S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992

November.

ANC document supports power sharing with Nats

ST Times 1/11/92.

By NORMAN WEST and CHARLENE SMITH

THE ANC is considering a power-sharing deal with the National Party after the next general election.

The suggestion is contained in a draft policy document which was circulated in secrecy among delegates at the Patriotic Front Conference in Port Elizabeth this week.

The ANC plan also suggests that it would be prepared to cut private deals with the National Party on critical issues such as regional powers and the future of the white-dominated civil and security services.

Although the plan is likely to encounter fierce resistance from other political groups, it is being offered by the ANC as a way to break out of the present political deadlock.

ANC sources revealed that the document had been drawn up at an ANC *lekgotla* (meeting) on October 14 and 15.

It will be discussed with ANC allies and sent to ANC regions next week.

The document is important because it sets out formally an ANC proposal that the National Party and the ANC share power even after the interim government phase.

"Even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and the NP are the main players," says the document.

The document identifies two main areas which could be subject to bilateral agreements between the ANC and NP: the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa and the future of the security services and the civil service — elements which the document suggests could be severely destabilising after a non-racial government is installed.

"It may therefore become imperative to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement."

The basis for the new thinking was set at a late-night meeting on October 9 in Cape Town between government negotiators and ANC members. The next week the ANC *lekgotla* endorsed SACP leader Joe Slovo's document on negotiations which envisages power sharing.

A senior ANC official said the document had no status as an official ANC document yet but was meant to stimulate debate and "allow for different possibilities with regard to transformation.

● ANC leader Nelson Mandela said in Spain yesterday that negotiations between the government and the ANC on an interim government would commence on November 22.



Warlords, like jackals, fight over a carcass

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ST Times 1/11/92.

IN THE killing fields of Natal almost as many people have been dying as in Bosnia, and there is precious little that the lame-duck government of President de Klerk can do to stop the bloodletting.

The ferocity of the conflict has been obscured by the fog of the accompanying propaganda battle, a nauseating affair in which both sides try — often through white mercenaries — to fix the blame on each other.

This week's assassination of Reggie Hadebe, the ANC's second-in-command in Natal, was a turning-point. It somehow carried that dirty little war beyond the ability of mere propaganda to conceal its true nature: it is a struggle for power between factions of the black community.

White South Africa stands on the sidelines, impotently wringing its hands, or serves black masters as gunrunners, or moneybags, or professional liars. The white community, still viewed as a ruling class, is too weak to make peace and too broken in confidence to put responsibility where it belongs — on the warring parties.

President de Klerk's government, making a show of governing, has doubled the number of troops in Natal. They will have no greater effect on the struggle than the long-suffering British Army has on the warfare of Protestant and Catholic in Ulster, or the United Nations on the ethnic cleansing of Bosnia.

Gone forever are the days when the viceroy of the great white queen across the sea could send a district commissioner with a handful of sepoys, or askaris, to clear up a bit of trouble in the bush. Gone are the days when Clive of India could tie rebellious subjects in front of his cannon and blow them to smithereens.

The process of change in South Africa, as in India in 1947, is entirely, irretrievably out of hand.

That's not necessarily a bad thing, for India or for us. The Natal war only makes explicit what most South Africans, in the backs of their anxious minds, already know: the Struggle (if I may revert to the quaint terminology of yesteryear) has altogether bypassed the System.

Apartheid died more or less bloodlessly. The future, thanks to demography and economic growth over the past half-century, has passed into the hands of the majority. The minority is ... well, a minority.

The only important political question that remains is whether the majority will organise itself as a democracy or whether, like a pack of jackals, it will simply rip the carcass of the apartheid state to pieces. Like Yugoslavia, black South Africa has come to a hinge of history; like Bosnia, it falls victim to the worst of human nature.

Political attitudes, as usual, lag behind reality. Abroad, the anti-apartheid movement, given a whiff of a chance, works itself into a comical fury over the rugby tour. Tut, tut. We whites can't play rugby any better than we govern, and for the same reasons: there are not very many of us, and we have wallowed too long in self-indulgence.

If the rugby tours were called off, what would it matter? We rank behind Australia, New Zealand, France and probably the English, but ahead of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Yet if we thumped the entire world, what would it prove? That the aged Danie Craven is still a national hero? Frankly, I don't give a damn.

At home the PAC, nicely positioned on the crazy wing of the ANC, is said to be planning a campaign of terror against synagogues and churches. I am not alone in perceiving a new, rather nasty, tide of anti-white racism in the country. Alan Paton's worst fear — that when "we" turned to loving, "they" would have turned to hating — begins to look prescient.

IT'S nasty, but it's also ludicrous. Much as the PAC likes to blame everything from drought to Halley's Comet on apartheid, the real threat to black aspirations lies not with the dwindling white population but with the power-hungry leaders who feed the war in Natal, and feed off it.

Whites merely hold the ring. The essential difference between South Africa and Yugoslavia is that, thanks to a community of more-or-less apolitical and benign managers, South Africa still functions. The telephones work, the water is drinkable and comes, very often, by pipes; hospital interns labour 100 hours a week to stitch up AK-47 wounds, and white missionary ladies, aglow with virtue, hand out AIDS pamphlets.

The war swirls around the farms and villages, but the irrelevant whites are remarkably untouched, except by common gangsters. In the serious business of carving up the future, whites may sometimes be helpful, sometimes a hindrance, but usually they don't really matter. Everybody senses that the civil war is serious business; the Struggle against the System is a game, a posture, a charade for ageing anti-apartheid groupies.

NOBODY, neither white nor black, thinks that white rule can be repaired, or that white racism will again dictate the course of South African life. But everybody wonders which faction, which system, which black ruler, will seize the sceptre that threatens to drop from the weakening hands of the whites.

History is not defied but confirmed: the shape of the future South Africa will be determined absolutely by the manner of its birth. War throws up its own tyrants and revolutions consume their children; democracies are born of negotiations and peaceful transition. Unless Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi and Mr Slovo and the other warrior leaders can bring this conflict to an end, it will consume their dreams, their hopes, and them.

On the other hand, if the new South Africa is created by negotiation among the many tribes and factions of this land, the result may well be the world's newest and most modern democracy, with the rule of law, and freedom even for marketeers, and an independent central bank, and a rugby team as multi-coloured as Joseph's coat that will strike terror into the heart of France.

All it needs is for black men to make peace with each other.

KEN OWEN

THE SHADOWY MAN THEY CALLED

The Ratcatcher

STATE President PW Botha and his circle of hawks relentlessly conspired with American conservatives to oust the architect of "constructive engagement", Dr Chester Crocker, in the belief that without him, President Ronald Reagan would enter a de facto alliance with Pretoria.

Crocker's forthcoming memoir, High Noon in Southern Africa, recounts constant attempts to "subvert" US policy in the 80s by military intelligence chief Pieter van der Westhuizen — dubbed "the ratcatcher" by Crocker's team — and others in Botha's security establishment.

SIMON BARBER in Washington discloses further intrigues from the controversial memoirs of Dr Chester Crocker ST Times 1/11/92.

Malign

Their strategies included feeding information to rightwing Senators like North Carolina's Jesse Helms; sending secret emissaries — sometimes using false passports — to open back channels with Reagan, CIA director Bill Casey, UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick and other senior players; hiring lobbyists with close ties to the President; and planting self-serving information on willing US intelligence agencies.

The "ratcatcher" was regarded by Crocker and his lieutenants as so malign that they would never discuss anything of substance in his hearing.

The campaign began almost as soon as Reagan took office, when a team of South African military officers arrived in Washington, on visas obtained under false pretences, and was regularly abetted by the American right.

From the start, Crocker was viewed by Botha's inner circle as dangerously soft. Botha refused to see him on his first official visit in the hopes of undercutting him at home.

Helms took a similar view and, in an effort to block Crocker's Senate confirmation as Assistant Secretary of State, sent him a list of 108 questions whose syntax and content showed most could only have been drafted by South Africans "on the right fringe of the National Party".

Crocker even hints that South African sympathisers within the US intelligence establishment may have burgled his office safes to obtain documents that could be used to discredit him on the left.

Then Secretary of State Al Haig thought "disaffected liberals were to blame. I told him I thought it was another sort of inside job, and changed the combination on the safes in the front office".

Sometimes, Pretoria's efforts to wrap Reagan's closest confidants in its "moist embrace" backfired spectacularly.

The US President's first National Security Adviser Judge Bill Clark arrived in South Africa in June 1981 to find his hosts wanted to rig him out in khaki and take him on a geopolitical safari to the operational area. He was repelled, and even more so when Botha wagged a finger at him and warned him to be careful of "your advisers and your embassy here".

Clark didn't care for Foreign Minister Pik Botha either.

"Never in 20 years at the bar or in bar-rooms," he later told Crocker, "have I ever encountered anything like the two Bothas."

In 1983, Crocker and his team became aware of what they called the "Unita project" — a far-reaching plan, apparently orchestrated by MI, to kill off Crocker's Namibia/Angola strategy by persuading Washington to back a military victory by Unita in conjunction with an internal settlement in Namibia.

Until 1982, Unita's external presence had been relatively low-budget. That year, the rebels not only became newly assertive on the battlefield, they suddenly appeared to have substantial new resources to establish a significant lobbying presence all over Europe and in the US.

Lever

The US public relations offensive, Crocker asserts, was "directed by Americans working for the military intelligence directorate of the SADF". Among them was Stuart Spencer, one of Reagan's 1980 campaign managers.

Crocker supported lifting the Clark Amendment, which, until its repeal in 1985, blocked US aid to Unita, but he wanted to use the aid as a lever to get the MPLA to make decisions on Cuban troop withdrawal — which would in itself force Luanda to negotiate with the rebels.



PW BOTHA ... refused to see Crocker on his first official visit in the hopes of undercutting him at home

PW's MI chief was regarded as so malign that Crocker's team never discussed anything of substance in his hearing

This nuanced approach would not wash with the American right, which, egged on by MI, worked tirelessly to have Unita — and Renamo — become major beneficiaries of the Reagan Doctrine.

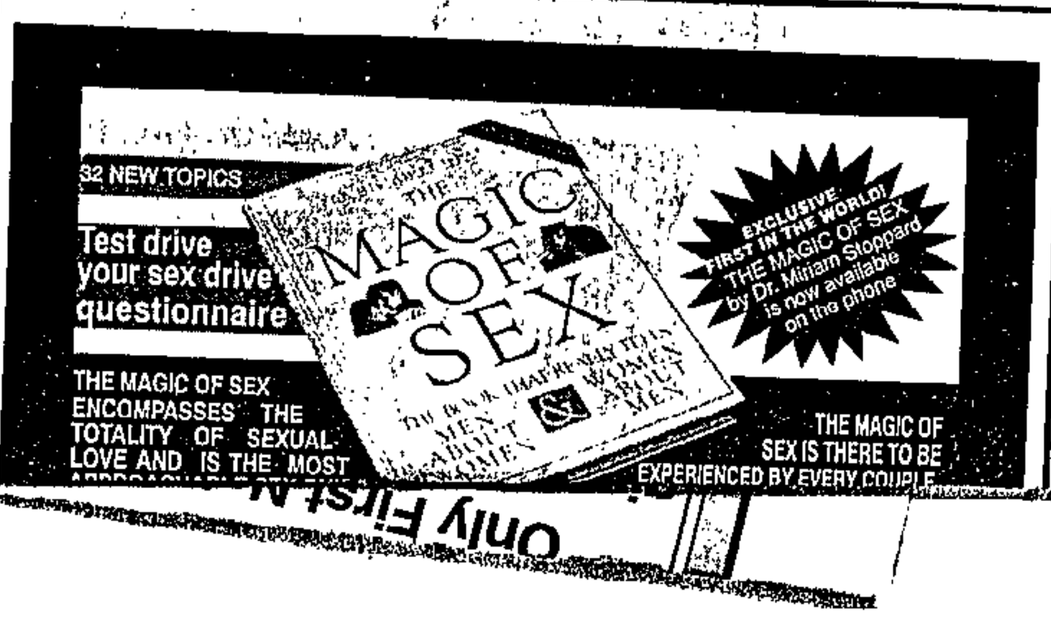
A key ally in MI's endeavour, Crocker says, was Reagan's old friend, CIA director Casey. Not only did he want to run a major covert operation to support Jonas Savimbi, but he coveted the Soviet weaponry captured by the SADF in Angola for his Nicaraguan contras.

Running

"Pretoria was eager to please, delighted to be wanted ... Casey's senior colleagues were uneasy. But General van der Westhuizen must have thought it was a fine idea. The Angola honeypot was working like a charm."

PW Botha's efforts to suborn the Reagan administration paid a grim dividend in 1986.

Pretoria's friends, like White House speechwriter Patrick Buchanan, had sufficient influence to so polarise debate that even Republicans went running for the cover of supporting sanctions.



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NP man in Bill protest

ST Times 1/11/92

304A

By HEATHER ROBERTSON

A MEMBER of the National Party walked out of the President's Council on Friday in protest against the way the Further Indemnity Bill has been "steamrollered" through.

Mr Russell Crystal, director of the South African branch of the conservative International Freedom Forum and an NP member since 1977, abstained from voting on the Bill "because I don't believe it meets the stated objectives of achieving peace and reconciliation".

Mr Crystal said yesterday that it was "a political necessity to interfere with the legal process for the sake of reconciliation — but indemnity will not work unless there is absolute consensus".

"In order to be truly effective, the various political players must feel morally obliged to adhere to the provisions."

He said there was no question about his support for President FW de Klerk or party principles but he believed the Bill required further amendments so that consensus could be achieved.

● In a statement on Friday the Department of Justice welcomed the approval of the Bill by the President's Council "in spite of unprincipled objections and unsubstantiated opposition".

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See Page 31

WEATHE

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in the south-west.
OFS: Partly cloudy and
with scattered thunder
but cloudy and cooler in
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NATAL: Partly cloudy a
with isolated thunder
becoming scattered.
CAPE: In the east it will b

☐ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

Train ride to nowhere



STOP this train, I want to get off.

Over decades we have tolerated the bumpy and uncomfortable apartheid train. It's smelly and overcrowded. And it is about to be derailed.

I'm talking about the political train, full of people such as Pik Botha, FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bantu Holomisa, Clarence Makwetu, Nefolovhodwe, Lucas Mangope and Oupa Gqozo. The list is endless.

All of them are fighting for a comfortable window seat, with disregard for the very people – you and I – who paid their fares and made it possible for them to have a ride.

They don't give a hoot whether the train is overloaded, whether the rails are intact or whether the signals are working. They do not even care if the train collides with another one.

We expect our leaders to show us the way and build a good country for us. No leader can be proud standing on top of the corpses of his people.

Our country has seen so much blood flowing in the streets that we must now say enough is enough.

But back to my train analogy. The train is packed and I see Mandela, because of his build – remember he was a heavyweight boxer – easily pushing Buthelezi aside. He doesn't want Buthelezi or Mangope or Gqozo near him.

But he has forgotten that nobody pushes Buthelezi around. Shenge – as Buthelezi is known by his clan name – is obsessed with being chief of the Zulu, a tribe that prides itself on its bravado and numerical strength.

What most people don't realise, especially those who are calling for Buthelezi and Mandela to hold bilateral talks, is that both leaders pride themselves in having royal blood.

Not that ethnicity has anything to do with the feud between the ANC and Inkatha, but it becomes an issue when both leaders unconsciously use their royal standing to settle their differences.

This kind of tribalism has had a negative effect on the followers of the ANC and Inkatha. Ordinary people in the streets now talk of "these Zulus" or "these Xhosas".

I happen to be both Xhosa and Zulu and I do not want to fight myself, so to speak. Or see my father, who is a Zulu, fight against my mother, who is Xhosa.

This may seem an oversimplified analysis of the cold war between Buthelezi and Mandela but unless they give us the answers, we will never know the truth.

We did not experience tribal problems when the black consciousness movement occupied centre stage in the early 70s and late 80s – and their philosophy is still as relevent now as it was then. Black people knew then and they should know now that tribalism and nepotism have destroyed Africa.

But what is FW de Klerk doing on this messy political train?

Poor FW, he's not used to be pushed around, especially by the natives, who only yesterday knew their place and who the real "baas" was in this country.

He must be cursing himself for taking the step – which his predecessors were too scared to do – of dismantling apartheid.

But it was the logical thing to do. The country was on the brink of economic catastrophe, the world had turned its back on us, our neighbouring states were getting their independence and folks at home were restless.

FW does have a role to play in this transitional period. He has to move fast to establish an interim government because the sooner everbody is able to vote for the kind of leaders we want, the better for this country.

We must choose who we want on the train. But at the rate at which violence is destroying our country, many of our so-called leaders will find themselves thrown off.

No secret deal — ANC

State claims amnesty was for the ANC

Apres 1/11/92

THE ANC effectively denied yesterday that it had made a secret deal with the government on amnesty.

The organisation was reacting to a report quoting NP official Johan Steyns as saying it had backed the Further Indemnity Bill by calling for the suspension of a murder trial against ANC members on the grounds that indemnity legislation was underway.

"This is an unscrupulous distortion of the court record and the Record of Understanding," said ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa.

"We want to reiterate our position that only an interim government can grant amnesty and this we made clear to the judge in the matter referred to," Phosa said.

The Further Indemnity Bill was rammed through on Friday by the President's Council after its passage was blocked in parliament a few weeks ago.

The NP outvoted the united opposition of the other parties by 38 votes to 14 endorsing the Council's Constitutional Affairs Committee recommendation that the State President sign the legislation.

Condemned

The recommendation also proposed the early amendment of the Act in terms of amendments put to the Parliamentary Joint Committee and amendments of its own aimed at reducing secrecy surrounding the granting of indemnity.

It makes provision for the indemnification of persons who committed crimes with a political motive before October 8 1990; the creation of an Indemnity Council whose members are to be appointed under the State President; functioning under chairmanship of a judge; and advising the State President on applications made for indemnity.

It also provides for the privileged hearing of evidence presented by an applicant, confidentiality of the proceedings and the publication of the names of successful applicants without being linked to specific crimes.

The Labour Party has condemned the Bill, saying it only served to protect the government and confirmed that senior cabinet ministers may be implicated in "dirty tricks".

Labour Party justice spokesman Llewellyn Landers said that the question of amnesty and indemnity should be left to an interim government of national unity which would give the process its legitimacy – "something which it lacks at present". – Sapa

IFP/ANC summit hopes fade

CT 2/11/92 30419

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Hopes for a peace summit between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela faded at the weekend when the Inkatha president ruled out a meeting of signatories of the National Peace Accord.

Speaking after leading about 20 000 Zulus on a march through the city centre on Saturday, Chief Buthelezi said a meeting between him and Mr Mandela was needed to help end the violence in Natal.

Mr Mandela has, however, rejected calls for a one-on-one meeting and said the place to raise the issue is at a gathering of the peace accord signatories. But Chief Buthelezi said a meeting at this stage between signatories of the NPA would be a "farce".

