klerk gives in to the ANC, the more unreasonable the organisation becomes in its demands for further concessions.

The perception is exacerbated by the disruptive effects of mass action, escalating violence and the crumbling economy. The mood at the congresses apparently bolstered a "conservative" Cabinet faction that is reported to be insisting on a tougher line in constitutional talks. This faction is said to include men like Kobie Coetsee and Hernus Kriel, along with sidelined former security Ministers Magnus Malan and Adriaan Vlok. The "liberal" faction is said to favour more of a majoritarian approach without as many entrenched safeguards. This faction includes Roelf Meyer, Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers and Leon Wessels.

It seems that De Klerk has decided to follow the "conservative" line. In his State of the Nation address in parliament on Monday, he listed four issues on which there would have to be agreement before moving further towards transition:

- ☐ Strong and entrenched regional government with constitutionally entrenched authority, "wide and meaningful" powers and functions and "adequate" sources of revenue;
- ☐ A two-chamber parliament able to "meet the need for the protection of regional interests and certain specific interests" at central government level;
- ☐ Executive power sharing to prevent "excessive over-concentration of power in the hands of only one party or one person" — as is the case with the current constitution; and
- ☐ The entrenchment of the constitution and a Bill of Rights as the highest law.

"These and other principles will have to be negotiated in advance and these principles will have to be included in a new constitution," he said. In what was clearly a message to the ANC (for the benefit of conservative NP supporters) De Klerk said any party that believed it could force government into making "ill-considered concessions on principles in a back-to-the-wall situation" was "severely mistaken."

Upcoming constitutional negotiations would have to focus on the "unambiguous formulation of principles" that would be binding on the transitional parliament in its constitution-making task.

"When the envisaged transitional parliament comes to writing the final constitution it will not simply be able to do what it likes. It will be bound to clearly defined principles on which adequate consensus has been reached in advance on a multi-party basis."

Against the background of the conditions he laid down, De Klerk stressed that there was no question of the transitional parliament being given a "blank cheque."

Taking part in the debate after De Klerk's address, Meyer confirmed the government view that emerged after a Cabinet think-tank session in July — that elections for a transitional government are unlikely for at least a year. This means the constitution-making body will probably not start sitting until early in 1994.

Niehaus says while De Klerk's latest preconditions are unlikely to scuttle further bilateral talks between government and the ANC, they will certainly be raised "with concern" at future meetings. The issues mentioned by De Klerk went way beyond the "general constitutional principles" which, says Niehaus, government has already agreed should be the only parameters within which a constituent assembly should operate in drawing up a new constitution.

He interpreted De Klerk's speech as further evidence of what the ANC regards as government's ongoing efforts to entrench certain issues before the new constitution is negotiated. "He is making promises on which he can't deliver if he wants to create a true democracy. He won't be able to sell these issues to other parties and is creating his own crisis."

Niehaus says that, rather than make promises it can't keep, government should be preparing its supporters to accept the consequences of a full democracy. The ANC was not particularly concerned at this stage about Meyer's election date prediction (see *Elections*).

"We would like elections to be held as soon as possible, but the pace will be determined by the current negotiation process on the one hand and the creation of conditions under which elections will be free and fair on the other. It's not particularly useful to speculate about a date before the playing fields have been levelled."

In his speech, De Klerk also attempted to undercut the perception that the ANC is considered by government to be the only group with which agreement needed to be reached — which is the main reason for the current deterioration of relations between government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

He said bilateral talks would take place over the next two weeks with various parties, including the IFP, PAC, ANC and the right-wing Afrikaner Volksunie. "Our goal remains to get multi-party negotiations back on track as soon as possible." ■

ELECTIONS FM 16/10/92

The big one

(304A)

Parties have already begun preparing for SA's first nonracial general election, which could be held within a year. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in parliament this week that government did not expect the election — for a transitional government — to take place before the last quarter of 1993 at the earliest.

(A distinction should be made between an elected transitional government, which could act as both legislature and constitution-writing body, and the preparatory first phase of transitional government — which could take the form of multiparty joint executive com-

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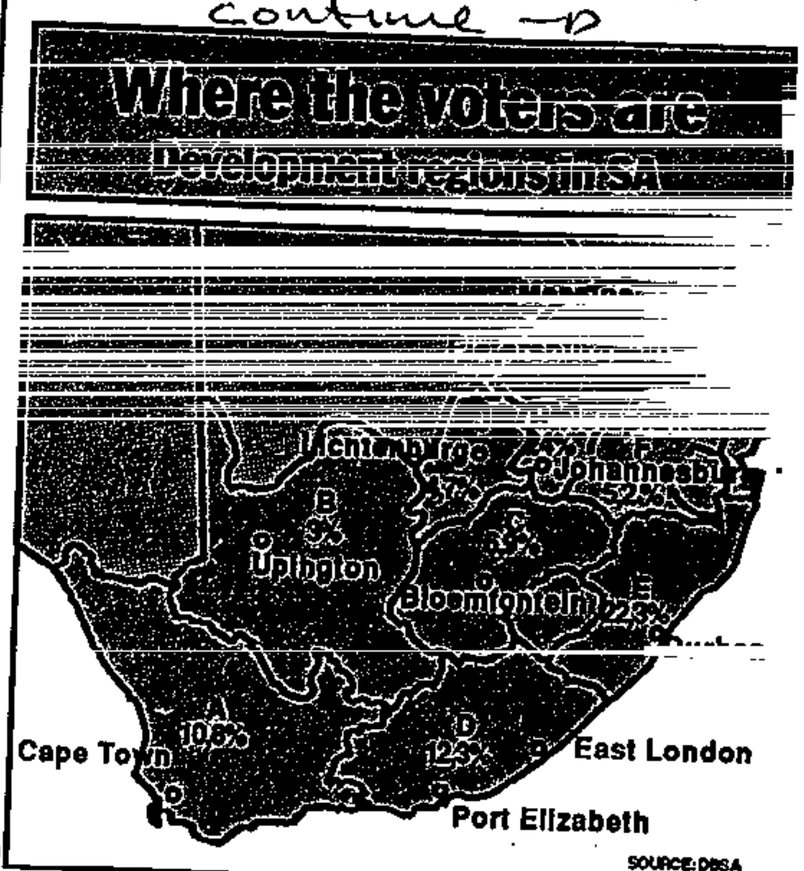

mittees in the run-up to elections.)

While the ANC claims that it would like to see an election as soon as possible — within about six months — spokesmen say in the same breath that much needs to be done first to "level the playing field."

It's no secret that the ANC knows that it is nowhere near prepared for an early test at the polls.

Launching the DP's Democratic Future Fund last Friday, party leader Zach de Beer said: "We have to prepare now to fight an election which may come as soon as 12 months from today." For this, the party — which, contrary to popular belief, is not generously bankrolled by big business, say DP organisers — needs millions of rands soon. The target is to raise R4m in the southern Transvaal and R15m nationally. The DP is fund-raising abroad for the first time.

By contrast, the ANC, which is ploughing about R13m (raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela in the US) into voter education, is thought to be looking for R200m-R300m for its campaign, according to a leaked strategy document. At an electioneering meeting in the Indian area of Pretoria at the end of May, the ANC's Thabo Mbeki (accompanied by Jan van Eck and Jannie Momberg) appealed for R10m in campaign funds from this (relatively rich) suburb alone.

Pitching the DP as the party of the liberal democratic centre, balancing the Nat/ANC power struggle, De Beer observed: "Where previously we fought only in chosen constituencies, we shall now be involved in proportional representation with a national electorate, which means we must fight in every village in the country. Where previously our electorate numbered 3,5m and spoke two languages, it will now number 20m and speak 10."

The only feasible way to operate in these conditions, he said, was by the use of printed literature and mass media advertisements. It was likely that people would vote on the basis of their identity documents instead of voters' rolls.

According to figures compiled by the Development Bank, about 21m people in SA, or 54% of the population, are estimated to be 18 and older. That's about the number who will be eligible to vote. More than two-thirds — about 68% — are black; 19% white, 10% coloured and 3% Indian. Some other interesting statistics emerge (see map):

- Nearly half the potential voters live in development regions H (the PWV area plus part of Bophuthatswana, with 24%) and E (Natal and part of Transkei, with 22%);
- Blacks are in the majority in all nine regions except the western Cape (region A), where 57% are coloured and 28% white;
- Almost 60% of all whites live in regions H (43%) and A (16%);
- Coloureds live mainly in region A (63,8%) and region D, the eastern Cape (12%);
- More than 80% of Indians live in region E, with 13% in region H;
- Some 14,4m blacks are estimated to be 18 years and older. About 25% live in region E, 21% in region H, 15% in region G (northern Transvaal and Venda) and 14% in region D; and
- Zulus form the largest ethnic group (3,8m), followed by Xhosas (3,5m), North Sothos (1,7m) and Tswanas (1,6m).

There remains, of course, a numerical correlation between ethnic groups and the regions in which the ethnically based homelands are located. For example, about 78% of Zulus live in region E, which includes KwaZulu. More than half the Xhosas are in region D — Ciskei and most of Transkei.

Almost 69% of North Sothos are in region G (which includes Lebowa) and about 87% of Tswanas are resident in regions B, H and J (in which the largest part of Bophuthatswana is located). The same is noticeable as far as the other ethnic groups are concerned, says the Development Bank.

According to the leaked ANC report, it seems the organisation expects to win 50% of the total vote, with the support of 68% of blacks, 3% of whites, 20% of coloureds and 30% of the Indian vote.

This ties in with an assessment made by the HSRC's Lawrence Schlemmer. Referring to the findings of more than 20 opinion surveys, which included rural polls, he puts the ANC's expected share of the total vote at between 45% and 50%; the NP at 25%-30%; and Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party at 10%-12%. Smaller parties such as the DP, CP and PAC get the balance and could, therefore, be well-placed to barter and engineer alliances.

These figures suggest that, if the ANC were to get 50% and the NP and Inkatha their lower estimates, the ANC is unlikely to enjoy a two-thirds majority even if all the smaller parties back it.

Government Ministers like Pik Botha (who, as Transvaal NP leader, is spearheading a recruitment drive in black townships) have said that the NP aims to be the biggest party. This is not regarded as likely — but it is not impossible either, particularly if the ANC alliance becomes fragile or hijacked by its communist radicals.

As second prize, however, the NP, alone or with allies, has set itself another very important goal, says SA Foundation researcher Ingrid Uys: to win at least one-third of the vote. That would enable the NP to share the task of writing a new constitution. ■

VIOLENCE — 1 FM 16/10/92

In search of facts

Early in the Eighties, John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SA Institute of Race Relations, inaugurated a difficult and controversial change in the institute's policy on publications. These would not in future present blacks as passive victims of apartheid but as active players on the political scene.

To that end the institute would run the risk of prosecution by quoting in its publications the statements of banned people. The change earned the publications enhanced international esteem from scholars who had long respected their accuracy and objectivity. But it meant that different criteria applied in evaluating these publications.

Institute researchers did not necessarily have a uniform political outlook. So, to maintain objectivity of institute publications, Kane-Berman had to find a magic formula. The direction he gave researchers was to "write about politically controversial matters in such a way that a reader will be unable to detect your personal viewpoint on politics."

Researchers' contributions to the *Race Relations Survey* carry no bylines; such anonymity was not afforded in the case of Anthea Jeffery's recent *Spotlight on Disinformation about Violence in SA*, also published by the institute. But a magic formula would hardly have been necessary for her.

She had a distinguished academic career at Wits, Cambridge and London; held senior positions at the University of Natal and Wits, before joining the staff of the Urban Foundation; after some years there she moved to her present position with the institute. Her entire career has been a training in objective and cautious expression, in regard to both matters of fact and opinion. She is manifestly not the kind of person who can be talked down.

In this work she sets out her reasons for finding that the International Committee of Jurists and other bodies have played down the ANC's role in political violence.

Some institute researchers and outside legal experts have branded Jeffery's work as clearly partisan. They say it has undermined the credibility of the institute as an independent research organisation.

Kane-Berman has replied that all the criticisms of Jeffery, including those of the researchers, have been carefully assessed and that her conclusions have been powerfully vindicated. He furthermore argues that the reasons for the attacks on the report had less to do with its content than with the institute's challenge to a "strongly held conventional wisdom that violence should be blamed almost completely on the State and its perceived allies."

If Kane-Berman's endorsement of Jeffery is right, the SA Police is working under a serious handicap. It is expected to be impeccable in efforts to keep the peace while the ANC, its chief accuser, is engaging in activities which make the SAP's task one of the utmost difficulty.

The institute's basic conviction is that close and peaceable relations between all the inhabitants of SA are possible, and hence imperative. Since political violence threatens this conviction, it has a unique place in the institute's concerns. Those who kill or maim strike not only at the persons of their victims but at our precarious, fledgling body politic.

Turning back to the 1991/1992 *Survey*: in January 1991, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe-

Continue →

Fun, food and Boer firepower

W/Mail 16/10-22/10/92 (304A)

Target shooting, braaivleis, a rock ceremony and wrestling were all part of two rightwing Kruger Day celebrations. By **KEVIN CARTER**

A NEAT pile of rocks — slightly blackened lumps of dolomite — was stacked in front of the stage at Paardekraal during a Kruger Day ceremony on Saturday. It marked, said Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht, "the greatest conciliatory gesture by English-speaking countrymen since before the Boer wars".

These were not just any rocks. The British, the claim goes, broke down a monument built in memory of women and children who had died in the concentration camp at Paardekraal, and dumped the rubble into the Vaal river near the old Vereeniging railway bridge.

With the help of a group of ex-Rhodesian divers, English-speaking Conservative Party MP Clive Derby-Lewis retrieved the rocks from their muddy grave and brought them back to Paardekraal. "The time has certainly come," said Treurnicht, with a visibly emotional Derby-Lewis standing at his side, "for all English-speaking patriots to let bygones be bygones, and to join hands with the Boer to resist the common enemy of black domination."

About 2 000 people — the event had been billed as a *saamtrek* of the Boer nation — turned up to see the rocks ceremoniously placed in front of the gate of the prison-like heart of the monument.

The National Party town council had refused permission for the rocks to be placed inside the monument, but as Treurnicht explained, "We are a law-abiding people, and hope that the council will consider putting the rocks inside the monument at a later date."

Evidently not everyone agreed with the decision. Shouts of *verraiers!* (traitors!) broke from sections of the crowd.

It was, in a sense, the day's only political moment: the rest was innocent *boerepret*. Young people exchanged kisses between verses of *Die Lied van Jong Suid Afrika*; Kappie Kommandos in full regalia, invoking a cultural time-warp, shot pictures with computerised instamatic cameras; women sold *vetkoek, pannekoek, koeksusters and boerewors*, as well as a range of Boer republican flags and posters costing R50 a shot, depicting Treurnicht looking, as one bystander put it, "like Kermit the frog".

The guns that were conspicuous by their absence in Paardekraal were packed on every other khaki-clad hip at the Broederstroom farm of Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder, scene of another rightwing Kruger Day *fees*. A source had tipped us off that recently freed mass murderer Barend Strydom might be there.

Among the flags for sale at the farm was a Nazi swastika, which one of the men tried to conceal from us.

But going hand in hand with the weaponry and fascist symbolism were the same childlike highjinks. The *toutrek*, coupled with much screaming and falling about in the dust, was the source of huge excitement. As the wrestlers grunted and groaned, the womenfolk screamed support for their favourite competitors.

Shots rang out from the woods nearby — two men in khaki were letting rip at beer-cans. But the gunman with the 9mm Walther was friendly and obliging, giving me the chance to blast off a magazine.

We had been warmly welcomed by the 100 or so earthy-looking revellers, and invited to buy tickets for food and drink.

As evening fell, amid the air made rich with the smell of braaivleis, the *boeredans* began. Teenage couples stole off to the bushes for a cuddle, as the adults, lubricated with plenty of brandy and coke, lost all self-restraint and merrily two-stepped to the *boeremusiek*.

Strydom never appeared. Can he really be a *volksheld* for such open, generous and hospitable people?

Above: A rightwinger tries to hide a swastika flag that was on sale at the Kruger Day celebration held on Boerestaat Party leader Robert van Tonder's farm

Left: Target practice had its place among more harmless sports like wrestling and tug-of-war

Below: From potjie to pancakes, food was an important feature at the Kruger Day events

Photos: KEVIN CARTER

Fun, food and Boer firepower

W/Mail 16/10-22/10/92 (304A)

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W. MAIL 16/10/10 - 22/10/92 (304A)

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pancakes, food was ... important feature at the Kruger Day events

Photos: KEVIN CARTER

ANC 'will keep meeting government'

Binary 16/10/92

GABORONE — The ANC was determined to continue bilateral meetings with Pretoria to find a solution to SA's problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela told the OAU ad hoc committee meeting on southern Africa in Botswana's capital yesterday.

Before meeting government the ANC would have talks with other "patriotic front" organisations to evolve a common position.

Codesa would have to reconvene once the round of bilateral discussions was completed, paving the way for structuring an interim government. (304A)

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told the committee violence had not subsided in SA because the root causes had not been addressed adequately.

He accused the state of sponsoring violence through mercenaries from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

"These mercenaries must be expelled under international supervision. Until this is done there will be no end to violence."

The PAC was offering itself as a mediator because it desired to end the violence. It awaited a response from the ANC. In that spirit, the PAC had met Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and would meet government soon.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim recommended that OAU observers be sent to SA to monitor the situation. — Sapa.

PROPERTIES
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Income Statement
Turnover
Operating income
Interest received
Income before taxation and distr unit holders
Interest paid
Income before taxation
Taxation
Income after taxation
Dividends
Retained income
Dividends per ordinary share (cer
Interest per debenture (cents)
Dividend and interest per combin (cents)
Combined units in issue
Balance Sheet
Capital employed
Share capital
Debentures
Debenture premium
Retained income
Deferred taxation
Employment of capital
Fixed assets
Current assets:
Debtors
Cash resources
Current liabilities:
Creditors
Unit holders for distribution

Defeat for Nats

(304A) CT 16/10/92

'Keys' bill thrown out

Political Staff

THE government suffered a stunning defeat in Parliament yesterday when a bill removing the requirement that cabinet ministers become MPs within 12 months was rejected.

The legislation would have allowed President F W de Klerk to appoint blacks to the cabinet and to retain Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys without his becoming an MP.

Last night constitutional experts were locked in consultations on when the legislation could be resubmitted to Parliament.

The Chief Whip of Parliament, Mr Alex von Breda, said he thought it would be possible to reintroduce the legislation this session — scheduled to end on Wednesday of next week — and described the developments as "a technical setback ... not an ideological setback".

However, Democratic Party MPs said they believed it could not come before Parliament again until the next session — which traditionally begins late in January.

Mr Keys is neither an elected nor permanent member of the cabinet and his 12 months is up on January 19.

The embarrassing setback arose when the National Party in the House of Representatives failed to get the 50% majority required to pass amendments to the Constitution.

The House had voted 39-24 in favour of the legislation but, apparently unaware of the 50% requirement in Section 99,3 of the Constitution, the National Party did not have the 43 votes required in the 85-member house.

The NP has 44 MPs in the HoR and is supported on most legislation by several independents, but had not done its homework on the Constitution and five of its MPs were absent for voting.

Speaker Mr Eli Louw had already announced that the legislation had been passed when Democratic Party chief whip Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, rose on a point of order and noted that there had to be an absolute majority in each house for adjustments to the Constitution.

The Speaker, after consulting with the Secretary of Parliament, Mr Robin Douglas, said Mr Burrows was correct in his interpretation and the vote in the House of Representatives was deferred.

Mr Burrows rose again to point out that a division had been called and the bill had not been carried, therefore "it has been lost".

After more consultation the Speaker announced that the bill had been approved in the House of Assembly and the House of Delegates, but rejected in the House of Representatives.

Opposition MPs, particularly Labour Party members in the HoR, jeered at sullen NP members as the result was announced.

The bill had been dubbed the "Keys amendment" because it would have allowed Mr Keys to stay in the cabinet without becoming an MP within 12 months, as required by the Constitution.

Mr Keys became a cabinet minister on January 20 this year and, unless next year's session starts earlier than usual, he could technically be forced to vacate his position.

However, the government will probably take the expedient route and persuade an NP MP to stand down to allow Mr Keys to fill his seat.

The voting drama followed some heated exchanges during

To page 3

From page 1

Defeat

(304A) CT 16/10/92

lengthy voting on the bill. It was opposed by the DP, the ANC-aligned MPs, the Labour Party and the Conservative Party.

State Affairs Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen defended the bill during debate, saying its aim was not to bring about fundamental constitutional change or anticipate the negotiating process, but to ensure the orderly running of government in the period before transition.

ANC MP for Maritzburg South Mr Rob Haswell said the ANC would not serve in "any Uncle Tom's cabinet", and that the cabinet did not plan to repeal the section of the Constitution which prevented a black from becoming President.

Mr Colin Eglin, DP MP for Sea Point, said the government merely saw the Constitution as a legislative tool in the hands of the majority party.

Amnesty Bill likely to draw flak from all sides

(304A) B/DAY 16/10/92

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's controversial Amnesty Bill, which is to come before Parliament for discussion today, is expected to draw flak from most quarters.

De Klerk has several times in the past two weeks said he does not care about opposition to his unilaterally going ahead with the legislation to grant amnesty to security and state officials.

The ANC alliance, the PAC, the DP and the Labour Party have all expressed opposition to the Bill.

The ANC rejected government's offer to trade off the release of political prisoners for the general amnesty, insisting that only an interim government of national unity should be entitled to grant amnesty in a bid to forge reconciliation.

It insists that government cannot grant amnesty to its own members and has threatened to reverse the legislation later.

De Klerk, after meeting ANC president Nelson Mandela last month, said the legislation would be based on the same principles used in deciding on the release of the ANC's political prisoners.

The Bill would provide for full disclosure, to government, of the deeds for which the person was seeking amnesty.

Our Political Staff reports from Cape Town that the DP yesterday proposed that amnesty apply to political offenders only if there was full disclosure and following adjudication by a competent tribunal.

In an amnesty policy document released yesterday, the DP emphasises that no person should be allowed to escape disclosure and identification as a perpetrator of a political offence.

A general amnesty should not be pre-emptive of the process of reconciliation but should be a product of such a process, it says. "It is inapplicable and inappropriate that the present government should introduce or attempt to invoke amnesty proceedings. Accordingly amnesty legislation should be introduced by an interim government of national unity."

The DP document notes that every person seeking amnesty would have to be adjudicated by a competent tribunal which would investigate and report on the acts or ommissions which led to the offence in respect of which amnesty was sought. "Any person who does not avail himself/herself of the amnesty process and procedures will be liable to criminal prosecution for whatever acts or ommissions he or she might be charged with."

The DP also proposes that amnesty legislation should make provision for the victims of serious offences and human rights abuses, to be given recognition symbolically and substantially "subject to the resources of the state".

UN 'will be impartial in SA'

(304A) B/DAY 16/10/92

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The UN could no longer take sides in SA, a senior UN official told a conference in Washington yesterday sponsored by the pro-ANC Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights under Law.

The UN had supported the ANC and PAC at a time when black South Africans could not speak for themselves, but that time had now passed, said UN special political questions director Hisham Omayad.

He made it clear that the role of UN agencies like the Centre Against Apartheid, which earlier this week held a session in honour of SA political prisoners, was being downgraded.

In strong contrast, ANC constitutional expert Dullah Omar suggested that the liberation movements should continue to receive preferential treatment from the international community because they had a higher "moral claim" than government.

He was supported by journalist Allister Sparks, who attributed the root cause of violence in SA to efforts by elements in the security estalishment to destabilise the ANC, with at least partial support from President F W de Klerk.

Omayad headed the first team of 10 UN observers sent to SA to monitor mass action in early August, and accompanied special envoy Cyrus Vance and his deputy, Virendra Dayal, on their subsequent missions.

He said while the UN could act as a catalyst for constitutional negotiations, it "will not get directly involved" in a process that had to be conducted by South Africans.

Omaya was involved in setting up elections in Namibia in 1989.

Omayad predicted that there would be "a minimum" of 100 international observers helping to defuse violence in SA by the end of the year, which would include the 50-member UN contingent.

However, the success of the teams being supplied by the UN, Commonwealth, EC and OAU, did not depend on their numbers, but "on the support they get on the ground", he said.

KIRCHMAN
PROPERTIES

Keys's position in doubt as Bill fails

B/DAY 16/10/92 (304A)

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government suffered a stunning defeat in Parliament yesterday when a Bill removing the requirement that Cabinet Ministers become MPs within 12 months was rejected.

The legislation would have allowed President F W de Klerk to appoint blacks to the Cabinet and to retain Finance Minister Derek Keys without his having to contest an election.

Last night constitutional experts were locked in consultations on when the legislation could be resubmitted to Parliament.

Chief Whip Alex von Breda said he thought it would be possible to reintroduce the legislation this session — scheduled to end on Wednesday next week — and described the developments as "a technical setback ... not an ideological setback".

However, DP MPs said they believed the Bill could not come before Parliament again until the next session — which traditionally begins late in January.

Keys is neither an elected nor a nominated MP and his 12 months temporary appointment to Cabinet is up on January 19. He could be forced to vacate his position if the impasse is not resolved.

The embarrassing setback arose when the NP in the House of Representatives failed to get the 50% majority of the number of seats in the House that is required to pass amendments to the constitution.

The House had voted 39-24 in favour of the legislation but the NP did not have the 43 votes required in the 85-member house.

The NP has 44 MPs in the Representatives and is supported on most legislation by several independents, but had not done its homework on the constitution and five of its MPs were absent for voting.

Speaker Eli Louw had already announced that the legislation had been passed when DP chief whip Roger Burrows, the MP for Pinetown, rose on a point of order and noted that there had to be an absolute majority in each house for adjustments to the constitution.

The Speaker, after consulting Secretary of Parliament Robin Douglas, said Burrows was correct in his interpretation and the vote in the House of Representatives was deferred.

Burrows rose again to point out that a division had been called and the Bill had not been carried, therefore "it has been lost".

After more consultation the Speaker announced that the Bill had been approved in the House of Assembly and the House of Delegates, but rejected in the House of

☐ To Page 2

Keys

B/DAY 16/10/92. (304A)

☐ From Page 1

Representatives.

Opposition MPs, particularly Labour Party members, jeered at sullen NP members as the result was announced.

The Bill had been dubbed the "Keys amendment" because it would have allowed Keys to stay in the Cabinet without becoming an MP.

Government could now take the expedient route and convince a nominated NP MP to stand down to allow Keys to fill his seat.

The voting drama followed some heated exchanges during lengthy voting on the Bill. It was opposed by the DP, the ANC-aligned MPs, the Labour Party and the CP.

State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen defended the Bill during debate, saying its aim was not to bring about fundamental constitutional change or anticipate the negotiating process, but to ensure the orderly running of government before transition.

ANC MP for Pietermaritzburg South Rob Haswell said the ANC would not serve in "any Uncle Tom's Cabinet", and pointed out that the Cabinet did not plant to repeal the section of the Constitution which prevented a black from becoming President.

Sea Point DP MP Colin Eglinsaid government saw the constitution as a legislative tool in the hands of the majority party.

ARG 16/10/92

Mass action threat over referendum

(304A)

PORT ELIZABETH. — The African National Congress is to resort to mass action to oppose a proposed whites-only municipal referendum next month.

The referendum was forced on the city council, a key member of the one-city negotiating forum, by a handful of ratepayers to test white opinion on a qualified franchise for voting in a future non-racial election.

The qualification insisted upon by maverick lawyer Sol Schkolne was that of property ownership.

The ANC has slammed the proposed referendum as "unacceptable and racist".

Spokesperson Phila Nkayi said the organisation would call on "the people" to take action against the referendum. The protest would involve mass action, but that specifics had still to be worked out.

Port Elizabeth town clerk Mr Paul Botha said the council was bound by a municipal ordinance which allows for the calling of a poll by ratepayers. — Ecna.

Defiant govt resubmits bill

CT 17/10/92 (304A)

Political Staff

THE government yesterday defiantly resubmitted the Constitution Amendment Bill — rejected on a techicality the day before — but dropped the one entrenched clause requiring a special majority in all three Houses.

The legislation is expected to be passed on Monday or Tuesday and will enable Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys to retain his cabinet position without becoming an MP.

The entrenched clause, which deputy Constitutional Development Minister Dr Tertius Delport announced yesterday was to be omitted, would have empowered the President to appoint a cabinet minister to act as cabinet chairman in his absence.

The clause dropping the requirement for cabinet ministers to become MPs is not entrenched. It will also allow the president to appoint blacks to the cabinet.

Dr Delport said the clause had been dropped at the request of President F W de Klerk.

Democratic Party Chief Whip Mr Roger Burrows, MP for Pinetown, said the bill was being re-introduced by "subterfuge".

Are we ready for ballot box?

Sowetan 17/10 - 21/10/92

WITH our history of violent struggle, are South Africans going to be able to obey fundamental democratic precepts, like tolerance of divergent political opinions, freedom of speech and criticism, respect for the rule of law and acceptance of whichever party wins a free and fair election?

A precondition for a free and fair election would be the absence of intimidatory violence. Assuming this condition is met, it would be the duty of the voters to accept whatever results a free and fair election produces.

(304A)

If they did not, they would be nullifying the power and validity of the vote they have struggled so hard for.

The status of the law in South Africa has been degraded because of the injustice it has upheld in the past.

For democracy to flourish in this country, citizens will have to find renewed respect for the rule of law.

While people will have to respect the laws of a newly-elected government, this by no means implies accepting the actions of individuals or organisations upholding undemocratic principles if these are carried outside the bounds of democratically-promulgated laws.

Extension of the vote to all South Africans is not of itself going to result in a democratic society. People will have to start living according to democratic norms and principles for this to happen.

Once a democratically-elected government is in place, people will have to put aside their R4s, 'traditional' weapons and AKs and fight their wars through the ballot box.

People must adjust now to the fact that attacking political opponents will be restricted to the war of words accompanying election campaigns and parliamentary debates.

Ignorance and intolerance kill

South 17/10 – 21/10/92 South (304A)

CAN DEMOCRACY thrive in a country torn apart by political violence and a lack of tolerance of dissenting political opinions?

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it created a system which gave equality before the law and democracy to only a minority of South Africans — white citizens.

The majority of black South Africans were denied fundamental democratic rights, the most basic of these being the vote.

Even now the majority still has no power to decide who rules the country and what laws and policies the government makes.

Blacks were also denied the right to free political association — the right to form and belong to political organisations of their choice.

Attempts by blacks to do so was met with a barrage of legal and physical deterrents, which inevitably led to confrontation between the white establishment and extra-parliamentary political organisations.

The government's tradition of responding to opposition with coercive measures such as arrests, detentions, torture, banishment and killings has resulted in a culture of political violence stemming directly from political intolerance.

Confronted by this state violence, opposition political groupings were forced to mobilise under conditions of secrecy because of their illegality.

The need to organise in secrecy to minimise detection by the security forces included limiting the extent of participatory democracy at all levels within such organisations.

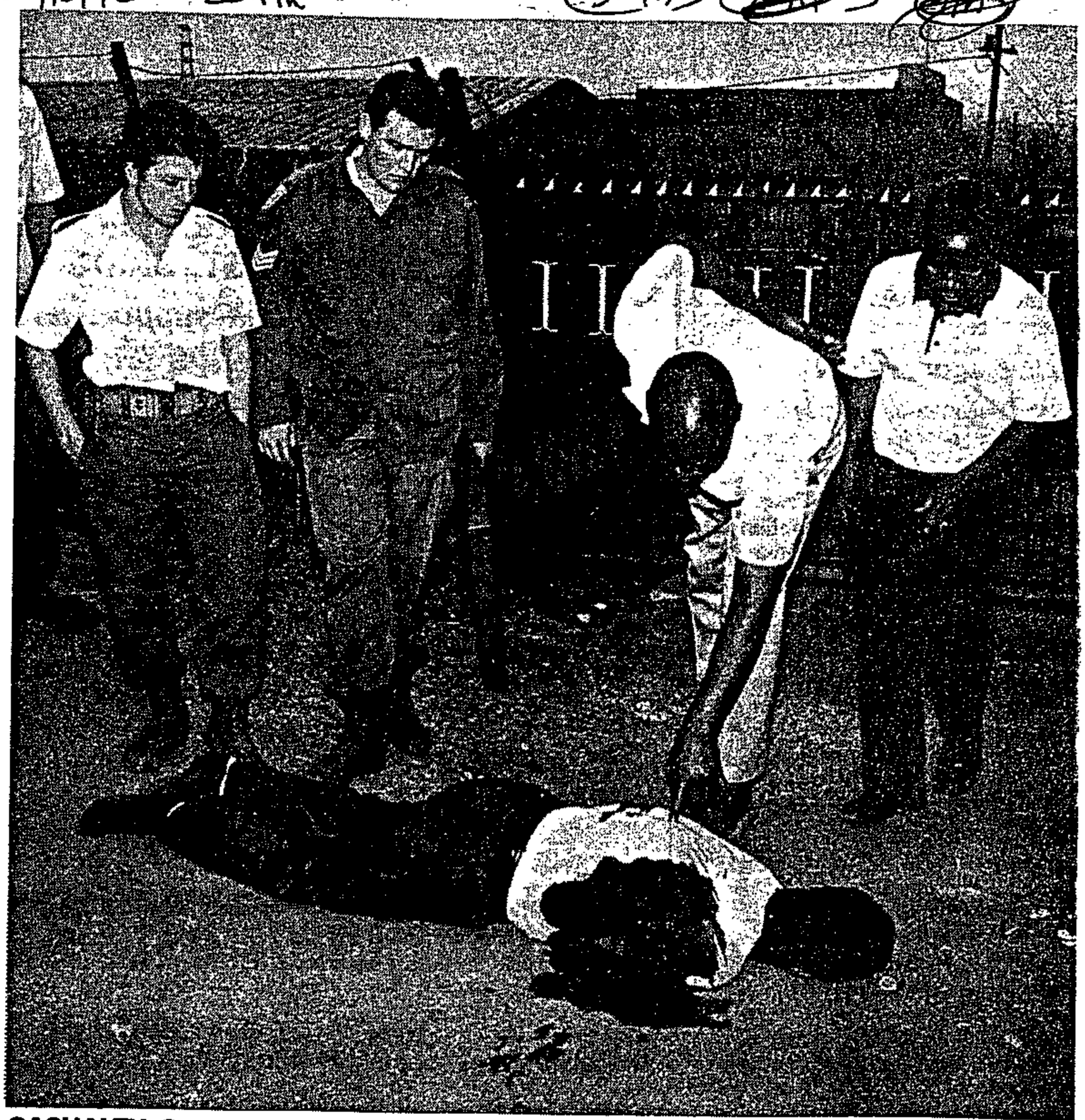
An offshoot of the restrictions on political literature and political debate, has been that the grassroots members of such organisations do not clearly understand concepts such as democracy and freedom of political association.

It is at this grassroots level that intolerance of opposing viewpoints and political affiliation is most clearly seen.

It is also at this level that people have been most easily deluded and misled by attempts to foment "black-on-black" violence.

A few strategic incidents of violence perpetrated by "unknown" gunmen has resulted in a spiral of violence in which members of extra-parliamentary organisations blame "the opposition" for violence affecting their members.

The organisations have tended to react punitively with yet more violence. Rather than serving as a deterrent, these retaliatory strikes have exacerbated the situation.



CASUALTY: Soweto resudents identify another victim of political violence

NEWS ROUND-UP

Amnesty Bill gets scornful reception

304A

S/Times 18/10/92

THE ANC is refusing to honour legislation introduced in Parliament this week allowing assassins and terrorists to be pardoned at secret hearings for so-called politically motivated crimes.

In terms of the Further Indemnity Bill, only the names of the perpetrators of politically motivated crimes will be made public.

However, their crimes and the names of their victims will be kept secret.

ANC executive committee member Gill Marcus says the organisation will not honour the legislation if it comes to power.

The ANC, she says, sees the legislation as an attempt by government to give amnesty to policemen and army officers, particularly those involved in hit-squad activities.

ANC in 'boere braai' with MPs

S/Times [cape metro] 304A

18/10/92

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

TOP ANC officials prostested outside parliament on Monday — then joined MPs for a "boere braai" at the exclusive Fernwood Club reserved for parliamentarians and their guests.

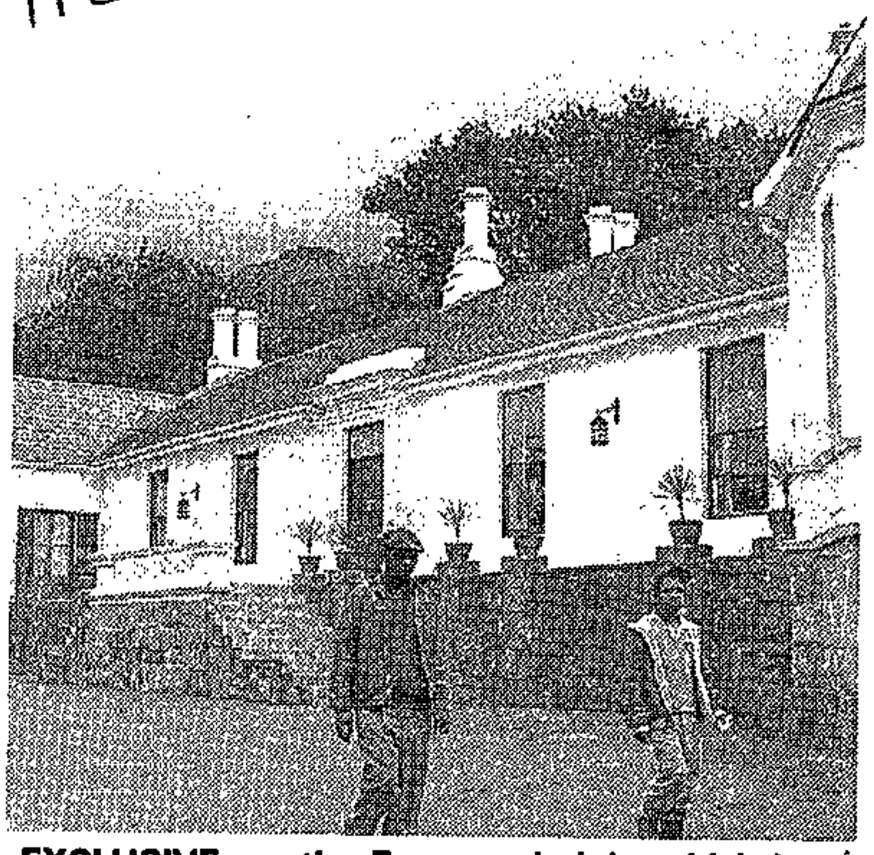
The protesters renamed Stal Plein, outside the main gates of parliament, Albert Luthuli Square.