Mr Buthelezi said: "I believe a smaller private meeting (with Mr Mandela) will be a good thing before (a meeting of the National Peace Committee)."

"It is clear there is a problem between the ANC and IFP, and if we address this first, other things can follow," he said.

Saturday's "March of the Zulu nation" — with some marchers in traditional dress and many armed with sticks and spears — in protest against the ANC/government's Record of Understanding, went off without incident.

IFP central committee member Mr Senzo Mfayela at the weekend expressed the hope at the funeral of 11 people killed in Natal's worst political massacre this year, that local leaders would come together to resolve the escalating violence.

He said violence was pushing IFP and ANC leaders apart, but local leaders should meet to discuss peace.

● Unrest in Natal at the weekend included an incident at Umgeni waterworks near KwaMakhuta, where a man was killed and another wounded when shots were fired at a private house.

At Stanger, a man was killed and another wounded when shots were fired with an AK-47 rifle at the house they were in. — Sapa

Sowetan 2/11/92

A week ago the Pan Africanist Congress and South African Government agreed in Botswana that a new and more representative negotiations forum was essential. Political Reporter **Themba Molefe** details various views:





Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha (left) and PAC's deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke led their respective delagations in their Botswana safari.

THE question is: should the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), which collapsed with the withdrawal of the African National Congress (ANC) from negotiations in June, be revived, restructured or replaced?

A spokesman for Mr Roelf Meyer, the Minister of Constitutional Development, said the Government would not publicly discuss its views on the envisaged new forum before the outcome of bilateral talks with the main players.

The ANC said it agreed Codesa needed to be more representative but this did not mean it should be restructured.

"Throughout the existence of Codesa the ANC has sought to ensure that those political organisations which had not attended will be drawn into Codesa. When multilateral negotiations resume the ANC will seek to ensure every effort is made to ensure that Codesa as a forum becomes more representative...

"Our experience of the negotiations process in general and the Codesa process in particular teaches us that a comprehensive bilateral meeting with the National Party (NP) Government is crucial before multiparty negotiations resume. It became very clear in Codesa itself that if the ANC and NP Government are at loggerheads, nothing moves forward.

"While the bilateral meetings between the ANC and NP Government are crucial, the ANC will also consult all Patriotic Front allies (in Codesa) and other organisations at both bilateral and multilateral levels.

"We are following this course because the ANC wishes to ensure that when multilateral negotiations resume, they will succeed in speedily bringing about the transition of our country to a nonracial, non-sexist democracy based on one person, one vote for a united South Africa."

The ANC said Codesa came about because negotiations by all political organisations for an interim government and elections for a constituent assembly charged with drafting a constitution were necessary.

The PAC said it was - in line with congress resolutions - not opposed to negotiations but such negotiations should take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate.

The PAC said in a statement: "The constituent assembly elected on the basis of one-person, one vote of all Azanians over the age of 18 is the mechanism through which such a mandate is obtained.

"The PAC makes it clear the objectives of negotiations must be the transfer of political power from the minority to the democratically elected majority. The PAC also reaffirms its commitment to the Patriotic Front so that the oppressed can speak with one voice.

"The deliberations, debates and conclusions of such a constituent assembly shall not be fettered by any prior arrangements that the regime may have reached with any other party on any of the constitutional provisions and principles that the constituent assembly was elected to draw.

"The PAC will strive to realise its declared policy of pursuing two-sided negotiations between the regime and its allies and the genuine representatives of the oppressed and dispossessed majority."

The IFP believes Codesa is flawed and unrepresentative and that this is aggravated by the Government and the ANC's bilateral agreements on the negotiation process.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week spelled out his party's stance on negotiations while addressing Commonwealth delegates in Ulundi.

"There will be no return to Codesa. We must start where the preparatory committee left off in November 1991.

"I have called for a national multiparty conference of review to take the whole negotiation process and the whole peace process under review."

Buthelezi said the multiparty conference of review would bring all the major actors together to ensure that "multipartyism" succeeded.

Such a conference should decide on a viable negotiation forum, Buthelezi said.

Another major player is the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) which has not yet engaged Pretoria.

Azapo believes the Government should be on the one side of the negotiation table and the liberation movements on the other.

It also calls for a constituent assembly to draw up a nonracial constitution.

SA leaders get 'Spanish Nobel prize'

OVIEDO — Heir to the Spanish throne Prince Felipe de Borbon presented the Prince of Asturias Prize — considered the Nobel prizes of the Spanish-speaking world — to an array of luminaries at the weekend, including ANC president Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk, Spanish cyclist Miguel Indurain and actress Elizabeth Taylor.

"The way to concord has united them in a dialogue, which despite obstacles, has been promoted again and again by their courage," the prince said of Mandela and De Klerk.

Taylor accepted the prize for "solidarity" on behalf of the American Foundation for AIDS Research, which has distributed about $50m since 1985 for AIDS research, education and public policy programmes.

Indurain, who won the Tour de France in 1991 and 1992, took home the prize in the sports category. — Sapa-AP.

WHAT CARS ARE DECISION MAKERS DRIVING?



Nelson Mandela receives his Prince of Asturias Prize from Prince Felipé in Oviedo, Spain, on Saturday night. Picture: AP

ANC, govt moving closer to compromise

B1DAY 2/11/92 (304A)

ANC and government negotiators are to meet later this month amid increasing signs that deadlocks between them are being resolved in compromise agreements on power sharing in a government of national unity.

The ANC also appears to have backed off from its demand that violence be ended before democratic elections are held.

Indications that points of dispute were being resolved emerged at the weekend in a speech by ANC president Nelson Mandela in Oviedo, Spain, a secret ANC discussion document and a speech by ANC publicity chief Pallo Jordan in Cape Town.

Mandela said government-ANC talks

Political Staff

would resume on November 22. This was confirmed by NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe.

Mandela said the talks would focus on establishing an international government of national unity and "a wide variety of topics which we think it is urgent and important to resolve".

The ANC discussion document was circulated privately at the patriotic front conference in Port Elizabeth last week and suggests joint rule with the NP after a general election under a new constitution.

Jordan, opening the ANC's western Cape conference in Cape Town, appeared to confirm this when he said it was important for the organisation to campaign hard "until we replace the present regime with a government of national unity".

The document, which still has to be approved officially, sets out a proposal for government and the ANC to share power after an interim government phase. "Even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players," the document reads.

The change in approach to the question

☐ To Page 2

Differences

B1DAY 2/11/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

of violence being ended before elections were held was underlined by Jordan. He said it was clear the violence and conflict would continue until there was a government of national unity.

"It also appears that elections will be waged in the context of violence. The violence will get worse and worse as the day of the election gets closer and closer."

ADRIAN HADLAND reports Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate reacted to news of the planned talks by saying government would implement any decisions from bilateral talks "at its own risk".

"Government and the ANC can talk all day about their affairs but if they make decisions that apply to the rest of the country, we will defy them every time."

He said if a new bilateral agreement was reached on 22 November its contents should be ratified by a multiparty conference. If this did not occur, he said, "God only knows what will happen".

Caution on early meeting with ANC

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

GOVERNMENT leaders were cautious today about an early meeting with the ANC, unless Inkatha could be drawn back to multilateral talks.

They said talks with the ANC on issues such as arrangements for an interim government could also not be held until issues left over from previous talks had been dealt with.

These were mass action and violence.

The government sources were reacting to a weekend statement in Spain by Mr Nelson Mandela that talks with the government about an interim government of national unity could begin on November 22.

They said the government would not risk antagonising Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi further by finalising terms for a political settlement with the ANC.

The Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said earlier that agreement on an interim government could be reached only in multilateral negotiations.

ANC prepares partners for power-sharing

CT 2/11/92 (304A)

THE ANC is preparing its Codesa Patriotic Front partners for a power-sharing solution with the NP.

This is revealed in a confidential discussion document circulated in limited numbers at the recent Patriotic Front conference hosted by the Labour Party in Port Elizabeth.

The document identifies the need for a general amnesty for the security forces and civil service which, it says, has a vast potenital to delay transition for a lengthy period of time.

Dated October 1992, the document flies in the face of a strong stand against power-sharing taken by the ANC's Western Cape regional conference which ended yesterday.

Asked about the document, Western Cape chairman Dr Alan Boesak and his exectuitve said they had not seen it.

The five-page document, entitled "Strategy Perspective", holds out compromises which, if followed, promise rapid agreement with the NP and a quick move towards an interim government. It proposes deals with the government on issues like the powers, duties and boundaries of regional government.

Dr Pallo Jordan appeared to confirm this when he told the ANC's Western Cape congress in Cape Town this weekend that it was important that the organisation campaign hard "until we replace the present regime with a government of national unity".

He said it was clear violence and conflict would continue until a government of national unity was in place.

The document is to be sent soon to ANC regions countrywide for consideration.

It also sets out what it terms a "phased democratic revolution" leading from the election of a constituent assembly and the establishment of an interim government through the drafting and adopting of the new constitution, phasing it in through restructuring of the state machinery to a consolidation of the process of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

It also cautions that long-term goals should not be confused with immediate objectives.

From revolution to reconstruction — Singapore style

B/Day 2/11/92

LEE KUAN YEW

304A

SA AND Singapore are very dissimilar. The only similarity, in a terminological sense, is that we are both multiracial.

You have had more than a decade of strife and violence. Your country has suffered from UN imposed embargoes and economic sanctions. This has spawned many ingenious but economically uncompetitive import substitution industries.

Singapore, smaller than any of your big cities, is an island with a population of 3-million. Chinese make up 78%, Malays 15% and Indians 7%. For over 140 years of British rule until 1959, we had a relatively simple entrepot trade economy with little agriculture and no industry.

We have strived and been able to maintain interracial harmony since independence in spite of the one man, one vote system which makes the Chinese vote decisive. We ensure minority representation in our single-chamber parliament through group representation constituencies. They require a group of four candidates for each constituency to include at least one candidate from a minority racial group.

In SA power lies in the hands of a white minority. This will soon change. The crux of the problem is how to bring about change without undermining the economy. A settlement must result in one man, one vote producing a government which represents all races, with the most able and competent in positions of authority and responsibility.

Thirty years ago, Singapore suffered from political unrest, very high unemployment and low economic growth, not unlike SA today. We had a communist insurrection with strikes, go-slows, arson, political assassinations and general disorder.

When I became prime minister in June 1959, our first priority was to establish stability. Then we had to restore social and work discipline. This took several years to achieve. Only after that did we achieve economic growth, through trade and investments.

After more than a decade of strife from 1948 to 1959, it was not easy to reverse the habits of society. The people had become used to disruptive and destructive behaviour. These were in part the result of what my party, the People's Action Party, working together with the communists, did during the years of agitation against colonial rule.

It was not difficult to get people worked up, and they became good at making life difficult for the government. After 1959 we had to do a U-turn, from agitation and disruption to a restoration of law and order, to establish stable conditions so that learning, hard work and constructive endeavour became rewarding. The tragedy of many anti-colonial movements is that the leaders and their followers could not or did not make this U-turn.

It is not easy to do. It is not as easy to enthuse a people when the prospect offered is not quick political victory and a sharing of the wealth the colonialists had monopolised, but a long hard slog to create conditions for investment and growth. But unless this change is made, the opportunities that independence has won will be wasted.

In Singapore we had to battle for the hearts and minds of the people against the communists who were still intent on continuing to destroy. They did not want stability restored, claiming that our independence was not complete and that neo-colonialism still prevailed. We won. We got the people to relearn the habits of learning, working, co-operating and succeeding. It took about 10 years to complete the U-turn.

However, by the mid-1960s, investors were convinced that the Singapore government was determined to establish the preconditions for economic growth. So some big investments started to flow in. We had set



☐ LEE KUAN YEW

up the Economic Development Board with offices in Europe, US and Japan to woo and assist multinational companies to invest. We offered tax holidays and incentives. But the real incentive was Singapore's stability, with our formerly militant labour force becoming an industrious and keen partner of management in the pursuit of skills, knowledge and higher productivity.

This was no sudden conversion on the road to Damascus. It was a painstaking and sustained effort, as we quietly spelt out the lessons to the workers and re-educated the union leaders, managers and government officials.

We set up tripartite bodies of labour, management and government in a National Wages Council to set guidelines on what wages the economy could bear in each sector, and a National Productivity Board to get workers and management to learn productivity techniques and to build up the spirit of co-operation so that productivity can improve and so increase profits and wages.

Once economic growth had got going in earnest, we launched a massive programme of public housing to give each worker a stake in the country's progress. A compulsory savings scheme was built up to which employers and employees each initially contributed 5% of wages and increased to the present 20% of wages from each side. Workers can borrow from this fund to buy their own homes and still have a retirement nest egg. Today nearly 90% of workers own their own homes bought with these savings.

Our key strengths in fostering growth have been meritocracy and an efficient and corruption-free administration. A person earns his place on merit. Race, status, connections or influence of his parents or friends are conscientiously screened off or filtered out. This was not easy to achieve. In the aftermath of victory in the elections followers wanted to be rewarded for their loyalty and support, the only virtues they believed merited recognition.

SA has a different past. Its future will be influenced by this past. A new government must expect difficulties in getting the African majority to accept the virtues of meritocracy. In the first flush of victory at the ballot box, supporters will expect to be rewarded, immediately. Moreover there is a lost generation of Africans with minimal or no schooling. They are now disadvantaged and meritocracy can have little appeal.

A new government needs to have African leaders willing and able to moderate or temper expectations.

The African political leaders will have to resolve the contradictions between the aspirations of their supporters and the realities of the economy. There are bound to be enormous pressures to redress the inequities of past distribution of wealth. The art of government in such a situation is to redress grievances in a manner and at a pace that do not turn the rules of economics upside down.

The most painful adjustments will be those expected of the whites. Their status as sole rulers will be gone. Any privilege, better rewards, homes, schools, hospitals or clubs will have to be justified by an individual's greater contribution to the economy arising from better education or knowledge or skills. A truly free and colour-blind market must determine rewards. Whites can make things easier if they genuinely accept the others as equals. But it is not easy to build a new equal relationship when the levels of education of the two groups are so unequal and the cultures so dissimilar.

The SA revolution is unique in that the colonisers are not leaving, but are staying on as a minority willing to compete on equal terms. It will also be difficult for African leaders. Africans will question the right of whites to superior lifestyles. They must convince their followers that the whites have the right to live, work and compete, and if they win more because of their greater contribution to the total wealth of the country, it has to be accepted. They have to be persuaded that only the free market can be the arbiter, and not majority power alone.

☐ **This is an edited version of the Singapore senior minister's address to the FM Investment Conference last week.**

World in brief

304A

MPs on visit to Zambia

LUSAKA - A seven-man South African parliamentary delegation is in Zambia for a three-day familiarisation tour.

The delegation from the Parliamentary Association of South Africa include three National Party members, two members of the Democratic Party and one each from the Solidarity and Conservative parties.

3/11/92. Sowetan

focus on Talks

Sowetan 3/11/92. 304A



February 2, 1990 was a day of hope for most South Africans, a day that promised a more peaceful and democratic future. Yet more than two years later, little has changed for those who suffered and continue to suffer. **Ismail Lagardien** reports:

DEEP WITHIN the vicious vortex of violence in which South Africa is trapped, there lies a faint glimmer of hope in the principle of reaching a peacefully negotiated settlement in the country.

This vague promise of peace is only real because the main political formations in the country have expressed a need for a negotiated settlement - although each still differs over the process.

Stark ambiguities still exist over the objectives of negotiations.

It remains, to ordinary people, civilians, a mystery as to exactly what is being negotiated.

South Africans have by and large accepted the political groupings and their respective leaders as theirs, but one of the canons of democracy is, I believe it is safe to say, that a political office-bearer is truly one if he or she was (democratically) elected to office.

Having said that, one must add that political office-bearers have to, in a manner of speaking, work off a mandate or menu, as it were, of issues.

Political landscape

However, looking back across the political landscape of the past two years, the only shadows are those of flaming battlements.

It is estimated that since February 1990 more than 7 000 people have been killed in political violence and thousands more in ordinary (violent) crimes.

The inherent imbalance in South African society reaches far into the lives of ordinary folk in the country.

Television screens in Soweto, Mdantsane and Gugulethu buzz and creak with the same images and voices as they did before February 2 1990.

The people who were appointed to prime positions in the South African Broadcasting Corporation, by the powers that prevailed before February 2 1990, are still there.

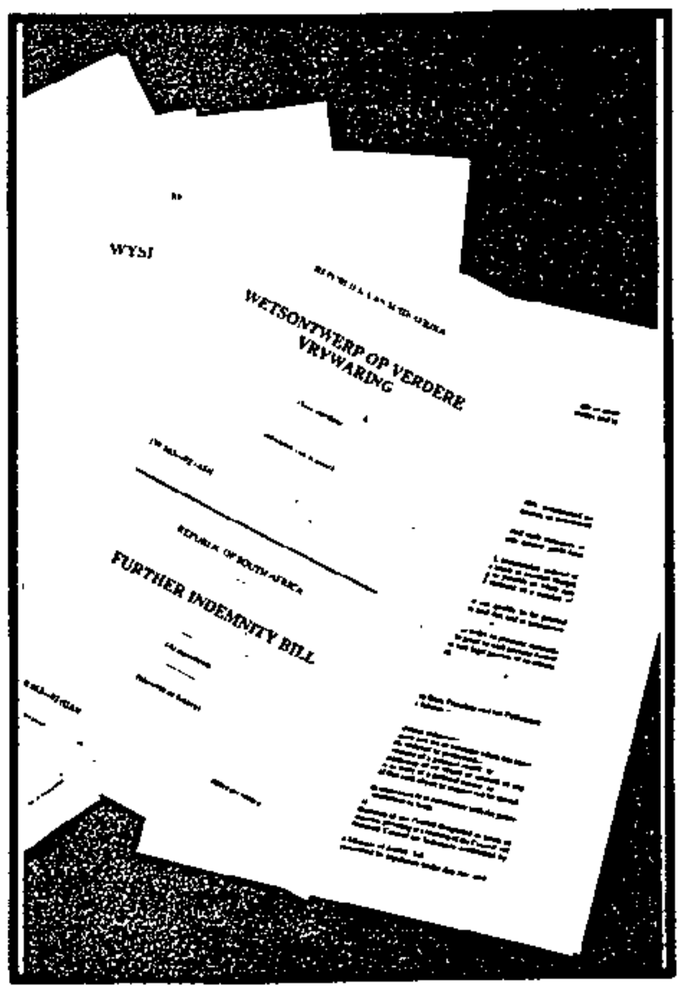
The local pensions payout office, railway ticket office, police and traffic officers are all the same as they were before February 2 1990.

Black pensioners go to the same payout windows and stand in the same queues for their monthly pittance, which, in fact, is a lot less than that of their white counterparts.

Applications for housing loans in certain, formerly white, neighbourhoods are being blocked because of inner city or urban decay, crude euphemisms for black.

To black South Africans, the nascent new South Africa is a perplexing warren of escape routes from poverty, decrepitude and disadvantage that is being filled with the waste and bureaucratic detritus of the old South Africa.

To white South Africans, the nascent new South Africa means their cricket heroes can return to Lords and Naas Botha and Danie Gerber can return to Twickenham.



Amnesty Bill as it appeared before Parliament and President's Council.

To some South Africans, the nascent new South Africa means job losses by the thousands.

The latest figures from Central Statistics Service show that since September 1989, when Mr FW de Klerk became State President and when the now ubiquitous "negotiations" and "new South Africa" were first spawned, 250 000 jobs have been lost.

Foreign trade

To other South Africans, the new South Africa means that foreign trade and tourism can now be resumed - both areas are dominated by white South Africans.

Just this week, it was announced that the South African Foreign Trade Organisation was planning to open new trade missions in Asia - among them was India.

It is ironic, almost, that India imposed sanctions against South Africa in 1948, when the National Party came to power.

India's official cricket team is in South Africa, entertaining mostly white people in the country and the white-led cricket team has accepted an invitation to play a series of games in India next year. The reality is that the ruling National Party is still in power.

The reality is that the ruling National Party is still pushing legislation through Parliament which impacts on black people - who are denied a role in central government.

The sinister silence from the African National Congress (in particular), the Pan Africanist Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Azanian People's Organisation and all the other "black liberation movements", after the Further Indemnity Bill was rushed through Parliament last week is cause for great concern to ordinary black South Africans - civilians.

The ANC, PAC, SACP and Azapo have never needed an excuse to march, picket, petition, stage a sit-in, call for a boycott or strike for issues from the opening of Parliament to a newspaper report.

Their sinister silence was as heavy as it was light.

But, and one is loathe to say it, the two groups, the Government and its extra-parliamentary opposition, probably need to indemnify each other for the deeds they committed (to each other) so as to facilitate negotiations. It must be borne in mind that these two factions were involved in a war with each other. And because of the nature of this "war" and the objectives of the anti-apartheid movements, this war was legitimised (if one is allowed to say that) by the international community.

The irony is that the implications of the Further Indemnity Bill, which was rammed through Parliament by the National Party last week, will cover crimes that were committed against the people of South Africa - civilians.

Maybe it's safe to say then, that nothing has changed.

It is safe to say, too, that after almost two years of negotiations, the imminent restart of negotiations means a lot less to people, civilians, than it did two years ago.

Busy year in run-up to poll — FW

304A
ARG 3/11/92

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has predicted that next year will be an eventful one with preparations being made for a transitional government.

The African National Congress, meanwhile, has released a discussion document which deals with the need for a government of national unity even after an interim stage.

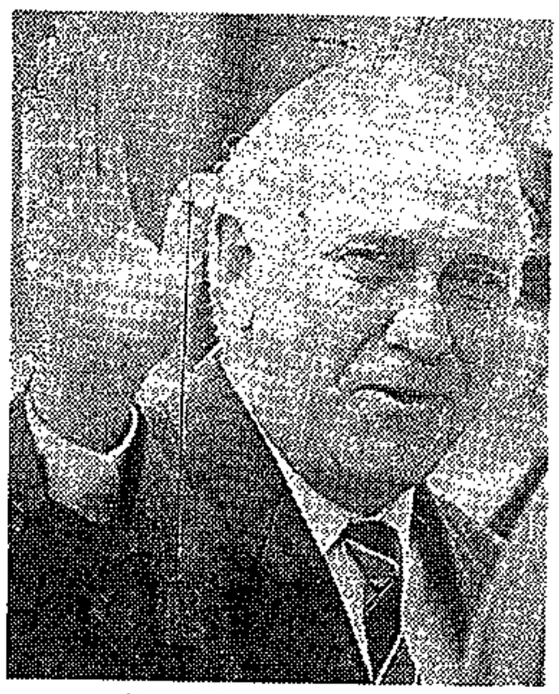
It says that without co-operation between the National Party and the ANC it would not be possible to move the peace process forward.

In a television interview Mr De Klerk rejected suggestions that there would be a political vacuum during the course of the year resulting from the fact that an election for an interim constituent assembly was likely to be held only in the last quarter.

He said a lot of preparation had to be done.

Codesa would be recalled for multilateral talks. There would be a transitional executive council, the rules of an election would have to be worked out and a decision would have to be taken whether there would be registration for such an election.

There would have to be an independent election committee. Two-thirds of the population would be voting for the first time.



President De Klerk

Attention would have to be given to all the "building blocks" for a democratic constitutional system, among them a charter of fundamental human rights and measures against intimidation.

Discussions taking place were aimed at reopening multilateral talks.

Setting out his vision for the future, Mr De Klerk said he foresaw peace in the country, a government of national unity with the accompanying co-responsibility to get the economy going and in the end a co-operation agreement in Southern Africa similar to that of the European Community.

He said that since the referendum the ANC had been busy with an orchestrated campaign against him personally and had attempted to make him unpopular. This had to some extent succeeded. He asked politicians not only to think of the short or medium term in their fight for power.

Mr De Klerk said it was possible that the government would have talks with the ANC on November 22, but he thought it was too soon to get multilateral talks going on that date. The goverment was also talking to Inkatha.

The ANC's document says that a relationship had been forced on the ANC and the government by contradictory elements of co-operation in pursuit of common goals and competition in pursuit of divergent objectives.

How they managed this contradiction, which arose from the fact that neither side had been defeated, was one of the challenges of leadership.

The document says that the ANC had already accepted the desirability of an interim government of national unity in which the main components would be the ANC and the NP.

The ANC now needed to accept the fact that, even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces might still be such "that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and the NP would be the main players".

Unelected parasites have stripped US voters of power

B/DAY 3/11/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

304A

A COUPLE of things can be said with confidence about today's presidential election. Only about half of all eligible voters will bother to go to the polls. And those who do take the trouble will not give the winner anything approaching an enthusiastic mandate.

This will be blamed on several factors: the unattractiveness of the candidates, the apathy-inducing "negativity" of the endless campaign, and a bovine electorate careless of its civic responsibilities.

None of these arguments will get very close to the truth, for the simple reason that those adducing them will be members of the political class which is itself principally responsible for Americans' seeming lack of interest in how they are governed. This class — which bears an uncanny resemblance to the "New Class" indentified by Yugoslavian dissident Milovan Djilas in the socialist tyrannies of eastern Europe — has convinced tens of millions of citizens their vote is worthless.

Americans are not avoiding the ballot box because they do not care. Nor, this year in particular, can it be argued that non-voters are expressing a basic contentment with the way things are. Rather, as their flirtation with the flaky outsider Ross Perot has demonstrated, they are saying they feel powerless and that whatever message they try to send to Washington by endorsing this or that candidate will be ignored.

Such despair is justified. To an unprecedented extent, real power at the centre is exercised not by elected representatives of grassroot opinion but through a closed loop of unelected parasites — lawyers, lobbyists, interest groups, political action committees, foundations, think tanks, congressional staff members, regulators and journalists — who feed off the body politic and set its agenda.

The phenomenon coincides with the dramatic shift of government authority away from localities and states to Washington since the mid-'50s. Social and economic issues, ranging from air quality to abortion, which a generation ago were chiefly within the purview of states, counties and cities, have become national matters dealt with by Congress, a host of new or enlarged federal agencies, and the Supreme Court.

As Washington's role has expanded so, almost exponentially, has the machinery to influence its decisions. The city now lists 328 interest groups, 288 trade and professional associations and 98 think tanks. And 7 566 "active" lobbyists are registered with the Senate while 682 corporations have chosen to make their heaquarters here, most of them far from their production sites, in order to be close to the levers of power.

On the surface, this proliferation might be a sign of healthy pluralism, and an improvement over the days when just a few groups — the AFL-CIO, the American Farm Bureau, the Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Manufacturers, for example — played key roles in the formulation of law and policy.

However, these groups at least have dues-paying constituencies — labour, farmers, business — to which they are accountable. The same cannot be said of the vast new "pressure elite" that has supplanted them. It may cover a far broader range of issues and political perspectives. Yet, as hard as its members try to pretend otherwise, they rarely speak for anyone but themselves.

A number of entities — the National Organisation of Women (NOW), consumer campaigner Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, the National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), Friends of the Earth, the Conservative Caucus and the Moral Majority, for example — were born of the conviction that the political establishment was hostile to the interests they represented. But with the passage of time, almost all have become industries in their own right, turning issues into money to pay professionals to work the issues to raise yet more money.

The result is a kind of bureaucratised activism whose principal goal is not the achievement of what it advocates but rather its own care and feeding. This distorts the process of government in several ways, none of them helpful or even democratic.

The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) claims 28-million "members", dwarfing even the AFL-CIO, whose contributions pay for a legislative staff of 125 and 20 registered lobbyists. The word members is something of a conceit. More accurate would be old people terrified by mailings and other fund-raising techniques into forking over large sums of money on the theory that if they do not their elected representatives will slash their pensions and other benefits.

In return for the donations, AARP's team uses the clout implied by its "membership" to block any realistic attempt at reducing the budget deficit by, for example, means-testing social security payments. It also hands out part of its income to congressmen in the form of legal bribes to their election campaigns. Now, if AARP were a real union, ready and willing to negotiate on behalf of a genuine membership, a serious obstacle to undoing Washington's budget deadlock could be removed. But it is not. It is a bureaucracy looking to keep its coffers full.

The abortion question is sometimes called America's "new civil war". Left to ordinary voters acting through their state legislatures, the matter could be resolved quite easily. Some states would apply varying degrees of restriction, others would not, in accordance with their inhabitants' wishes. However, this would put the professional elites who owe their livings and power to the controversy out of work.

Groups like NOW and NARAL raise millions by proclaiming the Supreme Court is about to return the country to the dark age of backstreet quackery and coathangers. They also help generate an equal and opposite reaction from, and income for, groups opposed to abortion on any ground. There is thus a symbiotic relationship between the professionals on each side of the issue.

Bedfellows equally strange can be found in the environment game. Green lobbies routinely take fat donations from polluters keen to improve their images. Waste Management Inc, an industry giant, finds it cheaper to subsidise the Sierra Club, the Natural Resources Defence Council and the National Wildlife Federation than to improve its techniques for hazardous waste disposal. The company also has no complaints when the lobbies push for stringent regulations that force its smaller competitors out of business. This hardly makes for sound policy.

The rise of the issue bureaucracies, and the political class that runs them, lies at the heart of why America is so disaffected with its federal institutions. Helped by the media, professional campaigners from Ralph Nader to TransAfrica's Randall Robinson help set an agenda for Washington's policymakers that has nothing to do with the prime concerns of the ordinary voter.

Outside Washington, Americans were stunned by the fight last year over the nomination of Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court, a fight principally launched by such pressure elites as the Alliance for Justice and NARAL abetted by their friends in the media and on several Senate staffs. For the public at large, the puzzle was not whether Thomas had sexually harrassed Anita Hill, but what on earth those clowns in Washington thought they were doing. Were there no other priorities, like jobs, taxes, health insurance and the state of the schools?

Writes John Judis, one of the few US journalists to have recognised what has been going on: "As the pressure groups in Washington have proliferated, as billions of dollars have poured into the city to fund lobbies, political action committees and so-called public interest groups, Americans have found themselves on the outside, watching with growing dismay as their own fate is decided by men and women they never elected, funded or supported."

This helps explain why about half of them will not be taking time to vote today.

Anderson claims a 'pack of lies'

BILLY PADDOCK

INKATHA was convinced its name would be cleared when the Goldstone commission tested allegations by its former official, Bruce Anderson, that he had been gun-running for the organisation.

Inkatha central committee member Suzanne Vos yesterday said she would welcome Anderson's allegations being tested thoroughly by Judge R Goldstone as this would show without doubt it was a "pack of lies". B/DAY 3/11/92

It is also understood Anderson was demanding permanent residence status in SA in return for testifying.

This, a source said, made Anderson's claims questionable, especially when the organisation had physical proof dating from as recently as August and "stating unequivocally on his honour that he had never been involved in any form of gun-running or acquiring weapons for Inkatha".

Anderson has claimed he arranged a supply of arms for Inkatha last year after setting up a meeting between Renamo leader Afonso Dhlakama and Inkatha foreign affairs head Musa Myeni. The arms were "collected and distributed" by SA Military Intelligence, he alleged.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose has denied the allegations outright, stating Inkatha "emphatically denies acquiring arms in the way Anderson claims or in any other way. We also deny having dealt with Renamo in any way whatsoever."

Interim rule needed — Relly

B/DAY 3/11/92 3044

LLOYD COUTTS

AN INTERIM government would have to be instituted without delay to restore credible authority and bring violence under control in SA, former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly said in Toronto, Canada, yesterday.

He told Canadian Club members SA leaders would have to raise their vision beyond horizons set by party ambitions and seek constitutional agreements with a long-term chance of working.

"Finally, and perhaps most difficult, we must do these things very soon so that we can make progress towards rebuilding the economy of southern Africa before it becomes totally moribund," he said.

Initiatives like the national peace accord, the national housing forum and the economic forum were cause for optimism.

"It is nevertheless vital that we move quickly to an acceptable form of interim authority so that a proper process of governing can get going again at all levels," he said.

SA was languishing in its worst recession since the beginning of the century, which unfortunately coincided with the need to meet the expectations of participants in a new democracy.

"In the short term there is a stark deficit of available resources to keep the bare minimum of governance proceeding. For the long run there is a hopeful and increasing congruence between the important political groupings that a free enterprise system, with a strong market emphasis, is more likely to provide economic growth than some centralised dirigeste system."

The violence, he said, came in many forms, but the main causes were clashes between the ANC and Inkatha. "Both sides appear culpable. It is good to be able to think that the leadership of neither party is involved, but one must then worry about lack of control."

He said a criminal element was "making hay" in SA because of the release of many prisoners in terms of political agreements and partly because police were in disarray.

Another problem was the cheap and easy availability of arms.

"I think we can be extremely grateful that violence, however dreadful, is not worse, and that the extraordinary capacity of South Africans, and particularly black South Africans, to moderate and contain enmity, has been so far a significant feature of post-Rubicon life."



Deputy Law and Order Minister Gert Myburgh during his visit to Mzimhlophe Hostel yesterday.
Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Mandela, Buthelezi must talk — Kriel

B/DAY 3/11/92

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — An urgent meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi should be held so that a political solution could be found to curb violence, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said yesterday.

Weekend violence in Alexandra township, in which 11 people died, and strife in Natal stressed the need for a political solution, Kriel said in a statement.

"Political manoeuvring, while more and more innocent men, women and children are being killed, is completely unacceptable to government," Kriel said.

RAY HARTLEY reports that new obstacles to a meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi were raised by ANC southern Natal regional organiser Bheki Cele yesterday. Cele said the ANC's three Natal regions had insisted on a meeting with Inkatha before they would sanction a national summit between the two leaders.

He said agreements would first have to be reached at a regional level and then ratified at a national meeting.

terness and self-destruction, but not without hope

Abundant hope, humour and love

So weltem 4/11/92

FOREIGN EYES American journalist

Janet Connor looks critically at SA:

SOUTH Africa is a country of irony and contradiction. Is it modern or traditional? European or African? Is it possible to be both at the same time?

I tried to find an answer while in this country since I arrived in July. Unfortunately, I never came close.

But I leave with many impressions of this fascinating country which is engrossed with American influence. Struggling to keep afloat in a sinking economy.

Confused whether to remember or forget the past. Worn out from the violence and destruction but not doing much to curb it.

Deeply disturbed

I am deeply disturbed by the anarchy and callousness that accompanies the enormity of it. I am disturbed by the vastness of the lawlessness, and the constant real and perceived fear.

I am ready to leave behind the meanness and distrust. Not that America has beautiful harmony - it has bitterness and self-destruction. I guess you learn to adjust to what you call home.

Ah, but what an ugly vision of South Africa, and that is not an accurate picture to paint. I found abundant hope and humour and happiness. Unconditional sharing is the South African way of life.

"I am ready to leave behind the meanness and distrust. Not that America has beautiful harmony - it has bitterness and self-destruction. I guess you learn to adjust to what you call home"

My first week here I lived in Soweto with a family who gave me their bed while they slept on the floor in freezing temperatures. They had never had a white person in their house before. In Ivory Park I fell asleep to the sound of rats scampering across the roof but my host family served me tea in the only china teacup they owned.

Protective and cautious

Americans are much more protective and cautious. They'll take a stranger into their home but only after checking him out.

What I'll remember most from this roller coaster experience is peoples' resilience and determination. The many I met who spent years in jail, were exiled or lost family members in the struggle are not bitter, just eager to move forward.

So I left South Africa mentally and physically exhausted and as perplexed by the culture as ever. There are no answers or solutions. I throw up my hands in amazement at the contradiction - how people so giving and irrepressible can live with such abuse and still be hopeful.

focus on Talks

The African National Congress and its allies are discussing a possible power-sharing formula with the National Party. The details are contained in a discussion paper which is being circulated among ANC members in the various regions. This is an extract from the document:

Sowetan 4/11/92



Nelson Mandela ... leader of the ANC which is discussing possible power-sharing with the National Party.

STRATEGIC BALANCE of forces: By the end of the eighties, the strategic balance of forces characterised by the apartheid power bloc was no longer able to rule in the old way.

The balance of forces internally and internationally were such that the regime would be forced, sooner or later, to sue for negotiations.

The crisis in Eastern Europe and the resultant change in the relations between world powers brought the issue of a negotiated resolution of regional conflicts to the fore - in this context, South Africa was not going to be treated as an exception.

This was reinforced by the all-round crisis in the South African region itself.

By the mid-eighties, the liberation movement enjoyed many advantages over the regime, both internally and internationally.

All the pillars of the struggle had grown from strength to strength. But by the late eighties, a number of key factors made it both desirable and imperative that the liberation movement pursues the path of a negotiated resolution of the South African conflict.

The possibility of revolutionary seizure of power and of a sustained and generalised people's war had become remote.

The possibility existed that the international community would itself attempt to impose a settlement plan.

The regime had no option but to seek negotiations with the liberation movement.

Shifts in the balance of forces: The balance of forces is not completely static. However, for the forcsecable future, actions of the liberation movement can result only in "quantitative" or tactical shifts in the balance of forces.

Essentially, changes would only take place within the context described above and not outside it. Nonetheless, "quantitative" shifts in the balance of forces can play a crucial role in influencing the final outcome of the negotiations.

The most dramatic example of this is the impact of rolling mass action and mobilisation of the international community over the past few months.

Negotiation is the preferred option of the liberation movement.

Negotiation has always been the first option of the liberation movement - it is only when the prospect of any peaceful settlement vanished that we resorted to arms, while for the regime it was the failure of arms that imposed the obligation to concede the need for negotiations.

Consequently, it must remain one of our strategic tasks to deny the regime the possibility of exercising its preferred option of resort to arms by defining the parameters of acceptable political activity as being confined within the field of free political activity, peaceful democratic action and genuine negotiations.