Among the hosts at the party were the five Independent ANC Members of Parliament — Jan van Eck, Peter Cronje, Rob Haswell, Jannie Momberg and Dave Dalling.

MP for Claremont Jan van Eck had reason to celebrate after being readmitted to Parliament, from which he was barred during the earlier session for claiming former State President PW Botha "knew about the hit squads".

He suffered a slip of the tongue when approached for comment and attributed the function to the "the DP", but then immediately corrected himself.

He said the function was hosted by the ANC Western Cape division and a German media project organisation called the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, to entertain 14 newspaper editors from the Southern African Development Community Countries.



EXCLUSIVE ... the Fernwood club, which is reserved for parliamentarians and their guests

Also present was ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak and ANC stalwart Reggie September, a member of the ANC's national executive committee.

It was a normal *braai en dop* affair, said Mr Van Eck and not a "red plot" to overthrow the government.

He said there were no high-profile "communists" present.

Ronnie Kasrils and Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride, who were among the leaders of the march on Parliament, were not present.

"It was a social function and nothing sinister. It is possible the ANC used the occasion to check out the furniture and the state of repair of Fernwood which they are, in any case, going to inherit," Mr Van Eck quipped.

Mr September said: "It was enjoyable and relaxing and quite ironic that we of the ANC could now enjoy the luxury of Fernwood. All I can say is that it's a beautiful place."

Writing's on the wall, but who can read it?

C/Press 18/10/92. (304A)

SA's first-ever general election may be just around the corner. But, with the country's high rate of illiteracy, how many elegible voters will be able to even read and understand notices announcing the election? S'BU MNGADI investigates.

EVERY political organisation across the political spectrum agrees SA's first political general election is around the corner – but almost half the potential voters would not be able to read the message announcing the fact.

Only this week, a report of the Committee for Constitutional Affairs on a "Proportional Polling System for SA in a New Constitutional Dispensation" was tabled in parliament. It had been put together after contributions from several political and other organisations – including the ANC and the PAC.

Stressed

The report stated that many factors were taken into consideration in deciding on a fair and just system of proportional representation as an electoral mechanism for a future legislature for the country. Most important of all, it stressed, was SA's extremely high rate of illiteracy.

The Development Bank of Southern Africa said at least 45 percent of all black people were illiterate as opposed to one percent of whites.

Don Pinnock, research director at the Media Research and Training Unit (MRTU) at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, said in a recent media survey a man described a photograph of president FW de Klerk as "a one rand coin", but did not know who he was. One might argue that because the man was black and lived in a SA dorp, and because De Klerk was white and did not represent him, the error was understandable.

But the problem does not end there. Many of those interviewed thought the cross one puts on a ballot paper was a signature, a bad mark or something one gets for being absent from school.

Writing in the latest edition of the Black Sash's monthly journal, *Sash*, Pinnock said in another survey, six out of 10 people did not know who Nelson Mandela was and more than 80 percent could not have read the words on this page.

The academic was quoting surveys done by journalism students at Rhodes University. The surveys indicated some frightening information gaps in rural SA.

He argued that these findings, although from localised pilot studies, were probably true for the rest of the country.

The surveys raised questions about how to reach an audience and an electorate which comprised a third of SA's population – about 15 million people.

Newspapers were of limited use in these areas and in the burgeoning urban squatter camps because of the high levels of illiteracy. For most people in this country, a newspaper was more use as a source of fuel than as a source of information.

Surveys

The Basic Adult Education unit at the University of Western Cape (UWC) claimed one adult in four in this country could not read. Graeme Bloch of UWC puts it higher – one person in two. Surveys done in the eastern Cape by MRTU found absolute illiteracy to be 63 percent and functional illiteracy – Std 2 or less – to be higher than eight out of 10.

Radio emerges as the real voice in the wilderness, and the fact that the SABC holds a monopoly of the airwaves should be raising more concern.

According to a survey by Media Research Africa, nine out of 10 black households have an FM radio and 77 percent listen to the Nguni/Sotho services regularly. In the rural areas, listenership rises to 99 percent.

The importance of radio is being increasingly recognised by specialist media groups. Last year, the ANC, together with groups such as Cosatu, the Film and Allied Workers' Organisation and the SA Students' Press Union, marched on the SABC headquarters in Johannesburg demanding freedom of the airwaves.

Later in the year a conference of SA broadcasters in Holland called for the prioritisation of community radio. Then, at the Free, Fair and Open media conference in Cape Town this year, a National Community Radio Forum was created, which drafted resolutions on radio for forwarding to Codesa.

Behind these moves is a clear understanding by communicators of the dangers of the electronic media, and particularly radio, remaining in the hands of the NP in the run-up to elections.

Pinnock said the rate of illiteracy in SA meant that progressive organisations should rethink their priorities. "In terms of talking to one third of the voting population outside the urban areas (all of whom have never voted before), print is a non-starter, posters and symbols are of dubious value, and there is unlikely to be enough time and human resources to canvass most of the rural areas through rallies and meetings."

The truth was that unless the radio services, particularly Radio Bantu, became at least neutral, the forthcoming elections could be a fiasco, Pinnock argued. He contended that because a large section of the local population was illiterate, any future electoral system had to be simple enough for the populace to understand.

Voter registration was vital in ensuring that no person voted twice, and the eligibility of voters could be checked, he said.

The present system of voter registration was according to the identity document, which created, among others, the following problems:

- In rural areas, children were often not registered;
- Many people were ignorant of the fact that ID books existed and how they should get them;
- It would be an immense task to register all the members of the population in the time between the announcement of free elections and the actual elections;
- A quick and efficient method was that used in the recent (whites-only) referendum, where voters placed their hands in an indelible purple fluid which shines when placed under ultraviolet light.

Philosophies

With regard to pre-election education, most countries tended to familiarise the illiterate population with electoral steps, rather than educate them about electoral philosophies.

In Namibia the different parties and the UN Transitional Assistance Group (Untag) used several approaches to educating people about the elections. Using all the available media, from radio to meetings and gatherings, Untag moved around the country with interpreters, explaining election procedures to the people.

FW whips restive Nats into line amid talk of revolt

(304A)

S/Times 18/10/92.

By NORMAN WEST and MIKE ROBERTSON

'RESIDENT FW de Klerk moved wiftly this week to quell mutterings f revolt in his own ranks.

Disenchantment with his leadership mong rank-and-file National Party IPs first surfaced at a meeting of 'ape NP members when some MPs eclared they no longer had confience in him.

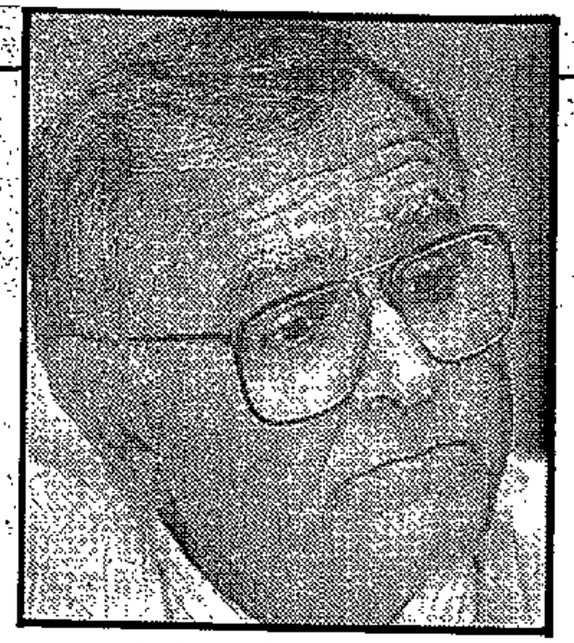
Matters came to a head this week at meeting of the NP study group on onstitutional development which, unsually, was attended by all National-it parliamentarians.

It was the first time the full party ad met since the summit with the NC which triggered criticism among P MPs that Mr De Klerk had capitu-ted to that organisation.

Unhappiness among MPs centred n:

● The Record of Understanding etween the ANC and the NP. Some IP caucus members felt the docu-ent caused the alienation of Inkatha eader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who ey see as a possible alliance partner.

● The view held by some senior and onservative members — dubbed apies" to distinguish them from the ore progressive "yuppies" — that Ir De Klerk was "too soft and accom-odating" towards the ANC.



JAPIE ... Hernus Kriel

● A perception that Mr de Klerk was being too "reactive" on national issues and a belief that he had gone back on undertakings on prison releases given to the special NP caucus held at Badplaas in the Eastern Transvaal recently.

Such was the concern among MPs about the alienation of Mr Buthelezi that some of them went behind Mr De Klerk's back and held secret meetings with top Inkatha officials.

One MP said that when caucus members gathered for the study group meeting this week, their mood was one of resentment towards Mr De Klerk.

NP members said Mr De Klerk had told his caucus their grumblings would result in a build-up of tension in the party. On a previous occasion, such grumblings had led to the eventual split of the party and the birth of the CP.

Mr De Klerk invited MPs to state their cases in the caucus and not go gossiping in the corridors.

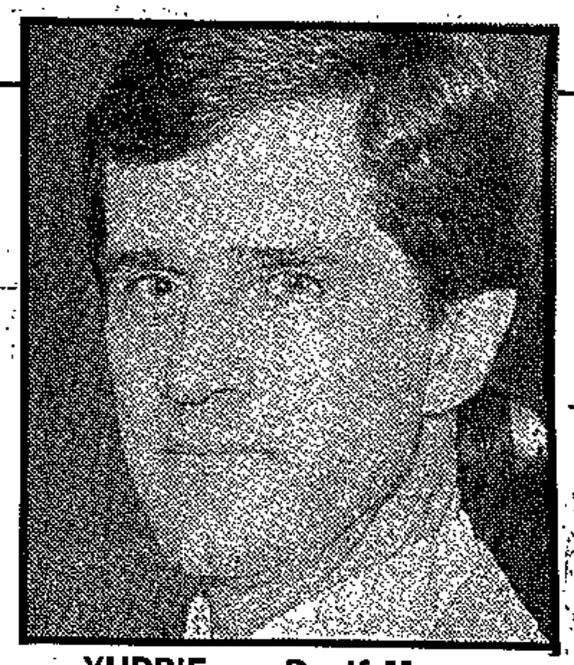
One of those who took up this opportunity was Mr Jurie Mentz, the veteran MP for Vryheid, who cautioned that the government was alienating not just Mr Buthelezi, but a large chunk of the Zulu nation. The party would pay dearly for this in a forthcoming election.

According to NP MPs, Mr De Klerk responded by saying he had sympathy for those who felt disgruntled.

But, MPs said, he explained that he saw it as essential that he strengthened the hand of moderates in the ANC. To do this, he felt it necessary to take the pain of being seen to cave in to demands from that organisation.

Having done this, moderates in the ANC were now in a stronger position and it was possible to resume negotiations that would lead to the creation of a government of national unity.

Had the government not made concessions, the alternative would have been waging a protracted war against radicals in the ANC.



YUPPIE ... Roelf Meyer

One conservative NP MP said Mr De Klerk's response had succeeded in placating the dissenting voices.

"Before the meeting, I felt resentment, that we were ditching our potential allies," he said.

"But at the end, I was persuaded that my earlier response was based on emotion rather than reason."

While Mr De Klerk might have succeeded in quelling the latest mutterings of revolt, the cracks remain.

Conservative "japies" unhappy about his negotiating strategy include ministers Hernus Kriel, Kobie Coetsee, Adriaan Vlok and Magnus Malan and MPs Gert Kotze (Malmesbury) and Frik van Deventer (Durbanville).

The "yuppies", whose arguments prevailed over the prisoner release issue, include ministers Roelf Meyer, Dawie de Villiers and Leon Wessels, as well as veteran Foreign Minister Pik Botha, NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, information head Piet Coetzer (Springs) and Marthinus van Schalkwyk, MP for Randburg.

Concerned at the disgruntlement in his own ranks, Mr De Klerk this week made a series of hardline speeches aimed more at shoring up his own right flank than securing progress in negotiations.

He stipulated principles that would have to be negotiated in advance and included in a new constitution, and which would be binding on the transitional parliament in its constitution-making task.

A spokesman for Mr De Klerk said yesterday the president had already dealt with allegations of differences within NP ranks at the East London conference and had nothing more to add.

Stop-the-rot bid by ANC-Nats

(304A)

THE government and the ANC have agreed they will both have to make radical compromises to achieve the speedy political settlement needed to prevent South Africa from becoming a wasteland. S/Times 18/10/92.

They agreed at talks on Thursday that power is now a lesser issue than the peaceful regeneration of the country.

They will discuss the finer details of their new strategies at a joint "bosberaad" in the first week of November.

By CHARLENE SMITH

Codesa 3 seems increasingly likely to take place early in December.

The ANC this week made a significant departure from its previous negotiating position when it approved proposals put forward by Communist Party leader Joe Slovo that it accept a "sunset clause in the new constitution which would provide for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years".

The new thinking by both major players was prompted, in part, by wasteland warnings from Finance Minister Derek Keys which have been taken up by the ANC's Economics Department.

The Thursday meeting, at which the two parties accepted they would have to make radical compromises, was attended by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, the department's director-general Niel Barnard and Housing Minister Leon Wessels.

Negotiators from the ANC included secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and national working committee member Mac Maharaj.

Dangerous

The government team met the Inkatha Freedom Party and representatives of Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei in Johannesburg this weekend to iron out obstacles to their re-entry to Codesa.

It was the second such meeting in three days. The government has agreed to consider the release of 40 political prisoners put forward by Inkatha.

The Goldstone commission's draft proclamation on dangerous weapons has also been forwarded to the IFP for its comments.

A feared collapse of the economy is the trigger for all these moves.

ANC economics department head Trevor Manuel says an urgent return to negotiations and the ending of violence are crucial if this is to be avoided.

In a paper in which he first mooted the idea of a sunset clause, Mr Slovo warned that compromise would be "unavoidable".

He added: "We must not fear to be up-front about this reality with our mass political constituency."

Another senior ANC negotiator said: "Power is less important at present than achieving the best results to pull the country out of its present crisis.

"We are going to have to make strategic and tactical compromises to enable the process to move forward in a relatively short space of time . . . Critical to this is an interim government of national unity."

Meanwhile, a government spokesman said a meeting with the PAC in Gaborone, on October 24 and 25, was vital to allaying fears in the civil service, particularly the police who have lost 185 members this year mainly to assassinations in the townships.

The PAC's military wing, Apla, has claimed responsibility for many of these deaths.

Trap

SIMON BARBER reports that Mr Keys has been using a pair of charts to scare both his Cabinet colleagues and the ANC into an early political settlement.

The thrust of Mr Key's argument is that unless a political consensus can be achieved quickly on restraining government expenditure, domestic savings will continue to be sucked out of productive, job-creating investment and into funding ever-growing deficits, effectively placing the country in a classic debt trap.

The first chart shows an unnerving 10-year decrease in gross domestic investment accompanied by a steady growth in government and private consumption expenditure.

As a share of gross domestic product, investment is shown falling from 26 percent in 1983 to 16 percent this year, while government consumption — money not spent as investment — has risen steadily from 15 percent to 21 percent.

Reversed

The second chart compares South Africa's investment and government consumption ratios with those of 14 industrialised and developing countries.

In every case, the countries are devoting more of the GDP to investment than to government consumption.

South Africa is the only country in which the ratio is reversed.

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

C/Press 8/10/92.

Come back Slabbert

(304A)

IF you missed the last two episodes of *Slabbert* on Sunday on TSS television, make sure you don't miss today's.

The presenter is none other than the fiery former PFP leader and Idasa chief, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert.

It is mind-boggling to see such a talented man interviewing other politicians and opinion-makers when it should be the other way round.

Sitting at the TV studio when the programme was recorded and listening to Van Zyl interview Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer was an interesting experience.

The man is wasted operating outside the political arena. He seemed to understand more about the complexities of our politics than the interviewee. He may not be a constitutional guru but is more in touch with those on the ground.

He is equally sensitive to the fears of whites and the restlessness of blacks.

Among his guest panelists were Prof Gerhard Erasmus of the University of Stellenbosch, African affairs expert Stef Coetzee and myself.

Why did Slabbert leave politics in the first place?

Understandably, the white parliament had nothing left to offer him. His white colleagues in parliament also lacked a vision of a future democratic SA.

Is it not time for him to come back to active politics?

His laid-back style, charisma, sharp wit, incisive political mind and his understanding of our political situation is very much in need in the absence of good leadership.

He froze Meyer's legal mind and made him to agree to basic democratic values. Meyer, like many National Party leaders, hides the truth behind big, meaningless words.

That this country is in such a mess can be squarely blamed on the NP government.

The government talks about regional boundaries that must be drawn by self-appointed and electorally untested negotiators, when such a decision should be taken by a politically representative body.

It talks of executive power-sharing, with a rotating presidency, when in reality this means entrenching FW de Klerk's presidency and appeasing that spoilsport, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The government talks of FW having given too much to the ANC without getting anything in return, when in fact it means FW is losing his grip on *basskaap* and should in fact remind the natives who calls the shots.

It talks of a National Council on Indemnity, appointed by the State President, to consider pardoning political crimes without disclosing their offences.

Surely any thinking person can read between the lines here. What it actually means is that the government wants to pardon itself for its countless crimes committed under the guise of State security.

Amnesty must apply to all political offenders only if there is a full disclosure and adjudication by a competent tribunal. This is a universal principle.

If the government is in such a hurry to pardon political crimes, why not speed up the process to a transitional government – which could be in place by the middle of next year – that would take sole responsibility for this task.

White South Africans need the leadership of a man like Slabbert. He does not say one thing when he means the opposite. He will not – like FW – pretend to lead them down the garden path when he's actually taking them to the slaughter house.

While Van Zyl commands respect among the liberation movements, he has never hesitated to speak his mind and condemn those who are politically short-sighted.

So tune into TSS every Sunday at midday and get an insight into the man I think could play a meaningful role in our search for a non-racial democracy.

Nat blunder may be rectified

304A

THE Constitution Amendment Bill which could not pass parliament last week because the NP did not see to it that it had a sufficient majority in all three houses, will in all probalility be passed this coming Wednesday. Cpress 18/10/92

The bill, also called the Keys-bill, is aimed at enabling President FW de Klerk to appoint non-members of parliament, including Finance Minister Derek Keys, as members of his cabinet.

Apparently the Nats did not realise a key clause of the bill required changes to the constitution.

If FW isn't running the country, who is?

30CFA

S/Times 18/10/92.

THE rudderless government of President De Klerk suffered a humiliating defeat during this week's silly-season session of Parliament when it tried to amend the 1983 constitution without bothering to read it.

That constitution, described even by supporters as "a calamitous abortion", has never commanded a wide readership. It was adopted by a combination of mindless obedience in the National Party caucus and mindless enthusiasm in the business community. It has brought us nothing but sorrow.

Even so, it does seem excessively careless to try to amend the constitution — an amendment, by the way, that sought to make an undemocratic law less democratic — without bothering to find out what majority was required to enable the amendment to pass.

Such sloppiness is no longer unusual. The release of common criminals like Lucky Malaza, whose names supposedly appeared on a list of political prisoners supplied by the ANC, is a notorious example. Mr Adriaan Vlok has indignantly disclaimed responsibility, which of course makes the point.

The record is becoming alarming. Both the former finance minister, Mr Barend du Plessis, and the chief constitutional architect, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, have suffered something in the nature of an emotional crisis; the ad hoc negotiator, Mr Tertius Delport, dug in his heels at Codesa 2 on points which the government readily abandoned after Codesa had imploded.

The government's deficit has swollen to quite breathtaking proportions, and (elsewhere on this page) the National Party's secretary-general rebukes me for holding President De Klerk responsible. If President De Klerk is not responsible, pray tell me, who then is running the ship?

Much of what the government is doing looks downright shabby. To force through Parliament a Bill that gives amnesty to officials and security staff for their crimes is politically silly; but to try to evade public disclosure by letting officials "confess" their crimes to each other and to a judge in private, like consenting adults doing nasties, is to store up trouble for the future.

Surely, President De Klerk must see that no future government will feel itself bound by such a law? And that no conciliation is possible without public disclosure? To follow this route is to ensure — to guarantee — that suspicions fester and that witch hunts will continue far into the future.

Equally shabby are the attempts to quickly sell off to favoured whites the property seized by the government from people on the basis of their colour. In one case, the normal procedures of the Deeds Office were suspended to allow property to be transferred with unheard-of speed, in a single day.

Does President De Klerk, as a lawyer, really think that a title granted in this fashion will survive into the future? Certainly, the ANC would find wide support if it decided to reverse all these hole-in-the-corner transactions on the grounds of bad faith, and sent the new white owners of the land packing.

Meanwhile, the intellectual resources of the government are consumed by the attempt to regulate gambling in a country suddenly devoted to lotteries and games of chance, and the energies of administration are expended on the prosecution of farmers who try to sell their own bananas.

PRESIDENT De Klerk this week tried to meet criticism of his management of reform — not least from within his own caucus — by reiterating what he calls the National Party's "principles" for a new constitution: entrenched regional government, a bicameral parliament, power-sharing in the executive, and a sovereign constitution with a bill of rights.

These are not principles at all, but mechanisms, and even then President De Klerk has failed to give either his followers or his enemies any clear vision of how his constitution would work. It is specifically designed, we know, to keep some of the present leaders of the National Party in the Cabinet, but their powers are vaguely defined, if at all, and there is no indication how the whole government would function.

Does power-sharing imply a veto in Cabinet? Does that mean the minority could prevent the majority from mobilising the army to deal with civil commotion? Could the minority demand the mobilisation of the army? Could the minority block the national Budget? Veto taxes? Send a sheriff? Implement a court order?

How would it work?

What if the election, as seems likely from the government's unwillingness to fight by-elections, produced more Conservative Party votes than National Party votes? What mechanisms of power-sharing would overcome endless deadlocks, and perhaps the collapse of the constitution? What if Inkatha, entrenched in power-sharing, vetoed every action of the government?

MOST voters have not the slightest inkling how power-sharing operates. They cannot say whether, under the Nationalist plan, health or education would fall under the regional governments, as in the 1910 constitution, or under the national government. They have not the slightest idea how proportional representation works, or how lists of candidates are drawn up.

It's 1983 all over again. A jerry-built constitution, produced from the inner circles of the National Party, the bureaucrats and the currently favoured academics, is steered through an uncomprehending caucus, and sold to an uncomprehending electorate by constant sloganeering: a step in the right direction, power-sharing, we will never surrender, blah, blah, blah!

In the end, if the Nationalists have their way, a mindlessly obedient caucus, supported by a mindlessly enthusiastic business community, will try to persuade an electorate which has been frightened out of its mind to accept constitutional "principles" that serve the interests of the inner circle.

In the meantime, politics has become a process of securing pensions, or land, or pardons for unspeakable sins, while the merry business of raising taxes and spending revenues and borrowings goes madly on and on.

KEN OWEN

S/Times 18/10/92.

De Klerk right on track

(304A)

National Party secretary-general STOFFEL VAN DER MERWE defends President FW De Klerk's leadership of the country

FOR the past two weeks, the editor of the Sunday Times, Mr Ken Owen, has launched a personal attack on President FW De Klerk, seemingly aimed at undermining his credibility, which, in these difficult times, is something South Africa needs least.

If there is one man in South Africa who can achieve a smooth transition to a democracy that most of us can live with and who can be trusted to negotiate a system of government which preserves values and standards we hold dear and an economic system which will ensure growth, it is President De Klerk.

However, marshalling his not inconsiderable gift for vigorous political invective, Mr Owen has suddenly launched a thousand barbed comments at the President, accusing him among other things of being vulnerable to foreign pressure, rushing into half-baked deals, being tempted to accept sunset clauses from the ANC to ensure Cabinet jobs for himself and his closest Cabinet colleagues, presiding over an extraordinary budget deficit and not telling the nation where he is going.

Mr Owen is one of South Africa's most talented columnists and deserves to be taken seriously. Why is he so stuck in this groove? The cause seems to be that negotiations are not going smoothly. But who ever thought they would? The President warned from the day he started the process, on February 2 1990, that it would be a bumpy ride.

Let us examine some of Mr Owen's accusations:

Far from being vulnerable to foreign pressure, the President has re-opened South Africa's access to the international community. He has re-established the credibility of the South African government; he has made UN, EC and Commonwealth observers welcome at all the arenas of the negotiation process. If there is international pressure, it has been on the ANC to rejoin negotiations.

Far from rushing into half baked deals, Mr De Klerk and his Cabinet have engaged in a painstaking process of negotiation on a multilateral and bilateral basis. The chief purpose of the Record of Understanding with the ANC on September 26 was to ensure that multilateral negotiations would again get underway.

As far as the so-called sunset clause is concerned, Mr Owen seems intent on putting a negative gloss on the participation of the NP in a future government. President De Klerk campaigned for a "yes" vote in the referendum for the continuation of negotiations on the basis that the outcome would be a system of power sharing at all levels of government.

He also undertook to call a further referendum should he deviate from this policy. To insinuate otherwise is therefore unfair and unjustified.

To deal with the deficit, Mr De Klerk appointed one of South Africa's most respected businessmen to run both the Finance and Trade and Industry portfolios. Mr Derek Keys is tackling the problem fundamentally and with verve. I challenge Mr Owen to make a better suggestion.

As for not telling the nation where he is going, Mr Owen got his answer loud and clear earlier this week when Mr De Klerk spelt out very clearly to Parliament where he is going. He stated clearly that, while the government recognised that the ANC was important, the NP was not prepared to enter into a government of national unity with the ANC as it is presently constituted, with communists and the radicals in its ranks. The ANC would have to change from a militant political movement to a democratic political party.

He spelt out the National Party's bottom lines to be embodied in constitutional principles as follows:

- Democracy and the most important elements of a free market economy, such as private property;
- Strong and entrenched regional government;
- A bicameral central parliament with a senate that will be able to protect regional interests;
- Powersharing at the executive level;
- The constitution, including a Bill of Fundamental Rights, as the highest law.

The President fully understands the difficulties caused by the uncertainty of the negotiation process. But the answer, as he pointed out in Parliament this week, lies not in *"kragdadigheid"* of any kind, but in steadfastly proceeding with reforms, achieving breakthroughs in the bilateral talks and turning them into dynamic, incisive and honest multilateral negotiations.

Thousands of African National Congress supporters took to the streets outside parliament on Monday to protest against an 'illegal government' Photo: AP

Still searching for a heart of stone

W/Mail 18/10-22/10/92. (304A)

W/MAIL 18/10 - 22/10/92

The parliamentary session was called to pass into law the fruits of the negotiations. But FW de Klerk is still trying to entrench white minority privilege

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's performance in the "state of the nation" debate in parliament this week called to mind former Thatcherite minister Norman Tebbit who, during a rare moment of self-deprecation, described himself as having a "flinty exterior that masks a heart of stone".

De Klerk made a lot of sound and fury about the African National Congress and the "radicalists" — the president is in the habit of inventing new words. All this masked a truly horrendous political agenda that takes the country right back to the deadlock at Codesa 2.

He played down the importance of his government having agreed to an elected constituent assembly, one of the key features of the record of understanding two weeks ago with the ANC.

The assembly, said De Klerk, had to be bound by agreement in advance on a number of principles, the most contentious of which is "strong and entrenched regional government" — whose definition in the fine print could amount to a federal system — and "power-sharing at the level of the executive authority".

De Klerk specifically ruled out the ANC's compromise proposal of "sunset clauses" that could allow an interim period of power-sharing for five to 10 years, to ease the transition to democracy. He wants permanent power-sharing.

Thus, on the very day that Foreign Minister Pik Botha flew to Huambo to persuade Unita's Jonas Savimbi to accept defeat with grace, De Klerk reiterated that he would not be bound by a democratic election.

Let us leave aside the question of how many millions of tax rands De Klerk's party squandered, and how many Angolans were killed, helping Savimbi "defend democracy".

De Klerk is telling us that if he, like Savimbi, came second, or even third in an election he should have a constitutional right to remain part-time president.

The difference between Savimbi and De Klerk is that the South African is far less ego-driven and recognises in advance that he is going to lose the election. So he wants to write the rules so that losers remain in government.

If one reduces the wodge of technical argument at Codesa to its most basic level, the deadlock was about the failure of the National Party to cross the democratic threshold. This week, post Boipatong, post the record of understanding, post mass action, the government is no closer to crossing that Rubicon.

Buthelezi's withdrawal from talks was one of the most carefully drafted tantrums in history

It is exasparating to have heard it all before, and perhaps one should not have expected more.

The parliamentary session was called to pass into law the fruits of a negotiation process that collapsed five months ago.

Monday's ANC march was part of a mass action campaign that ran out of steam three weeks ago when the record of understanding was signed. The emotion-charged rhetoric of the struggle was upstaged at Stalplein by the urbane wit of Joe Slovo.

The only real discord was a rebellion from the Conservative Party over the seating arrangements in the joint sitting of parliament. In the combined tricameral chamber, Zach de Beer, having collected a handful of coloured MPs, was accorded the status of leader of the opposition, outraging Conservative Fanie Jacobs.

Such tomfoolery begs comparison with arguing over the deck-chairs on the Titanic.

So far, there appears little purpose in this session, unless one considers the Amnesty Bill, a last act of self-exculpation by the old regime before it starts winding down its affairs. For the rest, the golden handshakes and the white-anting of the country's public assets by the uncivil civil servants does not need a special parliamentary session.

One wonders if there will even be any desks left when, and if, a corps of ANC bureaucrats ever take up their posts in Pretoria and Cape Town.

The low-key nature of the session explains De Klerk's rather mean-spirited petty party-political performance. But one would have thought he had had enough opportunity for red-baiting at the Cape Nationalist congress in East London last week.

Perhaps it is all just a further attempt to mollify Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Perhaps De Klerk has to lash the ANC publicly a certain number of times before he is forgiven for supping with the devil, seeking to do silly things like ban dangerous weapons and, of course, not inviting the Zulu chief along to the World Trade Centre.

All of which proves the effectiveness of Buthelezi's noisy withdrawal from negotiations, rejection of a constituent assembly and, by extension, of elections. Buthelezi knows what everyone else knows: that an election would reduce him to a minor provincial figure.

Of course, Buthelezi's withdrawal from talks was one of the most carefully drafted tantrums in history and one still suspects that *slim* FW was not caught completely by surprise, particularly as Buthelezi's posture lends weight to the demand for the NP's terrible twins: federalism and power sharing.

But De Klerk comes away with little positive, other than having set himself up as the honest broker, holding, in the latest negotiations jargon, "bilaterals" with the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and Andries Beyers' Afrikaner Volksunie, in the next few weeks.

Which brings one back to the point. The country needs to move to a one-person, one-vote election as soon as possible — not only because of the need to legitimate whatever is agreed to, but because we need to establish with what authority the various political players speak.

The worst of it all is the uncertainty — an uncertainty that won't end until there is an election.

A welcome intervention this week came from US Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Hank Cohen, who urged a speedy movement to elections and cautioned the government against holding progress to democracy hostage to violence. This, as he correctly pointed out, would only encourage more violence by those who want to block democracy.

De Klerk has decided that he carries a solemn mandate from the whites-only referendum to settle for nothing less than power-sharing: "These principles have to be included in a new constitution," he told parliament.

In the text of his speech handed out to journalists, "have to" was underlined. It was as if the speech had graffiti scrawled across it: "Power-sharing or bust".

Yet that in itself is disturbing and not insignificant. Here we have a national leader who believes he has a special mandate from one, minority population group. He summons parliament, at vast expense to the taxpayer, and, over national television, talks only to whites and a few miscreants in the negotiations process.

Privately, NP politicians reinforce this. They see their party as representing business and other white interests which, because of their marginal electoral strength, need guaranteed protection in other ways. Otherwise, it'll be another Congo or Mozambique or Rhodesia ...

The NP is holding the country to ransom in the name of these interest groups. Yet it is such a contradiction. It is costing the economy and virtually everyone in the country.

There is a national crisis in unemployment, in education, in rising crime levels, in poverty, in confidence for the future. There is an urgent need for a government of national unity. Yet all De Klerk has done in the past few days is to construct fresh obstacles to an election by insisting that controversial principles be front-loaded into the constitution.

This does not prevent him from pronouncing on who has or hasn't got electoral support. He would not serve in an interim government with communists, he said, because they have too little support.

It would be interesting to know what his private polls say but, as a gambling man, I would imagine that pitting Chris Hani or Joe Slovo against some of De Klerk's more noteworthy comrades such as Amichand Rajbansi, Oupa Gqozo or Hudson Ntsanwisi would precipitate a landslide that even Arnold Schwarzenegger would be hard-pressed to drill his way out of.

I have an even better idea. If Fischer and Spassky, and Navratilova and Connors, can contest one another just for fun, what about a presidential election between De Klerk and Ronnie Kasrils? It might even cost less than two weeks of parliament, or the pension payouts of a handful of bureaucrats.

FW slams ANC's 'ugly' methods

(304A)

CT 19/10/92

OUDTSHOORN. — President F W de Klerk criticised the ANC at a National Party public meeting here on Saturday for blockading roads to stop buses from bringing NP supporters to the meeting.

"And these are the people who claim to believe in democracy," Mr De Klerk told his predominantly black and coloured audience, calling on them not to let themselves be intimidated.

"They are the people who complain they cannot organise politically in KwaZulu, but are themselves intolerant.

"The ANC are fighting politics in an ugly manner," he said.

"They call for mass action but how many job opportunities did that create? No, thousands of jobs were destroyed as a result.

"They organise strikes, but did anyone obtain a job because he went on strike?"

'Root of the evil'

It was not the policies of the government that were behind violence and the failing economy, but people who did not really want peace and who were involved in a power struggle.

"That is the root of the evil," he said.

Mr De Klerk congratulated the Oudtshoorn NP for being the fastest-growing branch in the country.

He called on "the collective leadership of South Africa" to work together to turn around the country's misfortunes.

The best remedy for South Africa was rapid reform through honest negotiation.

The NP government would not give way under pressure nor hand over the country to chaos, Mr De Klerk said.

Instability and violence benefited only radicals. Realists and moderates needed to stand up to stop this element in its tracks. — Sapa

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MPLA gets tough over election result

B/DAY 19/10/92

LUANDA — Angola's ruling MPLA party says it will not face a second electoral round for the presidency unless its former civil war foe Unita pledges to honour peace accords signed last year.

And shooting was reported in two Angolan cities on Saturday after final election results gave President Jose Eduardo dos Santos's ruling party a victory but showed he and ex-rebel leader Jonas Savimbi must meet in a presidential runoff.

Hours after the results were announced, unita soldiers fired on Dos Santos's supporters in downtown Luanda, killing at least two people, police said.

Unita officials said their men were fired on first by celebrating MPLA supporters.

Other casualties were reported, but details were not immediately available.

Luanda police commander Gaspar da Silva, speaking on national television, said the situation was "relatively calm".

But police reported some movement of Unita soldiers near the capital.

State news agency Angop also reported fighting between police and Unita members in Huambo, the central highland city 510km southeast of Luanda that Savimbi has turned into a stronghold since he left the capital days after the elections.

Huambo vice-governor Agostinho Jaka described the situation as "very serious" and not fully under government control.

Angolan national television reported that Unita had taken several police officers hostage in a shootout in Huambo and blockaded government buildings and main thoroughfares.

UN officials in Luanda said they had reports of violence in Huambo, but declined to give details. Later, Angolan media reported that UN envoys had met Unita leaders in an attempt to calm the situation.

The MPLA, getting tough after official results of the September 29-30 vote issued showed it the clear winner of the legislative poll and ahead in the presidency, said the figures indicated the legitimacy of its 17-year rule.

"This was a total victory for the MPLA," said party Secretary General Marcolino Moco, as supporters poured precious champagne and danced in pick-up trucks racing through Luanda.

Unita had repeatedly delayed issuing the votes with unsubstantiated charges of fraud.

But the patience of MPLA leaders seemed to have snapped.

"The second round can only take place if certain conditions under the Bicesse (May 1991 peace) accords are observed," MPLA Information Director Joao Lourenco told a news conference on Saturday night.

These included demilitarising Unita, accepting that central government take control of Unita-held areas and returning to the new national army Unita generals who left in protest at the vote.