We must, therefore, contest the notion that the negotiations represent a failure for the Democratic Movement and a victory for the forces of apartheid and therefore that the more difficult we make the process of negotiations, the more revolutionary we are.

Phases of the Democratic Revolution: Our strategic perspective should take into account that the Democratic Revolution will proceed in various phases; our possibilities relevant to each specific phase should not be pursued in a manner that produces defeats later, because of a failure to recognise the dialectical inter-connection between various phases.

PHASE 1: The period leading up to the election of the Constituent Assembly and the establishment of an elected Interim Government of National Unity;

PHASE 2: The period of the drafting and the adoption of the new constitution by the Constituent Assembly;

PHASE 3: The period of the phasing in of the new Constitution, which will include the restructuring of the State machinery and the general dismantling of the system of apartheid;

PHASE 4: The period of the consolidation of this process of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

At all stages, we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in the position in which we can determine the correct path to follow to further the process of democratic change, including the compromises that are necessary and the alliances to be formed to protect and advance this process.

Goals of the national liberation struggle and our immediate objectives: The long-term goals of the National Liberation Struggle should not be confused with the immediate objectives we set for ourselves in each phase of the transition.

The objectives we set depend on the balance of forces at each stage.

By entering a new phase (e.g. the establishment of an interim government) the balance of forces themselves transform qualitatively in favour of the Democratic Movement.

Negotiations, therefore, can result in the possibility of bringing about a radically transformed political framework in the struggle for the achievement of the main goals of the National Democratic Revolution.

In setting objectives today, our strategy should not focus narrowly on only the initial establishment of democracy, but also, (and perhaps more importantly) on how to nurture, develop and consolidate that democracy. Our strategy must at once also focus on ensuring that new democracy is not undermined.

Our broad objectives for the current phase (as distinct from longer-term goals) should therefore be:

The establishment of a democratic constitution-making process.

Ending the National Party's monopoly of political power.

Ensuring a continuing link between democracy and economic empowerment.

OPINION *A country of contrasts, of bit*

Second hand culture from USA

Sowetan 4/11/92.

Third World society masked by First World exterior disturbs Janet Connor, who feels her country is mostly to blame for stripping South Africa of its identity:

WHEN travelling abroad as an American, you assume you'll pine for the amenities of home.

But not so in South Africa. The world gets smaller as American culture gets bigger.

Arriving in South Africa, I had the misconception the country was African. True, I've seen traditional dancing, cows standing on the road and mud huts but what I've seen more is the infiltration of American culture.

Often I shake my head over the ironies and contradictions of this Third World society masked by a First World exterior. First World translates to Western and I can see the British influence fading in this country and American taking over.

Signs of economic and cultural sanctions are scarce. I am amused to watch Beverly Hills 90210, a television programme about the shallowness of rich American teens, dubbed into Afrikaans.

I saw children walking down dirt roads in remote rural areas carrying Coca-Cola bottles. A domestic worker wearing a Guns 'n Roses T-shirt. A university student with a shirt with Pistons basketball star Isiah Thomas on it.

Being a cinema buff, I was eager to watch South African films but there

> **"While British influence is fading the American flavour becomes stronger"**

isn't much. But I had the chance to see every bad Hollywood flick I passed over at home.

Riding in a black taxi, I noticed an American bandanna dangling from the mirror. I kept up-to-date on the political cartoon strip Doonesbury and had no trouble tuning into my favourite broadcasters on CNN.

It is disturbing to see the influence America has here. Part of my experience going abroad was to be in societies that think the United States is not the promised land we're made to believe. But the propaganda has spread here. It is discouraging to see a culture being stripped of its identity and to realise that my country is mostly to blame.

'Little effect on US-SA relations'

BOHA ARGT 4/11/92

Political Staff and Sapa

MR COLIN Eglin MP, the Democratic Party's chief spokesman on foreign affairs, said that Mr Clinton's victory was not likely to lead to any fundamental shift in the United States government's attitude to South Africa.

With Mr Clinton's commitment to African Americans, he was bound to take an interest in South Africa, but this interest was likely to be in development in the country.

With most of apartheid gone the interest would be a constructive one.

South African ambassador in the US Mr Harry Schwarz said that Mr Clinton's victory should have little effect on US-South African relations.

He said that the relationship between the two counties was defined by events in South Africa, rather than by the ruling party in the US.

The lifting of US sanctions against South Africa was largely dependent on the establishment of an interim government and the ending of violence in South Africa, he said.

Stellenbosch University economist and political analyst Professor Sampie Terreblanche said Mr Clinton's victory was a serious blow to the De Klerk administration — but was probably good news for gold and the SA economy.

The ANC today congratulated Mr Clinton and Mr Gore. Mr Nelson Mandela was due to send them a message.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC hoped that the good relations that existed between it and the US government would continue and even improve.

2x2 drive. Erlston, who took three years to develop the Bidrive, answered as commuters tried to cram up ... to the scene of the killings. ... phoned Katlehong police ... biking enjoys greater popularity than in SA. He expects the Bidrive will sell for around $30. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ANC, who said ...

FW's fall 'his own fault'

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk was responsible "all by himself" for any damage to his popularity, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

He was responding to De Klerk's complaint on TV1's Agenda programme on Monday night that the ANC had embarked on a "negative" campaign against him after the referendum because he was becoming too popular.

De Klerk said his growing popularity had been perceived by the ANC as a threat and this had led the organisation to embark on the campaign.

Niehaus said De Klerk and government's lack of movement towards democracy, and its lack of commitment to this ideal and clearly addressing the violence was the major reason for people losing faith in De Klerk.

The President should look to himself and not others to blame for his political misfortunes, he said.

Report inconclusive on Boipatong tape erasure

THE Goldstone commission had found no conclusive evidence that the Boipatong tapes may have been deliberately erased as suggested by British experts, Judge R Goldstone said in Johannesburg yesterday.

British government experts found the tapes had been recorded over and said the technical evidence "suggests that this may have been done deliberately and hurriedly in order to obscure the contents".

Their report was received by the commission on October 29.

After portions of the tapes were replayed on Monday, the commission found that "no conclusions can fairly be drawn on the strength of the tentative suggestion made by the British experts", Goldstone said in a statement issued yesterday.

"The important information ascertained by the British experts is that what was over-recorded is not retrievable," Goldstone said.

The technical experts had offered a further clarification of their findings on Monday, he said.

They said some of the material superimposed on the tapes, which recorded police communications on the night of the June 17 Boipatong massacre, was recorded at a non-standard speed equivalent to between a third or a quarter of the normal recording speed.

In addition, some of the superimposed material had been recorded backwards, they found.

Goldstone said: "The commission would like to emphasise that in its opinion it would be speculative to draw any inferences or conclusions on the information which has thus far been received with regard to the circumstances in which the original information on the tape came to be erased".

Police told the Goldstone inquiry on August 11 the tapes had been accidentally erased, which was supported by the preliminary findings of a local firm, Grinaker Electronics.

But when it emerged that the company had links with the security forces, the Goldstone commission withdrew the tapes from Grinaker and the British government agreed to have the tapes analysed by its own technical experts.

Goldstone said yesterday that if any party wished to have further witnesses called or if the tapes were required for further technical analysis, the commission would decide on such requests after consultations with the legal representatives of all interested parties. — Sapa.

... had a day of ... Goldstone's actions do not

Federalism 'a likely outcome'

B/O A7 4/11/92

LLOYD COUTTS

POWER-sharing negotiations would lead to a federal system of government for SA, the HSRC's Bertus de Villiers predicted yesterday:

(3041)

"It can be concluded from the negotiation process that a new constitution will be a federal type, providing for regional government and a justiciable bill of rights," De Villiers, head of the council's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, told delegates to a symposium on the federalist principle in Johannesburg.

He said government and the ANC had shown pragmatism in the debate on federalism and regional government, as well as on the protection of minorities.

While there was disagreement on whether regional authority should be provided for by a unitary or federal structure, it had been agreed that regional government should be able to delegate its (adequate) competencies, and that the general principles of a constitution be applied on all levels of government.

However, constitutionalism within the context of regional government had not yet been accepted in full by the country's political organisations.

While most agreed that a new constitution should be sovereign, it still needed to be seen whether they would be satisfied when their legislative and other acts were controlled or nullified by the judiciary.

De Villiers said federalism could overemphasise the regional-national relationship to the detriment of the individual-national relationship and lead to ethnic mobilisation, separatism and favouritism.

The process of implementation needed to involve people at grassroots level to ensure a "bottom-up" progression.

Leaders urged to halt 'political power play'

UPINGTON. — Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer has called on the country's leaders to halt their "political power play".

Speaking here yesterday, he said their ideological differences should not enjoy priority.

He said economic growth and political stability were inextricably linked. It was important to combat violence and achieve success in the constitutional negotiations.

He felt the government's package for a solution, which included the protection of individual and group rights, language and culture as well as devolution of power, was a winning constitutional recipe. — Sapa (304AD) CT 4/11/92

Cops 'were outnu

Consensus on regionalism

(304A)

LLOYD COUTTS

REPRESENTATIVES of seven of the country's main political groupings had agreed on the need for decentralisation of power in SA, Frances Kendall of the Groundswell movement said yesterday. B/DAY

On the last day of a symposium on federalism in Johannesburg, Kendall said all delegates to the conference bar the PAC's agreed that regional powers should be entrenched. "It has become strikingly clear that although Codesa has broken down, the debate concerning constitutional mechanisms for the future is nevertheless continuing apace," she said. 5/11/92

The NP, Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksunie fervently supported the federalist principle, and there was backing for regionalism within the ANC.

Three arguments had been raised against federalism: it might not be able to address redistribution between rich and poor regions; numerous regional and local governments would mean a larger bureaucracy; and regionalism might prevent a common sense of national unity. Other principles which were supported included proportional representation and an independent judiciary.

By the time a constituent assembly was ready to begin its deliberations, agreement would have been reached on many more issues, allowing the assembly to focus its energies on thrashing out details, Kendall said.

Clinton may lean to ANC

(304A) ARGS 5/11/92

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The ANC's influence in Washington may have been significantly increased by Mr Bill Clinton's victory.

Africa specialists and sources in the Clinton campaign base their assessment on one of the strongest foreign policy signals to have come from the Clinton camp in 12 months of electioneering — that a Clinton White House will work far more closely with the Democratic majority in both houses of Congress on many major foreign policy issues.

A unilateral decision like the lifting of sanctions by President Bush last year is described as "a highly unlikely event" under a Clinton administration.

The bigger and stronger congressional black caucus is widely expected to follow the lead of the previous caucus — to let the ANC call the shots on many important decisions.

Since all caucus members

Continued on page 2

ANC influence on US

ARGS 5/11/92 (304A)

From page 1

are Democrats, a president who has promised consensus and a "smooth working relationship" with Congress is thought to be likely to give considerable weight to the caucus's views.

The degree of democracy of any future government is more likely to be a matter for congressional and public opinion under Mr Clinton.

Such a policy does not materially change the status quo. Sanctions remain and an 18-month effort by the State Department, the White House and the South African embassy to get them lifted has brought few results.

But sources in the Clinton campaign caution against over-anticipating the new president's stance on South Africa, pointing out that his views are likely to be reviewed as the new administration is eased into power.

Important briefings on trends in South Africa, its economy, negotiations and diplomatic contacts will all play a role in moulding the new administration's views.

● See page 23.

US ELECTION

Schwarz expecting few changes to policy on SA

B10AM 5/11/92 30411

GERALD REILLY

THE attitude of the US Democratic administration to SA in the short term would be conditioned by the extent to which violence was brought under control and progress made towards an interim government.

That is the view of SA ambassador to the US Harry Schwarz, who said in an interview no dramatic changes in policy towards SA could be expected when Bill Clinton was sworn in as US president on January 20.

The Democrats had inherited huge domestic problems from the previous administration, and easing them would be the major preoccupation of the new one. Significant volumes of US investment and the lifting of state and local government trade sanctions would also depend on progress towards social and political stability in SA.

Schwarz said the influence of African Americans would become more potent in a Democratic administration. In the past this influence had been directed at anti-apartheid pressure and calls for sanctions.

The emphasis now was likely to shift to benefit the ANC.

Schwarz said in strategic terms Africa had been marginalised. The continent was no longer regarded as important. This attitude, too, could bemodified by the new administration.

He said another factor which could have an influence on constitutional development in SA was that the Democrats strongly favoured the protection of minorities. This could have some influence on the attitudes of SA's constitution-makers.

He added that Democratic Congressmen indicated to him that sympathy for Inkatha was almost certain to diminish, while it would strengthen for the ANC.

LLOYD COUTTS reports President F W de Klerk yesterday congratulated US President-elect Bill Clinton on his victory and said he looked forward to mutually beneficial relations between SA and the US.

The President also sent a message to President George Bush "expressing his appreciation for the friendly and constructive relations built up between them".

ANC leader Nelson Mandela said his organisation looked forward to continued co-operation with Clinton to end apartheid and transform SA into a democracy.

"We hope that it will also be possible for us to avail ourselves of your good offices in terms of securing the support of the US as we work, in future, to rebuild the economy of our country," Mandela said in a message.

IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he hoped Clinton would see the importance of SA's quest for democracy.

DP foreign affairs spokesman Colin Eglin said while he expected no significant change in the US foreign policy towards SA, the change in presidency could result in advantages for the republic.

"Undoubtedly the new president, Clinton, and his administration will go all out to get the US economy moving again — and this can only do good to the ailing SA economy."

The Afrikaner Volskunie (AVU) said it expected a period of increased interference in SA's negotiation process, and pressure from the Clinton administration on government to yield to ANC demands.

The Institute for Multiparty Democracy's Oscar Dhlomo said that he was confident the new US administration would affirm its wider concern for SA's peaceful transition to a democracy.

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Federal attributes in govt's proposals

LLOYD COUTTS

GOVERNMENT's proposed regional government system would not be a continuation of the homeland system and would have federal attributes, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer said strong regional government did not mean weak central government. "Both can be strong. But the closer strong government is brought to the people, the more sensitive it will be to needs."

Meyer welcomed a recent ANC document on regionalism, saying it showed the organisation had realised the importance of regional government.

However, there were basic differences between ANC and government policy.

"The ANC would not want the regions to have autonomous powers — this means an all-powerful central government that could override regional decisions even on issues falling within the legislative authority.

"Our approach is that regions should have autonomous jurisdiction over functions entrusted to them in the constitution, and that it should not be possible for those functions to be taken away from them without their consent," Meyer said.

The ANC would want to give only limited residual taxing powers to regions, on the basis of "one country, one tax base".

Government believed that without a proper tax base and without autonomy regional government would become an extension of an overriding and all-powerful central government.

This did not mean that regions should have full autonomy over all functions of government, but over those allocated to them.

"Regional boundaries can only be finally drawn once there is also clarity on function. These boundaries will not be those of self-governing and TBVC territories."

Meyer denied government had converted to federalism to protect minorities to the detriment of possible redistribution and empowerment programmes.

Education on mortgages

WILSON ZWANE

BANKS and township civic organisations are to launch a major initiative to teach home buyers about the intricacies surrounding mortgage finance.

The costs of developing and executing this education programme will be borne by government, business and banks.

The Association of Mortgage Lenders and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) have reached a tentative agreement on the need for such an education.

At a meeting this week, the two organisations endorsed a proposal by a working group on mortgage lending issues that home buyers should be educated in the workings of mortgage finance, including fluctuating interest rates, lawyers' fees and bond registration costs.

An information circular released by the association and Sanco says all relevant parties will have to be approached with a view of establishing joint working committees to develop the educational package.

The circular says builders should be approached with a view to getting them to agree to the establishment of a building industry code of conduct.

"It is anticipated that in order to facilitate the implementation of the code of conduct, association members will provide finance only to builders who agree to be bound by it," it says.

In a brief joint statement this week, the association and Sanco said they had endorsed the proposal and would refer it to their decision-making structures.

It is believed that Sanco's executive, which meets at the weekend, will ratify the proposal. The association's council will discuss the matter next Tuesday.

Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said earlier the agreement between his organisation and the association was a "positive move", which could pave the way for other agreements on housing issues.

Amnesty Bill is law

Sowetan 6/11/92 304A

SPECIAL POWERS President FW de Klerk signs controversial Further Indemnity Bill into law:

MEMBERS of the security forces who may have assassinated "opponents" of the State may now be pardoned.

This follows the signing of the controversial Further Indemnity Bill into law by President FW de Klerk this week. It is expected to be published in the *Government Gazette* soon, Mr Dave Steward, Director-General in the State's President's Office, said yesterday.

The Government had used its special powers in the President's Council to push the Bill through in spite of strenuous opposition from Parliamentary and extra-parliamentary groups.

Story on page 2

also expected to make a difference. ■

NEGOTIATIONS FM 6/11/92

Softly, softly (304A)

Mindful of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's fury at its alleged "bilateral deals" with the ANC, government moved swiftly to put into perspective Nelson Mandela's statement last weekend that ANC-government talks on an interim government would start on November 22.

The urgency attached to setting up an interim government was reflected in a speech by former Anglo American chairman Gavin Relly in Canada this week. Relly said an interim government would have to be put in place without delay to restore authority and control the violence.

Responding to Mandela's statement, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer let it be known that "government had no intention of signing bilateral agreements pertaining to constitutional negotiations with any single party or organisation." It is only by means of multiparty negotiations that agreements can be reached regarding an interim government of national unity, he explained.

"The government's aim is for multiparty negotiations to start as soon as possible. In view of that, bilateral negotiations with various political role players continues regularly." Meyer added that peace and stability could be attained only if all the main political players were included in the process "to their satisfaction."

Meyer's statement noted that government and the ANC had agreed on September 26 to have intensive discussions on the continuation of multiparty negotiations. But there were no final arrangements. Similar discussions with Inkatha and other role players had also been mooted and exploratory talks were taking place.

All this is fascinating in relation to the ANC discussion document entitled *Strategy Perspective* and dated October 1992, which outlines compromises on various issues in a clear attempt at quickly reaching agreements with government to have an interim government set up as soon as possible. The document appears to have been adopted at a meeting of the Patriotic Front in Port Elizabeth last week.

Originally marked confidential, it was made public after it was leaked to the press and was this week being sent to all ANC branches. So it should have been. For, in stark contradiction to at least one resolution adopted by the ANC's western Cape region at the weekend, the strategy document prepares members for a significant dose of power-sharing. ANC western Cape chairman Allan Boesak had not seen the document.

Among its proposals is one advocating bilateral deals with government on the powers, functions and boundaries of regional government. It also says that a general amnesty for the security forces is necessary, as is the question of civil servants' pensions and job security since these branches have enormous potential to delay the transition to democracy.

"We have already accepted the desirability of an interim government of national unity — in which, of course, the ANC and the NP would be the major components," says the document. "However, we also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces may still be such that we would seek to establish a government of national unity in which the ANC and NP are the main players."

The organisation notes, however, that its long-term goals should not be confused with immediate objectives set for each phase of the transition — from constituent assembly elections and the establishment of an interim government, to the drafting and adopting of a new constitution, to be phased in with a restructuring of the State machinery, consolidation and reconstruction.

"At all stages we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in a position in which we can determine the correct path to follow to further the process of democratic change." Necessary compromises and alliance formations are seen as part of this process.

In the present round of talks: "We must bear in mind that, in the main, one would not achieve at the negotiating table that which one could not achieve on the ground.

"That simply means that neither the ANC nor the regime can enforce complete surrender of either party at the negotiating table."

Whatever the ANC's long-term strategic objectives are, urgency in reaching agreements with government, as a prelude to forming an interim government, is uppermost. Government and business also think so. Yet government won't be wrapping up anything with the ANC until it has calmed Buthelezi and brought him into the talks.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers, a member of the "Concerned Citizens" grouping formed with Buthelezi and other homeland leaders in rejection of the government-ANC Record of Understanding, has welcomed Meyer's assurance on no bilateral deals. Mollifying Buthelezi will be harder. ■

The US elections: What's in it for us?

Not only the United States waited with baited breath for the outcome of the presidential elections. The Clinton presidency will have a more profound influence on events in South Africa than at first predicted, argues **GAVIN EVANS**

BEING such a self-obsessed bunch, the question most South Africans seem to be asking about Bill Clinton's walkover is: "What's in it for us?"

Already the range of responses have been seen — relief, optimism, concern, despair — from the major political players.

The first blush coming from South Africa's ambassador to the United States, Harry Schwarz, was that things would remain pretty much the same, though he noted that Clinton might have more of an ear for the African National Congress and a bit less for Inkatha.

This clearly worried Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi who sagely acknowledged that the president-elect was "decidedly the choice of the American people", but added more phlegmatically that he hoped Clinton would hear representations from Inkatha.

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers went one step further, tilting against the forthcoming windmill of increased "interference in South Africa's negotiations process".

Expressing a similar view, from a different perspective, was Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa, who noted: "The honeymoon between the Bush administration and reactionary parties like Unita, Inkatha and the National Party government is over" — a view also expressed by the ANC.

So how much real difference will it make having a moderate democrat and his wife in the White House?

The short answer seems to be that some things will change, and many others will remain more or less as they are, give or take a rhetorical flourish here or there.

The longer answer is that three areas of potential shift can be safely predicted.

The first, and perhaps the least significant, is that of policy.

As just about everyone has observed, Clinton and his people support the negotiations process in South Africa. His priority is the domestic US economic situation, and it is unlikely that his administration will be inclined towards increased involvement in our problems.

At most, South Africa retains a shadow of its former symbolic value — which makes it a good place for occasional, risk-free interventions.

This may well go a bit beyond gestures like the appointment of a credible African-American as assistant secretary of state for Africa, but unless the government does something truly atrocious, there will be no significant new economic or diplomatic pressures.

The furthest Clinton would go would be to block an early return to full membership of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and to argue for delaying the lifting of remaining city and state sanctions.

Though President FW de Klerk will play it cool for a while, the changes may be hard for his people to stomach, after 12 fat years.

In the early days of the Reagan administration, the PW Botha securocrats and Reaganite hardliners like Bill Casey and Pat Buchanan shared an identical vision for the entire region, even if this was sometimes upset by the more moderate Chester Crocker.

Similarly the De Klerk government has had three years of seeing virtually eye-to-eye with the limited vision of Bush and Herman Cohen.

Now, the special relationship, the buddy-buddy diplomatic ties, the common vision, will be a thing of the past.

In general, the ANC can expect a more sympathetic ear, while the government can expect more of an arm's length approach. One wonders how long we will have to wait for a bellicose bluster from Buthelezi or Pik Botha.

And in Angola, the already frayed relationship with Unita's Jonas Savimbi will surely be severed.

Second, a Clinton presidency could have some significant effects on the South African economy. If Clinton does get into increased social spending, this could lead to a higher rate of inflation, a weaker dollar and an increased demand (and therefore price) for gold.

On the other hand, his commitment to cut the deficit and reduce the military budget could tend in the opposite direction.

Also of concern to some businessmen is that Clinton might introduce new protectionist measures which will restrict their access to US markets.

Third, and far less tangibly, there is the effect of the Clinton landslide on the economic debate in South Africa.

In the US and Britain the "stagflation" of the 1970s was brought to heel by the low tax, tight money policies of the 1980s. The decisive moment in this "revolution" came with the political victories of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan.

The effect of this on economic debate — within South Africa as much as the West — was profound. Supply-side economics, with a strong monetarist emphasis, became the conventional wisdom, and Keynesian solutions (not to mention more radical social democratic programmes) became decidedly passé.

It worked well for a while, but the Reagan-Thatcher boom years could not last. There were few signs of real "trickle down" in the US and the commitment to reducing social expenditure was easily outpaced by the commitment to increase defence spending — leading to the record deficit. In Britain huge chunks of industry were sacrificed on the high altar of free trade and tight monetary control.

The Tories were saved by the decision to dump Thatcher for the gentler, do-nothing vision of John Major, though it turned out to be a very short-term solution.

The Republicans did the opposite, saddling Bush with a radically rightwing social policy, which further turned off his already uneasy supporters.

He probably would have lost anyway, but the scale of his defeat matched that of Jimmy Carter 12 years ago. Clinton won on his economic vision, one designed to overturn many of the shibolleths of the supply-side gurus. In short he has promised more taxes for the rich (and less for the middle class), more job programmes, health care and welfare and significantly reduced defence expenditure.

In the US, as much as in Britain and Europe, the idea of governments playing an activist role in alleviating economic problems is back in fashion, albeit in a mitigated form. South African economists and policy makers, who have always taken their cue from their American and English counterparts, will have to take note, even as they try to reduce double digit inflation.

In the end, the Clinton presidency may have a more profound influence on events here than at first seems apparent.

Bush bows out. Read my lips, FW

The American electoral system may be flawed, but South Africa can learn how a real democracy works, reports



PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

GEORGE BUSH'S line that "My dog Millie knows more about foreign policy than those two Bozos" was a frightening reflection of how far American political discourse has degenerated since Abraham Lincoln's weighty two-hour orations during the 1858 debates with Stephen Douglas.

The fact that the American electorate have elected those "Bozos" — Bill Clinton and Al Gore — to replace Bush's tired administration at the White House is a hopeful sign that cheap 9,6 second sound bites aren't all it takes to secure the most powerful job in the world.

One thing that television has done is open a window for South Africans and millions of other inhabitants of the global village to get a peek into how a real — albeit flawed — democracy works.

From the ringside of CNN, we have been treated these last months to the spectacle of an electronic gladiatorial struggle.

For many South Africans, it was just like our own "general elections": sleazy politicians, mud-slinging campaigns, vote-garnering trips through the platteland, lots of silliness on television. And, just like at home, you don't get to vote.

Yet the American electoral process is only dimly understood. When Bill Clinton is forced on the defensive over dodging the draft during the Vietnam war, people elsewhere in the world respond: "Yeah, so he didn't burn down Vietnamese villages or dump agent orange in forests or bomb Cambodia. Why should that count against his character?"

The fact is that American politics is as incomprehensible to the average South African as baseball or American football. I'm not sure that isn't a bad thing except that, when it suits the National Party, they suggest we should adopt something like the United States constitution.

What our electronic eavesdropping should teach us is that, as good as the American constitution is for Americans, it does not necessarily safeguard democracy against technological challenges that were never dreamt of when the founding fathers framed their constitution.

The problem that television creates — that real issues are sidelined — is exacerbated by the very thing that fascinates South Africans so much about the election: the horse race.

Instead of saying "George Bush comes up with new health care proposal", headlines read: "Bush closes on Clinton", or "Clinton surges" or "Perot fades", etcetera etcetera.

It's partly a problem with journalism. Polling serves as an easy substitute for old-fashioned reporting. But it's also because most people are more interested in the latest standings in the race than in long explorations of Bush's health proposals.

South Africa has what used to be a good law to prevent this — opinion polls are banned for the duration of an election campaign. Unfortunately, during the March referendum campaign this was severely abused.

In the absence of independent polls, and with the entire media in their pockets, NP spin doctors fed phoney private opinion poll surveys to journalists, claiming the "no" voters were dramatically closing the gap.

This dovetailed with their campaign strategy to panic people into voting against the vision of hell that lay beyond a "no" vote.

Which goes to show that no matter how good your rules are, they can be thwarted by unscrupulous politicians — and you generally don't succeed in politics without being unscrupulous.

After all, the sidelining of issues of substance is not unique to politics in the electronic age.

What is unique about television is it is simply hostile to ideas. It craves pictures, images that can fit into a small box in your living room cabinet without making you want to throw up your dinner.

One admires Frederick Van Zyl Slabbert's brave effort to eschew the conventional wisdom of American Sunday morning political talk-shows — that you have to coiffe your hair, speak in a deep voice, wear a tie and come to the point quickly.

But television has a mind of its own. It abhors long, dreary takeouts on complicated issues. It gets very bored very quickly.

It's not even as if television is a good judge of character. Sure, during the debates of the last election it accurately exposed Michael Dukakis as a dull technocrat with limited emotional range because he was unable to get even a little angry with an imagined rapist of his wife.

But Ronald Reagan was the most telegenic president in modern history, even when he forgot his lines, broke the law, soaked the poor, put the country into astronomical debt or stood in naked contempt of every democratic institution in America.

It was as if he was in conspiracy with the idiot box to lull Americans into a coma in which they could daydream their way back to prosperity and greatness.

Perhaps that was because America had faced a surfeit of critical issues in the 1960s and 1970s — the civil rights struggles, the assassinations of the Kennedys and Martin Luther King, Vietnam, Watergate, the nuclear shadow of the Cold War, the Iran hostage crisis — and were just looking for a hypnotist to give them a break.

During this election, it seemed that the American electorate was ready once more to face reality. No matter how hard Bush tried to distract from substantive issues by raking up questions of character or family values or patriotism, it just didn't seem to work. People wanted to hear about real economic issues.

In some subliminal sense, Americans know they have to deal not just with a budget deficit or a temporary recession, but with how to address the whole issue of economic decline and what that means in their lives and to their living standards.

That president-elect Clinton acknowledged this in his acceptance speech shows just how durable American democracy really is.

Which is exactly where we on the southern tip of Africa do have a lot to learn from America. At the end of the day, when the will of the people had been measured and the moment to depart had come, Bush bowed out with dignity.

Jonas Savimbi and FW de Klerk, read my lips.



Victory ... Bill Clinton greets wellwishers after the election results were announced Photo: AP

FW 'expecting breakthrough'

(3044A) ARG 7/11/92

PRETORIA — State President De Klerk says he is confident multiparty talks would resume soon — and he expected a breakthrough.

Mr De Klerk was speaking yesterday at a news briefing at the Union Buildings after talks with former prime minister of Singapore Lee Kuan Yew.

"We are ready to proceed with negotiations and I'm confident we will get multiparty negotiations on track again relatively soon, some say before the end of the year, it might be early next year.

"We believe we will make the breakthrough for the sort of understanding and accord between the leaders of this country so that we can create, not a winner takes all situation, but one where each one, according to his strength, influence, knowledge and experience can together play a constructive role in rebuilding South Africa."

Mr Lee said a one-man one-vote election had to come to South Africa, but he rejected a winner-take-all system.

South Africa had a "very difficult settlement" to reach and needed some system where, although the winner had the majority say, the runners-up would not be losers. — Sapa.

Improved lifestyle in site

CLIVE SAWYER
Municipal Reporter

■ Funds for a serviced land project will mean a new quality of life for thousands of Western Cape squatters — and a boost to stability in the region.

A SERVICED land project, aimed at providing serviced sites for thousands of squatters now living in overcrowded conditions without the basics, faces twin challenges of resolving questions over what is to be provided — and finding R500 million.

The project is not meant to solve the Western Cape's staggering problems of homelessness and urbanisation, but if implemented will mean a significant boost to the quality of life for 36 000 squatter families.

And, it is hoped the project will fit into an eventual metropolitan solution to historic problems.

Once the project is underway, plans are to create employment by using labour-based methods of installing services and building roads.

Its bold aim is to find land for people now living in jampacked, unserviced squalor in Old Crossroads, Farm 682 in Phillipi East, Miller's Camp, KTC, Black City, Mpinga Square, Mpetha Square, Mkhonto Square, Mahobe Drive, Brown's Farm, Driftsands and in the backyards and hostels of Guguletu, Langa and Nyanga.

The Development Bank, Independent Development Trust, Department of State Expenditure and Regional Services Council are to be approached to commit themselves to funding the project and following it through its five-year lifespan.

The three proposed phases of the project are, firstly, upgrading Black City, Miller's Camp, Mpetha Square, KTC and parts of Crossroads, the second, further upgrading of Crossroads and land in Phillipi East, and then the development of southern Delft.

The project will not mean wall-to-wall shacks — draft plans include space for educational, commercial and industrial development to build healthier and more viable communities.

Among those taking part in the project are the Provincial Administration, Cape Town City Council, civics, the town councils of Crossroads and Ikapa, Umzamo Development Project and Western Cape Regional Services Council.

At present, the African National Congress and Western Cape United Squatters' Association (Wecusa) are not attending policy committee meetings, but hopes were expressed this week that they would be involved again at a later stage.

Land will be pegged out and serviced to prevent a repeat of present overcrowding.

A key principle is that communities will be offered sites close to where they are at present.

Land targeted for the project stretches from parcels near Guguletu north next to the N2, land near Nyanga in Lansdowne Road, and in Phillipi East and Driftsands.

Sites on land inside Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu will be offered first to people living in backyards and in hostels. Hostel-dwellers also will be offered first choice in hostel upgrading projects.

Other land marked for possible use is at southern Delft.

Clinton has talk with Mandela

304A

Political Staff CT 7/11/92

US President-elect Bill Clinton spoke to ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on Thursday and said his administration would try to ensure progress to democracy as quickly as possible.

This was confirmed yesterday by ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus.

Mr Clinton and Mr Mandela met each other during the ANC leader's last visit to the US, but the Arkansas governor has not yet met President F W de Klerk.

Through the US embassy in Pretoria yesterday the US State Department urged South African political leaders to resume constitutional negotiations, saying a prompt settlement was essential towards ending political violence and restoring a climate for economic growth.

The State Department also urged political leaders to get the negotiating process back on track "to facilitate a rapid, peaceful transition to non-racial democracy".

Government officials and representatives of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) met here yesterday and discussed the necessity for a multi-party conference to review the negotiation process.

A joint statement by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Inkatha Freedom Party official and Cosag steering committee chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, said further meetings were envisaged. — Sapa

Pendulum swings

ANC back in moderation mode

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

■ Several signals from the African National Congress this week indicated that the pendulum has swung once more towards moderation and negotiation politics after the recent provocative and even aggressive mass action.

COMMUNIST Party chief Mr Joe Slovo's conciliatory thoughts on a power-sharing deal with the National Party have had a clear impact on opinion-makers inside the African National Congress.

Mr Slovo's proposals — some highly controversial — have become a subject of widespread discussion inside the ANC both at national and regional levels.

These and other proposals under discussion point to possible new initiatives in the ANC to seek compromise solutions rather than confrontation and conflict.

However, it remains to be seen whether such thinking can win the day against the hardline attitudes of ANC militants, some of whom are reported to have denounced Mr Slovo's thoughts as "monstrous".

Mr Slovo confirmed in a telephone interview with Weekend Argus this week that some of his thoughts were contained in the ANC document on "strategic perspectives" which became known last weekend. The document contained proposals for a post-election, power-sharing deal with the National Party on much the same lines as proposals put forward recently by Mr Slovo.

The "strategic perspectives" document — apparently leaked to some newspapers at a Patriotic Front conference in Port Elizabeth last weekend — is one of two significant ANC "discussion documents" that were in the news this week.

The other, on regional policy, has been interpreted as a potential compromise document on the controversial issue of federalism — an interpretation hotly denied by some ANC sources.

Proposals in the "strategic perspectives" document include:

■ The ANC and NP have a central role in South Africa's transition. Without co-operation between them, it will not be possible to move the peace process forward;

■ A fact that needs to be accepted is that, even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces still may be such that the ANC and NP would have to be the main players in a government of national unity;

■ Some elements of the final negotiated settlement should take the form of a multilateral agreement. Other elements of the settlement package would be bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP;

■ The thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa may be an issue on which the ANC will enter into a bilateral agreement with the NP; and

■ The question of a government of national unity and the future of members of the security forces and the civil service could be dealt with by way either of bilateral or multilateral agreements.

The document is said to be important in that it sets out formally an ANC proposal that the NP and the ANC share power even after the interim government phase.

Mr Slovo said the document did contain some of the ideas he had put forward earlier, but it was not final and was still under discussion.

Asked if he thought the ideas had a future in the ANC, Mr Slovo said: "I should hope there is a future. The thoughts were put foward as part of an overall package and in the interest of our constituency. I believe they are worthwhile."

His thoughts were not intended to allay fears, but to address realities in South Africa with a view to achieving a transition that would involve "the least possible conflict and tension".

In its second discussion document this week, the ANC spelled out the powers of regional governments and suggested that these powers be constitutionally entrenched.

Some politicians see this as a tentative move by the ANC towards compromise on the issue of federalism which already has majority support among the parties that took part in Codesa 2.

Meanwhile, researchers at Stellenbosch University's Institute for Futures Research report that certain forces are "federalising" the ANC's outlook, if not its policies as well.



Election talk is focus of ANC conference

SOUTH 7/11 - 11/11/92 304A

The ANC wants your vote. But how does it intend to get it? **Rehana Rossouw** reports on the organisation's regional conference held last weekend:



KEYNOTE SPEAKER: Pallo Jordan

THE ANC is about to embark on the biggest mass campaign since it was formed 80 years ago — to win a majority vote in the election for a Constituent Assembly.

This was the signal that came from delegates and speakers at the ANC's Western Cape conference held last weekend.

Delegates were reminded that a key sector which had to be persuaded to vote for the ANC was the coloured community whose members formed the majority of potential voters in the region.

According to one recent survey, 70 percent of coloureds in the Cape support the National Party while only 10 percent support the ANC.

Yet in the past 12 months, ANC activists in the coloured community have become increasingly demoralised at the emphasis placed by ANC leadership on organising in African areas while support in the coloured areas has dwindled.

Keynote speaker Dr Pallo Jordan, the ANC head of information, told the conference to take into account the "specific problems" of the Western Cape when mapping out an election strategy.

"We are aware of the hopes the National Party entertains. Because of the racial makeup of the region they believe they will be able to make headway among some of the oppressed communities."

Jordan asked ANC members to begin to work collectively to build the image of the organisation as a home for all South Africans.

Political work should show potential voters that the ANC was not racially exclusive.

"We have a tradition and a culture to draw on. In the seventies and eighties we saw in this region magnificent demonstrations of unity among the oppressed," Jordan said.