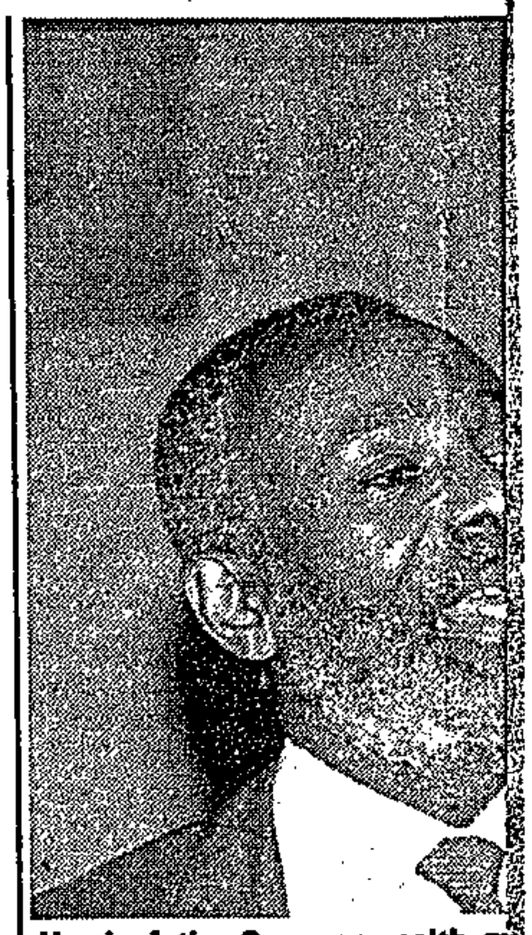
Dos Santos and Savimbi are due to meet today for a summit arranged by mediators from SA.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha's press secretary Awie Marais said Botha was seriously considering returning to Luanda for the meeting after both leaders had requested his presence.

However, an OAU team has put off a visit to Angola where it was supposed to help persuade Savimbi to work with the government.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said on Saturday night that the decision to postpone the mission's visit had been been taken after consultations with the Angolan government.

The UN, which has been overseeing the peace accords and transition to democracy, gave its blessing to the results and said there was no foundation to Savimbi's claims of fraud and irregularities. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.



Head of the Commonwealth m
Gildenhuys at Jan Smuts Airpo

Top observer group arrives

B/DAY 19/10/92

GAVIN DU VENAGE

A GROUP of 18 Commonwealth observers, led by former Ghanaian Supreme Court judge A Amissah, arrived in SA yesterday to monitor the violence situation.

The group was met at Jan Smuts airport by national peace secretariat chairman Antonie Gildenhuys and Deputy Justice and National Intelligence Service Minister Danie Schutte.

The group consists of members from legal, diplomatic, political and security backgrounds, among them the director of the Australian Institute of Criminology and a former commissioner of the Canadian Mounted Police.

Amissah said the group would assist the secretariat in monitoring violence, and would make its expertise available to the secretariat. (30417)

The group expected to stay for three months, and would meet various political leaders, and visit violence-hit areas.

However any findings the group made would not be made public but conveyed directly to the secretariat, said Amissah.

He said if at the end of the day they had made a contribution to ending the violence, they would be very happy.

TML looking at move from CBD

PETER GALLI

B/DAY 19/10/92

TIMES Media Limited had not yet decided whether to leave the Johannesburg CBD and was looking at sites west of its existing premises in Diagonal Street, MD David Kovarsky confirmed at the weekend.

"We are looking at sites both in Rosebank and to the west of our existing operation. We were considering the 158 Jan Smuts Avenue building in Rosebank but decided against this," he said.

The group was examining the possibility of the Galleria site in Cradock Avenue, which "looks quite attractive", particularly regarding parking and access to shops, he said. If it remained in the CBD the building would have to offer complete security and on-site parking for all staff.

"While a number of possibilities are being examined, management is aware that staff will still be subject to the crime problem outside the building," he said.

While the group's lease expired only in four years time, a decision on the move would probably be made in the next three months, Kovarsky said.

There is continued market speculation that the Argus Group is considering moving. CE Doug Band said yesterday no specific plans were under discussion but if it were offered a good price for its building, a move would be considered.

An informed source said yesterday the newspaper group was seriously looking at sites in Crown Mines, but Band said this was "a remote possibility".

Bilateral talks seen as vital

(304A) BILLY PADDOCK

THERE was a growing consensus between government and the ANC that comprehensive bilateral talks between various parties needed to take place to ensure that when multiparty negotiations resumed they would be successful, senior negotiators said at the weekend.

However, Inkatha yesterday rejected this approach, insisting that the only legitimate topics for bilateral discussion were setting the agenda for multiparty talks and working out the form a new multiparty forum should take.

It is understood that a meeting last week between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and representatives of Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei made little headway in getting Inkatha back to the table.

Inkatha was waiting for government to "correct the impression given that there was full consultation with Inkatha on the record of understanding reached with the ANC at the summit on September 26".

Government and ANC sources said at the weekend they were involved in a concerted effort to try and find common ground in order speedily to advance to the interim government stage.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said, however, there was absolutely no attempt on the part of the ANC and government to

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Talks

B/DAY 19/10/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

impose conclusive agreements between them on other parties.

"It happens all over the world. Just look at the Palestinian/Israeli negotiations on the Middle East. The US speaks to one party and then another and it results in a joint meeting to resolve the crisis," he said.

"Likewise, we need to hold bilaterals with numerous parties to create the conditions to make the talks successful.

"We see the bilateral process as discussing a range of issues relating to negotiations at multiparty level and trying to find the common thread where we can find agreement, rather than concentrating on the divisive ones."

Another senior ANC negotiator said that it was vital for the organisation and government to clear some of the ground between them, not because the other parties were not important, but because government and the ANC were at loggerheads.

Viljoen agreed that "the time is not right for multilateral talks". A lot of work still had to be done in bilaterals to clear the obstacles and get common understanding.

He said government saw negotiations with Inkatha and the ANC as top priority.

Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate said there had been a perceptible shift in the way the ANC and government were now operating, and attributed this to Inkatha's protest at the record of understanding.

"The original intention behind the scenes was for De Klerk and Mandela to take up the reins and direct the whole negotiations process. Only when they saw our reaction did they take up a more cautious attitude," said Felgate.

He said Inkatha would reject any bilateral agreements that had national implications and affected other parties, such as the record of understanding.

However, he said the government/ANC agreement should not be disposed of but that it should be submitted to a multiparty forum for scrutiny and negotiation and adoption or rejection by all the parties.

Own Affairs Bill backed

THE Joint Administration of Own Affairs Bill was a first step in the unification process of state departments, Minister of Health and Welfare in the House of Representatives Andrew Julies said.

Speaking yesterday during the second reading debate on the Bill, he said reform was a many-faceted process. (304A) ARG 20/10/92

With the Bill, "surely a high point has been reached in the constitutional development in South Africa".

Mr Daan du Plessis (CP Roodeplaat) said the State President and the government had no more respect for parliament.

The government stood accused before the bench of history as the destroyer of its own nation.

Mr Yusuf Seedat (Ind Nom) said the Helen Suzmans, Van Zyl Slabberts, Harry Schwarzes and Zach de Beers should be remembered for their bit in breaking down apartheid.

Mr A G V Naidoo (NP Durban Bay) said the Bill was a step in the right direction. — Sapa.

General election next year 'no certainty'

(304A) ARG 20/10/92

THERE was a real possibility at this stage that the impasse in constitutional negotiations could last for years, said Mr Desmond Lockey (LP Northern Cape) said.

Speaking yesterday in debate on the Filling of Casual Vacancies in Parliament Bill, he said there was no certainty that there would be a non-racial general election next year.

After four troubled months, during which the government had given in to the demands set by the ANC, the country was back where it had been at the time of Codesa 2 — with the difference that it had sunk deeper into the morass of poverty and violence.

The importance of by-elections was illustrated by the fact that it was a by-election in Potchefstroom that had forced the government to call a referendum earlier this year.

Minister of Home Affairs Mr Louis Pienaar had argued that the Bill was purely a step to eliminate red tape.

Nats 'award SA banana republic status'

BY introducing legislation to suspend by-elections the National Party was finally awarding South Africa the status of a banana republic, said Mr Kobus Beyers (CP Virginia).

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Filling of Casual Vacancies in Parliament Bill yesterday, he said the NP was creating a dangerous precedent which could dramatically explode in its face under a future constitutional dispensation.

Nothing prevented a future ANC government from not only abolishing by-elections, but also scrapping general elections.

Mr Beyers said the bill was a "transparent attempt by the NP to shut the mouths of the white voter" while it surrendered to the ANC.

After its recent poor performances in Ladybrand, Virginia and Potchefstroom the NP was trying to avoid fighting by-elections, he said. — Sapa.

ARG 20/10/92

Since 1983 SA voters have been tested every 1,8 years — NP

ARG 20/10/92

NOWHERE else in the world had opposition parties had as many opportunities to make inroads into a governing party as in South Africa.

Mr Innis Aucamp (NP Fauresmith) told parliament yesterday: "Since 1983 there have been five opportunities, in either general elections or referendums, apart from numerous by-elections. That means voters have been tested every 1,8 years," he said in the second reading debate on the Filling of Casual Vacancies in Parliament Bill.

The two parties which would gain most advantage from the bill — the LP and the CP — were against it.

Mr S P Barnard (CP Hercules) said the government was afraid of its voters. Every minister or NP MP with less than 3 000 votes in the last general election would not win a by-election.

The State President had become a despot and a dictator by taking the rights of voters away, he said. — Sapa.

ANC-aligned members won't support bill

THE ANC-aligned independents would not support the Filling of Casual Vacancies in Parliament Bill because they believed all the legislation in the short session of parliament was unnecessary, Mr Jannie Momberg (Ind, Simonstown) said. (304A) ARG 20/10/92

He said in debate on the measure that the independents also believed that the measure was a typical example of the National Party's hunger for power. One could, however, be thankful that it eliminated all possibility of further racist by-elections. — Sapa.

'Referendum if next election due before negotiations completed'

ARG 20/10/92

A REFERENDUM for all South Africans may be necessary if constitutional negotiations were not completed, or a non-racial election not held, by the time the present parliament expired.

Miss Dene Smuts (DP Groote Schuur) said this yesterday during the Filling of Casual Vacancies in Parliament Bill.

She said a referendum was a test of opinion, not a power contest, and therefore less likely to exacerbate violence.

The prospect of negotiations not being completed by the time the next general election became due was "an eventuality almost too ghastly to contemplate".

But she said the present parliament could be extended by constitutional amendment as a tricameral election was unlikely.

If parliament's term were to be extended in this way it would become increasingly unrepresentative of even the present electorate should by-elections be suspended.

It was not healthy to have as the legal, sovereign power a body which regenerated itself, which was detached from the voters and which floated in a vacuum where no test of support ever occurred.

Miss Smuts said legislation to give effect to transitional executive councils would have been the proper climate in which to introduce legislation suspending by-elections. — Sapa.

Government, IFP plan bush summit

(304A)

CT 20/10/92

THE government is attempting to arrange a bosberaad — bush meeting — with the IFP to discuss differences that have arisen between them.

It hopes the meeting will follow a bosberaad with the ANC scheduled for next month.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, emphasising that it was important to have the IFP on board when multi-party negotiations resume, made the announcement last night.

Mr Meyer said a government delegation would meet representatives of the KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments on Thursday.

The meeting will be a follow-up to last week's Conference of Concerned South Africans.

At that meeting the conference tabled its reservations over the Record of Understanding signed by President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

24 die in Natal unrest

CT 20/10/92

DURBAN. — At least 24 people have died violently in Natal since Sunday.

And most of the Local Dispute Resolution Committees in the province have been unable to begin work because the IFP has withdrawn from those in Umlazi, Port Shepstone and Groutville.

The party claims the ANC has a hidden agenda and that IFP supporters were killed while peace structures were in operation.

The ANC has denied the claims, saying its supporters are dying as well.

Meanwhile the toll in Natal mounts.

In the worst attack at the weekend at least nine people died in the ANC-supporting Amagcino township near Umgababa on the South Coast.

Residents yesterday said several hundred attackers invaded the area early on Sunday morning, searching for "comrades" and shooting and hacking those they found.

Police arrested five people after Sunday's killings, and hundreds of Amagcino residents fled the area. More than 30 shacks were destroyed and many others were burned.

In other incidents since Sunday, police reported three killings in Odlamini, outside Wartburg in the Midlands, and three deaths in Umbumbulu, south of Durban.

Four people died in political unrest in KwaMashu, north of Durban, two in clashes between IFP and ANC supporters in the Uganda shack settlement, Umlazi, and one in KwaMakhutha, near Amanzimtoti.

One person was killed in Richmond's Ndaleni township in the Midlands, and a person was murdered near Esikhaweni on Natal's North Coast.

● The South African Council of Churches yesterday condemned the continuing violence in Natal.

It said it was still shocked by last week's killing of eight people linked to the IFP. — Sapa

War threat in refugee row

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose visited the troubled Phatheni township in Richmond yesterday in an attempt to defuse the situation — and the ANC vowed to "match the war declared by IFP on ANC members in the area by nothing else but war".

An angry ANC Natal Midlands regional secretary Mr Sifiso Nkabinde said: "The IFP people may think they have won the battle but they must rest assured we will eventually win the war".

Trouble began when the ANC national leadership who had accompanied ANC refugees to Phatheni, left the township. IFP supporters eventually forced the refugees to seek shelter at the local school, where they spent a night before being taken back to Richmond.

A spokesman for the IFP Information Centre, Mr Kim Hodgson, said the organisation was convinced that some of the people who were said to be refugees were not from the area but were trained ANC members.

Stones injure police at Paarl

CT 20/10/92

THREE policemen were injured and about R2 000 damage was caused to vehicles at Paarl at the weekend.

The police were injured by a stone-throwing crowd trying to free a person held for shoplifting in Paarl East, police said. In Silvertown a crowd slashed tyres of a tow truck, causing about R1 600 damage. A police vehicle was stoned.

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(204A) CT 20/10/92

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The meeting will be a follow-up to last week's Conference of Concerned South Africans.

At that meeting the conference tabled its reservations over the Record of Understanding signed by President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

General gave order: 'Shoot to kill AWB'

CT 20/10/92

POTCHEFSTROOM. — A police general gave his men orders to shoot back at Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members, but said in the Magistrate's Court here yesterday there was no shooting after he had given the command.

Major-General Adriaan de la Rosa, who co-ordinated the police operation during the clash with the AWB during a public meeting in Ventersdorp addressed by President F W de Klerk on August 27, was giving evidence at the public violence trial of AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche and 14 others.

When a constable asked him what to do if the AWB opened fire again, General De la Rosa, who was attending to two wounded policemen, told him to shoot to kill. However, the shooting had stopped.

The trial continues today. — Sapa

MPs 'squabble over perks'

(204A) CT 20/10/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

RUMBLINGS among so-called "brown Nationalists" about the division of spoils in the own affairs Ministers' Council is threatening to break into open revolt.

Disgruntled MPs — said to number about two dozen — are pushing for a special meeting to resolve their differences with Mr Jac Rabie's Ministers' Council and some MPs were hopeful that a meeting could be arranged as early as today.

The clash was summarised by one MP in the House of Representatives as "a squabble involving perks and personalities".

Among the reasons cited for anger among the rebel MPs:

● The failure of the Ministers' Council to make good on promises to MPs when they defected to the NP to look after the needs of their constituencies regarding housing and other services.

● The apparent unwillingness of the entrenched Ministers' Council to consider a system of rotating ministers which would spread the high pension and retrenchment packages enjoyed by ministers more evenly.

● The promotion to ministerial status of some of the last — and allegedly less competent — defectors to the NP.

● The manner in which overseas trips for MPs are awarded.

Senior Nationalists yesterday dismissed suggestions that there were any serious divisions or tensions in the party.

ARG 20/1/92 (300W)

Government and PAC meet in city

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the government have met in Cape Town to prepare for their meeting in Gaborone, Botswana, this week.

In a statement, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said the aim of the meeting was to pave the way "for fully representative constitutional negotiations". — Political Staff.

Multilateral talks 'unlikely' this year

(304A) BILLY PADDOCK

CODESA 3-type multilateral negotiations were "most unlikely" to take place this year as there were far too many issues to be dealt with in bilateral talks and coaxing of further parties to join the process, a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

He said it had taken nearly three months of discussions before the multiparty preparatory meeting, which led to the formation of Codesa, could be convened. "And now we have Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, as well as the PAC not in the process."

The negotiator said most of the main players wanted to resolve most of the major difficulties and get fairly conclusive agreements tied up before multilateral talks were convened. B/Day 21/10/92

"This is so that we reduce the level of conflict and problems when we reach the multilateral stage," he said.

He said parties had to avoid painting themselves into a corner as they did at Codesa II by setting a clear date for multilateral negotiations. "Dates should be set only once all the problems have been ironed out and agreements reached. This will result in there being no real problems between the major players and the process will advance that much more quickly," he said.

He was hopeful that bilateral discussions with Inkatha would take place in the near future, but could not predict a time frame.

He also said the meeting on Friday with the PAC in Gaborone would be difficult because the organisation had severe problems with the Codesa structure and some of the major players insisted on retaining it as a forum.

Government persists with Bill

Sowetan 21/10/92 (304A)

Sowetan Correspondent

■ National Party in desperate bid to avoid defeat:

IN a dramatic development last night, the Government vowed to plough on with its controversial indemnity legislation - and possibly face humiliating defeat - after Parliament's all-party justice committee failed to support it.

The row over the Further Indemnity Bill is expected to generate heated debate in the final hours of the special session today.

Minister of Justice Mr Kobie Coetsee's announcement last night that the Bill would be referred to Parliament today without amendments followed marathon two-day talks in the justice committee where implacable resistance from House of Delegates MPs and the Democratic Party denied the measure a smooth passage.

Urgent discussions with the parties in the House of Delegates were underway last night as the Government desperately sought to improve its chances of success in the chamber today.

The session was to have ended last night, but the defeat of the indemnity legislation in the justice committee - largely because of the secrecy clauses it contains - forced the National Party to prolong it.

The Government faced a stark choice: withdraw the Bill for further consultation, as the opposition parties demanded, or risk laying it before Parliament for debate and decision today.

Blacks can now be in Cabinet

Sowetan 21/10/92 (304A)

■ NP faces fierce criticism:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

LEGISLATION which provides for the appointment of black people to the Cabinet has been passed by Parliament.

After having been defeated late last week because it could not get the support of all three Houses in Parliament, the Government this week resubmitted the Constitution Amendment Bill in the face of fierce criticism from all political parties.

Speakers opposing not only the Bill but its re-introduction in the same session, accused the Government of being immoral, showing no respect for Parliament, being undemocratic and setting precedents which would be used against it in the future.

The Labour Party MP Mr Miley Richards said the Government had no respect for democracy and the honourable thing would have been to withdraw the Bill altogether.

The Conservative Party's Mr Tom Langley said Parliament and its Members had become the target of contempt and ridicule. By re-introducing the Bill, the Government was defying Parliament.

Mr David Curry of the DP said the NP was proving how it would use political structures on its own terms.

'Rejected' Bill passed

Political Staff (304A)

CAPE TOWN — Parliament yesterday finally approved the Constitution Amendment Bill which allows for the appointment of non-MPs to the Cabinet.

The legislation, which was defeated last week because it failed to gain enough support in the House of Representatives, was resubmitted to Parliament in slightly amended form. BDay 21/10/92.

Opposition MPs accused government of immorality, lacking respect for democracy and setting a bad example for future governments in forcing through a Bill which had been defeated only a few days earlier.

However, government insisted that the original Bill had been defeated on a technicality.

It was entirely within its rights to reintroduce the measure, it argued.

The votes in favour of the legislation in the House of Assembly were 95 out of 178; and in the House of Representatives 47 out of 85.

The measure was approved in the House of Delegates, with the opposition of the DP recorded.

Bills providing for an end to by-elections and the phasing out of own affairs administrations were also approved yesterday.

Codesa 3 'won't be this year'

(304A)

CT 21/10/92

Non-MP bill approved

Political Correspondent

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Political Staff

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He said it had taken nearly three months of discussions before the multi-party preparatory meeting, which led to the formation of Codesa, could be convened. "And now we have Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, as well as the PAC not in the process."

The negotiator said the bilateral negotiations would progress quite smoothly over the next couple of months with the finalisation of agreements reached in these taking much longer in a multi-lateral forum.

He said most of the major players wanted to get fairly conclusive agreements tied up before multi-lateral talks were convened. "This is so that we reduce the level of conflict and problems when we reach the multi-lateral stage," he said.

He said parties had to avoid painting themselves into a corner as they did at Codesa 2 by setting a clear date for multi-lateral negotiations. "Dates should only be set once all the problems have been ironed out. In this way the process will advance that much quicker."

He was hopeful that bilateral discussions with Inkatha would take place in the near future but could not predict a time frame. He also said the meeting on Friday with the PAC in Gaborone would be difficult because the PAC had severe problems with the Codesa structure and some of the major players insisted on retaining it as a forum.

However, some say that rapid progress towards multi-party constitutional talks, possibly setting a date for a new Codesa by mid-November, is expected to follow Parliament's adjournment on Tuesday, reports Sapa.

This expectation has been confirmed by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, who has stressed that the least possible delay can be accepted if the first democratic election is to be held by the last quarter of 1993.

In media briefings, the minister and the most senior government negotiators expressed confidence that the "Concerned South Africans" grouping, and more particular the IFP, could be persuaded to return to a restructured Codesa forum soon.

Challenge demands all share load

Sowetan 22/10/92. 304A

By Isaac Moledi

■ Government, business and workers must no longer be enemies:

A CHALLENGE facing the country demanded that the government of the day, business and workers accept a shared responsibility and sacrifice, and understand themselves as no longer enemies but partners in development.

This was said by the director of the Centre for African Studies, Mr Eugene Nyathi, during his address to more than 900 delegates attending the Institute of Personnel Management's annual convention at Sun City yesterday.

Presenting a paper on *The Cost and Challenge of change: South Africa in Transition* Nyathi said that change in the country was unavoidable and the price to pay for it was multi-dimensional.

"Past antagonism should be replaced by a shared value system and shared destiny," he said.

He added that more than ever before the country needed the acceptance of shared sacrifice and responsibility at the leadership level and embrace democracy and accountability.

Nyathi warned leaders and their followers to develop new a "ethos" that would qualitatively improve the leadership even at grassroots level.

"Followers of political and trade union organisations need to develop a new ethos," Nyathi said.

NP refuses to accept it is alone — Dalling

B/ DAY 22/10/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — ANC-supporting independent MP Dave Dalling said yesterday he deplored President F W de Klerk's decision to refer the defeated Further Indemnity Bill to the President's Council.

He said in a statement on behalf of the seven ANC-supporting MPs that the NP regarded the constitution "as their toy and Parliament as their playground".

"They refuse to accept that in regard to this Bill they stand alone, without support from any other political groupings.

"They have an artificial built-in NP majority of presidentially appointed Nationalists in the President's Council and no doubt their lackeys in the council will do as they are told and reverse the decision of Parliament."

Dalling said it was a "highly controversial" Bill which allowed amnesty to be granted to criminals in circumstances of secrecy, did not enjoy the support of the ANC, and it would not be honoured by the ANC in the new SA.

It would also not contribute to reconciliation or the peace process.

"It is no more than a form of amnesty being made available to officials of the state who have committed crimes of violence against anti-apartheid activists over the years," he said.

"It is a Bill to absolve state criminals."

He added that the "gerrymandering" of the passage of the Bill would prove another setback to the negotiating process. — Sapa.

BDAY 22/10/92

Mandela challenged

THE NP yesterday challenged Nelson Mandela to retract his statement to the BBC supporting the IRA, and his assertion that "in any conflict civilians must be hit by crossfire" (304A)

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe said Mandela had "not surprisingly" alarmed and offended the moderate majority of the SA public.

Indemnity Bill 'not a blanket amnesty'

B/DAY 22/10/92. (304A)

CAPE TOWN — The objective of the Further Indemnity Bill was not to institute a total blanket amnesty but to help existing procedures for people to qualify for indemnity, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said yesterday.

He was speaking shortly before Parliament rejected the Bill in government's second humiliating defeat of the session.

Introducing the second reading debate on the Bill, Coetsee said it represented a broadening of existing procedures and principles.

A new feature was that it enabled a court of law to refer a person on trial to the National Council on Indemnity. This would bring about a considerable saving in time and money.

The Bill's provisions would ensure that all people were treated equally.

The Bill arose directly from the record of understanding reached between government and the ANC on September 26.

President F W de Klerk was not prepared to use his powers to release people unless Parliament endorsed such an action, he said.

Coetsee said the Bill was "no more than a mechanism to regulate the indemnity process which had been begun two years ago". It provided for a proper mechanism to release prisoners and to cater for those who had not yet been arrested.

The latter category included four members of Inkatha, two of the former CCB, one of the AWB and 325 of the ANC.

The Bill broadened the criteria whereby a person qualified for indemnity.

Referring to amendments proposed by opponents of the Bill, Coetsee said it was the government's intention to introduce a further Bill.

Parties would be able to study and debate this Bill fully.

It was clear that the ANC was interested in indemnity only for its own members, and not in reconciliation, Deputy Justice Minister Danie Schutte said during yesterday's debate.

The ANC had accepted earlier indemnity legislation because it favoured it, but it rejected the present Bill because it benefited others. "I would submit that is not reconciliation . . . you cannot have one rule for the ANC and one rule for other people."

Government had shown its honest intentions to open up government by appointing the Harms and Goldstone commissions and changing the Inquest Act to allow inquests to be conducted by judges.

The Bill was "clear proof of the integrity of the State President" and could not be equated with criminal intention.

A total of 9 300 people had been indemnified to date, of whom 173 had received personalised indemnity. The rest were indemnified by category.

The indemnification procedure that would be followed under the new Bill would be exactly the same.

The names and events for which indemnity was being granted would be published in the Government Gazette. — Sapa.

Barlan Pt

Another humiliation for govt

FW to force defeated Bill into statutes

B/DAY 22/10/92 (304A)

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk last night announced his intention to ram government's controversial indemnity legislation into the statute books through the NP-dominated President's Council.

This followed the rejection by Parliament yesterday of the Further Indemnity Bill in government's second humiliating defeat of the short session.

The Bill — described by DP MP Tony Leon as "a charter for crooks, criminals and assassins" — was defeated when the ruling Solidarity party and opposition National People's Party in the House of Delegates voted against it after five hours of acrimonious debate.

The rejection amounts to a major political setback for Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, who is being blamed for bungling the issue. "It should never have happened," one senior government official said.

Government's decision to resort to the President's Council was roundly condemned by most political organisations.

DP national chairman Colin Eglin said he was "flabbergasted".

"This is really minority domination when they should be demonstrating a sensitivity for power-sharing. They are forcing this Bill through despite the overwhelming opposition, not only inside Parliament but throughout the country," said Eglin.

ANC-supporting MP Dave Dalling said the NP regarded the constitution "as their toy and Parliament as their playground". He said the move would be a setback to the negotiation process.

Political Staff

De Klerk, at a news conference called last night after an extended Cabinet meeting, predicted the legislation would be processed by the President's Council within 10 to 12 days.

He defended the decision on the grounds that the legislation was needed to give effect to the record of understanding signed by himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela on September 26.

He said the legislation was a matter of urgency because of the commitment in the record of understanding to release all political prisoners by November 15.

He said he was reluctant to use the powers of executive pardon which he had because of the heinous nature of some of the crimes.

It was also important "that whatever we do in this regard must apply to all supporters of all movements". The legislation would also apply to "those involved in trials at the moment".

He repeated assurances made by Coetsee that amendments to the Bill would be made and brought before Parliament soon after it reconvened on January 29 next year.

The Bill was defeated by 17 votes to 10, with four abstentions, in the House of Delegates. The voting indicated that two Solidarity MPs had joined the NP's five MPs, two independents and one Merit People's Party member in voting for the legislation.

Solidarity chief whip Yakoob Makda rose on a point of order to say that some of his party's members voted incorrectly be-

☐ To Page 2

Indemnity Bill

B/DAY 22/10/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

cause they had not understood the instructions given in Afrikaans by Speaker Eli Louw.

The Bill was approved by 88 votes to 46 in the House of Assembly and 43 to 28 in the House of Representatives. In terms of the constitution, legislation is rejected unless it gets majority support in all three houses.

The day of drama in Parliament had started with speeches by Leon and CP MP for Roodepoort Jurg Prinsloo in which they blasted the Bill.

Leon — in a speech which drew letters of congratulation from members of all parties, including the NP — slammed the secrecy clauses in the Bill. In terms of the legislation there will be no public disclosure of what crimes amnesty was applied for.

"You cannot bargain away human rights in private," he said.

Government had also failed to get consensus in the parliamentary justice committee in two days of meetings before the Bill was put before Parliament.

Solidarity objected to the Bill because of its lack of public disclosure and secrecy clauses, and felt it should be allowed to "mature" in the committee.

Last week the NP suffered a setback when the Constitutional Amendment Bill was rejected because it did not have the required majority in the House of Representatives for amending entrenched clauses of the constitution. The Bill was subsequently resubmitted and passed.

☐ Parliamentary Speaker Eli Louw yesterday adjourned Parliament until January 29.

● See Page 7

Special session 'last nail in coffin'

(304A)

THE tables had been turned on the National Party and the short session of Parliament could put the final nail in the NP's coffin, the leader of the Conservative Party, Dr Andries Treurnicht, said yesterday.

The session had been planned as a triumph for the NP but it turned into a massive embarrassment, he said in a statement.

It had brought into stark focus the dramatic shift of power which had taken place in South Africa since the collapse of Codesa, the ill-fated signing of the Record of Understanding and the regrouping of powerful forces against the NP/ANC alliance.

"The rejection of the Indemnity Bill by every party in Parliament, including parties which two years ago would never have resisted NP pressure, is further evidence of the government's gradual loss of power and its new isolation."

The CP was committed to mobilisation on all fronts to remove the National Party from power, Dr Treurnicht added. CT 22/10/92

Federalism wins

THE majority of South Africans believe a federal political system is the best option for the country, according to a survey by the Centre for International and Comparative Politics, released yesterday. (304A)

"A federal system dividing South Africa into a number of multiracial regions vested with considerable autonomy, Bill of Rights and other checks and balances was the option that elicited the majority support across the board."

Sowetan 22/10/92.

B/DAY 22/10/92

NP warned not to back 'lost cause'

CAPE TOWN — The Democratic Party believed the National Party should not use the President's Council to pass the Further Indemnity Bill after its comprehensive defeat in Parliament, DP Justice spokesman Tony Leon said yesterday. (3044)

Sapa reports he said: "Since every party in Parliament, save the National Party, and every political organisation outside Parliament has opposed this legislation root and branch, for the NP now to proceed further will reveal its stated commitment to the principle of powersharing to be nothing but a narrow and hypocritical sham."

The President could redeem much lost ground by delaying the legislation's passage until it was properly formulated and suitably implemented by a more representative government after wider consultation, he said in a statement.

DP MP Peter Soal told Parliament his party had no personal interest in the Further Indemnity Bill because, unlike the NP government or the ANC, it had no hit squads, death camps, necklacings, burnings or murders to account for.

Speaking during the second reading debate on the Bill, he said the DP was only concerned with the principle of indemnity.

There was no doubt that if Parliament proceeded with the Bill, a new government could very well sweep the law aside and a witchhunt might ensue.

Our political staff reports CP leader Andries Treurnicht said the tables had been turned on the NP and the short session of Parliament could be the final nail in the party's coffin. B/DAY 22/10/92

The session had been planned as a triumph for the NP but it had instead turned into a massive embarrassment, he said in a statement.

It's the Human side of the AWB

W/Mail 23/10 - 29/10/92

In Klipplaat the unbelievable has happened — the local AWB leader has joined the ANC in an initiative to save the threatened town.

By **SHADLEY NASH**

IF you're in Klipplaat looking for the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's local commander, try at the Black Sash office. Otherwise, he may be at the pool hall, shooting pool with African National Congress members.

Johannes Jurie Human is no ordinary member of the AWB. Having drifted into rightwing politics through disenchantment with the "toothless" National Party, he has recently joined an initiative spearheaded by the ANC alliance to save the town of some 3 000 people.

He cheerfully admits his *toenadering* to the ANC will probably lead to expulsion from the AWB. But for now, he is still local commander.

In his home, a full colour portrait of AWB leader Eugene Terreblance, encased in a 100-year-old frame, still occupies pride of place above his bed, and he shows it off proudly. On his lounge wall, there is a framed replica of an R1 rifle.

As recently as a few months ago, he was part of the armed posse of AWB members who stopped an ANC march in Despatch.

The story of his Damascus-style conversion is full of sheer irony.

It all began when he suggested to town councillors that AWB members be recruited to help evict coloured residents who haven't paid their rent.

The council presented him with a letter addressed to an AWB leader from Despatch, requesting his help, and Human passed it on.

But then he was approached by local leaders of the ANC alliance, who wanted the AWB to be part of a community effort to "save Klipplaat from becoming a ghost town".

Spoornet, the biggest employer, plans to close down its local operation, and there are fears this may kill the town, where unemployment already stands at some 70 percent.

He remembers the ANC leaders' fears: "They were told that if they come to my house they will get a bullet through the head."

That first meeting was a welcome surprise. He was able to allay their fears and they found common ground in their concern for their hometown.

There were differences of opinion, he says, but the AWB and Conservative Party were invited to a meeting of the town council, the ANC alliance and the Cape Provincial Administration to discuss civic demands.

"I wish it came from me," he says, referring to the initiative to set up the first meeting.

Human was immediately catapulted to the forefront of the meeting, being asked to chair it. Since then he has been in the forefront of efforts to address civic issues.

To demonstrate his new-found commitment to still sceptical township leaders, Human has told Klipplaat's whites to consult the advice office if they have any civic problems. He also boasts about taking over the lease and opening the town's pool hall to all its residents.

But he's keen to demonstrate he has not lost support among the white community. He calls in some white residents who swear on their lives that they will follow Human to the death in his bid to save Klipplaat.

He supports calls for members of both the black and white town council to resign. He gleefully notes that three white town councillors have resigned, leaving only the mayor, his deputy and one other councillor.

Two out of three black councillors resigned from the Wongalethu town council and three out of four members of the Prinsvale management committee resigned.

"I do believe we all have a future here in South Africa," he says.

Human was born in Port Elizabeth, raised in then South West Africa and in the early 1970s returned to the Eastern Cape to settle in Uitenhage. For the past three years he has lived in a modest house built by Spoornet.

"I was an NP member until Mandela began talking about nationalisation. This goes against my grain," he said.

"I can accept that capitalism is the enemy of the people, but when people start talking about nationalising my banks, then I will fight it."

It was then that he foreswore allegiance to the "toothless Nats" and joined the Conservative Party. He later joined the AWB.

But Human says he is a man of principle and believes that every South African should be involved in politics, both black and white. "I believe in human rights for all. People should fight for their rights in any way."

He says the National Party is no longer a party but a mediator which has lost "the ingredients" that made it a party.

Now it's the task of saving Klipplaat that motivates him. "I want to send a call out to all of South Africa to help Klipplaat financially to settle its debts with the council so that we can move forward. I believe our problems can be solved in a one-city forum." He says he also may apply for a fundraising number to help save the town.

"What we need here is development so people can get jobs." He speaks of a wool wash in the town which could provide hundreds of jobs, Klipplaat being in the centre of the mohair and wool trade.

"We need to get this backlog off our shoulders so that we can move forward positively." — Pen

INDEMNITY

FM 23/10/92 (304A)

Dare not speak its name

In some ways, the arguments of those who said they would enter the tricameral parliament in order to subvert government are being vindicated. This week, impasse within the joint committee on justice considering the Further Indemnity Bill looked like deferring the law's passage until next year.

As introduced, the Bill would provide blanket amnesty for past political misdeeds — the cut-off date is October 8 1990 — with the names of the criminals and details of their crimes, withheld. President F W de Klerk argues that such a secretive process would serve reconciliation, but critics are more dubious, suspecting a further erosion of the rule of law and a desire to protect the guilty high and mighty.

The ANC — itself less than forthcoming about who bears specific responsibility for torture and murder in its external punishment camps — wants the scope of amnesty to be negotiated by a transitional government.

The entire unseemly fracas arises out of the bargaining between De Klerk and Nelson Mandela that led to the release of Barend Strydom and Robert McBride late last month. This exchange of psychopaths was intended to have a symbolic healing effect: in actuality it caused outrage about the concept of amnesty itself and damaged negotiations further because Mangosuthu Buthelezi walked out.

The ANC immediately made it plain it was not happy with Strydom's release. But this places a question mark over exactly what Mandela and De Klerk did agree on; or whether the need for a bit of world-pleasing theatre overrode sustainable contact between two outfits that actually hate each other.

About a year ago, all sides were doing a coy shuffle in advance of what Mandela called a "Christmas present" for SA — what turned out to be Codesa. A year later, the agreements reached in that bargaining shed near Jan Smuts lie around like so many discarded wrappers. Surely this shouldn't be so? Whatever its shortcomings, Codesa was not an exercise in cynical deal-making.

What we need now is not more special deals between De Klerk and Mandela, but substantive moves to resume constitutional talks. Yes, Buthelezi is being recalcitrant, but if people paid more attention to what he is actually saying (see following pages) they might find it less difficult to accommodate him within a national convention. He can't be left out.

The current phase of rule by inertia and sleight-of-hand — while violence continues — is proving profoundly damaging to what remains of economic and political confidence. We must go back to timetables and realism. ■

party and Kane-Berman has continued this tradition." ■

NEGOTIATIONS FM 23/10/92

Back on the road (304A)

A new negotiating strategy is being formulated by government, aimed at bolstering support for a government of national unity and entrenching the "bottom lines" set out by President F W de Klerk in parliament last week.

The plan is expected to include the formation of a high-level negotiating team of Cabinet Ministers and senior officials whose primary function will be to speed up progress towards the resumption of Codesa-style

continue →

 FM 23/10/92 (304A)

talks.

Nationalist press reports this week suggested that the new team could include the current chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister, Roelf Meyer, Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers and Local Government & Housing Minister Leon Wessels. Foreign Minister Pik Botha — government's most experienced negotiator — and Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel may also become more involved in negotiations.

Cabinet sources confirm the growing realisation in government and the ANC that the plodding pace at which political leaders are moving towards agreement is too slow to rebuild business confidence and halt the collapse of the economy. It is understood that the so-called moderates in the ANC are regaining ground as the "radicals" realise the devastating economic effects of continuing mass action and economic boycotts.

Last Thursday's meeting between government and ANC negotiators was particularly significant. An ANC source said though no firm commitments were made by the organisation, aspects of De Klerk's "preconditions" were discussed and will be raised again at future meetings.

Government regards next month's "bush summit" with the ANC as an important milestone. The meeting, at an undisclosed venue, is expected to establish the basis on which multilateral talks will resume. Senior Ministers are confident that mutually acceptable compromises are possible.

De Klerk's "non-negotiables", as stated in parliament, are:

- ☐ Strong and entrenched regional government with constitutionally entrenched authority, "wide and meaningful" powers and functions and "adequate" sources of revenue;
- ☐ A bicameral parliament, including a senate able to "meet the need for the protection of regional interests and certain specific interests" at central government level;
- ☐ Executive powersharing to prevent "excessive over-concentration of power in the hands of only one party or one person" as is the case with the current constitution; and
- ☐ The entrenchment of the constitution and a Bill of Rights as the highest law.

"These and other principles will have to be negotiated in advance and these principles will have to be included in a new constitution," the President said (*Current Affairs* October 16). He also insisted that the ANC "restructure" its leadership to get rid of "radicals" before he would be prepared to form a joint transitional administration.

De Klerk's tough line was mainly for the benefit of a restless NP caucus that has been rocked in recent weeks by dissatisfaction among supporters in many constituencies. It is understood that De Klerk has reassured the caucus that he is not prepared to accept a winner-takes-all constitution.

He has told NP MPs to take the message back to their constituencies, and to businessmen in particular, that he will not allow a system in which the ANC will dominate government in the way the NP did for more than 40 years.

Government has wide support internationally and in the SA business community for the four demands made by De Klerk last week. But concern has repeatedly been expressed that it will be unable to get them accepted by the ANC. However, a Cabinet source says government believes all political leaders are now close to the point of acceptance that a government of national unity is essential to rebuild the economy and foster reconciliation.

There is also acceptance that continuing violence can no longer be allowed to delay progress towards a transitional government. Though it is accepted that an election in the current climate would be difficult, the Cabinet believes it is possible with the support and co-operation of all the major players.

Meyer is confident of making rapid progress towards "Codesa 3" over the next few weeks.

The bilateral talks with the Pan Africanist Congress in Botswana this weekend are regarded as a significant breakthrough. Talks are also scheduled with the Inkatha Freedom Party, the IFP/Bophuthatswana/Ciskei alliance and other smaller groupings including white rightwingers.

"Bush summits" are possible with one or more of the groups.

There is general consensus among the main parties that Codesa-style talks must resume as soon as possible. The two main issues are how the new forum must be constituted and the state of "readiness" of the different players (government says it is ready to resume Codesa immediately).

Government is anxious to use bilateral and multilateral talks to establish as much consensus as possible before Codesa 3 resumes in an effort to ensure that it does not easily break down.

In parliament this week, government pushed through controversial constitutional amendments aimed at rationalising the "own affairs" administrations, doing away with by-elections and allowing non-elected people (including blacks) to be appointed to the Cabinet. One of the measures was defeated last week when government failed to muster enough support in the House of Representatives due to the absence of some NP MPs.

However, the Bill was reintroduced this week and approved in spite of spirited opposition attacks. ■

FM 23/10/92 (304A)

AMNESTY (304A)

In the balance

FM 23/10/92

Government's bid to force its controversial indemnity Bill through parliament hung in the balance this week in the face of total rejection by the House of Delegates. As the *FM* went to press, the joint committee on justice was unable to agree on the measure which provides for a blanket amnesty for all "political" offenders after secret hearings.

The support of all three houses of parliament is necessary to avoid the Bill being sent to the NP-dominated President's Council for what would effectively be rubber-stamp approval. It is understood that President F W de Klerk is not prepared to use this option. Government's other option would be to shelve the Bill or allow the joint committee to continue debating it and reintroduce it in parliament next year.

The Bill is also opposed by the ANC, the DP, CP and Labour Party. It is regarded as a unilateral action and the ANC has warned that, as a possible future government, it may not honour indemnities granted in terms of the measure. A multiparty transitional administration is seen as a more suitable initiator of a new indemnity law.

Government argues that the measure merely extends provisions of the Indemnity Act. According to a memorandum published with the Bill, it aims to "promote reconciliation and peaceful solutions" by providing a mechanism to broaden indemnity or to free prisoners jailed for "political" crimes. A National Council on Indemnity chaired by a judge will hear applications and make recommendations to the State President. The hearings will be secret and publication of details of proceedings will be banned. Information from hearings will also not be admissible in any other court case or hearing. Crimes qualifying for consideration will have to have been committed before October 8 1990.

The Bill is government's attempt to wipe the slate clean by effectively pardoning people who broke laws for political reasons either under orders from superiors or in the belief that what they were doing contributed to a political cause.

However, critics point out that many allegedly political crimes by rightwingers have been committed since that date.

While accepting the need for some form of indemnity to promote national reconciliation, opponents of the measure say its secrecy provisions severely undermine the judicial process and may keep important information from the public. The DP's Tony Leon points out, for example, that people granted indemnity based on secret details may later be appointed to senior positions in the civil service or stand for public office — so it is vital to disclose information that could affect their performance or fitness for election.

It is also not clear whether the media would be allowed to publish information on "political" offenders gathered from sources other than council hearings.

De Klerk denies the measure is aimed at indemnifying civil servants who are known to have committed crimes. He says he does not know the identity of a single State official who has not yet been arrested and prosecuted for breaking the law.

Even if the Bill is approved, its seems unlikely that many offenders will come forward to confess without guarantees from the ANC that it will honour the amnesty if it forms the next government. ■

Rumbles of dissent in NP ranks over FW's indemnity

B/DAY 23/10/92 (304A)

Bill stategy

BILLY PADDOCK

THERE were serious divisions in the NP caucus over the defeated Further Indemnity Bill, with some MPs opposed to it accusing President F W de Klerk of being arrogant and autocratic, sources said yesterday.

Three NP MPs, spoken to after the Bill was referred to the President's Council by De Klerk on Wednesday, said there were between 10 and 15 MPs who were very disturbed by the move. They had also expressed concern that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi was being "left out in the cold" by De Klerk.

One MP, who has been in Parliament for several terms and regards himself as a "stalwart Nat", said the NP was in serious trouble when it flaunted democracy "to protect gangsters and crooks".

He said as a senior member of the NP caucus he could not understand why De Klerk was so intent on getting the Bill through that he had to resort to the President's Council. There appeared to be no obvious need for it — but he pointed out he was not in the caucus "inner circle".

He claimed De Klerk had surrounded himself with a select group of people who made him "believe he can weave magic". De Klerk could not do anything unilaterally and the process did not allow for magic, the MP said.

Another caucus member said the indemnity Bill was put together badly, its intentions were unclear and there had been too much secrecy in the runup to its tabling in Parliament.

He said that in the first year to 18 months of De Klerk's presidency the caucus had been informed of most, if not everything, being planned. But recently many MPs had been kept in the dark on important issues.

He said at the beginning of the short session of Parliament even Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport did not know the contents of the Bill.

The "final shame", he said, was the announcement that De Klerk was using the President's Council after the NP was "beaten and outmanoeuvred convincingly" in Parliament by DP MPs Tony Leon (Houghton), Roger Burrows (Pinetown) and Peter Soal (Johannesburg North).

He said that from the Gambling Amendment Bill, through the Constitutional Amendment Bill (the Keys Amendment), to the Indemnity Bill, the NP had been humiliated.

He pointed out that when De Klerk had the opportunity to allow a large section of the House of Delegates, where the Bill was rejected, to join the NP he refused "because he said they could not be trusted to toe the party line".

The third NP caucus member said when De Klerk realised he could not get enabling

☐ To Page 2

Nats

B/DAY 23/10/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

legislation for an interim government together for the short session he should have cancelled Parliament.

"We argue that simple majoritarianism is unacceptable and that there has to be power-sharing in a new constitution. But then our frontline man turns around and uses minority power to force something so unpalatable down everyone's throats."

He said it was evident no party inside or outside Parliament was going to accept the Bill, so it should have been dropped.

According to the three sources, there was also concern about Buthelezi being given the cold shoulder and some MPs had been talking to Inkatha members about the idea of a centrist party.

One of the sources said the Broederbond was still an integral part of government strategy, and alleged he was excluded from "midnight meetings" that took place before the weekly caucus meetings.

● See Page 4
● Comment: Page 8

Germans fail to broker SA talks

(304A)

B/DAY 23/10/92.

BILLY PADDOCK

THE German government's efforts to speed up progress towards negotiations in SA have met with little success.

German Economic Co-operation Minister Carl-Dieter Spranger had talks with the three major political players during his visit, but was apparently unable to get them to budge from their positions.

A member of Spranger's delegation said there had been no success in persuading Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to rejoin the negotiations process.

There had also been no indication from ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk that they were willing to compromise or shift their stances to accomodate Buthelezi's rejection of the record of understanding agreement between government and the ANC.

Spranger delivered letters from German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to the three leaders urging them to move quickly towards constitutional talks, so that investment could be channelled into the country.

Spranger met Mandela yesterday, following lengthy meetings with De Klerk and Buthelezi.

The source said De Klerk had complained of Buthelezi's continual sniping and criticism, that government believed was unfounded. De Klerk had insisted Mandela and the Inkatha leader needed to get together to resolve their differences.

Mandela yesterday maintained he had done everything possible to get in touch with Buthelezi, who refused to take any of his 12 telephone calls. He insisted the ball was now in Buthelezi's court and that he should initiate any contact, the source said.

Buthelezi retained his position of remaining outside the process, despite being warned he was isolating himself in joining forces with discredited homelands leaders.

Spranger assured Mandela Germany was not disregarding SA in favour of the problems of the newly democratised European countries, saying Germany had increased its budget by making DM165m available through non-governmental aid for development projects.

Indemnity Bill before council

(304A) Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The NP-dominated President's Council was considering the Further Indemnity Bill yesterday after its rejection by all but one of the parties in Parliament.

President's Council secretary Johan Weilbach said the deadlock-breaking body would hold a plenary session "in about 10 days time" and then hand its decision to President F W de Klerk.

A decision by the President's Council to support the passage of the measure into law is seen as a formality. B/DAY

Meanwhile, the ANC yesterday dismissed assertions by De Klerk that implementation of his prisoner-release agreement with Nelson Mandela was dependent on the indemnity legislation being passed into law. 23/10/92

The organisation said in a statement there was "no relation" between the Bill and the Record of Understanding reached at the September 26 summit between the government and the ANC.

The accord makes provision for a joint ANC-government committee to consider the possible release of hundreds of political prisoners by November 15.

NEWS Indemnity Bill referred to the President's Council where NP is in the majority

FW wants to look like a dictator

Sowetan 23/10/92 (304A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CROOKS' CHARTER De Klerk says he is acting like a head of state - not as the head of a ruling political party:

THE Further Indemnity Bill has been referred to the President's Council, a deadlock-breaking mechanism in Parliament loaded with National Party representatives.

After being defeated in the House of Delegates, State President FW de Klerk referred the Bill to the council, where it is almost certain to be passed by the NP majority.

This is the first time since he came to power that De Klerk has referred any legislation to the council. In order for legislation to be passed into law, it has to receive a simple majority in each of parliament's three houses.

The NP has the majority in only the House of Assembly and House of Representatives.

It is in the House of Delegates (the Indian chamber) where the Bill was defeated, and which forced De Klerk to refer it to the council, where he knows the NP will pass it.

The Bill, described by Democratic Party's spokesman Mr Tony Leon as "a charter for crooks, criminals" is ostensibly to honour agreements between the Government and the ANC. It makes provision for the possible indemnification of security force personnel and State officials who may have committed violent crimes against humanity while enforcing apartheid legislation.

In the meantime, De Klerk has come under closer scrutiny than ever before, and his political opponents have said that he had (over the past two weeks in Parliament) been looking more like a leader scorned than one adorned.

"Something is impelling this man to act in a *kragdadige* way," the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said after the debate on the Bill on Wednesday.

'I cannot get away from the fact I am a politician, and I do not want these decisions tainted by politics'

"I have to believe that it has to do with the trouble in his own party."

De Klerk had been in danger since his 1990 watershed speech of being soft. "Recently there have been many voices saying he is giving away too much," he said.

The President was therefore acting ruthlessly to gain an image as a tough leader. "I don't think he has become a dictator but he wants at this stage to look like one."

Other members of Parliament were similarly disappointed and "flabbergasted" by De Klerk's apparent urgency to push through the legislation.

The DP's national chairman, Mr Colin Eglin, makes the point that De Klerk was using the NP's power in the hierarchy and not the effective (democratically decided) desirability to pass the Bill.

Independent MPs aligned to the African National Congress raised the point that if the Bill was aimed at giving effect to agreements between the movement and the Government, then why was De Klerk's party working (unilaterally) to pass the legislation.

The independent MP for Sandton, Mr Dave Dalling, said the Government was using the constitution "as their toy and Parliament as their playground".

Eglin said: "This is really minority domination when they should be demonstrating a sensitivity for power sharing. They are forcing this Bill through despite the overwhelming opposition, not only inside Parliament but throughout the country.

The Bill will go before the President's Council - made of 60 representatives, 42 of which are NP members - which is expected to take about two weeks to consider the legislation. De Klerk admitted on Wednesday that he did not like referring legislation to the President's Council and had not used this procedure before "because the same circumstances did not pertain".

But De Klerk defended it as a constitutional "remedy" for a necessary measure that could not wait until next year.

"In order to apply the new broad base (of indemnification) I need legislation because I sincerely believe that the general powers accorded me by the constitution were not intended to deal with matters on this scale.

"And I prefer to have Parliament's backing and to act in terms of legislation by Parliament before I implement this new phase with regard to indemnity and the release of prisoners. I cannot get away from the fact I am a politician, and I do not want these decisions tainted by politics."

As President, he was in a position of trust and in referring the Bill to the President's Council, he was acting not as leader of the NP but as State President.

"It is the President's Council and I will ask for validation of something I believe is necessary for reconciliation."

- **Earnings per share increases by 22%**
- **Dividend per share increases by 22%**
- **Total income increases by 43%**

AFRICAN LIFE ASSURANCE CO LTD
Registration No. 01/03818/06)

UNAUDITED RESULTS FOR THE SIX MONTHS ENDED 30 SEPTEMBER 1992

The Directors of African Life Assurance Company Ltd have pleasure in presenting the unaudited results for the six months ended 30 September 1992.

Comments

The highlights for the first half of the year were:
- Recurring Premium Income increased by 38% to R55,1 million.
- Investment Income increased by 26% to R10,8 million.
- Single Premiums at R3,8 million beginning to make a meaningful impact on the results.
- Total income increased by 43% to R69,7 million.
- Marketing and administration expenses increased by only 22% including expansion into new areas.
- Earnings per share increased by 22% to 9 cents.
- Dividend per share increased by 22% to 6 cents.

Considering the circumstances in the country during the last six months, the company's performance has been most satisfactory. It is however, becoming increasingly difficult in the current political and economic conditions for even the most excellent companies to contribute to the country's growth, create jobs and create wealth which can be distributed.

It became clear early in the financial year that new business from the company's core distribution channels would be adversely affected by the prevailing economic and political circumstances. Steps were taken to establish new products for other market niches which have ameliorated the short term impact on the company's results.

African Life is still well positioned for considerable growth and these new developments in new business can only enhance the company's prospects. However, these prospects can and will only be realised in a stable, sound economic and political environment.

At a time when our political leaders should be helping create a vision for the development of the country and its people and when leadership responsibility and personal tolerance are required, we are stuck in the quagmire of political electioneering of the worst kind.

Summarised Group Income Statement

	6 Months ended 30 September 1992 Rm	1991 Rm	% Increase	Year ended 31 March 1992
New business				
– single	3,8	0,4	–	0,4
– recurring				
individual life	19,9	16,6	20%	45,2
group	1,7	0,6	183%	3,3
	25,4	17,6	44%	48,9
Net premium income				
Single	3,8	0,4	–	0,4
Recurring (inc. group)	55,1	39,9	38%	75,5
TOTAL PREMIUM INCOME	58,9	40,3	46%	75,9
INVESTMENT INCOME	10,8	8,6	26%	16,5
TOTAL INCOME	69,7	48,9	43%	92,4
After tax surplus attributable to shareholders	5,5	4,3	28%	10,9
Weighted average number of shares in issue (000)	61,163	58,396		58,575
EARNINGS PER SHARE (cents)	9,0	7,4	22%	18,7
DIVIDEND PER SHARE (cents)				
interim	6,0	4,9	22%	4,9
final	–	–	–	7,1

[illegible] has continued its dividend policy whereby the interim

A week of spooks and sticky fingers

W\mail 23|10 - 29|10|92 (304A)

Spectres of the past have returned to remind us of things thoroughly rotten — first in the report on ANC detention camps, and then in FW de Klerk's desperate bid to bulldoze the Further Indemnity Bill through parliament

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

PASS the custard, the Old Crocodile said to his wife. "Well, that's a relief," he said, eyeing the bowl. "We're almost off the hook."

He jabbed his spoon through the skin into the oozing yellow murk below. "And I never thought FW had it in him to fight."

Mind you, the Crocodile went on, the Indians never would have defied him. They were too busy squabbling about who got to handle the funds for the access road to Chatsworth to worry about blocking legislation. Besides, any hint of rebellion and he would have softened the Raj up with the whip in his office.

Not, said the Crocodile, wiping his chin with the back of his hand, that he completely trusted the president to be supported by the President's Council, even if they were all his appointees and had pledged blind allegiance to him. Some people just aren't cut out for politics.

But what if the Bill did go through, he said, ruminating. Then he, the Crocodile, could go and confess all his crimes to the tribunal.

"Imagine the stir when my name appears in the *Government Gazette*," he said, grinning and licking his lips, enjoying the prospect of the game. "I would be saying: I am guilty of offences. I have confessed. I have been forgiven.

"Now it's up to every investigative journalist in the country to find out what for."

The Crocodile and his wife packed up laughing and rolled around the floor in glee. "And, after the journalists have their field day and the ANC comes to power, your full confession will be waiting with the judge president," yukked his wife.

"Yes, and they have said they won't honour this Bill at all," said the Crocodile. "So at that point they would hang me. Now that would be really like closing the book on the past."

Meanwhile, back in Cape Town, the little crocodile woke up in a sweat. "I have had a bad dream," he said to his wife. "I dreamt that the Old Crocodile applied for indemnity and confessed all his crimes to me."

"But that's what Jan van Eck told parliament would happen," replied his wife sleepily. "And you kicked him out of parliament."

"That's just the point," said the little crocodile, cowering in his pyjamas. "I can't stand the idea of Jan van Eck being right."

This column may exaggerate, but how could one ever respond seriously to the government's bizarre performance in parliament this week?

Like the visit from Hamlet's ghost, the spooks of the past have come back to remind us that something is thoroughly rotten in the state of Denmark.

Why, when he has the power to pardon people, does President FW de Klerk insist on proceeding with a unilateral, unpopular measure that the African National Congress has said clearly, upfront, it will not honour if it comes to power?

De Klerk, in explaining his desperate resort to the President's Council to bulldoze the Further Indemnity Bill through, says he is reluctant to use the powers of executive pardon because of the "heinous nature of some of the crimes".

Surely it is a bit late to be coy with his presidential powers. One battles to imagine a more heinous crime than that committed by Barend Strydom, who stepped out of prison a free man three weeks ago.

Besides, the legalistic framework to be set up by the Indemnity Bill amounts to the same thing: the ultimate discretion of the state president and the minister of justice.

Last week, De Klerk told the nation that power-sharing was one of the sacred "principles" that the National Party would insist there be agreement on before elections for a constituent assembly. He is prepared to delay the entire negotiation process and, according to NP secretary general Stoffel van der Merwe, hold another referendum if any deal does not include power-sharing.

The Old Crocodile, PW Botha

Yet, as the Democratic Party pointed out, the blatant disregard for parliament and consensual decision-making was a victory for the principle of winner-dominate-all — except, in this case, the winner is the minority NP government.

Then, while attempting by all means to push the Bill through parliament, De Klerk said he did not know of a single individual employed by the state or the security forces who had committed any crime.

Appropriately, he made this announcement to the Transvaal Law Society, because it is a very legalistic argument. One is tempted to reply: Yes, Mr De Klerk, that's because your government has never diligently pursued the wrongdoers in your ranks, or put them on trial.

But then, De Klerk didn't see the look of recognition on Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee's face when he was asked at a media conference whether General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, the head of Military Intelligence who has been linked to the murders of Matthew Goniwe and others, would qualify for indemnity.

Coetsee's first response was a wry smile. "I'm sorry you mentioned that example," he said, with a momentary twinkle in his eye, before spelling out a scenario that would indeed include the murderers of Goniwe.

According to the same reasoning, former Civil Co-operation Bureau operatives Ferdi Barnard, Calla Botha and Chappie Maree could also stand in line to be "objectively" pardoned. But then, De Klerk is strictly speaking correct: they are not employed by the state anymore.

De Klerk imagines he can lay the ghosts of his party by forgiving present and former state officials while preventing disclosure of their crimes.

De Klerk was not the only one haunted this week by the crimes of the past. The ANC has little to be proud of in its report on what happened in its camps.

Fingers point at the ANC leadership, not just at a few sadistic prison guards. The decision to set up the Quatro detention camp was taken at the highest level. There was no adequate monitoring from Lusaka, which bore political responsibility. Inquiries set up during the exile years amounted to cover-ups or were drowned in a sea of incompetence.

Yet the fact of the matter is that while attention has focused on the ANC this week, no one has suggested a commission of inquiry into torture in South African prisons.

Many thousands of political detainees were abused, dozens murdered, during the struggle years. Torture was the routine way in which information was extracted, and not just in political cases.

We are supposed to believe it all took place in another country when another National Party was in power. Yet people continue to die in South African cells almost daily, even as De Klerk attempts to close the book on the past.

At times this week, the government's attempts to close that book were almost breathtakingly amateurish.

Coetsee, asked at the media conference on the Further Indemnity Bill if the government was not merely forgiving itself for the sins of the apartheid era, replied: "If you harbour the suspicion that that is the case, then of course you may."

For all that it was sinister, the Bill was the act of a government that has lost touch with reality.

Perhaps they have been in power so long that they just don't think they are accountable anymore. Otherwise, why else would they be prepared to waste so much public money on a parliamentary session whose value, in the most generous account, has been negligible?

Even an old crocodile knows that.

SA-PAC summit all ready to begin in Botswana today

Political Reporter ARG 23/10/92 (3044)

A SOUTH African government delegation led by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha was expected in Gaborone, Botswana today for a two-day summit with the Pan Africanist Congress.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim, who arrived here late last night with his delegation, said the government delegation would arrive before noon, when both delegations would lunch with their Bostwana government host.

Also expected is PAC second deputy-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, the PAC delegation leader.

Mr Ebrahim again confirmed that Botswana's External Affairs Minister Dr G K Chiepe would open the meeting — now scheduled for 2pm — and chair the entire summit. Mr Ebrahim said he was optimistic the meeting would be successful, "otherwise we would not have come".

"We have come here to establish the fact that the constitution of our country should be written by an elected constitution-making body, which we call a constituent assembly. We should start setting up a forum for the registration of voters.

"The principal objective of the meeting is to pave the way for the setting up of a more representative South African multi-party forum," he said.

In a statement issued in Cape Town this week, Mr Ebrahim and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the meeting — which comes after two rounds of talks between the PAC and the Government inside the country in August — was aimed at paving the way "for fully representative constitutional negotiations and to address, among other things, ways and means to end violence in South Africa".

Enter Pik, the father of all peacemakers

W/Mail 23/10 – 27/10/92 (304A)

Pik Botha's shuttle diplomacy in Angola is a telling indication of the government's influence on political processes in southern Africa, argues **EDDIE KOCH**

PERHAPS he was tired. Maybe it was a case of being too self-assured. But when a huffy Pik Botha shuttled back into Jan Smuts airport from his peace mission to Angola last week, he let slip one of the secrets of his government's scheme for the region. "They see us as their father," was the way he described the reception he had received at Unita's headquarters in Huambo.

The truth is that Pik's government is a father. It has given birth to a set of surrogates called Jonas Savimbi, Afonso Dhlakama and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. And the foreign minister's lapse provides a useful glimpse into the way Pretoria will rely on its triplets to carry out its will in Angola, Mozambique ... and South Africa.

The outcome of Pik's latest diplomatic foray into Angola has profound implications for the entire subcontinent. It exemplifies how effectively Pretoria's new style of paternalism will be able to mould the political processes under way in all three countries of southern Africa.

This is how the new paternalism worked in Angola. First Pik's government boosts Savimbi, through overt and covert military aid, into a position of artificial power. Then multi-party elections take place and the loser sulks back into the bush where he threatens to do what he has been best prepared for — war.

Re-enter Pik, this time as the father of all peacebrokers, who raps the recalcitrant child over the knuckles. Savimbi sullenly agrees not to fight but only in return for a deal that gives him more power than is his democratic due.

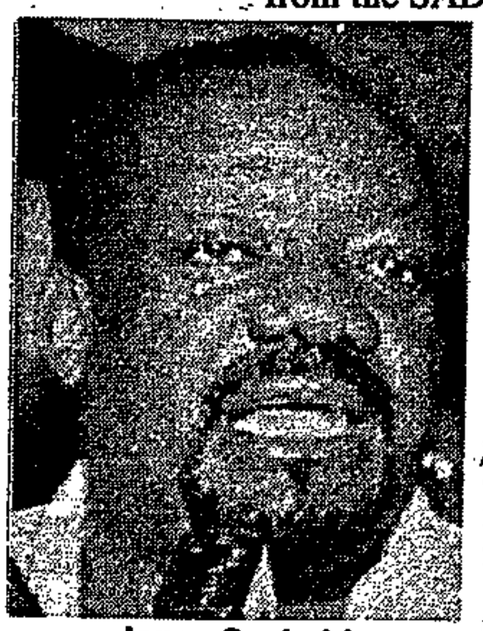
"It is no doubt true that the Americans have lost all leverage over Savimbi and that Pik Botha is in the best position to push Unita into keeping the ceasefire," says Rob Davies from the Centre for Southern African Studies in Cape Town.

"But it is also clear that Botha is using his influence to push for concessions that will give Unita more power in a government of national unity than it deserves in terms of the electoral results."

When Savimbi assumes his high office in Angola's government of national unity he will, no doubt, use the same tactics when things do not go the way of Unita or its backers. Let's say, for example, that the new government tries to provide extra assistance to Umkhonto we Sizwe. The Unita leader's response will be well-rehearsed: "Do that and the war will resume".

There are four aspects to this pattern of events that have already had, and will continue to have, parallels in Mozambique and South Africa:

- Conventional wisdom that Pik's new diplomacy is a break from his government's old support for low intensity warfare in the region is wrong. The two strategies work in tandem. The only reason Botha can now act the father of peace is because his government once played the role of warlord. The new diplomacy is reliant on the old militarism.
- Multiparty elections will not be the only mechanism for shaping the nature of future governments in these countries. Those who rule by the gun will make sure that they will retain power, no matter the outcome of such elections.
- The all-important lever that will be used to refashion the outcome of democratic elections in all three countries is the ability of Pretoria's surrogates to exercise violence, or to threaten this, if they do not get their way.
- And Savimbi, Dhlakama as well as Buthelezi have been put in this position because they each received, and the evidence indicates that they continue to receive, substantial amounts of clandestine support from the Department of Military Intelligence in Pretoria.



Jonas Savimbi

There have already been many variants of the Angola scenario in South Africa.

First there was Pik Botha's intervention in the ANC's march on Ciskei that preceded the Bisho massacre. On that occasion homeland troops, led by seconded officers from the SADF, threatened to shoot the marchers. Pik Botha flew in and brokered a solution to the impasse, a dress-rehearsal for his performance in Luanda.

Then there is Buthelezi's recent withdrawal from negotiations as well as his show of force during Inkatha's march through Johannesburg last week, an act almost directly inspired by the Jonas Savimbi drama in Angola.

The pattern in Mozambique has been much the same. Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama dragged out his agreement for a ceasfire. Botha offers to play a major peacemaking role. Renamo agrees to a ceasefire when they have squeezed as many concessions as possible from the government. If Dhlakama loses next year's elections, there will be no prizes for guessing correctly what he will do.

Old fashioned apartheid was designed to keep South Africa's white minority in power by keeping black leaders apart and weak. It used the language of divide-and-rule, confrontation, and ethnicity.

The new paternalism works in the opposite direction. It aims to bring black leaders together. It speaks of reconciliation, national unity and democratic elections. But it ensures that, no matter the outcome of the democratic process, that it's offspring remain strong enough to protect white interests.

There will be hiccups along the way. Each of the triplets will be slapped on the wrist when they step out of line. They will throw tantrums, sulk and threaten to rebel.

Savimbi has Botha hopping mad because he fails to turn up for a crucial meeting. Buthelezi brazenly tells the government he will not abide by a ban on carrying dangerous weapons in public. Dhlakama sporadically bemoans the fact that he does not get the same support that he got from Pretoria in the old days.

But that is the way with all adolescents. In the end the family usually remains intact.

Parents continue to provide their offspring with material support. The SADF still provides "humanitarian" aid to Renamo captives and this helps Dhlakama to keep up his war effort. Safair still flies regular sorties to Unita's strongholds at Huambo and Jamba, the contents of their consignments unknown.

And in return the children remain loyal. "There are leaders here and in Mozambique who belong to the same generic family as Savimbi," says Davies. "They will no doubt be influenced by the way things turn out there."

The most frightening thing about the metaphor, as any psychologist will tell, is that when a father uses violence to bolster his authority, his children tend to repeat this pattern of brutality.

Are Nats getting that sinking fee

ARG 24/10/92

There is a somewhat dry, somewhat bitter sense of satisfaction among the government's parliamentary opponents right now, reports political commentator **SHAUN JOHNSON.**

THAT there are rumblings of discontent in the omnipotent National Party is undeniable, but also unsurprising. One ust have sympathy for the shocking experi-ce its members have just been subjected It's called losing, and that's enough to un-ttle anyone who has never been through it.

The tricameral parliament, one of the orld's more outstanding constitutional "foe-s" rose up and bit its master. Little won-r that a mild bout of political rabies has t in.

There is — to use the felicitous and very uth African phrase — a somewhat dry, mewhat bitter sense of satisfaction among e government's parliamentary opponents ght now. The consensus is that President De erk, who is too tough-minded to let these ings show, must be secretly cursing himself r having gone ahead with the wrong-headed ecial session of parliament. After all, it as a shambles.

It failed in its original intention (to enact cilitating legislation for transitional gov-nment), two government Bills were voted wn, the President had to run embarrass-gly to the President's Council (the what?), d even the Conservatives and Democrats d a common cause against the National-s.

All in all an expensive, poorly managed d unedifying event, which serves the Nats ght and will hopefully teach them a lesson in humility. That's the way the opposition argument runs and, hell, who can blame them for being smug in unfamiliar triumph?

And yet, and yet, I wonder ... did the Nats really come out of it all so badly? It seems to me that temporary public humiliation aside, the wily old campaigners got everything they wanted — and perhaps even a little more than we noticed at the time.

The Further Indemnity Bill (general amnesty by any other name) is likely to be approved by the President's Council next week. (That's why it's called the President's Council.) Belated success, but success all same.

The Constitution Amendment Bill, which the Nats lost because they were too fat and confident to check the rules they had themselves made up, was won on the second try and another constitutional amendment went through without incident.

The Filling of Casual Vacancies Bill (an extraordinary title, when one realises the "casual vacancies" they're talking about are for MPs) passed into law too.

So the parliamentary session might not have gone off as smoothly as in the good old days — when a mere wag of the finger and lick of the lips from PW would ensure compliance — but the legislative end-result will be the same.

Nats 4, The Rest 0.

Not only that, but as far as the constitutional tinkering is concerned I think there might be more involved than meets the eye.

Consider its cumulative effect. From now on FW can appoint anyone he fancies to the Cabinet, without going through the dreary motions of having them actually elected to parliament. There will be no more by-elections, meaning that parliament will take on something of a House of Lords-style, hereditary look.

It will be self-perpetuating a (mostly) gentlemen's club of untouchables. The tricameral parliament, which was rotting, is now being deep-frozen, giving rise to fears about its longevity.

Listen to DP MP Dene Smuts, speaking in the House last week. She said: "We have to ask the question — what if? What if negotiations are not concluded by the time the next general election is due?

Or what if continuing violence renders free and fair elections impossible and the first nonracial elections cannot in fact be held by late 1993 as prop 1995? The presen ably be perpetual ment."

Indeed. And if down, well, ther dent's Council t as we thought, t for the demise o ment's options a

I have been t ures — and I b tention is not to the life of parlia power.

They know t would pay dear cannot be arrive is not the precis fect — a Plan B necessary.

It is offensiv surely it is unhe ing for democr from it?

The special se the NP, and FW lenge in calmin think the whole t also far from be gloating premat dangerous, as Sl a while back.

'Government hindering talks'

CLIVE SAWYER, Municipal Reporter (304A) ARG 24/10/92

THE National Party has put deliberate flaws in its regional government proposals to hinder negotiations, SA Communist Party secretary-general Mr Chris Hani has charged.

National Party proposals provide for central government with minimum powers, while regional governments would control many crucial functions.

Speaking at a University of the Western Cape conference on sub-national government, Mr Hani accused the government of planning to hand over a depleted, skeletal economy to its successors, and to bequeath powerful regional government with powers of veto.

He called for mass action to be a continuous process, to speed up the transfer to a democratic government and to enable it to begin restructuring for economic growth.

"It is imperative to get negotiations back on track for the sake of economic growth," he said.

Giving regions wide tax powers created the danger of regional tax havens and confusion over who would control customs and excise.

"Will we have to cross borders travelling the country, having our luggage searched every time?" Mr Hani asked.

His sharply worded critique of government regional proposals included a warning that regional and local government police forces would be abused by local bosses.

Mr Hani said the SACP favoured three tiers of government working in harmony, controlled from the centre.

Deputy minister 'told lie'

CT 24/10/92

Political Staff

THE Deputy Minister of Justice, Mr Danie Schutte, had told "a lie" when he said on television that all parties supported the Further Indemnity Bill and their only objection was that they had not enough time to study it, the Democratic Party said yesterday.

"This is a lie and Mr Schutte knows it is a lie," it said in a statement issued by one of its representatives on the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Justice, Mr Douglas Gibson.

Mr Gibson said the Motion of Desirability was defeated at the Standing Committee when all parties, apart from the National Party and the AVU, voted against the bill.

Govt, PAC meeting 'amicable'

GABORONE. — Talks between the South African government and the Pan-Africanist Congress continued into last night here, with both sides describing the discussion as amicable. CT 24/10/92

No statement would be isssued after yesterday's talks, government spokesman Mr Marius Kleinhans and PAC spokesman Mr Jaki Seroke agreed.

Mr Seroke said the activities of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) in South Africa could not be dealt with under the general item for internecine violence.

As yet there were no indications as to whether both parties had agreed on any items on the agenda. — Sapa

Name list incorrect, says ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC said last night that the list of names published yesterday of alleged torturers in its camps in exile was "inacurate" and included names of people who could in no way be connected to any of the allegations.

The ANC's response followed the publication in the Weekly Mail of what the newspaper billed as "The names the ANC tried to hide".

The names published included those of key ANC officials, including some still in leadership positions.

Earlier this week the ANC released details of "abuses of the most chilling kind" contained in its own Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Complaints by former ANC prisoners in the organisation's camps.

However, the ANC stopped short of naming the individuals accused and the organisation said last night that it had begun the process of setting up an independent commission of inquiry before names were disclosed.

The Weekly Mail reported that its own investigation had revealed that:

● A number of people currently employed at ANC headquarters in Shell House, Johannesburg, were allegedly personally and directly implicated in torture and murders. These included one of Mr Nelson Mandela's bodyguards (M B Mavuso or "Jomo") and others who are still in the department of intelligence and security (including "Africa Nkwe" or Oupa Shadrack Khumalo and "Sizwe Mkonto").

● Others allegedly involved in the abuses have since been promoted, such as Mr Andrew Masondo, the current head of the ANC mission in Uganda. He replaced Mr Thenjiwe Mthintso, the "hero" of the report and allegedly one of the few ANC officials who went out of their way to help the detainees.

● A number of the most senior ANC officials appeared to know about the conditions in the camps but allegedly did not do enough to change things. These include the then president, Mr Oliver Tambo, commander of uMkhonto weSizwe Mr Joe Modise and former MK chief of staff Mr Chris Hani.

NAMED ... Chris Hani

NAMED ... Oliver Tambo

Lubowski killing 'was CCB project'

JOHANNESBURG. — The murder of Swapo executive member Mr Anton Lubowski was a Civil Co-operation Bureau project but the shotgun killing of University of the Witwatersrand academic Dr David Webster was not, the Deputy Commissioner of Police in Namibia, Colonel Jumbo Smit, told the Webster inquest in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Colonel Smit said this had been told him by Brixton Murder and Robbery head Brigadier Floris Mostert, who got the information from CCB head Colonel Joe Verster.

Colonel Smit told the inquest that the head of the CCB's Region Six, Colonel Staal Burger, and operative Mr Calla Botha were involved in a conspiracy to kill Mr Lubowski.