"In the Western Cape we can deliver a brilliant rebuff to the NP strategy and its hopes of winning coloured people as voter cattle."

Jordan said there was no reason why anyone in the coloured community should prefer the NP to the ANC.

The ANC should remind coloureds that the NP was responsible for District Six, the dumping of people on the Cape Flats, removing coloureds from the voters roll and for the system of coloured education.

"If we remind people of these things, I don't think anyone will be confused about what to do on election day," Jordan said.

Regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak said the NP's strategy for holding on to power involved using old apartheid differences and describing them as group rights. But no-one else was interested in ethnic politics. There was little talk of coloured nationalism.

Boesak said the ANC had to take into account the fact that 57 percent of the population in the region were women and work for equality between the sexes, he said.

Also colouring the debate was the admission that the ANC's mass action campaign had failed to draw significant support from the coloured and Indian communities.

Branches in coloured areas were small and weak and since the last regional conference, few new coloured leadership figures — especially women — had emerged with support in all communities.

The violence in the country has also influenced coloured perceptions of the ANC. The SABC's biased reporting of "black-on-black violence" could have played a major role in deepening the rift between coloureds and Africans.

The worsening economic situation in the Cape and the drop in living standards could also have contributed to the fear that an ANC government, committed to affirmative action to improve living conditions in African communities, could ignore needs in coloured communities.

Key issues identified for campaign work in the next 12 months were the restructuring of coloured education and the sale of land the state acquired through dispossessing people under the Group Areas Act.

The organisation will also sharpen its focus on bread-and-butter issues which affect the standard of life of people in the region.

But the composition of the 25-person regional executive committee (REC) elected on Sunday fails to convince that the ANC is taking these realities into account.

The gender and community makeup of the new REC does not reflect the majority of voters in the region.

Some coloured delegates left the conference bitterly disappointed by the decrease in the number of coloured members on the REC, but they acknowledged that the elections had been democratic.

What they need to be convinced of is that the elections were strategic, that the people chosen are best placed to convince voters that the ANC is the party to vote for.

Although it will not be the responsibility of the REC alone to muster support for the ANC in an election, REC members will have a higher profile than rank and file members and people's impressions of the ANC will be influenced by the character of its leadership.

There is already talk among members of how to correct the imbalances on the REC. One suggestion is that the REC should use its authority to co-opt additional members.

Another suggestion is that the ANC use full-time organisers to rebuild branches in coloured areas.

This will not be achieved by only reminding the electorate of the sins of the NP. Hard work and crafted strategy is required.

Federal or unitary constitution?

SOUTH 7/11 - 11/11/92 (304A)

POLITICAL parties and organisations in South Africa are currently split over two constitutional models. The National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Democratic Party, among others, favour a federal constitution. The ANC, on the other hand, favours a unitary constitution.

Simultaneously, another debate is raging, on whether Codesa is a legitimate forum for drawing up a new constitution.

This is a valid point, because Codesa has not been elected, nor has it been mandated to draft a constitution.

As was discussed last week, for a constitution to be respected and obeyed as the highest law in the land by all the people of a country, it must have been decided on and adopted through a democratic process involving the people.

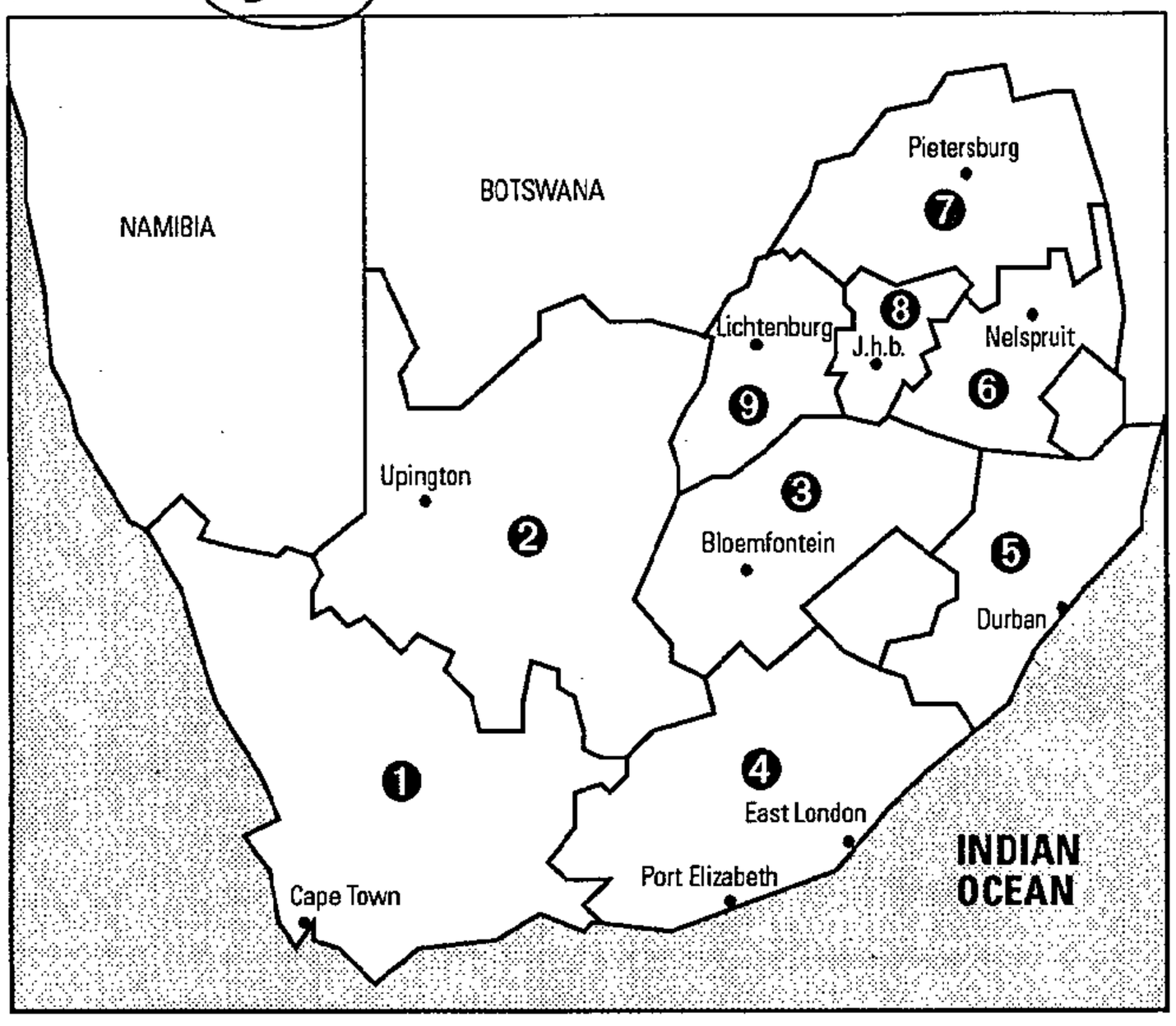
In South Africa, meanwhile, politicians are already insisting on the form the constitution should take before working out how people will be involved in the drafting process.

A federal constitution confers a high degree of autonomous power on regional government, even though they are part of the central or national government.

The separation of powers under federalism allows for central government to exercise power over issues of common national concern, while regional governments are virtually independent authorities over issues specific to the regions which they govern.

This separation of powers between the national and regional governments is written into the constitution.

This means that it cannot be changed



1	**Western Cape**
2	**Northern Cape and the district of Ganyesa, Kudumane and Taung in Bophuthatswana**
3	**Orange Free State, Qwaqwa, as well as the Thaba'Nchu district of Bophuthatswana**
4	**Eastern Cape/Border, Ciskei and Southern Transkei**

R.I.P. how does it intend to get

A comparison between unitary and federal models

The Unitary Model

Advantages

1. Less complex structures. The less decentralised the state, the simpler are governmental relations.
2. Lower levels of government cannot formulate any ordinances which conflict with the legislation of central government.
3. The more uniform the legislative system, the more effective the management of the country.
4. Decentralised systems allow great flexibility and autonomy at local level for various interest groups.
5. Administrative costs are lower and legal conflict can be resolved quickly.
6. Policy for the country can be easily coordinated.
7. Central government has the power to intervene if local governments do not function effectively.

Disadvantages

1. Local government may be dampened and bureaucratic tendencies can occur.
2. Depending on the electoral system, it may not be suitable for culturally varied populations.

through normal legislative channels. Certain special procedures, which are also written into the constitution, have to be followed before any changes can be made.

Central government would attend to issues like the national armed forces, relations with foreign governments, tax collection, the national educational policy, national public health and decisions on peace or war with neighbouring countries.

There are 20 federations existing internationally, including the USA, Australia, Canada, Germany, Yugoslavia, India, Nigeria and the Comores.

The federal system is seen by its supporters as ideal for countries with a variety of ethnic and cultural differences.

Their reasoning is that in a multi-ethnic/cultural society, it would be difficult to reach national consensus on certain issues.

Even if central government made every effort to take all points of view into account, inevitably some interest groups would still be dissatisfied.

Under a unitary constitution, central government wields ultimate power. Whatever degree of power and autonomy is conferred on regional governments is completely at the discretion of central government.

In terms of a unitary constitution, central government also has the right to withdraw those rights at its own discretion. Regional governments are not protected by the constitution from intervention from central government.

This does not mean that unitary system automatically exclude regional autonomy. Devolution of central government power often exists under the unitary system.

Devolution of power is when the central government delegates significant amounts of power to its regional governments.

The difference between devolution and constitutionally in-built regional autonomy is that those devolved powers can still be withdrawn at the discretion of the national government.

6	**Eastern Transvaal, Kangwane and part of the Simdlangentsha district of Kwazulu**
7	**Northern Transvaal, Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda**
8	**PWV area, Moutse, Kwandebele and Odi 1 and Moretele 1 district of Bophuthatswana**
9	**Western Transvaal and the rest of Bophuthatswana, (Molopo, Ditsobotla, Lehurutshe, Madikwe, Mankwe, Bafokeng)**

FEDERALISM: The basic plan for dividing South Africa into federal states

In the unitary system, regional governments are dependent on central government for the degree of power they are granted.

In the federal system, the degree of power allocated to regional governments is stipulated in the constitution and is not easy for central government to change.

The key issue in South Africa is how much power is desirable for central government to wield at its discretion. However, this debate remains abstract until there is some idea of who eventually composes the government.

Because of the country's apartheid past, allowing for autonomous regional governments will also depend to a large extent on which political forces compose those governments.

As a result of the effects of the Group Areas Act and bantustans, the ethnic distribution of population groups still largely follows apartheid patterns.

Certain areas are dominated by one racial or ethnic group, a situation which will probably not change in the short term. This means that, in certain areas, a regional government could be dominated by Conservative Party (CP) members, for example.

In another area a regional government might be composed mainly of IFP members and in yet another mainly by ANC members.

Under a federal system, members of opposing political organisations will have very little protection from central government.

By the same token, if the new central government is composed mainly of NP and CP members, what guarantees would regions have that no apartheid-style practices continue under a unitary constitution.

Obviously, much depends on the actual composition of both central and regional governments in future.

On the one hand, a unitary constitution is bad because abuses of power might result from the large degree of power concentrated at central government level.

On the other hand, minorities in a particular region might argue that a federal constitution is bad because the regional government could be dominated by former opponents who will have significant power over their lives, without them being able to rely on the ability of the central government to intervene and protect them.

In practice, both the federal and unitary systems exist in very varied forms wherever they have been implemented.

In the USA, Canada, Australia, Switzerland and Germany there has been a considerable expansion of power of central government from what was originally intended — usually through judicial interpretation favouring the national government.

The Federal Model

Advantages

1. Self government strengthens existing traditions of local patriotism.
2. Provides one way of accommodating ethnic pluralism in diverse societies.
3. Provides protection against excessive government power.
4. It inculcates political tolerance.
5. In large countries, it might be a practical arrangement for better administration to divide it into smaller units.

Disadvantages

1. Systematic increases of government powers, beyond what was initially intended.
2. Conflict resolution is not necessarily neutral - it favours central interests.
3. The division of powers between the central authority and its regional units results in coordination problems when the functions of dual structures overlap administratively and politically.
4. Duplication is likely to occur in staffing of dual structures, resulting in an increase in expenditure.

The growth in central power has been in response to such developments as national concern over wars and foreign affairs, national economic problems and the increasing importance of national over regional patriotism.

Existing unitary states, too, show great variations in the degree of control that central governments choose to exercise.

Scotland and Wales treasure their long-standing tradition of vigorous local self-government and the British central government allows a considerable degree of freedom, even if under the supervision of various national ministries.

This kind of local freedom is also a characteristic of Scandinavian nations (especially Denmark) and the Netherlands.

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SOUTH 7/11 - 11/11/42 (30 cm)

Each had their own idea about the same thing

Deputy editor ZB MOLEFE continues the series on federalism in SA.

THE federalism debate rolled like a giant wave in Johannesburg this week.

For three days participants at a seminar organised by the German Konrad-Adenauer Foundation and Groundswell, an educational movement which promotes participative democracy for a post-apartheid SA, had a good go at the topic.

The seminar was addressed by key political players – the ANC, PAC, SACP, Inkatha, NP and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

They were able to make use of the expertise of local and overseas political scientists.

The debate became more urgent this week after the powerful SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) unanimously endorsed a proposal that federalism is the only viable option for a future prosperous SA.

Afrikaner Volksunie's Chris de Jager was at pains to explain his party's stand. The former Conservative Party MP made every word count.

"Let us not give a name to the child before it is born. When it is born, let the academics give it a proper name," De Jager said after he had told the seminar that any constitutional model must be free of racial discrimination and built on democratic principles.

If this could be achieved, promised De Jager, "my people could become the co-defenders of that new SA".

He continued: "This concept can revolve round the European Economic Community model. This may sound an easy solution, but there are no easy solutions in SA."

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ibrahim wasted few words in reminding the seminar that his liberation movement could not pronounce on federalism in SA, except in a constituent assembly forum.

"Federalism, as propounded in our country now, is linked to apartheid, which we are fighting to eradicate and not reform. Whether we believe in a unitary or federal SA, the correct forum to discuss this will be the constituent assembly on a one-person, one-vote basis," said Ibrahim.

Ibrahim warned of the Yugoslavia tragedy "where they had a federal system and created a nationality of Moslems".

He said: "Islam is not a national-state concept. To me it is a religious



The PAC's Gora Ibrahim had a terse message.

concept. This has led to what we have today (in Yugoslavia)."

A former exile, Ibrahim was one of the moving forces behind the expulsion in 1964 of the whites-only Olympic Committee from the Olympic movement.

DP leader Zach de Beer did not mince his words. "I'm a federalist," he proclaimed, going on to speak of its benefits.

He said federalism increased the sites of (political) power "and it has the advantage of increasing liberty".

"We are federalists because we are liberals. Federalism brings government nearer physically to the people," said De Beer.

He cited how in the health, education and police administrations "people's power" could be entrenched.

Inkatha central committee member and KwaZulu health minister Baldwin Ngubane came charging like a wounded elephant when he reminded the seminar that his party had suffered "so much distortion that people have been conned to believe that we are surrogates of apartheid and that we want to preserve it".

Ngubane also said: "There is no party in SA which can claim purity in the liberal-democratic tradition. Perhaps the DP can. That is why we are for federalism through the German model. The proposed constituent assembly is already the route to a unitary state. We will be doomed to a future like that of what is happening in Mozambique and Angola."

The SACP's Essop Pahad warned that the international experience with federalism had to be debated.

However, he said: "Our struggle against apartheid will be the determining factor."

Pahad, who read for his masters degree at the UK's Sussex University, did not pull his punches: "It would seem to me the unitary State-federalism debate (in SA) is sterile. We need to shift the parameters of the debate."

He said the SACP/ANC alliance had first called for a Bill of Rights in a future SA. This, emphasised Pahad, proved beyond doubt that his groups were "taking power closer to the people".

He said political and labour formations like the United Democractic Front (UDF), Cosatu and the civics were in favour of "people's power".

Giving federalism the kiss of death, Pahad said: "Let us throw federalism out of the window. We must move away from this propagandist (federalism) approach."

ANC constitutional development committee head Zola Skweyiya said of federalism: "It is a question that is sensitive within the broader perspective in SA and within the ANC."

Skweyiya said the ANC's national conference in May had not resolved the issue and a conference later this month or early next month would discuss it.

However, he warned: "No movement would agree in dividing the African people."

New Local Government Minister Tertius Delport, who came into prominence during Codesa 2, said it was not true that "federalism would prevent the central government from uplifting citizens, particularly blacks".

He said federalism should not be approached from a theoretical view, "but at the grassroots level, the South African level".

Free-market author Frances Kendall said SA was likely to get a federal system, even if scholars and scientists did not label it as such.

Chikane calls for urgent conference

Open 8/11/92.

By THEMBA KHUMALO

THE high level of violence has prompted SACC head Rev Frank Chikane to write open letters to the country's political leaders asking them to hasten the convening of a multi-party conference which would culminate in a constitution-making body.

Chikane, an outspoken apartheid critic, appealed to leaders, among them State President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and the PAC's Clarence Makwetu, to act boldly by convening the much-awaited conference as a possible solution to end violence.

He said: "The situation in our hands at this juncture is most disturbing. The current wave of violence in Natal, with an added potential of a civil war, as well as the lack of public vision regarding the direction of negotiations on a new constitution, combine to create a scenario which calls for urgent action by all the leaders in the country."

Differed

He said while the politicians differed on complicated details on the nature of the promised post-apartheid settlement, ordinary people who did not fully understand these complications were paying with their lives.

"We ask that you work for the speedy convening of a multi-party conference, which should conclude with the announcement of a date for a constitution-making body.

"The conference must be held before the end of December this year, and the date for the election should be fixed no later than the end of 1993," Chikane said.

He said he believed the announcement of an election date would mark a significant watershed in the negotiations process.

He said the SACC was extremely concerned with the direction the situation was taking.

Initiative

"The SACC will meet on Tuesday and Wednesday to assess the situation and consider what role the church could play to ensure that the pain inflicted on South Africans was ended," he said.

His initiative follows that taken by the Anglican head Archbishop Desmond Tutu, who met KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.

Political comment and newsbills by K Sibiya, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, both of 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

Govt accused of double dealing

THE government launched a covert international campaign to discredit the ANC months after President FW de Klerk began negotiating with the movement, the *Weekly Mail* claimed on Friday.

But government spokesman Dave Steward denied the charge, saying "there was certainly not any agenda of any kind ... it is not conscious policy to undermine the ANC". (3044)

The *Mail* said Pretoria businessman Abel Rudman headed the international disinformation campaign. C Piney 8/11/92

According to documents provided by Rudman, some R12-million was spent on the campaign, but government funding was cut back following last year's Inkathagate scandal and De Klerk's promise to end secret projects.

The project was finally closed down on August 26 last year.

A newspaper at the centre of the campaign, the Gaborone-based *Newslink*, was launched on August 31 1990, months after the government first began negotiations with the ANC.