He tried to contact Colonel Burger and other CCB members possibly connected to the Lubowski killing for a statement before Namibian independence on March 21, 1990.

After that date he had no authority to warn people in South Africa who were possible suspects in a murder case and get them to make a statement.

Colonel Smit said he had a statement from CCB operative Mr Abraham "Slang" van Zyl in which Mr Van Zyl said he had been at a CCB "in-house" meeting awaiting Colonel Verster where the "Lubowski thing" was to be planned.

Mr Van Zyl and Mr Botha were told to leave before Colonel Verster arrived. CT 24/10/92

It was suspected that Colonel Burger, Mr Botha and another CCB operative, Mr Chappie Maree, were involved in the Lubowski killing, but there was nothing to show that Colonel Burger or Mr Maree were in Namibia on the day of the shooting, September 12, 1989.

The inquest continues on Monday. — Sapa

NEW HOME ... Conservationists encourage some of the six zebra relocated at the Groote Schuur Estate, near UCT, to move into their new home yesterday. The zebra are part of a programme to selectively breed a quagga.

Picture: CLIVE SMITH

'Quagga breeders' come to city

SIX plains zebra — all part of the controversial quagga breeding project — were freed yesterday on the Groote Schuur Estate near the University of Cape Town.

The five-year-old Quagga Project, the brainchild of Mr Reinhold Rau of the SA Museum, is trying to breed an animal as close as possible to the quagga, which was hunted to extinction near the end of the last century.

Mr Rau, a taxidermist, discovered through genetic tests that the quagga was a sub-species of the plains zebra.

The theory is that quagga characteristics are present in certain zebra, and selective breeding may concentrate these genes.

The selective breeding programme began at the Vrolijkheid research station near Robertson in 1987, but the six were moved to Cape Town because the increasing herd size was placing a strain on the Vrolijkheid station.

Mr Rau is confident the project will culminate in a quagga-like animal, despite the scepticism of detractors.

"Whether it will be 100% genetically the same as an original quagga we will never know," he says.

Boipatong: Attackers not pursued

CT 24/10/92

VEREENIGING. — The local Internal Stability Unit did nothing to identify, pursue or arrest the attackers in the Boipatong massacre which left more than 40 residents dead on the night of June 17, two members of the unit told the Goldstone Commission yesterday.

Lance Sergeant Vorster Schlebusch and shift commander Sergeant Deon Kruger told the commission, which is hearing evidence on the massacre here, that they both considered it a priority to stabilise the area before pursuing suspects.

Sergeant Schlebusch said it was the duty of the investigating officers who went to Boipatong the following morning to establish who the attackers were. He said if he could have identified the attackers he would have tried to arrest them.

ANC senior counsel Mr Denis Kuny put it to Sergeant Schlebusch that the attackers were identified by witnesses as IFP members from KwaMadala hostel.

Sergeant Schlebusch said: "It was my task to stabilise the area. I could not give attention to arresting the attackers. I can't be in two places at once."

Sergeant Kruger said that he, too, had done nothing to arrest KwaMadala hostel residents in spite of reports from the crew of an SADF Buffel vehicle that they had seen a large group of about 500 people crossing the road from the township towards the hostel.

It also emerged yesterday that one of the homes attacked, in which two children were killed, belonged to a special constable attached to the police here.

Constable Patrick Njoli's two children, Ndo, 14 and Thselela, 8, died of hack and stab wounds, and his wife Martha was stabbed and shot. — Sapa

Observers' costs shared

CT 24/10/92

Political Correspondent

THE costs of visits by United Nations and Organisation of African Unity observers are not being fully borne by the South African taxpayer.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said the government would provide financial assistance to the observers for office accommodation and related expenditure.

These expenses were usually borne by the host country where an international observer team was deployed, Mr Botha said in reply to a question from the CP MP for Brakpan, Mr Frank le Roux.

ANC to challenge 'ban' in KwaZulu

DURBAN. — The ANC intends going to the Supreme Court to challenge the KwaZulu authorities' alleged virtual banning of public meetings by the organisation and its allies.

This was announced at a news conference here yesterday, where the ANC said it was to consult lawyers.

Plans for court action followed the latest unsuccessful attempt by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to secure a public meeting in Sundumbili township, outside Mandini.

Four previous applications have been turned down by the Inkatha-dominated local council. CT 24/10/92

An ANC spokesman said township authorities had cited procedural problems and the volatile situation in the area as the reasons for the refusals.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, in a statement yesterday, said the ANC's demand for free political expression in KwaZulu was "akin to the pot calling the kettle black when considering that ANC political activity was always accompanied by terror tactics".

● Five Commonwealth observers flew into Durban yesterday to monitor violence in Natal, send reports to their secretary-general on political fighting in the province and give recommendations on how to quell it.

Reports submitted to the secretary-general would be referred to several Commonwealth governments which aim to influence people involved in violence to stop.

● In Mpumalanga, near Maritzburg, the ANC and IFP are due to hold a joint rally tomorrow to cement a local peace agreement. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

Two policemen shot dead

DURBAN. — Gunmen shot dead two policemen in separate incidents in townships around Durban on Thursday in a wave of attacks on officers that has left five policemen dead this week.

The deaths brought to at least 65 the number of policemen killed in Natal so far this year. Authorities say 170 policemen have died nationwide.

Four other people were reported killed in Natal on Thursday, one of them a 17-year-old girl who was gunned down as she rode a motorcycle with her boyfriend in KwaMashu township. CT 24/10/92

● A Goldstone Commission committee will sit next month to investigate the origins of "recent serious and violent attacks" on policemen.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said the committee would comprise Mr G Steyn, a commission member, and Mr S Moshidi, a Johannesburg attorney. The committee would sit from November 9 to 13 in Pretoria. — Sapa

Govt, PAC optimistic over talks

(304A)

ARG 24/10/92

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Weekend Argus Political Staff

GABORONE. — The South African government and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) expressed optimism at the beginning of their crucial two-day summit here yesterday that their meeting would be successful.

In opening remarks to the Press before the meeting, delegation leaders Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha and PAC second deputy-president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said the meeting would have to succeed.

Mr Botha said: "Botswana is a shining example in Africa of what can be achieved if a country enjoys economic and political stability. We look forward to our discussions here for the next two days, and we hope they will achieve something."

Mr Moseneke, who said the talks had to "prove to be very important", told Botswana External Affairs Minister Dr G K Chiepe that his organisation would "do our utmost to ensure that, ultimately, there will be peace in South Africa, and that South Africa is free from violence and starvation".

Government and PAC spokesmen again emphasised yesterday that the meeting's aim was to pave the way "for fully representative constitutional negotiations and to address, among other things, ways and means to end violence in South Africa".

Although he would not confirm that the government would call on the PAC to suspend its armed struggle, Constitutional Development spokesman Mr Marius Kleynhans said it was known that Pretoria was concerned about violence and attacks on police by alleged operatives of the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

The issue was raised at both meetings the government and the PAC had held in South Africa in August, with the Africanist organisation arguing that it was not involved in violence and that "a mutual cessation of armed hostilities" could be agreed on once there was an interim government.

PAC legal affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke would not comment on the matter, saying only it was envisaged that another summit would be held by the two parties "at a later stage", involving PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and President De Klerk.

Mr Seroke would not say whether that summit also would have to be held outside South Africa.

However, he said this weekend's meeting would result in multi-party negotiations to discuss the modalities of a constituent assembly.

Standing between Mr Botha and Mr Moseneke, Dr Chiepe, who opened and chaired the summit, welcomed the South Africans to Botswana.

Her country, she said, was happy to play host and facilitator to the meeting "in the conviction that it shall lead to a process of negotiations which shall include all the key South African political players inside South Africa".

The Botswana government, she said, in the past had urged Pretoria to negotiate with South Africa's black leaders, and she was happy the government and the PAC were finally talking to each other.

Dr Chiepe said her government believed "a democratic South Africa free from the grizzly hold of apartheid and built on mutual trust and respect" had a bright future for all South Africans and for the southern African region.

The meeting is scheduled to end around noon today and is being held behind closed doors.

Reaping the rotten fruit of colonialism

South 24/10 – 28/10/92.

(304A)

POLARISATION between racial and ethnic groups in South Africa stems from the colonial principle of divide and rule.

This was first implemented during British rule in South Africa, but continued and extended under apartheid rule by the National Party.

By the time the Nationalists came into power in 1948, they had gained power from growing Afrikaner nationalism, directed primarily against British or English-speaking South Africans.

The Afrikaners thought they were creating or preserving a nation out of a people threatened with "extinction", particularly by increasingly powerful British colonialism, but they were simultaneously acting as conquerors of Africans.

While apartheid served as an Afrikaner nationalist vehicle to address social and economic inequality between Afrikaners and English-speaking whites, it did so on the backs of the African people.

It horrifically exploited their labour power for the economic enrichment of Afrikanerdom.

At the same time, apartheid had to find a way of neutralising the potentially terrifying threat to white rule posed by a united black population.

The strategy used was to forestall the forging of unity by emphasising racial and ethnic differences in a way that created conflict and polarisation.

Within so-called white South Africa, legislation aimed at strictly separating the race groups was implemented.

Ethnic "self-governing" homelands were created into which people were forced on ethnic lines.

Competition for scarce resources such as employment, housing and schooling became points of conflict among different ethnic groups.

A Xhosa given a house in a Zulu ethnic area would obviously create resentment among homeless Zulus — and the quarrel would assume an ethnic character.

Legally-enforced divisions were exacerbated by the government allocating different funding to whites, "coloureds", Africans and Indians. This caused feelings of racial superiority among those allocated more and feelings of resentment among those allocated less.

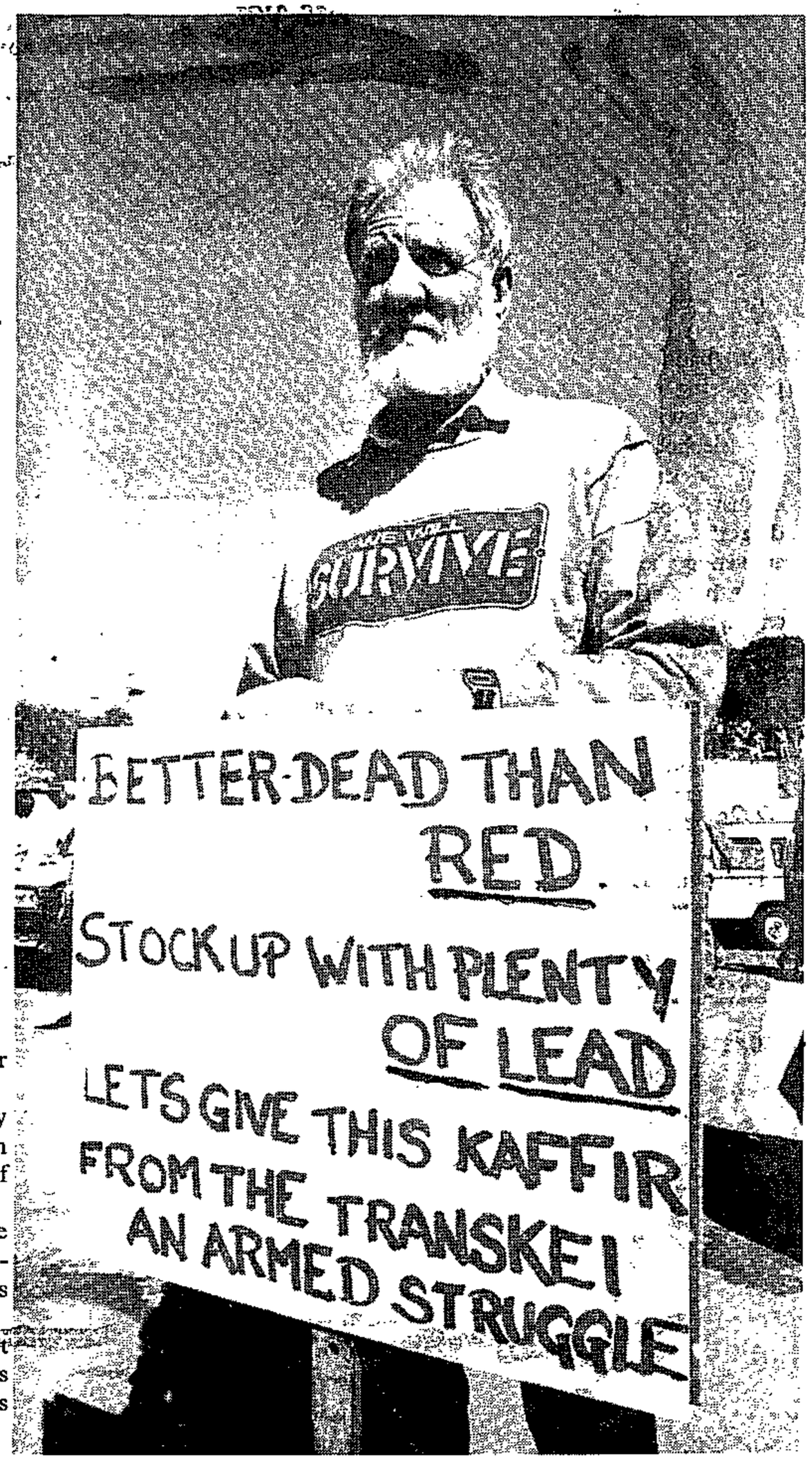
The grand design of apartheid was such that ethnic and racial divisions were imposed on various groupings from above, causing friction over a situation not of their own making.

'It is easy to hate what you don't know. And easy to believe all sorts of myths and racial stereotypes about people you don't mix with'

This was the only way a minority group could effectively maintain rule over such a vast majority of potential enemies.

The other result of separate group areas and homelands, separate schools and other facilities was to alienate people from each other.

It is easy to hate what you don't know. And easy to believe all sorts of myths and racial stereotypes about people you don't mix with.



October 24 to October 28 1992

Intolerance has roots in NP myths

South 24/10-28/10/92 (304A)

SOME racial myths have been so cleverly orchestrated by the National Party that people believed that, for example, blacks were lazy, dirty and criminal.

The government's treatment of black people assisted in giving truth to these myths — they were excluded by law from certain jobs, they were not provided with running water and sewerage, they could not buy land and had no option but to live illegally and spend time in prison because of the pass laws.

Racial and ethnic intolerance was the by-product of state-imposed polarisation of ethnic groupings. Unfortunately, it developed a momentum of its own and was fuelled by injustices in daily life.

Today racial intolerance and polarisation has become fact, whatever its historical origins.

Prejudices, preconceptions and erroneous attitudes have hardened over the years.

Black reaction to white rule has been to form alternative political organisations which had come into conflict with the government and its security organs over the years.

The brutality of government reaction, particularly during the state of emergency, has resulted in a hardening of attitudes within these organisations towards the white government, but also towards any person or grouping perceived as their opponents.

Alternative political organisations have also, correctly or incorrectly, been perceived as having racial or ethnic characteristics.

While the ANC's membership criteria is not racially or ethnically based, its detractors point to the high percentage of prominent Xhosas in its ranks and label it a Xhosa organisation.

The black consciousness organisations, while admitting all black racial and ethnic groups, do not admit whites as members. The Inkatha Freedom Party is alleged to admit only Zulus and whites as members.

Even the opponents of apartheid rule have been unable to completely escape racial or ethnic stereotyping.

The biggest weapon in apartheid's divide-and-rule strategy has been economic.

By allocating resources differentially on the basis of race and ethnicity, it falsely created different living standards, education levels and social expectations, based primarily on race.

For South African people to begin respecting each others' common humanity and essential sameness, a great deal will have to be done to redress the economic injustices of the past.

By doing this, much of the resentments which are apparently racial or ethnic will be tackled at their roots with equality of access to jobs, housing and education.

Once the fear that the cake is too small for everyone to share and therefore some will get a smaller slice has been done away with, a great deal of racial and ethnic fears and resentments will be eradicated.

Spokespeople for the African National Congress, the Pan Africanist Congress, the National Party and the Democratic Party give their views on what is needed to bring peace to South Africa:

'A spirit of tolerance'

South 24/10 - 28/10/92

By Colin Eglin

BEFORE any of the other important processes which would normalise our society can be set in motion, the DP views the achievement of peace as most critical. (304A)

The achievement of peace is a multi-faceted process, rather than a quick fix simple solution.

The first priority we identify is putting an end to violence. This will require all parties and organisations to reassess their attitudes, priorities and the behaviour of their own organisations in relation to violence.

Commitment from all Peace Accord signatories means a change in the nature of political campaigning, away from violence and coercion, towards tolerance and peaceful conduct.

Reconciliation between the ANC and the IFP is urgently required, which, if accompanied by sufficient understanding and tolerance, will enable their constituents to live in peace. It is also vital that the NP and ANC put their electioneering stances on hold and realise the urgency of putting multi-party negotiations back on track so that a political settlement can be attained as soon as possible.

The second priority is two-fold: firstly, even ahead of a political settlement, there is a need to get the economy, especially the job-creating part of the economy, moving again.

Every attempt should be made to get an accord on economic and job creation involving the business sector, labour and political leadership, because basic needs for all South Africans (housing, running water, food, electricity and security) will not be delivered until the economy has recovered.

Colin Eglin

Secondly, political parties must be made aware of the desperate state of the economy, so that their actions contribute towards the economy's chances of recovery.

The third priority involves an attitude. The DP urges leaders to display a spirit of generosity towards those with whom they are negotiating and to show some faith in a better future.

Above all, leaders committed to a solution through negotiation must accept that negotiation involves compromise: not messy, unprincipled horse-trading, but realistic give and take based on an understanding of one anothers' concerns and a genuine desire to make this country a better place for all South Africans.

South Africa is a richly diverse country and peace can only be achieved with the acceptance by every citizen of these differences, coupled with a respect for basic human rights.

October 24 to October 28 1992

'Peace through justice and democracy'

(304A)

South 24/10 - 28/10/92

By Allan Boesak

Allan Boesak

24/10 - 28/10/92

THE ANC is committed to peace and peaceful methods to resolve the conflicts resulting from apartheid and its aftermath.

A peaceful society depends most importantly on the necessity for justice to be seen to be done when violence occurs.

The failure of the regime to address this question, which continues to bedevil the transitional process, lies at the root of many of the conflicts we are experiencing today.

The proper and effective administration of justice begins at the grassroots, with a police force committed to serve the public, to protect its victims and act against its transgressors.

That police force should thus be free of political and social bias or prejudice and should be trained and educated in the principles of what is and what is not permissible in a democratic society.

In order to achieve real and lasting peace in South Africa, it is also vitally important to address the question of the past — of the bitter legacy of apartheid and its many victims.

This is a major reason why the ANC has opposed the NP proposal for a general amnesty. For justice to be seen to be done, those who have committed crimes against human rights must be identified, investigated and publicly exposed.

Ultimately though, peace depends on democracy, and it is only where representative government exists, and where people are able to see real and effective alternatives to the use of violence to resolve the problems they experience in their daily lives that one can begin to lay a proper foundation for a peaceful society.

the path to peace

'Democratic state will bring the violence under control'

(3044)

By Barney Desai

South 24/10 - 28/10/92.

THE horrifying violence in South Africa is a direct result of apartheid. We are also experiencing the legacy of the eighties, when rival groups fought violently for hegemonistic reasons.

A third, and by far the most important cause of the violence that has taken such a terrible toll on our people, is the secret activities of the state security apparatus used to violently destabilise the liberation movements.

The PAC has little or no confidence in Commissions of Enquiry appointed by the regime. There have been 10 commissions of enquiry since January and not a single conviction has been secured to date!

Violence will not be brought under control until we have a democratic state which replaces the minority racist regime. The PAC has been in the forefront in calling for international involvement, both in respect of violence and the process of negotiations.

We need investigation, mediation, observation and neutral arbitration in this period of transition to democratic rule.

Barney Desai

The PAC is minimally involved in violence but maximally concerned to establish peace amongst Africans. In this regard we have offered to act as a facilitator between the IFP and the ANC in order to bring peace between the principal parties involved in so much of the violent conflicts.

The IFP has accepted our offer and we await word from the ANC.

Political voices of absolute optimism

THE PAC's Benny Alexander predicts his movement will win SA's first ever one-person, one-vote election hands down. (304A

He told *Barometer* the ANC would take second place and the NP third. C/Press 25/1/92

The SACP's Essop Pahad said an ANC-led electoral front would win with a 70 percent minimum.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said: "We only lack a million to get 50 percent of the vote."

The New Right's Koos van der Merwe believes that when moderates unite in an anti-ANC coalition they could defeat the ANC.

These are the political voices to be heard in the November issue of *Barometer*, which spotlights how South African political parties think they will fare in the event of an election.

Another voice is that of the DP's Tony Leon who points out that his party stands at the centre of South African politics and that places it on the right of the ANC and left of the NP.

"The advantage the DP holds over all parties is that they are completely unsullied by violence," said Leon.

Inkatha secretary general Ben Ngubane regards the NP and the ANC as its major competitors, but points out that the Inkatha advantage over the NP is that the IFP is well-rooted in black constituencies "and is also attracting increasing and signficant white support".

The NP's biggest competition, according to Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport, is the ANC.

Argus 25/10/92

Codesa must go, says Botha

(304A)

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE government has admitted that Codesa is unrepresentative and must be disbanded to make way for a more representative forum.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik botha made this shocking admission after a government meeting with a PAC delegation in Botswana on Friday and yesterday.

At a press conference in Gaborone, Botha said a more representative negotiating forum would have to be established to accommodate the PAC, Azapo and all those bodies outside Codesa.

He said the government and the PAC had found common ground in discussing obstacles which should be removed for fully representative negotiations and ways to end the violence.

"The delegations have discussed these aims under the following items with a view to reporting back to our respective organisations. The items are a more representative negotiating forum, a constituent assembly or constitution-making body, transitional arrangements, violence, attacks on security forces by Apla and future meetings," Botha said.

The leader of the PAC delegation, advocate Dikgang Moseneke, said further exploratory talks would take place soon.

President's Council wants colour-coded voting system

S/Times (Cape Metro) 7 (304A)

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE NP dominated President's Council (PC) has recommended South Africa opt for a proportional electoral system — complete with party symbols and colour-coded ballot papers — specifically designed for African conditions.

25/10/92

An ethical code of conduct for registered political parties, which can be regarded as a social contract between parties, should be mandatory in a Party Act in a new constitutional dispensation, the report suggests.

A proportional electoral system is fair and provides a voice for smaller parties, however proportional representation is not the answer to the protection of minority rights, the report warns. It is merely one method of enhancing other constitutional techniques like federalism.

Because of the high level of political intolerance, the new system should be user-friendly. Its legitimacy should be enhanced through an effective and just administration that is able to eliminate undemocratic activities such as violence and intimidation.

For the first time the government seems to have come to terms with the universally accepted principle of democracy — that all citizens of 18 years and older should have an equal vote.

From the report it is clear the PC has attempted to adopted a pragmatic approach in its recommendations in order to accommodate the millions of unsophisticated people who will for the first time cast votes.

In line with this approach, the PC said symbols appearing next to the names of parties was "an acceptable and established practice in Africa" and simplified the process for illiterate voters.

Anticipating international interest in the fairness of what will be South Africa's first non-racial, free and fair election, the report notes that the system could be based on internationally accepted principles even though adaptations may be necessary to suit local conditions.

Proportional representation requires that more than one representative per constituency be elected and therefore there must be multi-member constituencies.

The basic rule is the greater the number of representatives the greater is the degree of proportionality — accordingly, a more even ratio between the percentage of support that parties receive in elections and the number of seats they win, is established.

This is different to the first-past-the-post Westminster-style elections currently used in South Africa. In this system, the person with the highest number of votes is declared the winner — even though there may be two or more candidates in the race who together have more votes than the winner.

Proportional systems are designed so that more than one member per constituency must be elected.

In this way an effort is made to prevent the party that is the strongest in numbers from winning all the seats whereas smaller groups gain no representation.

Therefore, if a party receives 10 percent of the total number of votes cast, it ends up with 10 percent of the representatives in Parliament.

Some of the main recommendations contained in the report were:

- No voters' rolls be used — the only qualification being that a voter would have to possess an ID document and be 18 years or older;
- All votes to have equal value;
- Ballot papers to include symbols of parties;
- Each region to have a different colour ballot paper to facilitate mobility of the ballot paper rather than of the voter. This would mean a person could vote anywhere, using the colour ballot for his region;
- An independent, impartial electoral commission would allocate the number of seats for each region.
- A fixed regional list system requires no voters' role as a South African identity document would entitle a person to vote. This system, however, requires the question of citizenship to be settled through negotiations;

ATTACK ON SA ENVOYS

S/Times 25/10/92. (304A)

By SIMON BARBER in Washington

SOUTH AFRICAN cabinet ministers and senior officials are accused of debauchery, drunkenness, arrogance and double-dealing in a startling attack by the man who directed America's Africa policy for eight years, Dr Chester Crocker.

In his memoirs, which are about to be published, Dr Crocker claims the iron regime of former President PW Botha included "bullies" who "behaved as if South Africa and everything in it were their personal possessions".

But yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha hit back at Dr Crocker, saying he had not been trusted by sections of his own government and that his antagonism to the SA Defence Force shone out.

Among Dr Crocker's charges are that top government officials drunkenly disported themselves on the Ilha do Sal eight years ago. Mr Botha responded: "The Americans found it difficult to mix socially with the local people."

Dr Crocker, who was Assistant Secretary of State for Africa under President Reagan, makes his devastating charges in a book entitled **High Noon in Southern Africa**.

Although Dr Crocker's partisanship is clear, his book amounts to a serious indictment against a number of people who still hold high office in SA.

The book deals with the period in the 80s when Dr Crocker was a central figure in the negotiations which led to the Angolan/-Namibian peace settlement.

He paints a picture of the PW Botha administration which, far from being disciplined and competent, was an arrogant ruling elite, split among itself, incompetent, out of touch and given to bouts of appallingly bad public behaviour.

CHESTER CROCKER . . . crushing condemnation of PW's cabinet

THE BIG LIE OF THE ANGOLAN WAR
How victory was faked for Castro: P21

Savaged

Some of Botha's men — former Foreign Affairs Director General Neil van Heerden and former Chief of the Defence Force Jannie Geldenhuys — emerge unscathed.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha, apart from occasional lapses, is also judged favourably.

But others are dismissed by Dr Crocker as "bullies".

General Magnus Malan, former Minister of Defence and now Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry, Dr Willie van Niekerk, former Administrator General of Namibia and now chairman of the President's Council, and the shadowy General Piet van der Westhuizen, former head of Military Intelligence, are savaged.

"Could these guys get their act together when times got tough and fundamental choices were needed?" asks Dr Crocker.

Calling the Botha administration the "Pretoria Gang", he says they fulfilled Lord Acton's dictum perfectly: power tends to corrupt and absolute

□ To Page 2

Crocker's bombshell

S/Times 25/10/92

□ From Page 1 (304)

power corrupts absolutely.

In a revealing section, Dr Crocker quotes Judge Bill Clark, first National Security Adviser to Reagan, as saying that never in 20 years at the bar or in barrooms had he ever encountered anything like "the two Bothas".

Dr Crocker said the "good guys" in the administration faced appalling odds within their own government. They were only able to pull off a regional peace settlement with the determined help of Cuban leader Fidel Castro.

He says PW Botha's Pretoria had no coherent policy. President Botha himself crudely believed he could get round Crocker to establish a de facto anti-communist alliance with President Reagan and sent alternately whining and blustering letters to Reagan when his efforts failed.

Support

Dr Crocker reveals for the first time a close working relationship between late CIA director William Casey and Military Intelligence chief Van der Westhuizen that went well beyond a shared interest in supporting Unita.

Casey wanted Soviet weaponry captured in Angola by the SADF and Unita for his Nicaraguan Contras fighting the Marxist government at a time when the US barred direct US support for the rebels. Pretoria was "delighted" to oblige.

In a section entitled "Bad Behaviour on the Ilha do Sal", which describes an October 1984 meeting between the US mediation team and some 20 top Pretoria national security officials, Crocker provides a "chilling" vignette of what he was up against.

The scene at the Morabeza Hotel, Crocker writes, was "somewhere between Club Med and an adult-style Lord of the Flies". In front of the world's pre-eminent superpower, the most powerful men in SA proceeded to get drunk and fight among each other for two days.

"Like paint remover, the non-stop alcohol intake stripped away any veneer of Afrikaner solidarity."

The cast included Pik Botha, Magnus Malan, NIS chief Niel Barnard, MI's Van der Westhuizen (the "ratcatcher" as the Americans called him), Ambassador to the US Brand Fourie and the Administrator General of South-West Africa, Dr Willie van Niekerk — "a hardline gynaecologist-politician whose dream was to abort Namibia".

One cabinet member (Crocker himself does not directly say who, but other sources confirm it was Malan) stunned the Americans when he "wilfully delayed an SAA jumbo jet and then tried to intimidate its outraged commander into silence".

"One wondered about the 'policy process' among grown men who took such evident delight in making spectacles of themselves in the presence of foreigners, strangers and their own young countrymen and women from SAA."

In response to Dr Crocker's blast, Pik Botha yesterday revealed that Dr Crocker had not been trusted by his own government.

He said that when Judge Clark landed at DF Malan airport he called him aside and told him that Washington did not trust Dr Crocker and if there were to be discussions of a sensitive nature between us, Dr Crocker could be excluded.

"I was taken aback and explained to Judge Clark that my department and I could not work on that basis," said Mr Botha.

Difficult

Asked about events on Ilha do Sal, Mr Botha chuckled and said the Americans were not happy with the way the talks had gone.

"My impression was that the Americans found it difficult to mix socially with the local people ... which was not the case with us," he said.

At any one time there were approximately 70 SAA crew members staying at the hotel, and the South African delegation joined them for an impromptu game of jukskei on the beach.

Mr Botha also denied that General Malan had delayed any flight.

General Malan and Dr Van Niekerk were not available for comment.

SPECIAL

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VANCOUVER	R4391	HONG KONG

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S. TIMES 25/10/92 (304A)

● ARROGANT ● DECEITFUL ●

CROCKER'S

DRUNKEN ● OUT OF TOUCH

AMAZING

The small croc snaps, and Great Croc smiles

304A
S/Times
25/10/92.

AT De Anker, his home on the lagoon at the Wilderness, former President Botha must have indulged in a crocodile smile this week as he saw President de Klerk shamelessly resorting to undemocratic methods to ram into law a Murderers' Charter.

Less than three years after displacing the Groot Krokodil, the Klein Krokodil had learnt to snap.

The intriguing question is why? Why does the State President squander his political capital, his personal reputation, his international standing, and possibly his future effectiveness, to pass a squalid law designed to cover up the misdeeds of political thugs?

The law itself is useless. Future governments will not honour it, nor should they. And, even if the government tries to bury the past, journalists and historians and private citizens — the victims — will burrow into the past until they have discovered the criminals whom President de Klerk is trying to protect.

Much more important, for the moment, is that President de Klerk's mantle of statesmanship has been soiled; he looks to be a lesser man than he seemed two years ago. From end to end of this country, confidence in his leadership — and faith in the future — is draining away.

Time is running out. The National Party itself has become fractious and critical; in the country districts, earthy jokes about Mr de Klerk testify to spreading right-wing sentiment; not for nothing has the National Party abolished by-elections.

Mr de Klerk is not alone in resorting to irrational behaviour. The frantic scramble among civil servants for fat pensions and retrenchment packages, the pervasive corruption that comes to light by the week, imply incipient psychosis.

A moment's reflection will persuade any sensible man that, unless inflation can be brought under control, the money stashed away in this fashion will be worthless. It would be far more sensible to establish, as best one may do in a short time, traditions of probity, frugality and moderation in government. The current snatching and grabbing are evidence of sheer panic.

The English voters who supported Mr de Klerk in the referendum are more rational in their panic, but rather less admirable. Their businessmen, once among the most ethical on earth, have undergone a moral collapse in their pursuit of short-term — preferably exportable — gains. Fraud is an epidemic, price-gouging a way of life, and theft an admired accomplishment.

Greg Blank, the cheap little crook who fiddled the stock market, was treated during his trial as the darling of the smart set in Johannesburg's northern suburbs, where his Hockneys and Chagalls are viewed less as paintings than as foreign currency.

Behind the panic, both of civil servants and of businessmen, lies a sense that the wheels are coming off. Codesa has broken down, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has retreated into an angry and destructive isolation, the ANC continues to reject basic democratic mechanisms and President de Klerk busies himself with side-issues.

Crime is endemic, suffering widespread and insecurity is universal. Foreign investors have written us off, and foreign governments may not be far behind. This country is pretty rugged, and its people are staunch, but no society can be expected to endure this kind of stress indefinitely.

THE source of our instability, of course, is minority government. Every day produces more evidence that the capacity of white South Africans to rule this country is exhausted. People flout the law on every side, and the government can do very little about it. There are not enough policemen, or courts, or jails, and there is not enough money to repair the deficiencies.

The logic of the situation is inexorable: if President de Klerk wishes to restore order, which is the prerequisite to restoring confidence, he needs to move quickly to establish an interim government. The ANC, itself alarmed by the disintegration of society, will surely co-operate, and will call off sanctions as soon as a date for interim government has been agreed.

The outlines of a deal are discernible. Crudely, President de Klerk can offer an interim government in return for the basic democratic principles that the ANC has so far rejected: limitations on the power of central government, federal structures, an independent constitutional court and entrenchment of a market economy.

Such a deal could well be struck between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela in a matter of hours, provided the Nationalists devoted their efforts not towards establishing an electoral coalition but towards securing a democratic system, and provided Mr Mandela was willing to shake off the dead hand of the communist ideologues in the ANC.

THE obstacles are essentially political. Mr Mandela is under some pressure from the radical wing of his party, which is trying to manoeuvre more violent confrontation by making an issue of the right to campaign in the homelands. President de Klerk is under pressure from the right wing and the security establishment, which seduce him into nonsense like the Murderers' Charter.

There is no profit for either of them in pandering to these pressures. Disorder and insecurity are eroding the middle ground, and the violent factions on the outer wings of both sides grow steadily stronger.

Political wisdom lies in recognising that the best hope for South Africa lies in the ordinary, decent, long-suffering black people who want nothing but jobs that they can do in peace, and in the ordinary, decent, hard-working whites who want nothing but security of life and property.

Statesmanship lies in bringing together the two main elements of that middle ground, not in playing cheap political games across it.

KEN OWEN

NEWS FEATURE *Pik Botha announces that Codesa is dead at summit with PAC in Gaborone*

Two steps closer to genuine unity

Sowetan 26/10/92 (304A)

EXERTING PRESSURE Rest of Africa is getting impatient with disunity among black liberation movements:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA HAS MOVED two steps closer to a political solution: the Government admits it is only a player and Africa is to ensure genuine unity of liberation movements.

This view emerged at the end of a two-day summit between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress in Gaborone, Botswana, at the weekend.

This is the picture which the meeting painted:

Firstly, the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is finally dead and will not be resurrected.

Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha, who led the Government's delegation, pronounced Codesa's death. It was not truly representative and therefore could only lead to more conflict, he said.

Secondly, the African National Congress, a major player in the outcome of the country's future, has no alternative but to forge a truly patriotic front with the PAC and other liberation movements.

Thirdly, and most importantly, the rest and Government.

The meeting also buried any inkling of future bilateral agreements, either between the Government and the PAC or ANC or even Inkatha.

All that remains is the setting up of an alternative to Codesa. The mechanics will be worked out by the major players themselves, either alone or with the help or pressure from the African states.

To prove this, Botha's delegation also consisted of SA Police expert General J le Roux who, as the Government's adviser, told the PAC leaders in detail of Apla's alleged offensive.

Secondly, the PAC has entrenched its existence as a major political factor; it told the Government the question of armed struggle was not negotiable and Botha admitted they could not sway the PAC from its stance of not doing away with the bullet before the ballot.

Thirdly, the PAC has won a guarantee from the Government that it was committed to an elected constituent assembly to draw up a nonracial democratic constitution.

On this point the Government has also persuaded the PAC to consider its position on federalism and regionalism.

PAC deputy president and delegation leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke said later that they could not swing the other party away from that position and the issue would be a question for multilateral negotiations.

It is, therefore, beyond doubt that the outcome of the planned Mandela/Makwetu's Bulawayo summit will have quite an impact on the negotiations process as Africa seems to be "forcing" the liberation movements to close ranks or face isolation and even scorn.

the frontline states - are fast getting impatient with the disunity of the *black* liberation organisations, especially the discord between the PAC and ANC.

These two enjoy official recognition by the Organisation of African Unity which is currently exerting pressure for the reconstruction of the Patriotic/United Front of the liberation movements.

In fact, the OAU's ad- hoc committee on Southern Africa has set aside November 4 for a summit between PAC president Clarence Makwetu and ANC president Nelson Mandela. Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe will host the meeting in Bulawayo.

Mandela's attendance has been confirmed and this is in spite of the ANC's reluctance.

Therefore, the agreement reached by the PAC and the Government at the Gaborone summit has not only broadened the negotiations forum, but has thrown the ball into the ANC's court: to either grasp at the African initiative to help restart the patriotic front or to again reluctantly forge unity with the PAC and Azanian People's Organisation, for starters.

"Substantial progress was made in identifying common ground in respect of important elements of the negotiating process," said the joint statement of the PAC chaired, Botswana's Foreign Minister Dr Gaositwe Chiepe said: "We believe a democratic South Africa free from the grizzly hold of apartheid and built on mutual trust and mutual respect has a bright future for all its people and for this region generally...

"We welcome the decision of the South African Government and PAC to hold direct talks in our country. As for the form, detail and outcome of such negotiations we defer to the wisdom of all the South Africans themselves to determine."

These are diplomatic words. On the ground, though, "ordinary" Batswana are angry and fed up.

A journalist said: "Stop the violence and talk, then we will begin to respect you again. Going on like this we might even begin to absolve the South African regime of blame."

And for the Government and PAC gains were registered, albeit at different levels.

The Government is confident the PAC is now irrevocably in the negotiations process.

It acknowledged that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had struck serious blows to the security forces.

Govt presses ahead with Bill

Sowetan 22/10/92 (304A)

Controversial Further Indemnity Bill defeated in Parliament:

THE Government has decided to press ahead with its controversial indemnity legislation, State President FW de Klerk announced last night.

The Bill would be referred to the President's Council, De Klerk said at a Press conference in Cape Town.

The announcement followed an emergency Cabinet meeting called after the Further Indemnity Bill was defeated in Parliament yesterday afternoon.

De Klerk said the Cabinet had received a message from the Speaker, Mr Eli Louw, to the effect that the Bill had been accepted in two Houses - the Representatives and the Assembly - with definite majorities, but that it had been defeated by seven votes in the House of Delegates.

"The Cabinet considered its options ... I have decided to refer the Bill to the President's Council for its decision," he said.

He said he clearly stated on September 26 when the Record of Understanding was reached with the ANC that he would need legislation to give full effect to the memorandum regarding long-term prisoners and those serving life sentences.

It was a matter of urgency if one looked at the whole Bill in its full context, he said.

It was important to the Government that what it did in this regard should apply to all political supporters of all parties.

"That is the basis of this Bill," De Klerk said. - *Sapa*.

Codesa may be replaced

(304A) CT 26/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The government has agreed with the Pan-Africanist Congress that there is an urgent need for a forum that is more representative than Codesa.

However, a Foreign Affairs spokesman denied yesterday that Minister Mr Pik Botha had called for the disbandment of Codesa after his meeting with a PAC delegation in Gaborone, Botswana.

The government failed to persuade the PAC to disband its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

This failure came despite a joint statement that committed both parties to resolve political conflict in South Africa through peaceful negotiations.

At a press conference in Gaborone, PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke said his party stood by its resolution that no tactic nor principle should bar organisations from negotiations.

He said Apla's activities therefore did not fall within the ambit of the joint statement. — Sapa

NEWS Govt, PAC concur Codesa

New forum may replace Codesa

■ **No concessions made concerning Apla attacks on security force members:**

Sowetan 26/10/92 (304A)

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government have agreed that a new, alternative forum to Codesa should be established.

This was announced by both parties at the end of a two-day summit in Gaborone, Botswana, on Saturday.

Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha told journalists at the end of the meeting that Codesa was unrepresentative.

The PAC also scored a victory by obtaining the Government's commitment to the election of a constituent assembly to draw up a nonracial constitution.

The parties agreed that the violence in the country needed to end and that all parties should endeavour to achieve this goal.

Agreement was also reached that the new negotiating forum should decide on transitional arrangements leading to a new constitution.

See also page 11.

'Empowerment' body planned

Municipal Reporter

AN institute for the "empowerment of people who have been disadvantaged by apartheid" is to be established next year.

Mr Thozamile Botha, a member of the ANC's national executive who is also the head of the organisation's local and regional government and housing department, announced this yesterday at the end of a weekend conference in Bellville.

The UWC-based Local Government and Planning Policy Research Project (Logopop) hosted the conference.

"We agreed that there is a need to produce quick research, to inform those who need this information during the interim government period," Mr Botha said. (304A) CT 26/1/92

"We also agreed that we need to create an institute to empower people. It will help a future democratic government. We hope to set this in motion during 1993."

Mr Botha said the conference had strongly recommended that training should be a priority.

● Researcher Mr Mark Swilling said the future government would face a real dilemma over whether or not to increase investment in infrastructure in the rural areas.

"There is a strong, legitimate and necessary case to support further investment in the rural areas," he said.

"If we don't do that, we are basically sending people to the major cities.

"Cities are becoming receptacles for the most impoverished people of the whole sub-continent."

Mr Swilling said it would be a disaster for the cities if rural people got the message that their future lay only in the cities.

Judgment on Mandela 'difficult'

(304A)

G 26/11/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Dr Kenneth Kaunda and Mr Justice G P C Kotze have concluded that adjudication is difficult in the dispute over ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela's July address to the UN Security Council and the complaint lodged with the National Peace Committee by the Inkatha Freedom Party. They say it is preferable to seek alternative solutions.

The NPC said in a statement at the weekend this conclusion had been drawn because of compelling arguments put forward by both parties in the Kaunda/Kotze hearing.

To facilitate further exploratory action, Dr Kaunda met both Mr Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week to examine the possibility of finding an alternative solution.

Dr Kaunda said he was hopeful this would be reached. — Sapa

NP set to move on Solidarity

CT 27/10/92

Political Staff (3049)

THE National Party, stung by its failure to push the Further Indemnity Bill through Parliament, is poised to take control of the House of Delegates.

It will probably make its move soon after Parliament is reconvened on January 29 next year, government sources said yesterday.

One said President F W de Klerk had been reluctant in the past to move against Solidarity in spite of repeated approaches from House of Delegates MPs.

However, it was "very unlikely" that he would refuse future approaches, said the source.

"We are poised to take over," he added.

This follows the vote against the indemnity legislation by Solidarity and the opposition National People's Party in the House of Delegates during the short session which ended last week.

Solidarity and the NPP blocked the passage of the legislation by 17 votes to 10, forcing President De Klerk to turn to the President's Council to rubber-stamp the controversial Bill.

One MP pointed out that 28 HoD MPs had voted for the legislation, abstained, or had been absent during voting last Wednesday.

Sowetan 27/10/92

17 million expected to vote

MORE than 17 million South Africans will be expected to vote in the next election, Department of Home Affairs spokesman Mr Morgan Macala said yesterday. This number excludes the 3,1 million blacks in the TVBC states. A racial breakdown of the potential voters comprise 12 million blacks, 3.3 million whites, 1.8 million coloureds and 600 000 Asians. However, less than 15 million people would be able to cast their votes if an election were called today because 2,7 million potential black voters were without identity books, he said.

(30 44A)

ANC names its executive

THE PWV region of the ANC yesterday issued a full list of names of new members of its executive committee elected at its congress in Johannesburg which ended on Sunday. Sowetan 27/10/92

They are Tokyo Sexwale (chairman), Advocate Mathole Motshekga (deputy chairman), Paul Mashatile (secretary general), Obed Bapela (deputy secretary-general), Cassim Saloojee (treasurer). The 20 additional members are Amos Masondo, Carl Niehaus, Jessie Duarte, Aubrey Mokoena, Tiego Moseneke, Bavumile Vilakazi, Barbara Hogan, Janet Love, Professor Ismael Mohammed, Ronnie Mamoepa, Mondli Gungubele, Dr Abe Nkomo, Ben Turok, Dr Frene Ginwala, Dave Dalling, Hazzy Sibanyoni, Steward Ngwenya, Mary Metcalfe, Giles Mulholland and Joan Fubbs.

FW's testimony dilemma

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is to launch a bid to set aside a subpoena calling him to testify as defence witness in the public violence trial of AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and 14 other right-wingers. Sowetan 27/10/92

Terre'Blanche and his co-accused appeared in the Potchefstroom Regional Court earlier this month on charges of public violence following a clash between police and right-wingers in Ventersdorp on August 27 last year.

The "Battle of Ventersdorp" broke out at a meeting addressed by De Klerk and some of the accused have since issued a subpoena calling De Klerk to testify in their defence when their trial resumes on November 2.

Vaal Civic has had enough

THE Vaal Civic Association has dissolved its central executive committee because of constant pressure on office bearers caused by the violence in the Vaal Triangle during the past two months.

The VCA said yesterday an interim executive committee had been appointed to arrange for the election of a new executive committee. The interim committee's brief includes co-ordinating the VCA's normalisation task team whose duties were to normalise services in the Vaal and repair infrastructure destroyed in the upsurge of violence in the area.

Sowetan 27/10/92

SOWETAN Tuesday October 27 1992

17-million expected to vote in next election

ARG 27/10/92 (364A)

JOHANNESBURG. — More than 17 million South Africans will be expected to vote in the next election, Department of Home Affairs spokesman Morgan Macala said.

This, however, excludes the 3,1 million blacks in the nominally independent homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

A racial breakdown of the potential voters comprise 12 million blacks, 3,3 million whites, 1,8 million coloureds and 600 000 Asians.

Mr Macala said the figures constituted 77,5 percent of the total population.

He pointed out, though, that less than 15 million would be able to cast their votes if an election were called today because 2,7 million potential black voters were without identity books.

"The position of the respective TBVC states and their participation in an election as well as the position of their citizens living in South Africa will form part of the negotiation process and must still be finalised," Mr Macala said in a statement.

It came barely a week after the African National Congress had criticised the government's "unilateral" qualifications for voters and for pre-empting decisions at the negotiating table. — Sapa.

Govt-PAC pact 'aims at delaying elections'

CT 27/10/92 (304A)

Political Correspondent

THE ANC has criticised the agreement between the government and the PAC to establish a more representative negotiating forum as "a blatant attempt" to delay elections for a constituent assembly.

At their weekend talks in Gaborone, the government and the PAC agreed that a more representative negotiating forum should be "as inclusive as possible and should be managed impartially". The ANC responded that attempts to replace Codesa with a more representative forum could completely stall the negotiation and transition processes.

IFP takes a tough line

304A

Sowetan 28/10/92

■ Talks with Government to remove obstacles for return to negotiations:

THE Inkatha Freedom Party adopted a tough negotiation line with the Government at a meeting in Durban on Monday.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and other Government people met with the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose, Dr Ben Ngubane and Chief Simon Gumede.

The meeting was called by the Government to remove obstacles so that the IFP can return to negotiations.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi broke off talks with the Government after President de Klerk signed the Record of Understanding with the African National Congress.

At Monday's meeting the IFP took a tough stand, political sources said. The IFP told Meyer they felt they had been let down by the National Party and now had a lack of trust in the NP.

Before the IFP could go back to the negotiation table, the Government would have to take strong action against Umkhonto we Sizwe. The IFP accused the Government of not doing enough to maintain stability.

PAC leader Mr Dikgang Moseneke addresses the Press with South African Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha in Gaborone last week.

Plummeting on Africa's chart

■ South Africans are reviled by their African 'brothers' for being unable to end the violence:

Sowetan 26/6/92

(304B)

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE young man behind the counter flashes a broad smile that says: "Welcome to Botswana, sir." But the expression on his face changes as soon as we answer his next question: "We are from South Africa."

Naturally, one would expect outsiders to sympathise with our pathetic lot because of the gnashing of teeth and the weeping.

But no, this smile and many others, I would realise later, vanished because of contempt.

Africans, to put it mildly, are getting fed-up with South Africans, especially with the black liberation movements.

A journalist covering last week's Gaborone summit between the Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government told me:

"You guys must just shut up. You can't even agree on a basic thing like finding a common solution to end the violence."

'I thought he was crazy'

I thought he was crazy and also discourteous.

As if this was not enough.

I was lamenting the fact that the rand had very little value even in Botswana, which is about the size of Transvaal, when a man I did not know said to my face: "Stop the violence and we will start respecting you again."

How the hell can he speak like that? The man is obviously ignorant of the disparate nature of South African politics.

I concluded that he was probably born many years after his country got independence from the British. Does he know what apartheid has done to our minds, our very being? Man!

"No, no," said another journalist, "the problem can be solved by talking. I mean, what's stopping the African National Congress from discussing their differences with the Inkatha Freedom Party if they are genuine about stopping the blood from flowing?

Forces of destabilisation

"Forget the 'third force'. It exists throughout southern Africa. In fact, the forces of destabilisation exist across the continent."

In essence he said that while Botswana citizens understood our dilemma, they felt liberation movements here emphasised the differences rather than accord.

A couple of years ago a colleague returned from a conference of photographic journalists in Harare and told this story:

"At the end of the three-day seminar I was asked to thank the organisers on behalf of my South African colleagues present. I had not even finished my opening remarks when I was shouted down: 'Tell us about apartheid, you black boer'."

My colleague said he felt his African counterparts were despising him because they thought he was not concerned about fighting to end the system.

How else could he justify affording luxuries such as attending conferences while his country was burning?

You can feel this growing disdain everywhere you go in Africa.

In 1990 this conversation took place between a soldier at Yammousoukrou Airport in the Ivory Coast and me:

"Are you black or white?"

Obviously, I thought the man was mad. "Of course I am black."

Same plane with FW

"Then how can you afford to fly in the same plane with the apartheid President?" He was referring to FW de Klerk during his visit to that country.

"I don't understand. How does my colour come into this?

"You see, we are told that in South Africa whites are wealthy and live in proper houses, while blacks are poor and have insufficient shelter. Therefore you are white, a beneficiary of apartheid."

"I still don't see how you arrived at this analogy."

"You see, we are Africans and do not talk about black and white. So if you say you are also Africans why don't you speak with one voice against apartheid, especially if you are agreeable that it is a political evil ?"

I thought this was rather far-fetched and reminded this soldier that he was living under a dictator who suppressed freedom of association, dissent, etc.

Pro-democracy movement

He said: "Well, dictators don't last. Haven't you heard of the growing pro-multiparty democracy movement in Africa?"

The man was right on that one.

On a more political note, the Organisation of African Unity wants to see black unity, at least a principled united front of liberation movements, to tackle the Government in unison.

The constituent assembly is one of the unifying issues between the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

And, for goodness sakes, they all agree that the violence is bleeding the black nation to death!

And finally, if the ANC and PAC do not exploit their points of commonality, we may as well forget about being free. And so it goes for the rest of the continent.

PAC to meet govt in SA

THE PAC would meet government again within weeks — this time on SA soil — and registration of voters for a constituent assembly could begin by December, PAC secretary for external affairs Gora Ebrahim said in Harare yesterday. (304A)

He declared Codesa dead, and said a new negotiating forum should be in place by February, the Ziana news agency reported.

STAR 28/10/92

Sacob convention backs federal political solution

B/DAY 28/10/92. (304A)

SHARON WOOD

DURBAN — Organised business put its weight behind a federal political solution here yesterday.

Chambers of commerce from across the country unanimously endorsed the Durban Chamber of Commerce's proposal for federalism at the Sacob convention here yesterday.

A spokesman for the Durban Chamber said a federal system was the only viable option for a stable and prosperous SA.

"A unitary system has not served the country well in the past ... centralised power is unhealthy and will be easily abused."

The chamber proposed a form of federalism where regional powers were constitutionally entrenched and could only be amended by a specific constitutional mechanism, such as a two-thirds majority.

Decisions made at a local level would be more efficient and effective and would be closer to the people being governed. There would also be better utilisation of resources at a regional level.

Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport endorsed the motion. He said both vertical and horizontal distribution would inspire confidence.

He added government wanted to see multiparty negotiations back on track because they were the only route to developing a new constitution.

The government was ready to start drafting a new constitution which would be structured on national, regional and local levels.

Finance Department director-general Gerhard Croeser also endorsed the Durban Chamber of Commerce motion. He said the crux of the problem had been the centralised system of financing.

Croeser added someone would have to oversee and facilitate the distribution of resources and there would have to be some form of redistribution to poorer regions.

The Durban Chamber proposed a two-tier system of financing. A central government structure would disburse funds nationally to the lesser privileged sectors of the community. But regions would have to have a reasonable degree of financial independence.

The Pretoria Chamber of Commerce called for the implementation of a foreign trade policy and implementation of the major elements of the IDC report on modifying protection policy. This motion was also unanimously accepted by delegates.

A spokesman for the Pretoria Chamber said there was insufficient co-ordination within trade policy and the current reliability of export incentives could be doubted.

Long-term export success was going to depend on the availability of internationally competitive products and the stimulation of a broad-based export culture.

Trade and Industry director-general Stef Naude said industrial and trade policy would have to be managed very carefully and cautiously because there was a limit to the pain a country could take.

FW, Mandela, Buthelezi losing support

(304A)

By BARRY STREEK

BLACK support for President F W de Klerk, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has declined significantly, a new poll has found.

The growing disillusionment among black men for the three leaders was found in the latest Research Surveys Omnicheck poll, the results of which were released yesterday.

Five hundred black men living in the major metropolitan areas were asked whether they thought Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi were doing a good job.

"Compared with similar studies conducted in August 1991 and January 1992, the results show a distinctly negative trend for all three leaders," Ms Binky Kellas of Research Surveys said.

The number of black men who thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job fell from 60% in August 1991 to 54% in January 1992 to a dismal 27% in September 1992.

Only 23% of those over 50 years old, 20% of Xhosa-speakers, 14% of those earning under R399 a month and 12% of those in East London thought Mr De Klerk was doing a good job, but 30% of Zulu-speakers, 32% of those earning more than R2 000 a month and 32% of those living in Durban thought he was doing a good job.

Ms Kellas added: "While Nelson Mandela still enjoys most confidence of all three men, 'yes' votes have slid from a high of 77% in August 1991, through 75%, to a significantly lower 69%.

"This trend is particularly evident among respondents aged 18 to 24 years, who perhaps represent the more militant and impatient segment."

Mr Mandela's strongest support came from those between 35 and 49 years old (73%), Xhosa-speakers (83%) and those living in Port Elizabeth (96%) and the PWV region (74%). His lowest support was among those over the age of 50 (56%), Zulu-speakers (57%) and Durban residents (43%).

"The proportion of respondents who believe Chief Buthelezi is not doing a good job has grown steadily since August 1991, from 69% to 76% in September 1992."

The strongest negative groups towards Chief Buthelezi were those between 18 and 24 years old (86%).

CT 28/10/92

PAC, govt to meet again in SA

CT 28/10/92 (304A)

HARARE. — Pan-Africanist Congress secretary for external affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim said yesterday the PAC would meet the South African government again within weeks — this time on South African soil — and registration of voters for a constituent assembly could begin by December.

He said Codesa was dead, but a new negotiating forum should be in place by February next year, the Ziana news agency reported.

Mr Ebrahim, on a visit to Zimbabwe and Tanzania to explain the PAC's views after last week's meeting with an SA government delegation in Botswana, said here it had been agreed Codesa had to be replaced by a new multi-party forum.

According to the PAC's programme, the new forum should be in place by February next year and the registration of voters for the election of a constituent assembly could begin as soon as December.

But constitutional development ministry spokesman Mr Isak Retief said last night that Mr Ebrahim's claim that a new constitutional negotiation forum could be in place by February next year was Mr Ebrahim's own opinion.

Mr Retief said the establishment of a new negotiating forum should be the result of effective bilateral talks, not only between the government and parties, but also among parties themselves.

Tutu: 'New govt by mid '93'

HARARE. — South Africa should have an interim government by the middle of next year, followed by a democratically elected constituent assembly by the end of 1993, Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu said here yesterday. CT 28/10/92

"We cannot afford delays. Each day we delay in resolving the South African crisis means an increase in fatalities among our people.

"It seems to me there will be a resumption of multilateral democratic peace negotiations before the end of this year." — Sapa (304A)

Tone
Sepe

Gerrit Viljoen quits Cabinet and seat

DIRK HARTFORD

STATE Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen will retire from the Cabinet and as Vanderbijlpark MP at the end of November.

President F W de Klerk announced last night that Viljoen would retire at his own request because his strength was not sufficient to meet the demands made on him.

He said Viljoen had told him that "since the serious setback in his health in May this year, he has now become convinced that — notwithstanding an improvement in his health — he finds it difficult to meet the demands made on him by the ministerial office". B/DAY 28/10/92.

He said Viljoen also wanted to make room for "younger, energetic work forces in the National Party". (304A.)

De Klerk said Viljoen had not only had a brilliant academic career, but had rendered excellent service as the second administrator of South West Africa.

He then handled various portfolios in the Cabinet, and in his capacity as Constitutional Development Minister had laid important foundations for negotiations.

De Klerk expressed appreciation for Viljoen's service to the NP and government.

Dr Gerrit Viljoen to quit politics

(304)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

CT 28/10/92

THE Minister of State Affairs and the National Party's long-time chief political guru, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, will retire from politics at the end of this week.

The move does not come as a major surprise. Dr Viljoen was expected to stand down after the government changed the law ruling out the need for parliamentary by-elections during this month's short session of Parliament.

There was speculation in political circles last night that the new law, which paved the way for a risk-free departure for Dr Viljoen, would herald the resignation of a number of senior Nationalists before the country's first non-racial elections.

Dr Viljoen, a former chairman of the Broederbond and for years the National Party's leading intellectual, has served as Mr De Klerk's right-hand man in negotiations with the ANC.

The former Rand Afrikaans University rector has become increasingly disengaged from the mainstream of political activity during the past few months and surrendered his position as chief government negotiator and Minister of Constitutional Development in August this year.

Mr De Klerk said last night the retirement had come at Dr Viljoen's request, adding: "South Africa can consider itself fortunate that somebody like Dr Viljoen, with his extraordinary intellect and abilities, made himself available for higher service to his country. It is a pity his health has impaired the process."

Interim govt soon, predicts Manuel

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The ANC was optimistic that political negotiations could be on track by next January and an election by next September, ANC economic spokesman Trevor Manuel said at the SA Chamber of Business convention yesterday.

He said unless the political process was speeded up it would not be possible to inspire economic confidence and warned that once that confidence slipped away it would be very difficult to restore.

The adoption of business's desire for a federal system of government would "delay and confuse" progress towards a political settlement.

Namibia was the electoral example the ANC wanted to follow. National elections had been followed by regional elections only two years later.

Manuel said foreigners were not interested in SA business because South Africans were not interested in local business. He went on to cite a company which had, he said, disturbed the financial rand market so that it could buy a foreign company — rather than investing in SA.

This, he said, indicated to foreigners how local business felt about the economic future of SA.

In response, the Durban chamber's Mike Norris said he hoped Manuel's adverse comments on spreading risk by investing abroad did not foreshadow the attitude of a future centralised government.

● See Page 11

Call for negotiations

A CALL for petitions to be sent to all political leaders has been made to more than 40 South African newspapers and magazines.

The non-political Peace-Now movement in Durban, headed by businessman and canoeist Brian Moore, says signatories to the petitions will be asked to support calls for the immediate cessation of violence and the start of negotiations for a peaceful and democratic South Africa. 29/10/92

Sowetan 29/10/92

3044A

NEWS Persistent

Cabinet is reshuffled

So we learn

29/10/92.

■ Cabinet remnants may go:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

President FW de Klerk last night announced a Cabinet reshuffle that frees "negotiations oriented" Ministers to concentrate on talks. (304A)

The shuffle comes a day ~~after the~~ announcement of the resignation of DR Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister for State Affairs in the State President's Office.

Parliamentary sources yesterday said that more resignations of Cabinet ministers can be expected - possibly within months.

Senior Cabinet ministers seen as "remnants of the old regime" are expected to be culled.

The new shuffle frees, among other, the "Cabinet progressive" Mr Leon Wessesls of two of his portfolios, and promotes, Dr Tertuis Delport to the Cabinett.

B/DAY 29/10/92

Miracle man with lesson for SA

(304A)

LLOYD COUTTS

AFTER Singapore senior minister Lee Kuan Yew arrived on Sunday on a 13-day visit, he put a "business school proposition" to Finance Minister Derek Keys.

Lee said: "I asked him 'what if?' "

What if the government had known 30 years ago how the world would develop by 1992? What would it have done to pre-empt change and anticipate the prevailing jostle for political position in SA?

Keys replied that there had been no national will to be a people.

Lee was puzzled.

"Then, after many a deep thought, the penny sank. I asked: 'Do you mean that if you had not been confronted with the apocalypse it would not have been possible to change people's minds and accept a multiracial democracy?' He did not challenge that, so perhaps it was the only way," Lee said.

The eloquent and erudite Lee has been described by Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha and ANC president Nelson Mandela as a man with deep insight who has much to teach SA.

More important, Lee appears to have brought with him the tantalising promise of trade with Asian markets and investment in this country.

The former Singapore Prime Minister is accompanied by a small delegation of businessmen who have already engaged in talks with their local counterparts.

And the Singapore Trade Development Board announced on Tuesday it was sending a delegation of its executives and representatives of 11 top Singapore companies to establish trade links and investigate the possible use of SA as a springboard for markets in Africa.

Lee played an integral role in the "economic miracle" of Singapore — some say at the expense of political freedom — and its transformation from a struggling, post-war, post-colonial city-state into an international trading hub in southeast Asia.

His People's Action Party took power in 1959 and embarked on an intensive economic restructuring programme which engineered the country's industrialisation.

● LEE

By 1992, the World Competitiveness Report ranked Singapore the world's most competitive newly industrialising economy for the fourth year running, according to the country's trade development board.

The republic also won top honours for domestic economic strength, infrastructure, internationalisation, management, government and finance.

In 1991, Singapore's external trade in real terms showed a growth rate of 9,8%, compared with a 1,5% increase in world trade. Total trade increased by 5,4% to $216bn.

Total exports grew by 7% to $102bn and imports by 4% to $114bn.

The trade development board says Singapore's free trade policy is the key to its rapid growth in global trade. It was ranked 17th largest exporter and 15th largest importer by GATT in 1991.

More than 70 000 vessels called at the port in 1991 with a shipping tonnage of more than 537-million tons. The port's container throughput rose by 22% to a record 6,35-million 20-foot equivalent units.

Singapore's GDP per hour per worker of about $12 and wages averaging $3,20 an hour yield the world's highest relative productivity ratio, says the Washington-based Business Environment Risk Intelligence.

The city-state also boasts a sophisticated telecommunications network, an advanced manufacturing industry, an active banking sector free of exchange controls, and a successful tourism industry.

Through the sheer hard work Lee mentions so often, Singapore (Singapura, in Sanskrit, means Lion City), earned its status as an international trading hub.

Lee, however, has warned SA that the path to economic success will not be easy, and that there will be no quick solutions.

South Africans, he believes, will have to be convinced to ignore the slogans and appeals for immediate gratification.

It is not beyond the wit of man, he says, to realise that liberation, or independence, does not bring with it a magic formula that says: "I have given you the benediction. You are all now wealthy."

Rumblings as council debates Indemnity Bill

(304A)

B B/Day 29/10/92

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The National-ist-dominated President's Council will decide on the Further Indemnity Bill next week amid indications of growing unhappiness in the NP camp.

However, council sources said yesterday it was highly unlikely dissent within the ruling party would be allowed to surface in plenary debate next week.

Sapa reports that a council committee has for the past three days been hearing evidence on the indemnity legislation, but the odds against the measure being rejected are long indeed.

In the eight years of its existence the council, dominated by NP appointees, has vetoed only one of 15 draft laws sent to it for a decision, leading to criticism that it is little more than a rubber stamp.

This is the second time President F W de Klerk has referred a Bill to the council. The first was the Post Office Amendment Bill, rejected last year by the Labour Party-dominated House of Representatives over fears for coloured jobs as a result of privatisation.

Then, the council recommended that the President sign the measure into law.

The only draft legislation the council has ever expressed reservations about was the equally controversial Group Areas Amendment Bill, introduced by the former president P W Botha government to tighten up on racially exclusive group areas at the same time that free settlement areas were being established.

In that case, the council sent the Bill back to Botha with a recommendation that it be amended.

It cannot be ruled out that this might happen to the Further Indemnity Bill as well, but whereas the Group Areas Amendment Bill subsequently vanished without a trace, it is highly unlikely that De Klerk will allow the same thing to happen this time.

If the council does recommend amendments, the revised Bill will have to go through Parliament again.

Council secretary Johan Weilbach said yesterday that a date still had to finalised for the constitutional affairs committee's plenary session.

Council sources said Monday or Thursday were the most likely dates for the council to debate and vote on the measure.

The council has the option to endorse the Bill, endorse it with reservations or recommend amendments. If they follow the last option, the legislation cannot go through immediately.

One council source said yesterday: "It is very, very difficult to say what the government has in mind," the source said.

"What remains unclear is why the hurry to force the measure through now when all parties agree the Bill is flawed."

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Independent MP for Sandton and ANC member Dave Dalling has declined an invitation from council chairman Willie van Niekerk to give evidence to the council's constitutional committee, describing the process as "a farcical charade".

"The President's men must do as their master bids," he said in a letter to the committee chairman released to the media.

A total of 42 of the 60 council members belong to the NP, including Van Niekerk, a former Health Minister.

☐ The Conference of Editors yesterday issued a statement in Johannesburg expressing its misgivings about the secrecy provisions in the Bill.

Sarlan P1

De Klerk and Mandela lose support

B/Day 29/10/92 (304A)

LLOYD COUTTS

BLACK confidence in President F W de Klerk has dropped significantly and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's popular status is diminishing, says a recent survey.

A poll conducted in September by the Omnicheck division of Research Surveys found also that already nominal backing for Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had dwindled and attitudes towards him had hardened.

Omnicheck director Binky Kellas said the survey, which asked 500 black men whether they thought the three leaders were doing a good job, showed growing disillusionment with all three.

"The most dramatic slump in confidence is evident in the number of black men who felt President De Klerk is not doing a good job. President De Klerk has clearly lost significant support among black men and faces a Herculean task to regain it," she said.

While Mandela still enjoyed the most confidence, his "yes" vote had fallen from 75% in January this year to 69%. De Klerk's had fallen from 60% last August to 27%.

This trend was particularly evident in the age group 18 to 24.

"Support for Chief Buthelezi has never been statistically significant, but the proportion of respondents who believe that he is not doing a good job has steadily grown since an August 1991 survey — from 69% to 76% in last month's results," Kellas said.

"There clearly appears to have been a hardening of attitudes towards Chief Buthelezi, with the 'no' votes coming from those reluctant to commmit themselves in earlier polls and those going for the 'don't know' option."

Negative opinions of all three were evident among younger respondents approached during the survey.

"The message from this poll for the three key players is loud and clear.

"Black men are evidently growing tired of the politicians' vacillations, and feel the time for meaningful action has come."

The survey was conducted in the PWV area, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London.

Our political staff reports from Cape Town that Kellas said only 23% of those over 50 years old, 20% of Xhosa-speakers, 14% of those earning under R399 a month and 12% of those in East London thought De Klerk was doing a good job.

But 30% of Zulu-speakers, 32% of those earning more than R2 000 a month and 32% of those living in Durban thought he was doing a good job.

Omega De Ville
18k gold ladies and gents watch.
Scratch-resistant sapphire crystal.
Water-resistant.
Swiss made since 1848.

Royal Group Holdings Limited
(Reg No 88/05984/06)
(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
("Royhold")

RESULTS

Shareholders of Royhold are referred to the audited results announcement of Royal Corporation Limited ("Royal").

Royhold has a 51,1% controlling shareholding in Royal, which shareholding is Royhold's sole asset and source of income.

Since Royhold has one share in issue for every share held by it in Royal, Royhold's earnings per share for the 12 months ended 31 August 1992 also amount to 46,0 cents per share.

SA sympathisers 'hijacked US foreign policy'

B/DAY 29/10/92. (304A)

SIMON BARBER in Washington

PRETORIA sympathisers at the highest levels of President Ronald Reagan's administration subverted US policy towards SA in the mid-'80s and blocked any compromise that might have prevented passage of the 1986 Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act.

They may have also fuelled President P W Botha's descent into all-out repression by encouraging him to fantasise that Reagan would receive him in early 1986 — not long after his infamous Rubicon speech — and then failing to deliver.

So argues Chester Crocker, the author of "constructive engagement" in his forthcoming memoir High Noon in Southern Africa.

While the former assistant of state for Africa pulls few punches in his assessment of Botha and his securocrats, he is equally merciless in describing the shenanigans that went on within his own government.

"Every major element of our southern Africa policies — policies (Secretary of State George) Shultz had obtained presidential approval for — was the object of one form of sabotage or another in the National Security Council (NSC), the White House, the CIA or the Defence Department. Foreign officials informed us of the treacherous conduct of our 'colleagues' in other agencies. But foreign officials were beginning to wonder if anyone in the administration was in charge."

Singled out for particular censure are the late CIA director William Casey, NSC director Adm John Poindexter, White House chief of staff Don Regan, and White House communications director Patrick Buchanan — all of whom exploited the president's "instincts".

Botha, directly and through the secretary of his State Security Council, Gen Pieter van der Westhuizen, worked closely with Casey behind Crocker's back to open a channel to Reagan and set up a 1986 meeting with him. Crocker was stunned to discover it.

He had repeatedly told Foreign Minister Pik Botha that a Reagan-Botha meeting could take place only in the context of major progress towards negotiations with the ANC along the lines then canvassed by the Commonwealth eminent persons group (EPG). After the collapse of the EPG initiative on June 12, the US Congress went into high gear to add to the sanctions Reagan had already been backed into imposing by executive order the previous September.

Crocker and his team, though not averse to carefully targeted measures, were anxious to keep the policy in the hands of the executive branch. They began formulating a strategy that would combine a phasing in of certain additional non-economic sanctions — a ban on SAA landing rights for example — with increased aid to the Frontline states, stepped up contacts with the ANC and a renewed effort to launch negotiations.

The overall plan would be announced by the president himself in a major policy speech that would express America's horror at apartheid and reach out to its victims.

But the drafting was promptly hijacked by Buchanan and Poindexter's NSC. Buchanan's involvement, Crocker says, was "almost obscene". But worse was to follow when then Chief of Staff Regan brushed aside journalists' questions about sanctions by wondering out loud if American women were "prepared to give up their jewellery".

The policy was now "in the hands of people who knew dangerously little about everything from American foreign policy and southern African affairs to the structure of the diamond market".

The first Buchanan/NSC draft was essentially a "pro-Pretoria ... anti-communist manifesto" that dwelt at length on ANC terrorism and SA's strategic minerals and entirely ignored the state department's proposed game plan. The subversion had begun in earnest.

SA ambassador Herbert Beukes let slip to Crocker that he knew every detail of the state department's still-secret strategy and of the CIA's and defence department's efforts to kill it. Furthermore, he had received "assurances" from the White House that Pretoria need not be worried.

Meanwhile, Van Der Westhuizen's "friend" Casey began circulating a hardline "special estimate" of the ANC, the contents of which were disputed by most of the intelligence community. The purpose was to derail increased contact with the ANC and undermine the argument for pressing Pretoria to unban it.

Reagan's speech, though somewhat watered down from its initial draft, was a disaster. Much of it, says Crocker, sounded as though it had been written by the editors at the SABC. The US president, in effect, told Pretoria that it was under no obligation to talk to the ANC. "With this speech," says Crocker bitterly, " 'the great communicator' became the great polariser."

Shultz and Crocker made a series of last desperate efforts to prevent the Act from becoming law, but their initiatives were again thwarted by "Senate conservatives, activists and the Casey-Buchanan-Reagan axis" who laboured under the delusion that Reagan's veto could be sustained by the sheer force of their will.

On October 2, the Senate voted 78-21 to override. Another 12 votes, and the veto would have held. "We could have had them if permitted to do our job," Crocker notes. "Deep down, most members of Congress knew they could not conduct our diplomacy." But Pretoria's friends had left them no option except to try.

Crocker himself was advised by one of his closest partners to resign as an act of protest. But he thought this would have "gratified too many of the wrong people".

He was soon to be vindicated as many of his tormentors were forced from office as a result of the Iran-Contra scandal — another episode in which senior administration officials conspired to kidnap American foreign policy.

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

The public at large would be able

A mass base, not party politics, is ANC's best option

B/DAY 29/10/92. (304A)

JEREMY CRONIN

THE ANC, once more, is being bombarded with advice to change itself into a "normal political party". It is, perhaps, a mark of our provincialism that this notion should be advanced with such enthusiasm.

As it happens, world-wide and across the spectrum, the "normal" party political form is the subject of considerable review or, often, simple disdain. Why?

Let's first dispose with a few local themes. It is simply nonsense to argue that the ANC will *have* to be a political party to fight elections. There are countless examples of broad political movements participating in electoral politics, from India's Congress to the FSLN in Nicaragua or the Gaullists in France.

Most of those who are arguing that the ANC should move from being a national liberation movement see this as a quick-fix for four specific concerns. If the ANC becomes a political party, they reason, it will:

- ☐ Have to disband MK;
- ☐ No longer get special international funding as a liberation movement;
- ☐ Have to end its distinctive, overlapping alliance with the SACP; and
- ☐ Have to end its involvement in mass action.

If you are hostile to the ANC, these are compelling reasons to advocate a radical change.

However, as far as the first two matters go, the organisational character of the ANC is incidental. What is central is speedy progress towards democratic transition. With an interim government of national unity in place, MK will have to be integrated into a new, representative army. With an interim government, special funding for one component of that government must surely fall away.

The alliance with the SACP and the question of mass action, however, belong to a wider discussion.

We stand on the threshold of multiparty democracy. That will be an enormous advance, which we must cherish and safeguard. But we must not delude ourselves that regular, multiparty elections are, on their own, the final word in democracy.

In the last US presidential election George Bush won what was described as a "landslide victory". He certainly demolished his Democratic rival, but only a paltry 27% of potential voters cast their votes for Bush. As Martin Wattenberg writes: "For nearly three decades the American public has been drifting steadily away from the two major parties ... the parties are now perceived with almost complete indifference by a large proportion of the population." (The Decline of American Political Parties 1952-1980).

The Ross Perot phenomenon, referendums in western Europe, the Greens initiative in Germany, the anti-party politics of the pro-democracy movements in eastern Europe — all of these, and many more contradictory and disparate developments, indicate a growing unease with "normal party politics" in many parts of the world.

There can be no doubt that the bureaucratic communist parties of eastern Europe alienated their constituencies. But, admittedly to a different degree, the parliamentary parties of the West have also increasingly alienated their own broad constituencies.

These parties — moderate, left or conservative — have tended to become oligarchies narrowly focused on the hoopla of winning elections; or on maintaining themselves in office. More and more, they have become self-serving bureaucracies. not organisations fine-tuned to respond sensitively and rapidly to the needs of broad constituencies.