ANC spells out transition plans

CT 9/11/92
304A

By PETER DENNEHY

THE ANC's blueprint for South Africa's transition — spelled out this weekend at a Peninsula Technikon seminar — includes replacing the cabinet, provincial executives and city councils.

Mr Mathole Motshekga, vice-chairman of the PWV region of the ANC and deputy head of its local government department, outlined how the powers of the cabinet should be transferred, before an election, to a transitional executive council (TEC).

This would be made up of representatives of all parties, he said. The TEC would in turn form commissions, including one called the Multi-Party Commission on Local Government (MPC-LG).

"The minister of local government's powers will go to the MPC-LG."

Another task of the cabinet-replacing TEC would be to appoint "regional executive councils", which, Mr Motshekga said, initially would be the equivalent of the present provincial executives.

New (provincial) administrators could be appointed as well, he said. The four existing provinces would, at first, form the "interim regions".

Interim parliament

Then the TBVC states ("independent homelands") would be provisionally incorporated into the provinces, and after that the same would happen to the self-governing territories like KwaZulu.

Eventually, there would be 10 or 16 regions, depending on whether the larger metropolitan authorities should constitute regions in themselves or not. The ANC wanted to leave this choice to the people of South Africa.

"The regional executive councils will appoint local executive councils, for Cape Town and Johannesburg," Mr Motshekga said.

When the constituent assembly was elected, it would act as an interim parliament. Only those parties with 5% or more of the total votes would get seats in parliament.

"Then we will restructure the Multi-Party Commissions (under the cabinet) to include only those parties which have seats in parliament."

At a meeting between the ANC and the government last Monday, both parties had reaffirmed the commitment they had made on October 2 to the formation of a National Negotiating Forum.

● **Positive signs for local government negotiations — Page 7**

CT 9/11/92

DP moots amnesty proposal

Political Staff

A PROPOSAL for a conference of all political parties and organisations to adopt guidelines and principles for a general amnesty is to be made at the Democratic Party's national conference in Johannesburg next month.

It will also discuss a call for all private armies to be disbanded and an independent commission to be appointed as a matter of urgency to investigate the integration of all armed forces inside and outside South Africa.

The party will also discuss a call, made in a draft resolution by the DP's Bloemfontein West constituency, for the abolition of all laws discriminating against the gay community.

Much of the congress agenda, which was released yesterday, deals with already published, but not yet formally adopted, policy proposals on a new constitution, an electoral system, transition, local government, status of women, violence, empowerment, rural development, the aged, economic growth and price stability.

Angolan ban on Pik 'laughable'

Political Staff ARG 9/11/92

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha has dismissed his ban from Angola as "laughable" and the claim that South Africa is giving Unita military assistance as "preposterous".

Mr Botha was reacting to reports on the BBC originating from Radio Angola, which said that Luanda had declared Mr Botha persona non grata.

Government spokesmen yesterday confirmed that no formal notice had been received by South Africa.

According to the Angolans, Pretoria is supporting Unita leader Dr Jonas Savimbi.

Mr Botha and his counterpart Mr Pedro do Castro van Dunem Loy are expected to speak by telephone today in an effort to clarify the situation.

Foreign Affairs sources obtained an undertaking from Angolan diplomats at the weekend that such a link-up could be established.

Foreign Affairs sources were unwilling to comment on the snub to Mr Botha until they had official confirmation from the Angolans.

Press spokesman Mr Awie Marais said South Africa was still willing to play a role in support of peace and the democratic process in Angola.

"We are still very clear that we are not willing to support any party that uses force," he said, denying allegations of military support to Unita.

Foreign Affairs sources seemed deeply upset by Mr Van Dunem Loy's attack on Mr Botha, saying that he had "gone out of his way to be objective".

They acknowledged, however, that there was a frail and sensitive relationship between the two countries in the light of the hostile history and the residual suspicions that persist.

Meanwhile, UN efforts to get Dr Savimbi and Mr Dos Santos together seem to have stalled. The BBC reported today that UN peacekeeping envoy Marrack Goulding was not travelling, as planned, to Huambo where Dr Savimbi was holed up.

A ceasefire is largely holding across Angola but tension is acute and at the weekend shooting broke out in Viana, southeast of Luanda, and in central Malanje province, international aid officials said.

De Klerk in 'deal' to gag the CCB?

ARGT 9/11/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Suspicions are growing in some quarters that the government is going to extraordinary lengths to prevent the Civil Co-operation Bureau from making embarrassing disclosures.

It was reported in a Sunday newspaper that the government struck a secret deal with the CCB six weeks ago involving pension pay-outs to former CCB members in exchange for the return of state's assets.

The report also suggested that State President F W de Klerk's controversial Indemnity Bill was linked to attempts to prevent exposure of the CCB's covert activities.

Defence Minister Gene Louw has admitted to the deal with the CCB, but has flatly denied that the Indemnity Bill was a factor in the discussions.

In terms of the deal, some 20 CCB agents will receive improved retrenchment packages in exchange for the return of assets, including the CCB's R3 million pension fund and a R2,5 million ship, the Margit Rye, bought with SADF funds.

Jan van Eck, the ANC-aligned MP who staunchly opposed the Indemnity Bill, said he believed the Bill had been particularly aimed at protecting the CCB, in light of the spotlight again falling on the organisation.

"They have also been threatening the Government and I think this put De Klerk in a difficult situation," he said.

Democratic Party defence spokesman James Selfe was, however, doubtful about the CCB deal being linked to the Indemnity Bill.

"Joe Verster (CCB managing director) has already said he is not interested in applying for indemnity. I don't think the Bill is necessarily tied up with the concessions the government has made."

'Charge Webb with perjury'

JOHANNESBURG. — Former Civil Co-operation Bureau chairman, Major-General Eddie Webb, should be charged with perjury following his confession last week at the inquest into the murder of Dr David Webster that he had lied to the Harms Commission.

Democratic Party spokesman on Justice, Mr Douglas Gibson, yesterday challenged the Attorney-General "to do his job properly and prosecute self-confessed liar General Eddie Webb for perjury".

Mr Gibson said: "General Webb has confessed to perjury and he must now be brought before a court and given a fair trial. (This would) show the public that the rule of law would be upheld." — Sapa.

Hostel security puts agreement in jeopardy

30/4/92 ARG 9/11/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government/ANC Record of Understanding is in danger of collapsing over the issue of hostel security.

Resistance by Transvaal Inkatha hostel-dwellers to the erection of fences around hostels has become a major stumbling block in the success of the agreement.

The ANC has accused the government of reneging on its agreement in the Record to fence hostels and ban the public display of weapons. The agreement was that violent hostels would be fenced by next Sunday.

The government has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate the effectiveness of the hostels clauses in the Record of Understanding.

Spokesman for the Department of Local Government and Housing Mr Francois Jacobs said yesterday that Mr Justice Goldstone had instructed one of his committees to look into the matter, and a response was being awaited.

He said the government was committed to striving to attain the goals set out in the Record of Understanding, but that it had met with huge resistance when it came to carrying out the fencing-off of hostels.

Even ANC-leaning hostel-dwellers in a Transvaal hostel had threatened violent retribution if a fence was erected, Mr Jacobs said.

Democratic delays are not in the interests of the masses

In its latest strategy document, as circulated for discussion, the ANC sets out its negotiating aims and foresees a government of national unity, with the NP and the ANC as the main players, both in the interim period and after the adoption of a new constitution.

BY THE end of the Eighties, the apartheid power bloc was no longer able to rule in the old way. The balance of forces internally and internationally were such that the regime would be forced, sooner or later, to sue for negotiations.

This crisis in Eastern Europe, and the resultant change in the relations between world powers, brought the issue of a negotiated resolution of regional conflicts to the fore. In this context, South Africa was not going to be treated as an exception. This was reinforced by the all-round crisis in South Africa itself.

By the mid-Eighties, the liberation movement enjoyed many advantages over the regime, both internally and internationally. All the pillars of the struggle had grown from strength to strength. By the late Eighties, a number of key factors made it both desirable and imperative that the liberation movement pursue a negotiated resolution of the South African conflict:

- The possibility of revolution and of a sustained and generalised people's war had become remote.
- The international community might have tried to impose a settlement plan.
- The regime had no option but to seek negotiations with the liberation movement.

The balance of forces is not static. However, for the foreseeable future, actions by the liberation movement can result only in "quantitative" or tactical shifts in the balance of forces.

Acceptable

Nonetheless, "quantitative" shifts in the balance of forces can play a crucial role in influencing the final outcome of the negotiations. The most dramatic example of this is the impact of rolling mass action and mobilisation of the international community over the past few months.

Negotiation has always been the first option of the liberation movement — it is only when the prospect of any peaceful settlement vanished that we resorted to arms, while for the regime it was the failure of arms that forced negotiations.

Consequently, it must remain one of our strategic tasks to deny the regime the possibility of exercising its preferred option of resorting to arms by defining acceptable political activity as being confined to free political activity, peaceful democratic action and genuine negotiations.

We must therefore contest the notion that negotiations represent a failure for the democratic movement and a victory for the forces of apartheid and therefore that the more difficult we make negotiation, the more revolutionary we are.

Delays in peaceful transformation are not in the interests of the masses, who seek liberation now, and do not enhance our chances of effecting this transformation as well as we should.

Our strategic perspective should take into account that the democratic revolution will proceed in various phases, each one of which has its regularities and objective and subjective demands.

Phase 1: The period leading up to the election of a constituent assembly and the establishment of an elected interim government of national unity.

Phase 2: The period of the drafting and the adoption of the new constitution by the that assembly.

Phase 3: The period of the phasing-in of the new constitution which will include restructuring of state machinery and the general dismantling of apartheid.

Phase 4: The period of consolidation of democratic transformation and reconstruction.

At all stages, we should determine the goals we seek to achieve, consider carefully the balance of forces in these dynamic situations and therefore place ourselves in a position to determine the correct path to further democratic change, including the compromises that are necessary and the alliances to be formed to protect and advance this process.

The long-term goals of the national liberation struggle should not be confused with the immediate objectives we set for ourselves in each phase of the transition.

The objectives we set depend on the balance of forces at each stage.

In setting objectives for the present round of negotations we must bear in mind that neither the ANC nor the regime can enforce a complete surrender of either party at the negotiating table.

In setting objectives today, our strategy should not focus narrowly on only the initial establishment of democracy, but also, (and perhaps more importantly) on how to nurture, develop and consolidate that democracy. Our strategy must at once also focus on ensuring that new democracy is not undermined.

Strategic

Our broad objectives for the current phase (as distinct from longer-term goals) should therefore be:

- The establishment of a democratic constitution-making process.
- Ending the National Party's monopoly of political power.
- Ensuring a continuing link between democracy and economic empowerment.
- Minimising the threat to stability and democracy.

We have already accepted the desirability of an interim government — in which, of course, the ANC and the NP would be the major components.

Strategic forces we need to consider right now are the SADF, SAP and the civil service in general.

It may become necessary to address the question of job security, pensions and a general amnesty at some stge as part of a negotiated settlement.

Some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of a multilateral (Codesa type) agreements. Other elements of the settlement package would take the form of bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP — such agreements would bind the two parties.

The thorny question of the powers, functions and boundaries of regions in a new South Africa may be an issue on which we would enter into a bilateral agreement with the NP.

The question of a government of national unity after adoption of a new constitution, and the future of members of the security forces and the civil service, could be dealt with either as part of a bilateral agreement or as part of a multi-lateral agreement.

Non-racial election 'priority'

ARG 9/11/92

ALICE. — Setting a date for the country's first non-racial elections is a top priority, the national vice-chairman of the SA Communist Party, Mr Raymond Mhlaba, said.

Opening the party's Border regional congress at the weekend, Mr Mhlaba said: "We need to agree on a date for elections with the government in our bilateral meetings and then continue negotiating other aspects."

Mr Mhlaba said it was important to secure some major agreements with the government before going into multilateral talks.

The congress, which was attended by 500 delegates, was told that the SACP needed its own programme of action so as not to duplicate what its alliance partners were doing.

The party noted with concern "concerted efforts to discredit it" by the Democratic Party, National Party, "liberal media" and SABC.

Mr Mhlaba told the delegates that the party has grown from a membership of 27 000 to 40 000.

"Next year must be the year for democratic elections. To win the elections gives us the right to govern, but not political and economical power," he said. — Ecna.

ONE ROOF - AT ALL OFFICE

Wessels a front-runner

RTRG 10/11/92

Political Staff

MINISTER of Manpower Mr Leon Wessels is one of the front-runners to take over from Dr Stoffel van der Merwe as secretary-general of the National Party. 3014A

Dr Van der Merwe announced his retirement yesterday as secretary-general and as MP for Helderkruin, from December 31. He said he was resigning for personal reasons.

There came a time in a person's life when he took stock and came to the conclusion that a new beginning was needed, Dr Van der Merwe said.

He still supported the policy of the NP and what President De Klerk was doing. Dr Van der Merwe said he had worked hard for more than a decade to bring the NP to where it was now.

Dr Van der Merwe intends to set himself up as a political analyst, although there has been



Dr Stoffel v d Merwe

a newspaper report that he would be offered a diplomatic post.

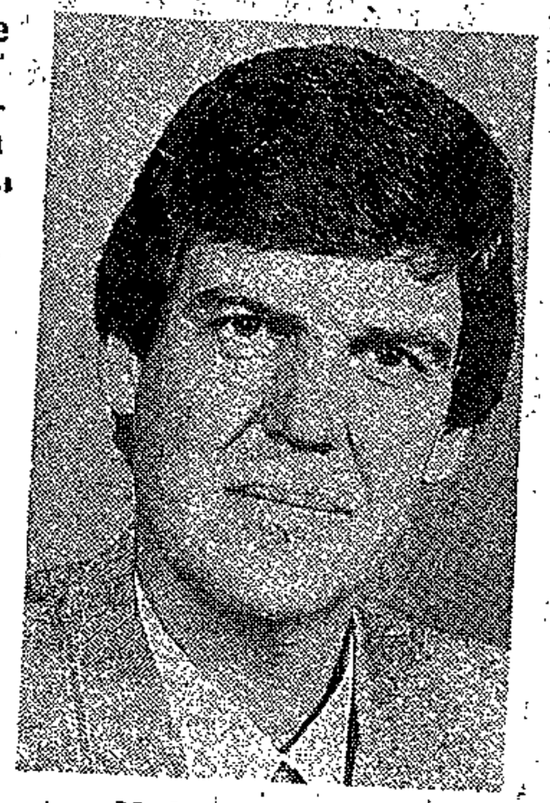
Mr De Klerk and the four provincial leaders of the NP should announce the new secretary-general within three weeks, party sources said.

This will be the party's second secretary-general. Dr Van der Merwe was appointed on September 1 last year.

Mr Wessels, the MP for Krugersdorp, is one of the most forward-thinking and reform-minded people in Mr De Klerk's team. This should count in his favour as one of the tasks of the secretary-general is to win support for the NP among black voters.

Mr Wessels said through an aide yesterday that if the job came his way, he would take up the task enthusiastically and take it as a challenge.

The secretary-general sits on the party executive, which consists of the national leader and the four provincial leaders. The secretary-general is responsible for planning and managing the party, co-ordinating and upgrading its communications and marketing capabilities, and



Mr Leon Wessels

helping to prepare the party for negotiations.

As Minister of Education and Development Aid, Dr Van der Merwe was in the original nine-man government team that took part in the first bilateral talks with the ANC at Groote Schuur in May 1990.

Of the 17 ministers in the Cabinet at the time of Mr De Klerk's February 2, 1990, address, only 10 remain, and only three are in their original positions — Mr Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Mr Kobie Coetsee (Justice) and Dr Rina Venter (National Health and Population Development).

So far, three MPs have taken advantage of the Filling of Casual Vacancies Act that was passed during the short session of parliament last month. This allows parties to appoint a person to the seat of a departing MP without having to fight a by-election.

The other two MPs to leave this way recently were Dr Gerrit Viljoen (Vanderbijlpark) and Mr Paul Farrell (Bethlehem). More NP MPs are likely to follow, party sources have said.

Govt's key negotiator quits politics

(304A)

Political Staff

Mystery surrounds the sudden resignation yesterday of Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, from his post as secretary-general of the National Party and as an MP.

Dr Van der Merwe, 52, quit the cabinet in September to spearhead the NP's role in negotiations.

In a statement, he said he was resigning for personal reasons: "There comes a time when one has to review ones life and come to the conclusion that a new beginning is necessary."

He declined to say more.

However, there was speculation that his decision to quit could be linked to reports detailing maladministration in the now defunct Development Aid Department.

His resignation follows that of Minister of State, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, who resigned last week.

Both men had been responsible for the Development Aid Department.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said Dr Van der Merwe's resignation did "not come as a surprise".

He had been placed in charge of the Department of Education and Training, which was "a mess" and the Department of Development Aid which was "riddled with corruption".

It was not easy to say how much he knew of the corruption, "but he did not manage to get rid of it", Dr De Beer said.

The government was clearly "getting rid of all its undesirables", Dr De Beer said.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the NP "tree" was falling, and there was a rush of people from a party with no vision.

The first hint that Dr Van der Merwe's may resign came in an unusual story in the Nationalist press yesterday that a woman had called anonymously to say he was quitting.

The pro-government Nasionale Pers newspapers did not check the call with Dr Van der Merwe or anyone else, as is usual. CT 10/11/92

DP man breaks ranks, quits

CT 11/11/92 (304A)

Political Staff

LEADING Western Cape Democratic Party member Mr Norman Daniels has resigned from the party because of its decision to admit MPs from the House of Representatives to its ranks.

A former Cape Town City Councillor and well-known trade unionist, Mr Daniels was a member of the party's regional executive and its national executive.

He joined the DP last year together with the former rector of the University of Western Cape, Dr Richard van der Ross.

Mr Daniels said the DP's Kensington branch had been disbanded after all its members resigned.

The DP's decision to admit serving members of the House of Representatives into its membership "was interpreted as being highly insensitive to what the so-called coloureds had suffered at the hands of the Nationalist government".

● The DP had three MPs in the House of Delegates when Mr Daniels joined the party.

Clinton 'good' for SA

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Former South African ambassador to Washington Dr Piet Koornhof believes that the Clinton administration will be better, politically, for South Africa than the Bush one, provided the pace of political reform is speeded up.

Speaking at a Selwyn Segal lunch here in aid of a Jewish-run home for handicapped children, Dr Koornhof said he had received more co-operation from the Democrats than the Republicans when he was South African ambassador to the United States.

He said the Democrats were anxious to see a multi-party government set up in South Africa as soon as possible.

Dr Koornhof said he firmly believed President F W de Klerk and his government were intent on a speedy transition to democracy, and was confident they would succeed.

He conceded that many wrongs had been done in South Africa in the past.