One of the first major symptoms of a dissatisfaction with this party-centred politics was the explosions of 1968. "There have only been two world revolutions," write Arrighi *et al* (Antisystemic Movements). "One took place in 1848. The second took place in 1968. Both were historic failures. Both transformed the world."

The year 1848 saw a struggle for popular sovereignty — "both within the nation (down with autocracy) and of the nations (self-determination)". 1848 established two lineages. The one was socialist, 1848 was the year The Communist Manifesto was written. The eventual social democratic and communist variants of the socialist lineage both trace themselves to this time. The other lineage, descending directly from 1848, runs down to Bandung and the Non-Aligned Movement. It is the lineage of the national liberation movement. Both these lineages gave rise to parties and movements centred on the struggle for state power.

1968 saw the emergence of a wide variety of new, or renovated social movements — students, black power, anti-racist, women, sexual preference, anti-war, environmental groups, and new trade unions. The year began with one of the high points of the older 1848 tradition, the Tet Offensive in Saigon (combining both the communist and the national liberation lineages).

But 1968 was much more about social movements that were less focused on state power. The epicentres of 1968 were not just the campuses, ghettoes and red belt industrial suburbs of North America and of western and southern Europe; 1968 was also Mexico City, Tokyo and Prague. The relationship of these new social movements to political organisations and parties was, and has since been, complex and often fraught.

In some cases, like the German Greens, they have themselves launched into electoral politics. In Brazil several social movements and political tendencies united in a front formation called the Workers' Party (and nearly won the last presidential election). But in most cases these social movements exist (where they still persist) in a marginalised way, outside of "normal" politics.

In SA we have a relatively unique situation. To understand this we need to remind ourselves of things we seldom, given our provincialism, notice.

In the long-standing ANC/SACP alliance we have the major lineages of 1848. But in the broad ANC-led alliance we also have 1968. For us, 1968 was 1973 (the Durban strikes) and 1976. The union and mass democratic formations that emerged out of the struggles of the past two decades belong in many profound ways to the lineage of the new social movements. But here they found their way, generally speaking and in the special circumstances of SA, into the broad ANC fold.

Our first elections should be for a constitution-making body. To write a democratic constitution we need to aggregate these forces (nationalist, socialist, mass democratic) without drowning out the fertile and counterbalancing plurality of tendencies they represent.

Beyond first elections our country will confront enormous tasks of reconstruction, nation-building and reconciliation. We will need an effective central government. But wide-scale alienation from the political process will be a disaster. We will also need strong, critically supportive grassroots involvement. Such involvement is also the best antidote to all the predictable tendencies towards bureaucratisation — both in the political organisations and in the state itself.

The collective energies that have emerged in the rolling mass action over the past decade-and-a-half are not a liability for the future, but a real asset. These energies, which have been largely oppositional, need to become increasingly developmental — mass mobilisation for adult literacy or for rural reconstruction, for example.

Once more, the name of the game will be aggregating, not homogenising, a plurality of forces. The ANC, whether for elections or for reconstruction, must remain a mass-based, mobilising, broad national liberation movement.

☐ **Cronin is a member of the ANC national executive committee and the SACP central committee.**

Inquest is told of disguises

Sowetan 29/10/92.

RELUCTANT EVIDENCE Witness says he identified two men in Identikit pictures:

FORMER CIVIL CO-OPERATION BUREAU operative Ferdie Barnard often wore wigs in the presence of his former employer, Mr Willie Smit.

One was similar to the hairstyle of one of the people said to have murdered University of the Witwatersrand academic David Webster outside his Troyeville, Johannesburg, home on May 1 1989.

Smit yesterday told the Rand Supreme Court inquest into the Webster slaying he identified Identikit pictures drawn up by witnesses as Barnard and a friend of his whom he knew as Eugene Riley.

Smit said he was shown two sets of Identikit pictures, one of three men, and the other of two.

The pictures of the two men resembled Riley and Barnard, he said.

Smit said Barnard, while flying with him in his private aircraft, described how Webster "flew through the air" after being shot.

During cross-examination Smit said he had been threatened and, because he feared for his safety, had been reluctant to give evidence.

He said his brother-in-law noticed a man in a car outside his house who resembled one of the people he had identified in the Identikits.

Smit also noticed people taking down the registration numbers of cars parked at his home at Constantia Kloof, Florida.

Presiding judge Mr Justice Michael Stegmann ruled that Smit need not disclose to the court the names of employees who had also heard claims by Barnard of his involvement in the Webster murder.

Smit would give these names to the inquest's investigating officer, Warrant Officer Wessel Rosseau.

Smit is under police protection.

The inquest continues. - *Sapa*

President's Council is denounced

Sowetan 29/10/92. (304A)

Dalling refused to testify for Bill:

ANC-aligned MP for Sandton Mr Dave Dalling yesterday declined to give evidence on the Further Indemnity Bill to the President's Council's Constitutional Committee.

In a letter to the committee's chairman, Dalling said: "I regret but I decline to lend any credence to your pre-determined decision-making."

Dalling said he had considered the chairman's request to appear before his Committee on the Bill which failed to obtain sufficient support from Parliament.

"I did speak in Parliament during the debate on this Bill, and I refer you to my speech as recorded by Hansard, should you wish to acquaint yourselves of my opinion."

The National Party, in the face of unanimous opposition both from within and outside Parliament, were "starkly alone" in their support for this "shoddy, less-than-honest Bill", he said.

The State President had now referred the Bill to a council largely appointed by him and packed with Government supporters for "supposedly independent and objective review". - *Sapa*

Beyers ignores CP

THE Afrikaner Volksunie yesterday welcomed the Conservative Party caucus' decision in the Pretoria City Council to ignore CP leadership policy and join a negotiating forum with members of the ANC.

AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers said the decision was "directly in conflict" with CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's utterances in Parliament that "the CP was still refusing to negotiate with the ANC". - *Sapa.*

(304A)

Sowetan 29/10/92

Cabinet shuffle for next round of negotiations

304A

ARG 29/10/92

Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT De Klerk has reshuffled his cabinet to prepare the government for the next gruelling round of all-party negotiations and to free key ministers to tackle critical problems.

In one of the most significant moves Mr Leon Wessels — a noted cabinet progressive — has been left with just the portfolio of Manpower and his tasks in the negotiation process.

Mr De Klerk's decision to free Mr Wessels of his other portfolios of Local Government and National Housing signals the seriousness with which the government is approaching the labour issue as a critical component of economic planning and the drive to boost economic growth and investor confidence.

President De Klerk said in a statement last night that his decision to adjust some cabinet posts — which would take effect from December 1 — followed the retirement of Minister of State Affairs Dr Gerrit Viljoen.

He promoted Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport to the cabinet as Minister of Local Government. He will also take the Local Government portfolio in the Ministers' Council in the House of Assembly.

Mr Mr Sam de Beer, in addition to his present portfolio of Education and Training, will take over National Housing from Mr Wessels.

Deputy Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman will move to the portfolio of Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development and of Communication.

In another promotion, Dr Boy Geldenhuys has been appointed to take Mr Schoeman's place as Deputy Minister of National Health and of Health Services and Welfare in the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly.

Deputy Minister Mr Glen Carelse will in future give his full attention to National Housing.

B/DAY 29/10/92

ANC slams choice of Roux

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The choice of the former director-general of the President's office, Jannie Roux, as SA's ambassador to Austria was particularly poor, the ANC said yesterday.

"At a time when one would expect SA to demonstrate its professed commitment to nonracial and democratic ideals also in the persons appointed to public office, Dr Roux is a particularly poor choice. "Jannie Roux became for many South Africans one of the symbols of apartheid rule," a statement said.

"He was one of the silent powerful men behind P W Botha, supporting him to the hilt when one state of emergency after the other was enforced."

Many political prisoners remembered Roux when he was Deputy Commissioner of Prisons. (304A)

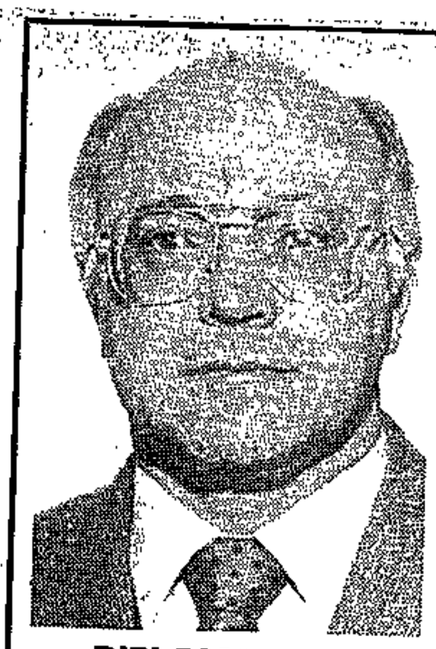
The ANC said that according to poet Breyten Breytenbach, who spent six years in jail as a political prisoner, Roux was known as 'Master Basie'.

"He was feared as a fanatical supporter of the apartheid government who took great pleasure in interrogating already sentenced prisoners and depriving them of the few privileges they were entitled to."

The ANC said it was a disgrace that someone like Roux would represent SA. He would represent only the interests of a white minority clique.

"The majority of South Africans are not represented by 'Master Basie'."

Roux 'a poor choice'



DIPLOMAT ... Jannie Roux

Political Staff

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(304A)

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CT 29/10/92

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Reshuffle boosts FW's talks team

(304A)

CT 29/10/92

Political Staff

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night reshuffled his cabinet and boosted his negotiating team by relieving one its key members, Mr Leon Wessels, of two demanding portfolios.

He also promoted another of the leading members of the negotiating team, Dr Tertius Delport, to full membership of the cabinet.

Mr De Klerk said the reshuffle had been prompted by the retirement of Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the Minister of State Affairs, and "the increased demands imposed by the negotiating process."

Dr Delport is to take over the Local Government portfolio — a key position in the transition process — from Mr Wessels from December 1.

Mr Sam de Beer, the Minister of Education and Training, is to retain his portfolio and take over National Housing from Mr Wessels.

Mr Wessels will stay on as Minister of Manpower and remain responsible for the negotiations with the trade unions.

Effectively, Mr De Klerk has now ensured that all the major figures in the cabinet negotiating team hold portfolios directly relevant to the transition process, and reduced the bureaucratic pressures on Mr Wessels.

Mr Roelf Meyer, Mr Wessels, Mr De Beer, Dr Delport, Mr Pik Botha, Dr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Piet Marais and Mr Kobie Coetsee now form the hard core of the National Party's negotiating team — and they are not burdened by responsibilities not directly related to talks.

POLITICAL SURVEY (304A)

Talking business

FM 30/10/92

Economic development holds a higher priority than political progress for most respondents in a survey of political, social and business leaders conducted by Stellenbosch University's Centre for International & Comparative Politics.

A preliminary report shows that economic development is the first choice of 52% of black respondents, 61% of coloureds, 67% of Indians and 68% of whites. Most respondents across the board also favour a federal constitutional system, proportional representation and various checks and balances.

This is the first choice among 75% of whites, 73% of coloureds, 61,5% of Indians and 42% of blacks. A central system of majority rule is backed as first choice by 36% of blacks compared with 12% of whites.

The 999 respondents represent 44% of the sample of 2 282 leaders in 15 institutional sectors who were sent questionnaires this year. The sectors include business, labour, the civil service, parliamentary politics, extra-parliamentary politics, church and academics.

The report points out that the respondents are mainly white, Afrikaans-speaking males. Though care was taken to include a large proportion of "nonwhite" individuals it was impossible to include more because they were not in top decision-making positions.

The only respondents who opt for full State control of the economy are supporters of the PAC. Most ANC supporters prefer a mixed economy while most NP and IFP Party supporters tend to support a free-enterprise system.

Results of the survey relating to party support are skewed because respondents were not selected proportionately to the perceived strength of the different parties.

However, in the extra-parliamentary sector, 78 respondents indicate support for the ANC/SACP, 51 for the IFP and 32 for the PAC. Only 8,5% of blacks support the homeland parties (excluding the IFP). The NP draws 37,5% of coloured support compared to 32% for coloured parties such as the Labour Party. Nearly 10% of coloured respondents and 21% of Indians support the ANC/SACP.

Among whites the NP is supported by 59% of respondents, the DP 20% and the CP 7%.

☐ The full report is due to be published next month. ■

World in

Sowetan 30/10/92

De Klerk under fire

(304A)

IT was clear that President FW de Klerk "and his henchmen" wanted to continue ruling South Africa at all costs, Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse said in Port Elizabeth yesterday.

Speaking at a Patriotic Front summit in Gelvandale before the meeting went into closed session, he said the recent sitting of Parliament, which should have been called to introduce legislation to hasten the appointment of an interim government, was a sham.

INDEMNITY FM 30|10|92

Charge and release

(304A)

The Further Indemnity Bill, due to be rubber-stamped by the Nat-dominated President's Council next week, after failing to win sufficient support in parliament, will be one of the most politically pointless laws ever enacted.

Not even government favours the measure in its present form and has indicated that it will be amended as soon as parliament reconvenes in January. The Bill doesn't add to the President's already extensive powers of release and indemnity, and its rejection by all parties except the NP almost guarantees that no undetected politically motivated felon will come forward — even in secret — to ask for a pardon.

Its only new power is a provision effectively to stop a trial and allow the accused (or an awaiting-trial prisoner) to apply for indemnity. There are believed to be about 100 such cases.

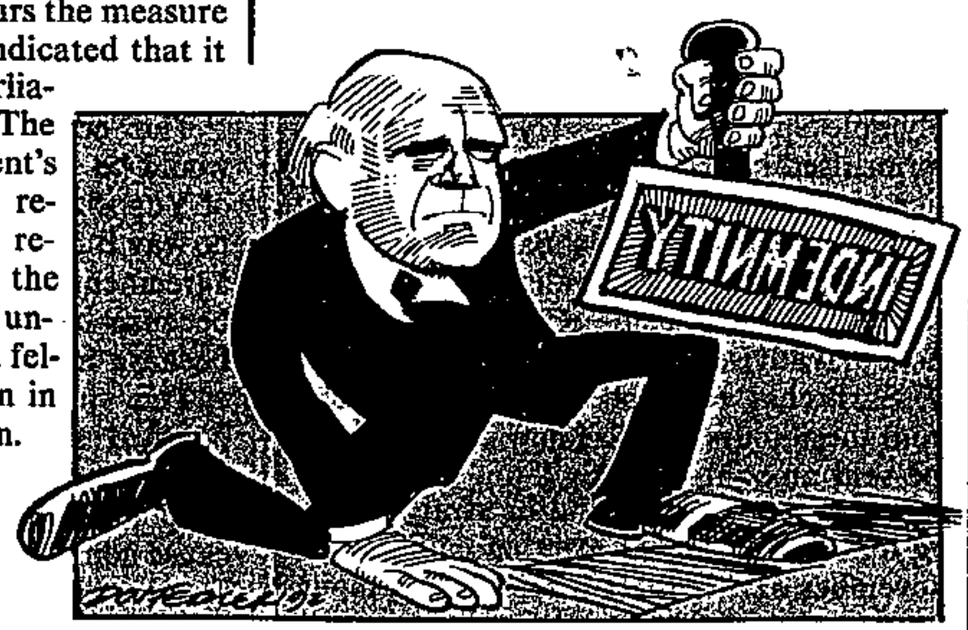
Government says there's nothing sinister about the measure. It merely extends the Indemnity Act to "promote reconciliation and peaceful solutions." It provides for a National Council on Indemnity chaired by a judge to hear applications in secret and make recommendations to the President. Records of hearings will not be admissible in other court cases or hearings. Crimes qualifying for consideration must have been committed before October 8 1990.

DP justice spokesman Tony Leon says the Bill doesn't simply extend the Act: "It massively widens the net of assassins, bombers, terrorists, necklace murderers, State killers and others in the rogues' gallery of SA's terror who will now qualify to walk away from the deeds — unnamed, undisclosed and unpunished."

Opposition to the measure is overwhelming. Even senior State officials admit privately that it is a huge political blunder. So why go ahead? It could have been allowed to die in the multiparty parliamentary justice standing committee which refused to accept even the principle of the measure. But Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — reputed to be one of the most stubborn men in the Cabinet — insisted that it should be taken to parliament for open debate.

It was defeated in the House of Delegates and at that stage could again have been allowed to die. But President F W De Klerk opted to use the President's Council, arguably the single most undemocratic mechanism in the tricameral system, to give a veneer of constitutional legitimacy to a defeated measure.

Why has De Klerk risked his image as a fledgling democrat and consensus-seeker for no gain whatsoever? He says the Bill is vital to give effect to important provisions in the September 26 Record of Understanding with the ANC, including the release of more "political" prisoners. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus disagrees and says there's no relation between the two. He also denies suggestions that the Bill is the result of a secret deal between government and the ANC.



What concerns the organistion is that the measure will make it possible to restrict further the flow of information about alleged political crimes for which indemnity may be granted. Niehaus says it seems government may want to use the legislation to stop public inquiries — such as those into the Webster and Goniwe murders.

"We get the impression that there is a growing sense of concern in government about the publication of information relating to certain acts by State officials. We believe this measure increases government's powers to enforce a cover-up, which raises questions about the seriousness of the crimes they wish to cover up."

However, he admits that the ANC cannot pinpoint the actual reason for government's haste in wanting the measure approved. "It's not logical and doesn't make political sense. De Klerk is doing something that was the trademark of the P W Botha era and it's damaging his image."

DP justice standing committee member Douglas Gibson is equally unsure of govern-

continue →

NEW HOPE FOR ECONOMIC FORUM

FM 30|10|92

The national economic forum, including representatives of business, labour and government, could be launched this week. The Cabinet was due to discuss the matter on Wednesday.

Feeling in business circles is that government is now close to approving the forum, which, though only an advisory body, could take on effective powers of veto against unilateral policy decisions.

Recession strengthens the view that the Cabinet will give the go-ahead. Since it is all too evident that no economic stakeholder can, on its own, address economic malaise, the forum could play an important role. It will boost confidence among potential foreign investors, local businessmen and workers and be the first tripartite attempt to tackle economic issues.

Moves by business and organised labour — primarily Cosatu — to launch an economic forum resulted in their first formal meeting on January 21. They put together a draft agreement at the end of March.

However, the idea seemed scuppered when, late last month, government rejected the planned launch of the forum by November because of Cosatu's mass action plans — in particular, its planned tax boycott. It had a point; you can't conduct economic civil war while simultaneously seeking co-operative economic relations.

On October 22, Finance Minister Derek Keys launched into a long harangue against a Cosatu delegation (led by deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa) on this score. It was not clear whether this reflected lack of political skill or a deliberate attempt to sink the forum. Things did, however, calm down by the end of that critical meeting.

The forum will have two working groups. One will tackle immediate, short-term issues, such as poverty alleviation, retrenchments, VAT, tax policy and budget matters. Cosatu seems keen on this group. The other will examine longer-term, macro-economic issues, which business seems keener on.

A process committee will integrate the work of the two groups and decide on plenary meetings. It will also formulate guidelines for other parties to make submissions to the forum.

The Consultative Business Movement will serve as interim secretariat. If the forum gets the nod, it hopes to produce results within months, says a spokesman.

ment's motive. "Something fishy seems to be going on that has yet to be explained. I don't understand why De Klerk has taken so much political flak for a measure that appears to be totally useless." (304A)

It's possible that increasing pressure from the NP caucus to stand firm in the face of ANC demands forced De Klerk's hand, but if so the cost of appeasing the party hardliners has been high. Alternatively, the ANC may be correct in believing that hugely embarrassing information relating to State-sponsored crime is about to emerge in some or other hearing or trial and needs to be suppressed by using the new measure.

In his reply to last week's parliamentary debate on the Bill, Coetsee denied that it provided for a cover-up. The records of prisoners and the charge sheets of people on trial were public documents which would still be available even if they were released or indemnified. He said the secrecy of indemnity council records was necessary in case an applicant was refused indemnity in which case he or she could still be prosecuted.

"If that record were made public, it is possible that a private prosecution could be instituted against the person. That is why it is stipulated that the record cannot be used in any other court action."

The names of people granted indemnity would be published, but not details of their crimes. Coetsee said this was in line with the UN view during the process of indemnifying ANC returnees over the past two years. "The UN . . . were persistent in saying that they were not going to disclose any crimes because any admission to an offence would have invaded the privacy of a person and invited recriminations."

As a concession, government was prepared to amend the Bill to allow application to be made to the Chief Justice to publish records of hearings in certain cases.

Coetsee said the secrecy provisions did not prevent the press from reporting the past actions of people who applied for indemnity. "All that it bars is the use of the records in court proceedings — what is wrong with that?" He also argued that the Bill was necessary to provide a mechanism to identify prisoners qualifying for release. (His critics say thousands of "political" prisoners have already been released without such a mechanism being in place.)

Coetsee accused the ANC of selective morality in opposing the Bill. About 6 000 members of the organisation had been indemnified and allowed back into SA (without public disclosure of their alleged crimes) and 1 000 ANC-supporting prisoners had been released. ■

AFRICA NEWS Cabinet ministers meet in Harare for first time since independence

Zim-SA improve their relations

Sowetan 30/10/92 (304A)

■ **HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL** The meeting between Welgemoed and Norman strengthens ties:

Sowetan Africa News Service

HARARE - A major breakthrough in relations between Zimbabwe and South Africa has come with an official visit to Harare by the first SA Cabinet Minister to do so since independence 12 years ago.

Transport Minister Dr Piet Welgemoed was in Harare at the beginning of the week on an unannounced visit, sources said yesterday.

Welgemoed had a highly successful meeting with his Zimbabwean counterpart, Mr Denis Norman.

Norman has had at least two meetings in South Africa since April to discuss the urgent movement of food supplies to Zimbabwe. These meetings broke the ban on ministerial contact imposed by President Mugabe after Zimbabwe broke diplomatic and political ties with Pretoria soon after independence in 1980.

The two countries maintained trade missions, which have served as a point of contact.

In Rome recently President Mugabe had a short meeting with Foreign Minister Pik Botha when they both attended the signing of the Mozambique peace agreement. Mr Botha suggested then that Mr Mugabe should try to persuade Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi to resume negotiations on South Africa's constitutional future but the Zimbabwe leader said third parties should come in only as a last resort.

RECONCILIATION

FM 30/10/92 (304A)

Hand me your cultural weapon

Because we all need symbols to make sense of an intractable reality, the pressure is on for another meeting between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The massacres in Natal — where blame seems to be shared equally by Inkatha and ANC factions — are a horrible foreshadowing of a regional civil war.

Such a war would spread.

It would of course be an important symbol of reconciliation if the two leaders could meet without tearing into each other. But experience of such summits — of which that between Mandela and President F W de Klerk was the last — suggests that little practical emerges from them.

In fact, in the form of the National Peace Accord and its various national and international monitors and supporters, a kind of infrastructure for peace, or at least the resolution of looming conflicts, already exists.

The trouble is that whatever sincerity there might be at the top about keeping the peace — and one harbours doubts about its depth — the people who are actually killing one another take no notice.

Ambivalence in leaders fuels popular discontent and raises the temperature of group hatred.

We have had generations — centuries — of young men from various tribes, black and white, brought up to regard one another as enemies. Their history and folklore resonates with blood. This is a land of long and unforgiving memories.

If the NP is tempted to go through *pro forma* gestures of reconciliation — leaving, say, the Zulus and everyone else to fight it out — the result will be a spiral of devastation. Since it has control of the real levers of power, it must go further than merely bringing Buthelezi and Mandela together.

They must be brought together continuously — in a constitutional forum. Government has a right and a duty to be the facilitator of Codesa 3 — or whatever form the talks do eventually take — but no longer has a right to decree a timetable for these talks. If it works with the ANC, it excludes Buthelezi. If it summons a Codesa 3 — including the PAC, with which it has found new amity — it risks alienating others.

But timetables are important because they confer certainty. It should not be beyond our admittedly scant political resources to form a steering committee for Codesa 3 which includes government, the ANC, IFP, DP and PAC. This would be a place to restart the constitutional process which broke down mid-year.

Handshakes between leaders whose followers can hardly wait to bring out their cultural weapons serve little purpose. A broadly based committee of national reconciliation could be fruitful. It is perhaps something the churches should be working on. ■

'ANC must re-examine its actions'

Work faster for new govt, says Mandela

B/DAY 30/10/92. (304A)

Political Staff

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday urged expediency in progress towards a new constitution and called for a critical self-examination by politicians of their roles in violence.

And stepped-up efforts to get full negotiations back on track were announced yesterday. A government spokesman said the ANC and government would meet "more than once" in the next week to plan a "bosberaad" between the two parties.

Addressing the patriotic front conference in Port Elizabeth, Mandela said the goal was to have all necessary agreements signed by the end of the year, to "enable us to move forward speedily to the election of a constitutent assembly and interim government of national unity".

Mandela called for the re-examination of aspects of mass action, singling out the public burning of coffins and effigies. He asked whether the burning of effigies was "not too evocative of earlier scenes of people killed by burning".

Leaders would have to consider ways and means to expedite the process leading to the formation and adoption of a new constitution by an elected constituent assembly.

"Among other things, this must mean that we should resist with all the energy we can muster the notion that we should enter into protracted negotiations on a new negotiating forum in order to accommodate certain groupings, which for reasons of myopia decided not to board the train when it left the station many months ago.

"It also means that we should contest vigorously the idea that agreement already reached in the Codesa process should be discarded and the process of negotiations started from the beginning."

In a statement issued after the one-day meeting, the patriotic front leaders said they agreed that there should be no further delays to the resumption of negotiations. It was crucial that a date be set for the election of a constitutent assembly.

They urged the ANC and government to speed up talks on creating a climate of free political activity.

In his speech, Mandela said it had to be admitted that the process of transformation had been "slow, lethargic and insufficiently responsive to the sense of urgency which should be the hallmark of our approach to the process of change".

He called for discussion on ways to stop the "retribution for past wrongs" and said the ANC had to look "at our own conduct" and "play our rightful roles as the leaders of the process as ... the principal guardians of peace and militant combatants for the protection of life itself".

The ANC had accepted the "urgent need for a meeting of signatories of the national peace accord, to find practical ways to end the shame of the debilitating bloodshed that has been imposed on the people".

People were bleeding from the "criminal political violence" and the criminal violence "perpetrated by thugs, rapists, robbers, racists ... and people unbalanced by the intense social pressures — victims of the demented frenzy of other ogres in our communities".

Mandela said a "fetid cloud of despair"

☐ To Page 2

NEWS Most recent cabinet reshuffle reflects an attempt to lose the PW legacy

Purge of NP old guard

Sowetan 30/10/92 (304A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE LATEST CABINET RESHUFFLE must be seen as an attempt by President FW de Klerk to purge Government ranks of PW Botha appointees and move his hand-picked people into place.

This Week's Cabinet shake-up seems less ominous than previous reshuffles and follows a clearer trend that can be likened more to a purge than a putsch.

It follows, too, more closely the thinking that trickles from De Klerk's views on the redevelopment of South Africa.

This trend will gain further cadence when the old hawks, remnants of the PW Botha era such as former Minister of Defence General Magnus Malan and the old Minister of Law and Order, Mr Adriaan Vlok, are culled from the Cabinet completely.

Since his inauguration as State President, and the subsequent start of negotiations, De Klerk has methodically, as in a chess game, moved his hawks, even the ones that have traditionally been seen as "verligtes", to the periphery of macro-politics and the constantly evolving new order.

In their place De Klerk has put people like Mr Roelf Meyer and Dr Dawie de Villiers - and this week Mr Leon Wessels and Dr Tertius Delport - closer to the negotiations table and cleaving therewith a distinction between even "verlig" and "progressive".

This distinction is best explained by the example of Malan and Vlok, who became "verligtes" after De Klerk's speech and Wessels who is a known "progressive" - in terms of National Party ideology.

Bringing it all into focus the following picture emerges: De Klerk has taken his younger, more progressive people and has pulled them closer to him in preparation for tough negotiations and possibly joint interim rule.

His hawks, Malan, Vlok and others, are on their way out (slowly) and it is not unlikely that the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee, will follow them.

Coetzee has stumbled and bumbled across the negotiations playing field and has been accused often enough of hampering the release of political prisoners.

As unbelievable as it may seem, the avuncular Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, could also retire within the next year.

Botha said earlier this year that he was thinking about retiring and with the rapport between him and the putative ANC Foreign Minister, Mr Thabo Mbeki, anything is possible.

It is, however, likely that De Klerk's plan, of purging the Cabinet entirely, will come together before the third quarter of next year, when South Africa could be preparing for its first non-racial elections and a non-racial Cabinet.

But be that as it may and to satisfy the conspiracy theorists, nothing happens for no reason at all.

HAND-PICKED PEOPLE Younger, more progressive people are being pulled closer to the seat of power:

In this regard, it is not clear, yet, as to exactly what future role De Klerk has for the former head of National Intelligence Service, Dr Niel Barnard.

It is, however, significant, perhaps also foreboding, to note that Barnard is being included in negotiations.

De Klerk is nevertheless preparing his "team" to govern, at least in the interim, with his traditional opponents.

The placing of his people in their current positions should, perhaps, be seen in tandem with De Klerk's vision of the transition.

With the right combination (of people), De Klerk believes he can consolidate and contain the country's infrastructure, especially the communications and transportation networks.

And to establish at least a semblance of harmony during the interim government De Klerk believes the country can transform from a relatively functional but undemocratic state to a functional and relatively democratic state.

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US focus is firmly on SA democracy

Sowetan 30/10/92

■ ANC plans to garner international support for democratic movements:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

(304A)

THE ANC will attend an important conference in America next month at which the further lifting of sanctions and the future role and a code of conduct for foreign investors will be discussed.

The conference, arranged by "American solidarity movements" will be held in New York from November 13 to 15, under the theme "National Conference in Support of the ANC and other Democratic Forces for a new South Africa."

The main objectives of the conference, according to ANC sources, will be to shift the emphasis in America from an anti-apartheid mode to one of pro-democracy and to engender support for the democratic movements in the country.

The draft programme explains that the conference is a forum for "the presentation and discussion of current priorities of the ANC and other democratic forces of South Africa."

The conference will, with interim government in view, focus on issues "beyond sanctions" such as worker's and women's rights, health care, local government, education and training , increasing business investment, a code of conduct - access to justice, culture and sports as well as the role of the religious community and the media.

Well-placed ANC sources confirmed that with the distinct possibility of elections to an interim government by the end of next year, the time had perhaps arrived to consider the lifting of the next phase of sanctions - trade, investment and finance.

A spokesman for Cosatu confirmed yesterday that "if" the federation were represented it would present its standard "code of conduct for multinational companies."

A nation waiting for the Barbarians

WMail 30/10-5/11/92 (304A)

Things are changing in South Africa — the sons of labourers are becoming mayors of white towns; the Barbarians are moving into mining towns. But old-fashioned racism has not disappeared. It has merely been privatised

By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

AT the Gem supermarket in the little town near the mine, a bearded man sits in a chair behind the counter, staring at the walls: "Do you hang out with kaffirs?" he asks when I enquire after a black friend who I heard had bought a house and moved in the previous week.

The woman behind the counter appears discomfited by the coarse talk. "No, we would surely have heard if any of them had moved in," she says. Her face clouds almost imperceptibly. "Of course, we heard that some of them are coming."

It is just another small town, like the rest of the country, suspended between the new and the old. Waiting for the new South Africa. Waiting for the Barbarians. Powerless to stop them from coming.

Almost a third of the houses have no curtains. A rusting jungle gym lies on its side in an overgrown garden. The houses used to be contracted to the mine, but with the recession the white miners have gone.

No prizes for guessing who's about to take residence.

These are not the leafy suburbs of Johannesburg where a black man with a BMW can move in next door and you never have to see him from one year to the next. This is the kind of place where, on a clear day, you can watch your neighbour's skirt billowing in the wind as she hangs up clothes on the line three blocks down the road.

This is depressed, unemployed, poor white South Africa where young men shamble around watering their lawns at noon.

Behind the Gem supermarket is a post office and a muti shop with roots and barks hanging from the roof. It is owned by a large, drunk coloured man who claims that a large portion of his clientele are white.

"I want to buy a house," says a young Afrikaner woman outside the shop. "They're really cheap now (R25 000 for a good solid miners' cottage). But," she says, "if the blacks move in, that will be bad for the property prices."

Then she turns, and you can sense that, here in Conservative Party country, she has crossed the Rubicon way ahead of the larneys of Killarney: "Of course, we will all have to live alongside one another one day."

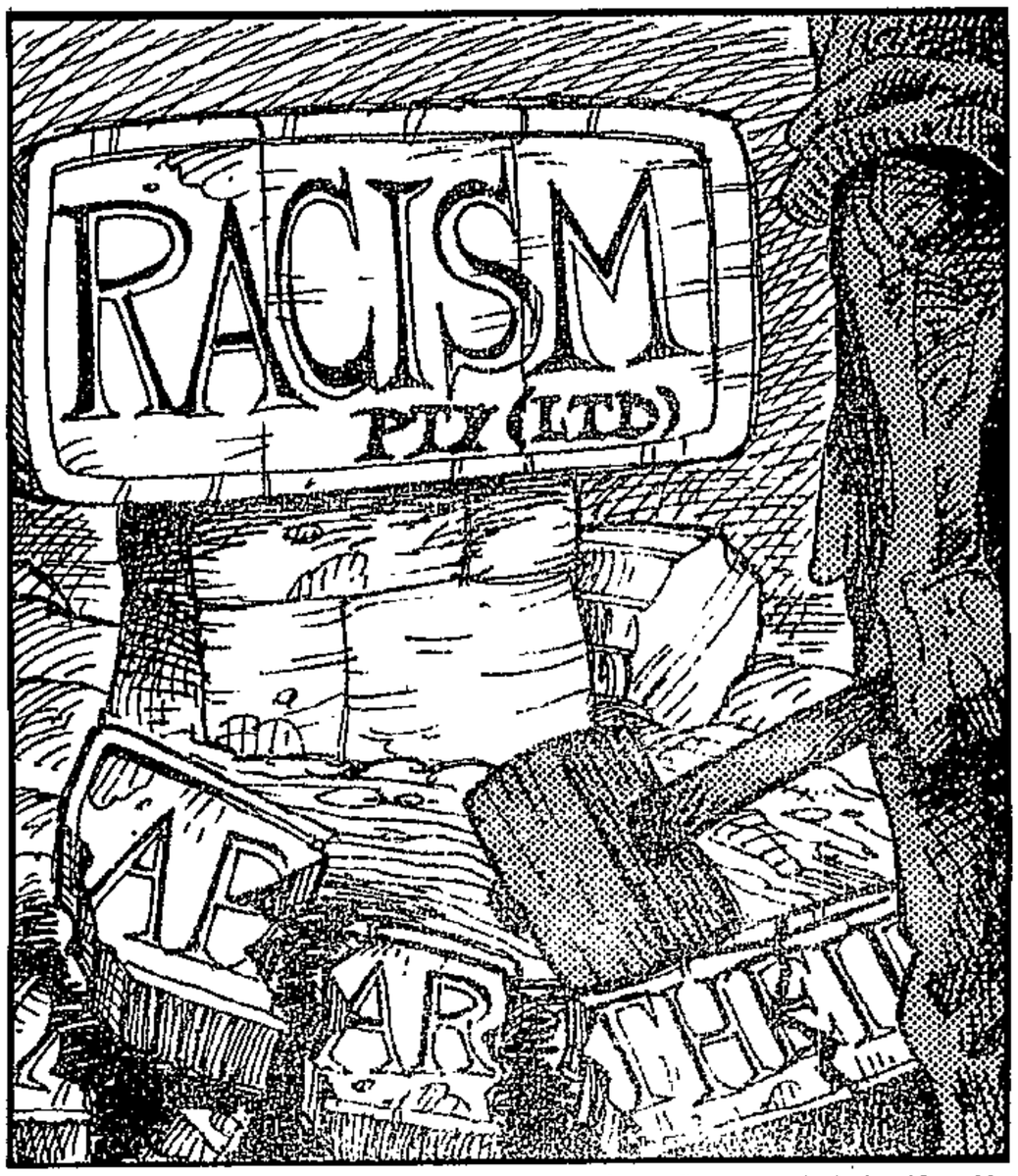
Yet, even as racial change creeps into the platteland and the peripheries of the empire, the situation is troubling in Rome. At the University of Pretoria, four earnest sociology students — two white, two black — discuss their research into discriminatory practices in the capital city.

Their main conclusion is that "privatised" racism is rampant in Pretoria. "Many respondents had no scruples whatsoever in making coarse racist remarks, sometimes to the face of black interviewers who learnt to practise a remarkable degree of restraint," says a preliminary report written up by Professor Johann Groenewald.

"It would seem that discriminatory practices are slow to change and that where they do, they are often displaced by more subtle forms of discrimination."

If you are black in Pretoria, the only thing you can be assured of is that nobody will refuse to bury you or serve you liquor. No one checked whether there was any informal liaison between the two sectors.

Only four out of 10 doctors will unconditionally treat a black person ("blacks don't use gynaecologists" is a typical view). Only three out of 10 old age homes and four out of 10 social clubs will admit blacks.



"There was this German social club," says Mahlasela Metlhape, a third year law student from Mamelodi who was involved in the project. "I asked him why no blacks belong to your club. He said there are no black Germans. The same with the Italian guy. He said there are no black Italians."

None of this is surprising. Yet it does prove what almost everyone in South Africa is aware of — that, 15 years after Piet Koornhof told the world that "apartheid are dead", and long after racism was eliminated from the statute books, it lives on in a thousand ways in everyday life.

One out of three businesses in Pretoria will still not unreservedly admit blacks.

Racial discrimination is applied in a number of strange ways. In a separate study conducted in Bronkhorstpruit, Metlhape found at one petrol station that, while there were no black or white signs up, there were two sets of toilets.

"The front toilet was not locked and I used it. When I came out the attendant said it was supposed to be locked and I was meant to go around the back. Keys are only given to white people."

What these studies are trying to do is to show how displaced racial discrimination is practicised.

For instance, Groenewald says that in the United States, there have been studies on how bank personnel will guide a white customer through the complexities of filling out a loan application. The result, that whites stand a better chance of getting the loan, is not usually attributed to racism.

The black researchers are particularly sensitive to how this is played out. Kim Napo, a first year law student from Sebokeng, says that in her lectures she usually occupies a bench by herself. White students, even the friendly ones, will not sit next to her.

Yet Groenewald believes there are grounds for optimism: "Once we have a constitution in place that makes the non-racial intentions of the new South Africa clear to everyone, I think behaviour will be subject to a number of controls.

"It would be necessary to outlaw segregation. What our studies show is that if you leave people to themselves, then they put up a lot of barriers that tend to create the same effect as direct discrimination.

"You would have to have legislation with a fair amount of bite to be able to counteract these practices."

There is something encouraging about research being conducted by a non-racial team at the University of Pretoria into how to eliminate racism. It is, after all, Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, another professor of sociology from an Afrikaner campus, who is generally credited with building the apartheid monster.

Verwoerd lectured at Stellenbosch, only a few kilometres from Franschoek, once a rightwing stronghold. Today Franschoek boasts a black mayor — the first in the country, over a united town.

A revolution of sorts is sweeping the western Cape platteland. There are other town councils deep in the Boland and up to the Cedarberg mountains in the north that are uniting, far ahead of the rest of the nation.

Franschoek's new mayor, Frank Arendse, was not around during the heyday of apartheid in the 1950s and 1960s, when the coloured people were uprooted and moved out of the town. His father was a farm labourer and he grew up picking grapes to earn pocket money.

Yet as a young boy, he was kicked off the lawn in front of the Huguenot memorial, a monument to the persecution that drove the forebears of the De Villiers and the De Klerks from France.

In the valleys surrounding Franschoek, the antique slave bells on the wine estates are a reminder of where Arendse comes from.

Yet the Barbarians, far from plundering the town, come to resemble the Romans. Arendse has mounted on his wall the heads of springboks that he hunted at a game farm in Namibia, displaying a fondness for the same pastimes as his Afrikaner counterparts at the other end of town.

He has constructed a large mock Cape Dutch house that sticks out ostentatiously in the coloured township outside Franschoek, and proudly carved the year 1991 above the doorway.

Next week he will be handing out the annual awards at Franschoek High School, which only opened its doors to coloured pupils last year. As a boy he would not even have been allowed inside the school grounds.

That is where change is coming. Soon there will be more figures in political power who were sons and daughters of domestic workers, farmworkers or "mineboys".

Ten years ago it was thought that the central problem South Africa had to overcome was three centuries of racism. Today, even as there are flashes of hope that the miracle can be performed, racism is dwarfed by our other problems.

What we never saw is how devastating the legacy of apartheid would actually be: in the poverty, the violence and the corroding sense of national ruin that threatens to render even a political settlement meaningless.

Seminar on federalism

304A

Sowetan 30/10/92

■ DEBATE CONTINUES Embassy hopes foreign officials will clarify the concept:

A THREE-DAY SEMINAR ON federalism, which will include several speakers from Germany, will be held in Johannesburg next week, the German Embassy announced in Pretoria this week.

According to the embassy statement much of the seminar will be dedicated, through presentations, discussions and debate, to finding practical ways of implementing federalism in South Africa.

It is believed this seminar will serve to clarify the debate around federalism - both at national and regional level - when negotiations get back on track.

The seminar will be opened on Monday by the Interior Minister of the Federal State of Saxony-Anhalt, Mr Hartmut Perschau, with a discussion on Germany's experience of federalism.

Mr Perschau is currently also a member of the Committee for Federalism, and a member of the Executive Committee of the European People's Party.

The second speaker, Dr Franz Gress, a professor of politics at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt/Main and a member of the Federalism Research Committee of International Political Science Association, will answer the question: "What is Federalism?".

Prof Lawrence Schlemmer of the Human Science's Research Council is scheduled to open the seminar's second day with a discussion on federalism and democracy.

Representatives from various political groupings in South Africa will debate the relevance of federalism in the country, with each speaker being allowed 10 minutes to state his case.

Panel members will include representatives of the Democratic Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the African National Congress, the Azanian People's Organisation, the National Party and the Pan Africanist Congress. - *Sapa*

'Codesa' fails the Aids test

(304A)

It was dubbed the 'Aids Codesa'. Like Codesa, it brought together opposition organisations and views. Like Codesa, it collapsed, exposing the deep fissures that crack any attempt at unity in South Africa.

By **MARK GEVISSER and PAUL STOBER**

W/Mail 30/10 - 5/11/92.

IN opening Nacosa — the National Aids Convention of South Africa — last week, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela emphasised something never before been said by any South African leader of any hue: "Nature's truth is that unless we guide the youth towards safer sex, the alternative is playing into the hands of a killer disease."

Sure enough there was a pause, a tremor of uncertainty, before he said the word "sex". But he said it. In the avuncular, modulated tones of an elderly and respected statesman, he asked this nation's moral guardians to review their censure of teenage sex and move with the necessity of the times: towards open talk about sex; towards realism in the face of an epidemic that takes a condom rather than a cross to ward off.

Coupled with Congress of South African Trade Unions president John Gomomo's explicit call for condom-use, Mandela's challenge represented a milestone in official discourse on Aids.

Nacosa, spearheaded by the ANC's Department of Health and the government Department of National Health, set itself up to be a milestone. For the first time in this country, all those dealing with Aids — the non-governmental service organisations, the mass-based movements, the state departments — were gathered together under one roof, pulled together to develop a national Aids strategy.

It was dubbed the "Aids Codesa", and a Codesa it was: for not only did it bring together previously opposed organisations and perspectives but, like Codesa, it collapsed. And, as with Codesa, the effect of its collapse was important, for it exposed the naked fact lurking beneath the reconciliatory rhetoric, that in Aids, as in all spheres of South African life, there are deep fissures that exist beneath any attempt at unity.

As ANC director of health Ralph Mgijima, who chairs Nacosa, put it: "Nothing was signed but we are bound by the spirit of the agreement. It is a challenge to see how we as a society so divided respond to an outside threat to the nation."

Johannesburg municipality Aids chief Clive Evian was harsher: "It was a sad day for Aids work," he said, "and it bodes badly for the future. Rather than coming together, too many people were intent on political point-scoring. We are still using Aids to fight the political battles spawned by apartheid when what we really need is a new paradigm to counter this epidemic."

What exactly happened? In its final plenary session Nacosa had before it a proposal, distilled from hours of group discussion, calling for the rights of HIV-carriers, the need for community involvement and multi-sectoral co-ordination, and outlining several elements, including education and training, counselling, health care, welfare services and research.

But, instead of ratifying or modifying this proposal and transforming it into a binding document, the conference degenerated into a no-holds-barred slanging match over who should serve on the Nacosa steering committee.

This can be explained, to a point, by bad planning on the part of the organisers. But another reason is that there were so many tensions lurking beneath the surface that Nacosa, as a constituted body, simply wasn't ready to embark upon a national strategy.

One would have expected the most obvious tension to be that between the ANC and the government.

In his opening address, after all, Mandela said that "we do have a problem with the efforts being made by the South African government", as these efforts "are viewed with suspicion and as a ploy to control the population. This government does not have the credibility to convince the majority of black South Africans to change their sexual behavior".

But it appeared, in fact, that there was much agreement between the two sides. Perhaps a little too much, particularly on the side of the state, which was clearly looking for ways to bolster its credibility.

And this, perhaps, was the root of another tension: annoyance, on the part of many grassroots Aids mobilisers, at what one delegate called "the ANC's willingness to jump into bed with the government, and ANC/government high-handedness in organising this thing without consulting the groups on the ground that have been actually doing the work".

At an important conference on Aids in Maputo in 1989, the still-exiled ANC mandated the internal National Progressive Primary Health Care Network (PPHC) to carry out Aids work. Yet many PPHC officials felt they had been left out of the loop — as was demonstrated by the fact that the PPHC was not represented on the steering committee.

"On the one hand," commented one delegate, "there was all this talk about being community-based, but on the other it was clearly still a top-down initiative."

The delegate added that "the ANC is being naive about the state's commitment. All that will happen is that ANC ideas and personnel will be absorbed into the impossible bureacracy of state structures."

In the light of this, it was decided that the non-governmental organisations should appoint a member to the steering committee. But this exposed yet another tension between, as one delegate put it, "different NGOs claiming that they and they alone represented the community".

Unable to mediate the dispute, Mgijima closed the conference prematurely. Later, he commented that: "The NGOs are not the only sector who do not to have their house together, we all have to get our houses together. We have all been caught with our pants down but have to move."

"We must democratise health. But democracy can take a long time and we have to move now. Aids cannot wait for a transitional government".

This last sentiment was echoed by all the public speeches presented on the first day of the conference. In reality, however, Nacosa appears to have spawned more of the very red tape through which it was meant to have cut: delegates are to report back to their groups; the enlarged steering committee is to reconvene; the process slouches forward at a far slower rate than the spread of the epidemic.

With an estimated 400 HIV infections a day in South Africa, this is simply not good enough.

An aloof man in the hurly-burly of SA street politics

W/Mail 30/10/-5/11/92 (304A)

Former Broederbond chairman Gerrit Viljoen is an intellectual and realist who initiated many changes but his retirement from parliamentary politics was not unexpected.

By **Weekly Mail Reporter**

THE retirement this week of Dr Gerrit Viljoen from the cabinet marks the end of an era in negotiations and makes way for the younger generation of up-and-coming National Party leaders to take command of the talks.

Viljoen was an old-time Afrikaner Nationalist who had sufficient intellectual honesty and realism to realise that things had to change and, as the second most senior cabinet minister, played a key role in President FW de Klerk's February 2 1990 speech and subsequent talks with the African National Congress.

However, he failed to adapt enough and was destroyed by exposure of his administrative incompetence as a cabinet minister.

Some analysts say the deterioration in the negotiating process, which began with the collapse of Codesa II, started shortly after Viljoen was sidelined. The younger generation who have taken charge — Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels, Sam de Beer, Tertius Delport, Dawie de Villiers — have brought a very different style to the NP team.

Viljoen was, like most of his cabinet colleagues, appalled by PW Botha's disastrous Rubicon speech in 1986 and when the opportunity came, he threw his influential weight behind De Klerk.

In the cabinet, he had authority which was rarely challenged. It is said that he was the only minister who regularly stood up to Botha. It is also said that he was the only minister in the De Klerk cabinet with the authority and freedom to take decisions without necessarily discussing them with the president.

Together with his ability to see the wood for the trees, particularly in regard to the necessity for negotiations with all the representatives of the people, including the ANC and the communists, Viljoen became a powerful figure in the early days of the De Klerk presidency.

It was he who led the decisive argument against the security establishment about the communists. For years, the securocrats had pursued a strategy of trying to divide the "nationalists" from the "communists" in the ANC. In the days of total onslaught and the Cold War, this approach was unchallenged within government and NP ranks.

But as the Soviet Union collapsed and a peace process instituted in Angola, the absurdity of this strategy became more obvious. Although the securocrats, and indeed many NP leaders including De Klerk, still pursue the myth that the "communists" and "radicals" are the real problem in the ANC and they need to be separated from the "nationalists", the fact is that in 1990, it was not only the ANC that was unbanned, but it was also the South African Communist Party and Umkhonto weSizwe.

It was a decisive and emphatic move, which went much further than

many people, including the ANC leadership and Western diplomats, had anticipated. Viljoen had a decisive role, one which gets him a deserved place in the history books.

But as the negotiations shifted from the euphoric stage in Codesa I to the murky collapse at Codesa II, Viljoen faded. In retrospect, this is not surprising. He was never really a politician in the hurly-burly of street politics sense, nor was he an administrator, as various commissions of inquiry have testified.

He is, rather, an intellectual, but not in the ivory tower sense. His role as chairman of the Broederbond and as the founding rector of Rand Afrikaans University showed he was a powerful operator behind the scenes.

For instance, it was while he was chairman that the Broederbond took the lead in initiating changes in the government's sports policies, moves which sparked off the Herstigte Nasionale Party and Conservative Party splits.

As an MP his speeches were usually aloof and often difficult to understand. He is not the sort of politician to sway the crowd at a rally, nor his fellow parliamentarians, although his speeches sounded serious enough.

The Thirion Commission into the then South West Africa Administration when he was administrator general, the Van den Heever Commission into the Department of Education and Training, and the Pickard Commission into the Department of Development Aid all raised serious questions about his administrative abilities.

As the person politically responsible, Viljoen should have been forced to resign. But, in the traditions of the NP, ministers have not been dismissed for incompetence or administrative ineffectiveness, and Viljoen survived these crises to play his role.

Once parliament had passed a law scrapping by-elections, the retirement of the government's one-time chief negotiator, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, was entirely predictable.

At the age of 66 and after a long career in government, Broederbond and academic politics, the pace and demands of the transition process had become too much for him. Ever since he relinquished the Constitutional Development portfolio to Roelf Meyer and took a month's break in May, he has been increasingly sidelined.

His health had also suffered and Viljoen himself said after he had announced his retirement that he could physically no longer keep up the pace.

Now that his marginal Vanderbijlpark seat is no longer under threat and it will remain in safe Nationalist hands, his decision to quit was really only a matter of time.

Suzman Claims Blind Eye Turned To ANC Violence

Guardian [W/in W/Mail] 30/10 - 5/11/92. 304A

By Paul Taylor

JOHANNESBURG — When it comes to waging lone battles against prevailing doctrine, nobody in South Africa has credentials quite like Helen Suzman.

For 13 years, she was the sole opposition member of Parliament, waging a one-woman assault on the architects of apartheid with speeches that mixed moral indignation with mordant wit. She once dared government officials to visit black townships to see for themselves how bad conditions were there — but cautioned that for their own safety they ought to travel "heavily disguised as human beings."

Now retired from Parliament — but by no means from public life — Suzman, 74, once again finds herself in the middle of the great argument of the day. This time, however, she is inveighing against doctrine to her left, not her right. The shift illustrates how murky the political currents have become in a society struggling to move beyond apartheid with formulas developed when the pitfalls were easier to identify.

Suzman threw her substantial reputation this past week behind charges that human-rights monitoring organizations here and abroad are providing misleading information on the issue of violence. She says these groups deliberately have turned a blind eye to the responsibility that the African National Congress — the nation's largest anti-apartheid organization — bears for the country's political carnage, which is three times deadlier now than it was during the height of apartheid repression.

"Pressures for conformity to some sort of 'politically correct' line are building up in many spheres," Suzman wrote in a response to criticism of a recent study detailing this alleged disinformation campaign. "This is an ominous development because South Africa has only recently begun to emerge from the 'thought control' that the National Party sought for so long to impose."

The study, written by the South African Institute of Race Relations, a 63-year-old research group of which Suzman is president, contended that recent surveys of violence in South Africa by Amnesty International, the International Commission of Jurists, and the South African-based Human Rights Commission placed too much blame on the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party and too little on the ANC.

Such "one-sided" reports "can easily fan the flames of violence," argued the author of the institute study, Anthea Jeffrey. "Those who feel they are constantly and unjustifiably accused of fomenting the violence may feel there is little point in continuing to participate in the peace efforts, or may have difficulty in restraining supporters who feel outraged."

The institute report has drawn widespread criticism, not just from the human-rights organizations it attacks but from the institute's own research staff — eight of whose 12 members sent a memorandum to institute Executive Director John Kane-Berman calling the report "partisan, weak on methodology, and misleading."

Others allege that Kane-Berman, the dominant force within the institute since he became executive director in 1983, commissioned the controversial study as part of a campaign to resurrect the reputation of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, to whom Kane-Berman has been close for years.

Once these charges and countercharges started to fly, Suzman, who had aspired to be a hands-off president — "My only real job is to give the annual presidential address" — decided she had no choice but to jump into the fray. She reviewed all the claims and, in a letter that went out this past week to institute members, came down heavily on the side of the institute report. Its findings "have been vindicated every time," she wrote.

"Unfortunately, it has become fashionable in liberal circles to make excuses for the ANC, to say, oh well, they were in exile for so long, or they were fighting a wicked regime," Suzman said in an interview at her home. "As far as I'm concerned, you can't exonerate the state for the violence, you can't exonerate Inkatha, but you can't exonerate the ANC either; the real problem now is that violence has become so ingrained that even if the leaders wanted to stop it, I'm not sure they could. There are too many avengers, too many criminals, too many local warlords. Maybe you could have stopped it in the mid-1980s, when it first got out of hand, but I'm not sure you can now."

In the explanation that Suzman and the institute report embrace, a principal trigger of the violence has been the coercion, intimidation, and vigilantism of ANC supporters as they try to make the townships "ungovernable" by closing schools, boycotting stores, waging strikes, withholding rents, and threatening homeland leaders. Blacks who do not want to go along with such tactics are branded collaborators.

In the version subscribed to by most human-rights groups, the principal cause of violence has been the vigilantism of the black puppets of the apartheid regime, who have used strong-arm tactics to repress legitimate political dissent.

In her presidential address this summer, Suzman warned that unless the violence ends soon, allowing a stalled economy to start producing jobs again, "whoever does inherit this country, be it an ANC government or any other, will inherit a wasteland, an ungovernable country inhabited by millions of undisciplined youths to whom a culture of democracy is meaningless."

Slovo is slammed for his 'heretical' halfway policy

■ Mr Joe Slovo, South African Communist Party chairman and a leading member of the African National Congress's national executive committee, explains his 'heretical' thinking on appeasing white fears to JOHN CARLIN (304A) ARG 31/10/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The most revolutionary thought to have emerged from the African National Congress in a long time is also the most conciliatory one towards white South Africans, especially those in government.

The man who has had the thought is Mr Joe Slovo, long regarded by the white establishment as one of the most sinister individuals on the planet.

Mr Slovo, 63, is chairman of the South African Communist Party, a leading member of the ANC's national executive committee and former chief of staff of the military wing.

Mr Slovo's thought is that while majority rule is a good thing in principle, it does not offer a short-term practical solution to South Africa's problems. Better to share power for a while, to meet President De Klerk halfway.

As if this heresy were not enough, he believes that civil servants, including police and army officials, should be given guarantees that they will keep their jobs and pensions in a post-apartheid South Africa and, where necessary, be granted amnesties.

"Monstrous", "unbelievable", "terrible", have been some of the responses of ANC militants to Mr Slovo's proposals, published in the latest edition of African Communist magazine.

Mr Slovo explained in an interview with the Independent what had prompted him to put forward what he insisted was a "purely personal" position — but one, none the less, which the ANC leadership is seriously considering adopting as policy.

His starting-point is that since no side won the struggle for power during the long years of open confrontation, neither side can be expected to surrender at the negotiating table.

Compromise, therefore, is inevitable. And, the broad test for compromise, Mr Slovo believes, is whether it will permanently block the future advance towards the nonracial democracy which has always been the ANC's first political objective.

"There are a number of areas where concessions could be made that do not conflict with our bottom lines, with our principles.

"I ask people to consider the possibility of a period of power-sharing — perhaps three to five years — after a new constitution is adopted; of giving the incumbents in the civil service, the army and the police a feeling that we are not going to jettison them; of accepting that there is going to be an amnesty; no solution has been found anywhere in the world without addressing this question."

Whatever criticism Mr Slovo may face from within his own ranks over these proposals — proposals that ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela broadly accepts — no one will dare question his political credentials. He remains still convinced, for example, that socialism is not inherently flawed, that it is still, as he put it, "the only sensible way humans can order their existence".

"My motivation is purely selfish," he said. "I'm not pandering to white people. I'm not addressing the question in the moral sense of allaying fears.

"I'm acting in the interest of a lasting democratic transformation because the new fledgeling democracy, if it emerges, will face a period of inordinate social and economic problems which will require the broadest possible national effort to resolve.

"Secondly, and most important, within the ambit of basic democratic principles, we should try to minimise those forces who could provide the potential for rightwing destabilisation, for sabotage, for what I call the counter-revolution, in a post-transformation period.

"And, the way in which I think about this problem is that even if the ANC gets a 60 percent majority — or even a 66 percent or 70 percent majority — in the first constitutional election, it will achieve political office, but it will not really achieve control over the essentials of the state framework and the state operators.

"The civil service will be exactly the same the day after as the day before, the same with the judiciary, the same with the army, the same with the police force and so on.

"These people are racists because that is the way they were brought up. But, they are not political animals.

"All they are concerned with, most of them, is whether they will be able to survive the transition period, whether they will lose everything they thought they'd accumulated in terms of pensions and some kind of job security. And, we've got to address this question by providing a clear and decided position."

Mr Slovo believes there will be an election for an interim government, which also will function as a constitution-making body, by the end of next year.

"The executive — the Cabinet — must be made up on the basis of proportional representation. One important condition will be that whatever devices are worked out, we must not have a situation where the minority can paralyse it.

"This will be a majority government accommodating minority parties as part of a national government, in the manner of Churchill's government during the war.

■ The Independent.

FW's housekeeping: Cleaning up NP act

(304A) ARG 31/10/92

☐ With so (relatively) little time left before some form of interim government takes over, President De Klerk's Cabinet reshuffle this week was, with some good sense, aimed mostly at tidying up the executive. Yet it possibly had more to do with the National Party than with running the country. **MICHAEL MORRIS** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff reports.

NOT since the early 1980s has there been so much speculation about strategic fractures in the Cabinet.

Speculation points to the existence of two camps.

It is suggested there are progressives like chief negotiator Roelf Meyer, who share the president's vision and actively promote it.

Opposing them, speculation goes, are conservatives like Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and erstwhile patriarch of the "defence family" General Magnus Malan, who, while avowedly sharing, broadly, the post-1990 goals, differ markedly with the progressives on how to achieve them.

More particularly, these men are touchy about anything that looks like a concession.

Well, that's the speculation.

The existence of any sort of political or even strategic schism in the executive has always been contemptuously dismissed, but the imminence of actually joining the ANC in some sort of transitional authority has clearly concentrated the minds of Cabinet ministers and some of them don't like the feeling.

This has less importance for the country than for the National Party.

It cannot afford to be seen to be half-hearted, reluctant, uncertain or divided — particularly on the eve of what is bound to be the most gruelling round of talks yet.

Indeed, despite the vigorous trade in rumours lately, the NP is not so much divided or perilously close to a split as merely reflecting the pessimism and uncertainty that generally pervades society.

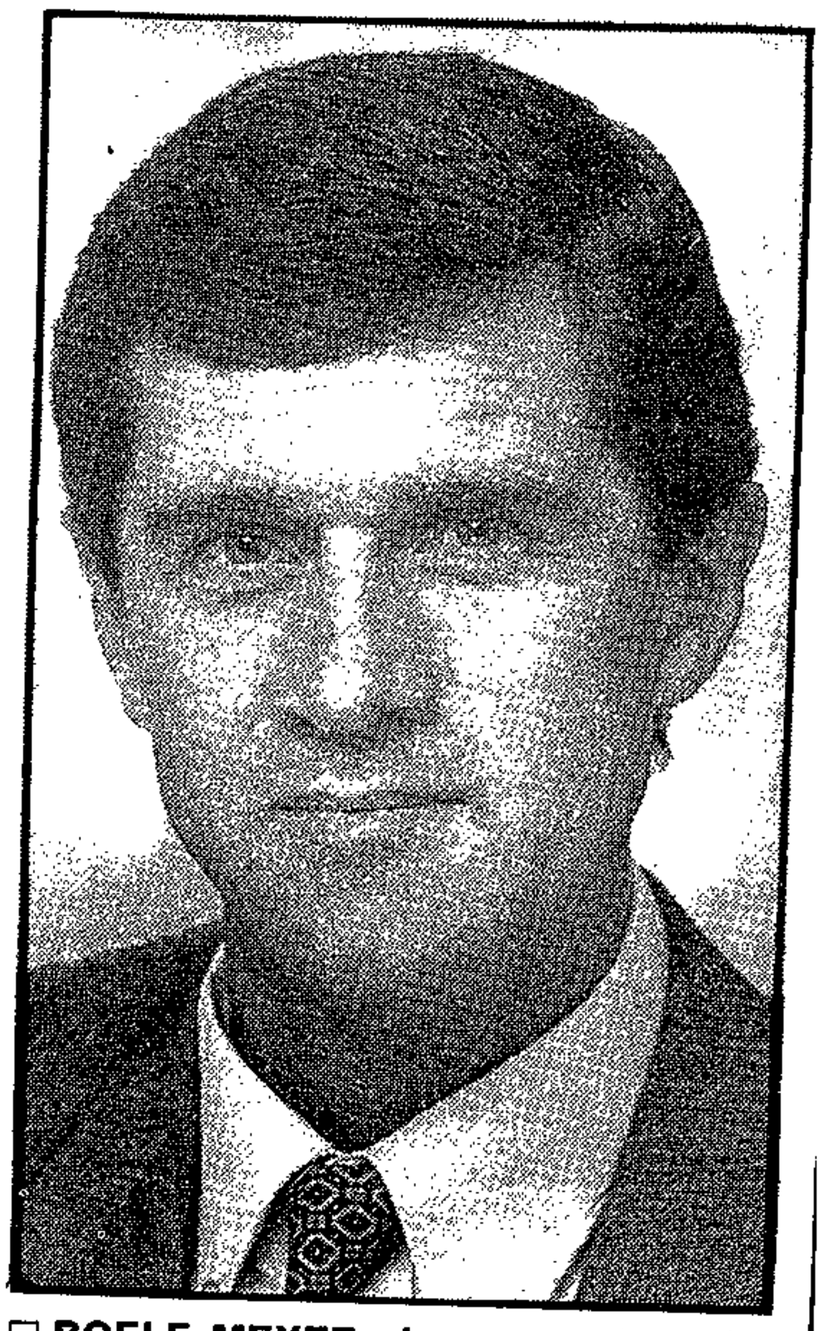
Nevertheless, this is something a powerful party like the NP cannot allow to take root.

In this context, the tidying up of the Cabinet makes for a more efficient negotiating strategy.

All of the Cabinet negotiating team now hold portfolios that are crucial to the transition process.

Greater emphasis has been placed on Local Government, and Manpower.

☐ **MAGNUS MALAN:** Represents "the old" National Party philosophy.



☐ **ROELF MEYER:** A progressive who shares President De Klerk's vision.

Dr Tertius Delport takes the Local Government portfolio over on promotion from deputy ministership, and Mr Leon Wessels is now responsible for Manpower, freeing him of responsibility for the local government and national housing portfolios.

Mr Roelf Meyer — the chief negotiator — is to be supported by Deputy Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman, who has moved over from National Health.

But perhaps the most important element of the president's Cabinet announcement on Wednesday was his undertaking that "the full Cabinet and other political office bearers will, in future, be more directly involved in the negotiation planning process".

One of the criticisms of Mr De Klerk's style until now has been that he has tended to the rely on the counsel of a few chosen confidantes and that, on some issues at least, the rest of the Cabinet has been left largely in the dark.

There is now evidence of a concerted move to consolidate party and Cabinet support behind negotiation initiatives.

Some have wondered whether Mr De Klerk has lost an opportunity to bring some fresh talent into the Cabinet.

Could he not have recalled the indomitable Harry Schwarz from Washington to understudy Derek Keys on economic matters? Or coaxed Frederik van Zyl Slabbert into a key post, to serve national, rather than party political interests?

Perhaps.

Yet, as the old order winds down, it might even have been reckless to have risked tarnishing the credibility of non-party figures who might be much more useful once an interim government comes into being.

One of the president's chief concerns now is ensuring the Cabinet — and the party — speak with one voice.

'The mirror of a nation's soul'

Sowetan 31/10-4/11/92 (304A)

A constitution should be short and obscure
— Napoleon Bonaparte

A country's constitution should be the autobiography of a nation
— Albie Sachs

A constitution should be the mirror of a nation's soul
— Ismail Mohamed

DISAGREEMENT over what type of constitution should be adopted for a new South Africa has become a serious obstacle to the negotiation process.

It is because a constitution plays such an important function in the shape and nature of the country that political parties have debated so vehemently over the form it should take.

A constitution outlines the kind of government structures which will exist and how they are established.

The type of government of a country is therefore predetermined by the specific provisions of the constitution.

In South Africa, the debate has largely centred around whether the constitution should allow for a unitary or federal state.

After determining the type of structures which are to be established, a constitution also allocates the degrees of power they enjoy.

It provides for the exercise of this power, usually through three central organs of government — the legislature (parliament), the executive (cabinet) and the judiciary (Supreme Court).

The constitution also lays down procedures to regulate and control the way power is used. These provisions are intended to prevent the abuse of power and enable citizens to discover them when they are perpetrated.

There are many types of controlling mechanisms which may be adapted to control the government's use of power.

These vary depending on the specific needs of a country and are normally referred to as "checks and balances".

Some of these are: requiring special majorities in parliament to deal with specific issues; a Bill of Rights; the independence of the legal system; provisions for government accountability to citizens through set periods for elections; the vote for all adult citizens and preventing any single government organ from exercising power unilaterally by the separation of powers between different organs and levels of government.

Negotiators in South Africa are therefore thinking ahead about the shape of a future government and are therefore concerned about what kind of constitution will be adopted.

Once adopted, even government itself cannot change it unilaterally without following certain procedures written into the constitution itself.

To have a stable government, the constitution must have legitimacy — it must be approved and adopted with the support of the majority of citizens so that it can be legally binding on them.

This is why some political parties are querying whether a structure like Codesa has the necessary legitimacy to draft and adopt a constitution.

Codesa is not an elected body. Ordinary citizens have not had a say about who sits in Codesa, nor have they given Codesa a mandate to act on their behalf.

By the same logic, it is clear that successive constitutions adopted under apartheid rule lacked legitimacy.

They were all imposed on the vast majority of citizens, with only whites participating and consenting to its adoption.

A constitution is more than rules and provisions written down on paper. Out of the words enshrined in the document, an entire system of practical implementation of government evolves.

The manner in which that system evolves and functions depends largely on the human beings who devise it.

Learning from other countries

Sowetan 31/10-4/11/92 (304A)

THE PROVISIONS of the constitution are usually enforced by the constitutional court, which is the highest court in the land.

It enjoys independence and separation from the national executive and legislative authorities.

In many countries, the constitutional court acts as the judicial arm of government, enforcing not only the constitution, but its bill of rights as well.

A bill of rights contains a formal listing of citizen's rights which are specially protected against government control. These rights cannot be changed through normal legislative channels.

The constitutional court has the powers to legally ensure that these rights are observed by government authorities. When they are infringed, citizens may bring their complaints to the court.

This was first practised by the United States' Supreme Court, where citizens could find legal redress in cases where the letter of the constitution was not being adhered to by the government.

Black American citizens used the court to redress their grievances after they began their civil rights movement.

This served as an example, leading to the emergence of constitutional courts in many countries.

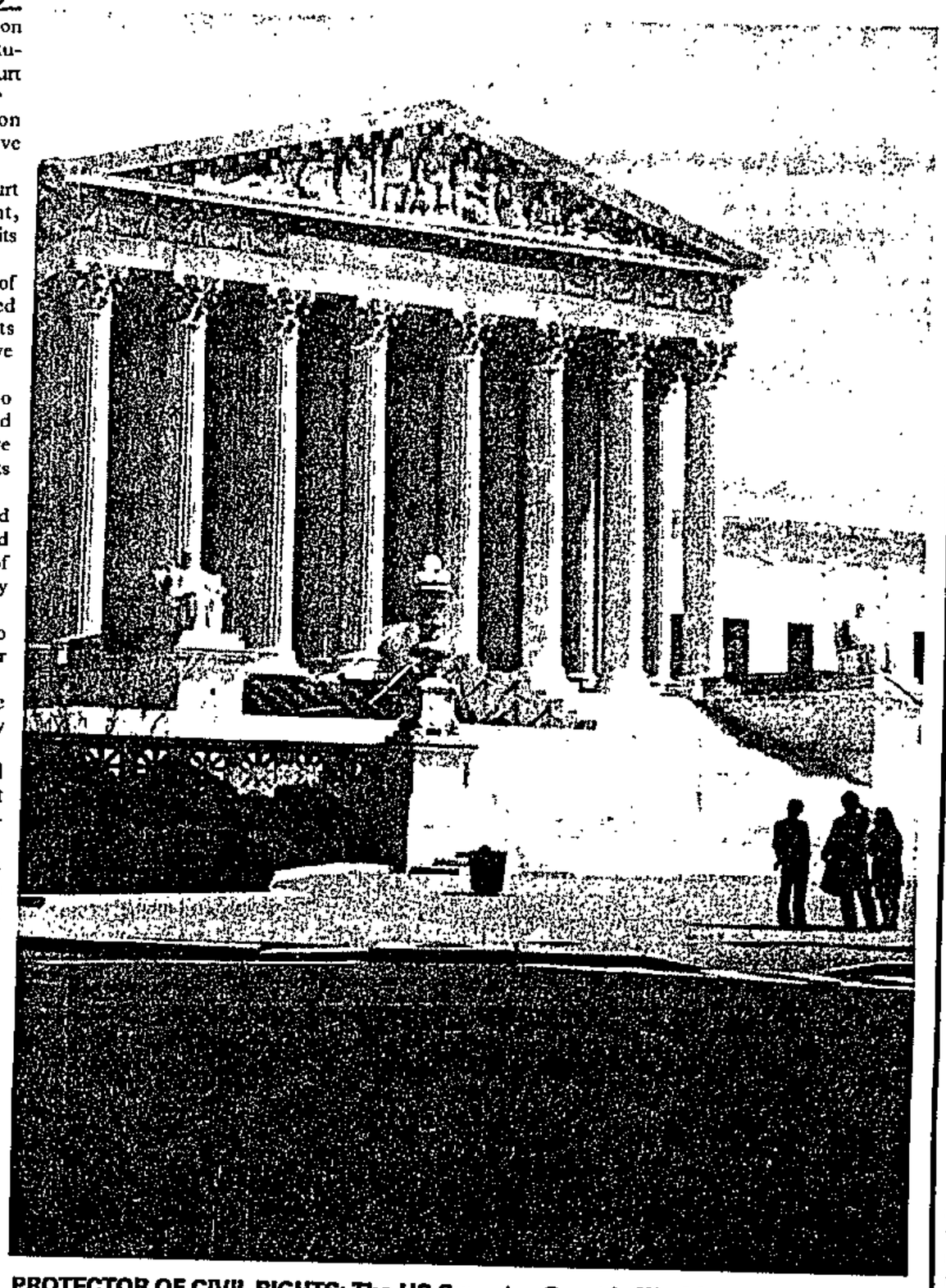
After World War II, national constitutional courts emerged in Canada, but does not have the same degree of judicial policy-making as the US Supreme Court.

This may simply be because the civil rights movement in Canada has not reached the same level of assertiveness as it has among black citizens in the US.

There are many lessons to be drawn from the experiences of other countries. We can learn that ordinary citizens should have some influence over who decides on the constitution of a country and how they defend their civil rights when it is threatened by a higher authority.

With South Africa's history of extremely undemocratic practices, it is all the more essential that ordinary people keep themselves informed about their constitutional rights.

It may be the strongest safeguard we have in the future against any lapses into the authoritarian practices of the past.



PROTECTOR OF CIVIL RIGHTS: The US Supreme Court in Washington

Constitutions that were doomed from the start

Sowetan 31/10 - 4/11/92 (304A)

SOUTH Africa has had three constitutional Acts since 1910. All of them have been influenced by the country's British colonial history.

The first constitution was the South Africa Act of 1909, a British Act of Parliament which constituted the Union of South Africa and introduced the Westminster system of government.

The vote was limited to the same degree as it was during colonial times. In 1930 white women were included. In 1936 African voters were removed from the voters' roll and coloureds in 1956.

The second South African constitution came into being in 1961. This was when the Union of South Africa became a republic and was expelled from the Commonwealth.

The lifespan of this constitution was marked by a further erosion of civil liberties and saw the granting of "independence" to the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei bantustans.

The 1961 constitution gave way in 1983 to the present constitutional arrangement. This attempted, through the tricameral system, to extend the process of government to coloureds and Indians.

The 1983 constitution excluded all people classified African from the formal political life of the country.

The present constitution has been marked by a low level of legitimacy and insignificant polls in the elections for the smaller houses of parliament.

It also led to resistance on a scale never before seen in South Africa, with the consequent declaration of successive states of emergency from 1985.

South Africa's constitutional history is a good example of constitutions which have been doomed from the start because of the manner in which they have been drafted, adopted and imposed.

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PAC, govt to meet in SA

South 31/10-4/11/92 (30471)

PAN AFRICANIST Congress secretary for external affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim said the PAC would meet the South African government again within weeks — this time on South African soil.

He also said registration of voters for a constituent assembly could begin by December.

He declared Codesa dead, and said a new negotiating forum should be in place by February next year.

Ebrahim said it had been agreed that Codesa had to be replaced by a new multi-party forum.

According to the PAC's programme, the new forum should be in place by February next year and the registration of voters for the election of a constituent assembly could begin as soon as December.

Ebrahim said there were as many as 21 million potential voters in South Africa, and seats on the assembly should be allocated proportionally.

"Any party getting at least one percent of the vote will be represented on the assembly to make it as wide and as representative as possible," he said.

The PAC has also rejected the idea of an interim government during the transition to multi-racial democracy — a concept favoured by the ANC. — **Sapa**