(3041) CT 11/11/92

World in brief

Sowetan 11/11/92

FW speaks to Bill

WASHINGTON - President FW de Klerk had his first direct conversation with President-elect Bill Clinton on Monday in a congratulatory telephone call from South Africa. (304A) (490)

A spokesman for Clinton's office in Little Rock, Arkansas, said the two men had a "general discussion". De Klerk is the second South African leader to have spoken to Clinton in recent days.

The first was ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, who telephoned Little Rock the day after the US election but found an exhausted Clinton asleep. Clinton called him back the next day.

11 die at concert

DAKAR - The death toll from a crush at a Senegalese pop concert has risen to 11, it was reported yesterday.

State radio had earlier said eight people were trampled to death and 31 injured on Sunday when crowds started jostling at a concert outside Dakar.

Aussie drinking ban

SYDNEY - Drinkers in Australia's booziest town have been banned from buying wine casks for 22 hours a day.

Liquor outlets in the west Australian Outback town of Halls Creek are also limiting sales to one wine box a customer in a bid to stem the rising tide of alcoholism.

Halls Creek, which boasts the Australian record for deaths, illness, violence and child neglect through alcohol, is already feeling the benefit of the later opening times.

"People are eating food for breakfast instead of lining up at the liquor store at 8.30 in the morning," a resident said.

25 die in collision

CAIRO - Eighteen children and seven teachers died when a school bus collided with a trailer truck on a highway near the Red Sea port of Safaga.

Police said yesterday 13 children, teachers and the bus driver were seriously injured and taken to hospital. The accident occurred on Monday night. Fifteen children and teachers with minor injuries were treated and discharged.

Anti-racist rally

BONN - More than 100 000 people took part in anti-racist rallies across Germany on Monday night to mark the 58th anniversary of a Nazi pogrom. (30)

Police said yesterday the biggest rally was in Cologne, where tens of thousands attended a big rock concert, but there were also big gatherings in Munich, Dresden, Bielefeld, Wuppertal and Freiburg. Sowetan 11/11/92

In Rostock, the east German port city that was troubled by a wave of far-right violence in August, marchers were harassed by a gang of slogan-chanting young neo-Nazis. Six were detained but released yesterday. - *Sapa-Reuter-AP-AFP*

A mass movement will not secure democracy in SA

BDay 11/11/92.

SARA PIENAAR

JEREMY Cronin's article, "A mass base, not party politics, is ANC's best option" (Business Day, October 29) correctly states that the ANC is under no immediate obligation to transform itself into a conventional political party just because its opponents would like it to. His call for "speedy progress towards democratic transition" and the establishment of a transitional government is likewise one to which few would take exception. Two arguments advanced in his article do, however, warrant critical examination.

The first is his view that there is "growing unease with normal party politics" in many parts of the world, from which he seems to conclude that multiparty democracy is a spent force. Is this really so?

It is true that in the '80s Americans became somewhat disillusioned with the two major parties, hence the appearance of the quixotic Ross Perot, who hoped to capitalise on this discontent, but in a free society abstention is a perfectly legitimate, if rather passive, political statement.

Along with all the hype of the recent US election campaign, we witnessed three (or six) individuals slugging it out with no holds barred, defending their political and personal records and their visions for the future. Since America's dire economic situation warranted action and the calibre of the candidates deserved it, more than 100-million people turned out to vote on November 3.

Cronin's references to political apathy in eastern Europe are no more convincing as an argument against party politics. After more than 40 years of Soviet-imposed, one-party "democracy", and against a background of economic and ethnic problems and weak democratic traditions, it is little wonder that eastern Europe's political systems have teething troubles.

Nevertheless, 86% of the electorate voted in Czechoslovakia's national elections in June and nearly as many in Romania's September/October presidential contest. What is more, both elections passed off peacefully, despite inflammatory issues and irresponsible demagoguery.

Further east, that authoritarian democrat Boris Yeltsin maintains a shaky hold over a country which has spawned literally hundreds of political parties. Nearly all of these are ludicrously small, hopelessly disorganised and pathetically poor. Yet they represent every political persuasion in the spectrum, despite Yeltsin's highly undemocratic ban on the Communist Party, and they freely produce newspapers, print and distribute broadsheets and hold meetings and rallies.

Little more than a year after the failed coup of August 1991, it is too early to talk of multiparty democracy in Russia, but it is not too early to sense the dawning of a political climate in which it may be born. Whether it will be allowed to survive and grow is another matter.

Cronin has therefore failed to prove that party politics are on the wane in the US and the former eastern bloc, but the main weakness of his article, and one ominous for SA's future, is his interpretation of history.

He maintains that there have been only two revolutions in modern times — 1848, a year in which virtually every European country was convulsed by revolutionary disturbances, and 1968, when various politically significant "social movements" erupted. Cronin holds that 1848 "established two lineages" — socialism and the national liberation movement, both of which inform the ANC/SACP alliance which, in its "mass democratic" mode, is also related to the "social movements" of 1968.

Cronin completely disregards the ancestors of 1848 — the French and American revolutions of 1789 and 1776, and before them Britain's "glorious revolution" of 1688 which forced the Crown to bow to parliament. It is therefore not surprising that he fails to mention the most profound and influential consequence of 1848 — the rise of liberal democracy.

1848 was not only a matter of revolutions and wars of independence. A less dramatic, but no less significant, phenomenon was the Frankfurt "parliament" where democrats from all 38 German states met to establish a united and democratic Germany, inviting the king of Prussia to become their constitutional monarch. He refused, of course, and the exercise ended in failure, but when a united Germany was established in 1871 its universal male franchise made it, on paper at least, the most democratic of states.

Elsewhere in Europe, the 66 years between 1848 and 1914 saw the gradual extension of democratic rights and the formation of many new political parties. All this was a direct response to the climate created by the events of 1848.

After the First World War, US president Woodrow Wilson insisted that the new states of central Europe should be multiparty democracies. That the countries concerned were soon engulfed by fascist totalitarianism is no argument against the ideals which shaped them. If perfect workability were the main criterion, the SACP should disband immediately, so great has been the failure of communist governments to live up to most of their ideals over the past 75 years.

Indeed, the democratic political systems of western Europe stood in stark contrast after 1945 to the so-called "peoples' democracies" east of the Iron Curtain although, beyond Europe, democracy in most decolonised countries either withered or survived in less than perfect shape. Yet, coming closer to home, if liberal democracy is so insignificant as to escape Jeremy Cronin's attention, why are so many African states today trying to re-establish it? Angola; Nigeria, Kenya and even Malawi cannot be treading this path solely to curry favour with aid donors and investors.

Cronin argues that SA's democratic constitution must harmonise the nationalist, socialist and mass democratic forces whose roots lie in 1848 and 1968. With our history, it is debatable whether nationalism should be encouraged, though it cannot be ignored. Similarly, the equality which socialism promises holds a powerful appeal in a country where wealth and power are so unequally shared, and mass democratic movements are probably inevitable where the majority has for so long been denied political rights, economic empowerment and adequate education.

History teaches us, however, that none of these forces will survive, nor can SA become a free country, unless it practices multiparty democracy with a government fully answerable to its people through regular and free elections of individuals and/or parties to a sovereign and independent parliament. Government must, of course, be confronted by strong, peaceful and well-organised opposition parties whose programmes, like those of the government, are regularly exposed to the electorate's scrutiny. It is a cumbersome and inefficient system, but a better one has yet to be found.

This is why the liberal democratic traditions of 1848 must be kept constantly in mind, not least by Jeremy Cronin, his SACP and ANC colleagues, but by all who seek to fashion our future.

☐ Pienaar is research associate (former Soviet Union and eastern Europe) at the SA Institute of International Affairs.

ARG 12/11/92

Van der Merwe blames ANC power grab

3049

Political Staff

NATIONAL Party secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe is leaving active politics disillusioned with the way the transition is going and what he sees as the ANC's insistence on grasping power for itself, regardless of the country's interests.

Dr Van der Merwe, 52, said this yesterday after announcing on Monday he was retiring from the National Party job and from his parliamentary seat of Helderkruin at the end of the year.

He had been secretary-general for only a year, after being transferred there from the Cabinet, after being Minister of Education and Training, of Development Aid and of Information successively.

He emphasised that he was not unhappy with the NP, but agreed he was disillusioned with the way the politics of transition were going.

It was a pity that things were not developing faster and better, he said, putting the blame largely on the ANC.

The ANC was interested only in achieving power.

"... politics is about power. But it is still a pity they could not have taken a more rational and patriotic approach for the sake of the country."

Dr Van der Merwe said he believed he had become "stale" in politics. He had worked too many hours and the physical toll had been high. Setting up the new job had been tough and had "over-stressed personal relations in the process."

Dr Van der Merwe dismissed suggestions that his departure had anything to do with the simultaneous release of the De Meyer Commission report on incompetence and corruption in the Lebowa government.

Dr Van der Merwe said he had no firm plans, but intended setting up a political consultancy in Pretoria — "to see if I can't work less for more money."

Reform is alive and well, says FW

PRETORIA — Reform was alive and well and SA was on its way to a fully democratic constitution, President F W de Klerk told the Foreign Correspondents Association last night. BIDAY 13/11/92.

Speaking before leaving for London, De Klerk said the perception that government had lost its commitment to reform and was intent on clinging to power was based on groundless propaganda.

Negotiations and discussions on a bilateral and multilateral basis were taking place almost daily, he said.

In the case of Inkatha, significant difference existed, but he believed all parties would soon return to multiparty talks.

(304A) GERALD REILLY

A transitional constitution had to be agreed to and enacted by the present Parliament before elections for an interim or transitional government could take place.

In London, De Klerk will meet British Prime Minister John Major and Labour Party leader John Smith, after which they will attend the rugby Test at Twickenham.

He will attend a luncheon with business leaders on Monday.

NP MP to benefit first from law abolishing by-elections

BIDAY 13/11/92

AN NP member of the House of Representatives will be the first MP to get a seat in Parliament under the new law — pushed through by President F W de Klerk in the short session last month — abolishing by-elections.

The nomination will take place next month as De Klerk has 15 days from November 6, when the Bill became law, to invite the nominating party to exercise its right. The party has 21 days from November 21 to nominate the new member.

Britstown MP Louis Hollander, who vacated his seat recently, is to be replaced and as he was an NP member on his last day as an MP, the NP has the right to nominate his successor. No election will be held and the party hierarchy will decide who replaces him in Parliament.

Should any of the nominal members who sit in Parliament as independents resign or die then the party with which they won their seats will nominate new members. In the case of ANC-aligned members it will revert to the DP.

BILLY PADDOCK 304A

The law gives the majority party in any of the houses of Parliament a distinct advantage as it is the majority party that will decide who gets the seat should a person be elected as an independent in the last election and then resign or die.

Should any MP cross the floor the party which he represented immediately prior to leaving is the "competent party".

The cleverly designed law appears to have been drafted with the precise intention of giving the NP the advantage as the majority party in both the House of Assembly and the House of Representatives.

The NP also appears to have known that State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen and NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe planned to resign. Both of them tendered their resignations within three weeks of the Bill being passed. Viljoen's resignation takes effect from December 1 and Van der Merwe's from December 31.

WHICH ARE
THE AIRLINES
BUSINESSMEN CHOOSE?



ANC back on track, says FW

30 APR CT 13/11/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THERE was every reason to hope that the ANC was now back on the negotiation track, but significant difficulties existed with the Inkatha Freedom Party, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Convergence in the views of some of the major parties on important aspects of constitutional reform had also taken place, he said in a speech to the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg.

Mr De Klerk, who spoke before his departure last night for London for talks with British Prime Minister Mr John Major and the Commonwealth, said he was confident that progress was being made on the negotiations front.

He said the government had held "fruitful" discussions with the PAC and "negotiations and discussions on a bilateral and multilateral basis with groupings across the political spectrum take place almost daily".

Although there were significant difficulties with the IFP, the government was confident that "with the patience and goodwill generated by the present discussions, all parties will soon return to multi-party talks".

Mr De Klerk said all parties now accepted that the transition process had to be structured in such a way that a constitutional hiatus be avoided.

"A transitional (or interim or first) constitution must therefore be agreed upon and enacted by the present Parliament before elections leading to an interim or transitional government can take place."

The ANC and other parties also accepted the necessity for power-sharing during the transitional period.

"Serious consideration is also being given to a much longer term acceptance of this principle.

"All this because there is a growing awareness that, despite our differences, it will be difficult for any one party to govern South African alone.

"A government of national unity is becoming a key concept."

Mr De Klerk said there was also a growing realisation that South Africa could not be ruled on a monolithic centralised basis and that meaningful power to the regions was essential.

Sapa reports that Mr De Klerk said that without the Further Indemnity Act the government would not have been able to honour its undertaking to the ANC to release its political prisoners by November 15.

Nor would the government have been able to indemnify many ANC members who were "chargeable".

One NP leader up for hire, to ANC?

3044

By GLYNNIS UNDERHILL

KEY government negotiator and former cabinet minister Dr Stoffel van der Merwe will shortly be up for hire by any political party — including the ANC.

Dr Van der Merwe, 52, who intends setting up his own independent political consultancy, claimed yesterday that he was "not running for cover" when he quit his post as an MP and as secretary-general of the NP. CT 13/11/92

A former professor of political science, Dr Van der Merwe said it was simply time "to make money out of my expertise".

Despite reports that Dr Van der Merwe is disillusioned with the transition process and especially the "power-grabbing" of the ANC, he said that he would be available to any party — including the ANC — that wanted to hire him.

"I don't want to pull a Barend du Plessis on the party and a few months before the election 'flop out'. The party needs a younger person with fresh and strong ideas to help build on what I've established," he said.

Asked about the persistent rumours that his

To page 3

From page 1

For hire

3044 CT 13/11/92

sudden resignation was linked to a relationship with an attractive blonde personal assistant, Dr Van der Merwe declined to comment.

While sources in the NP claim that a romantic relationship in the office led to "dissatisfaction" among staff, personal assistant Miss Cathy McDonald yesterday refused to comment on the allegations.

"The poor guy — all the girls have been linked to him. It is really getting a bit much. I'm not going to say a word. It really is beneath me," she said.

Implications

Dr Van der Merwe also said that he was not expecting any revelations surrounding his involvement as head of the Development Aid Department. "I am not aware of anything that could implicate me," he said.

The De Meyer Commission into the Development Aid scandal had been started before he joined the department and for the 14 months he was responsible for the department there were no irregularities he knew about, he said.

Dr Van der Merwe said he had just not felt the strength to continue in the run-up to the election.

Despite the retirement package he confirmed he would be receiving, Dr Van der Merwe said he would be forced to lead a "spartan life" unless he made money.

'Dreaming'

● ANC negotiating committee spokesman Mr Matthew Phosa said yesterday that the organisation had no intention of hiring Dr Van der Merwe.

"He must be dreaming if he thinks we are going to hire him," he said.

NATIONAL PARTY FM 13/11/92

Strange of Stoffel (304A)

Work and personal pressures have finally caught up with academic-turned-politician Stoffel van der Merwe. He announced his resignation as secretary-general of the NP this week. Since his appointment as Deputy Minister of Information by former President P W Botha in 1986, Van der Merwe has been the Nat fall guy.

Three times his promotion to higher office followed the departures of controversial predecessors, or involved him with departments racked with scandal and corruption.

As Deputy Information Minister, Van der Merwe succeeded the controversial Louis Nel, who in turn had to weather the blame for the multimillion-rand peace song fiasco (which was in fact an idea by the then Constitutional Affairs Minister Chris Heunis). Van der Merwe had to clear up the mess.

Van der Merwe was later asked to deputise at Heunis's department. This later became the graveyard of two high-ranking officials (one of them, Kobus Jordaan, later defected to the DP) after accusations by National Intelligence of security breaches.

In 1988 Van der Merwe was Minister of Information, Broadcasting Services and the Film Industry. He succeeded P W Botha's confidant Alwyn Schlebusch, who resigned after a confrontation with PW over the R2,5m box-office flop, *Back to Freedom*, a controversial film funded by the SABC and produced by another Botha close friend, Boet Troskie. Botha's daughter, Rozanne, worked as production secretary on set and her name

FM 13/11/92 (304A)

appeared in the credits as Rozanne Both, together with that of senior SABC director Hennie Human (the screenplay writer) who was identified by the pseudonym Henry Hyman.

As the responsible Minister, Van der Merwe — most probably on instructions from Tuynhuys — appointed Troskie chairman of a task force dealing with films. SABC chairman Christo Viljoen, another Botha associate, who succeeded former ambassador Brand Fourie in this position, was also appointed to the task force.

One of the most dramatic developments under Van der Merwe was the sacking of former SABC DG Riaan Eksteen by Botha. Van der Merwe told a Nat meeting in Heunis's Helderberg constituency that the SABC would not have succeeded (financially) under the leadership of Eksteen. Yet the SABC a year later showed an approximate R50m profit — but only after it had adhered to generally accepted accounting procedures. In Eksteen's time the board did not approve of these procedures.

Next step for Van der Merwe was his move to Minister of Education & Development Aid in 1989, and a year later to Minister of Education & Training. In both departments Van der Merwe succeeded Gerrit Viljoen, who recently resigned as Minister of State in President F W de Klerk's office. Before that Viljoen spearheaded government's constitutional negotiations as the responsible Minister of the department.

During Viljoen's tenure at the department of Education & Training the *FM* uncovered a network of scandal and corruption which cost the taxpayer millions and which eventually led to the appointment of a judicial commission of inquiry under Justice Leo van den Heever. (*Current Affairs* June 7 1988). As a result some DET officials and the son of a former deputy DG were found guilty of charges ranging from theft and fraud to corruption and bribery. Similar corruption charges were later levelled against the Department of Development Aid. The De Meyer Commission, whose report on irregularities in Lebowa was released this week, was also appointed during Viljoen's tenure.

Van der Merwe's sudden resignation this week followed a telephone call by an anonymous female to the offices of an Afrikaans newspaper on Sunday. She claimed that he would resign because of personal reasons. But the *FM* was also told that there has been an administrative backlog in the offices of the NP's secretary-general. Van der Merwe, who is married and has three daughters, has indicated that he still supports De Klerk's initiatives.

Many political commentators feel that Van der Merwe's resignation is linked to the scandals that rocked the DET and Department of Development Aid. But this seems unlikely: Viljoen, during whose tenure the irregularities took place, had in effect been promoted to Constitutional Affairs; his deputy at the time, Sam de Beer, has since been given the DET. ■

Botha goes from saviour to sinner

W/Mail 13/11-19/11/92

After being hailed for his role as mediator between the warring factions, Pik Botha has now been declared persona non grata in Angola.

By **CHRIS McGREAL**

THE state-run *Jornal de Angola* picked the obvious line-up for Traitors FC. Its stinging cartoon gathered the MPLA government's leading opponents holding the "power cup", topped by a skull.

In their midst stood the team captain — the Unita leader and failed presidential aspirant, Jonas Savimbi. Scowling from the back was the trainer, Pik Botha.

In recent days, the South African foreign minister has come in for considerable scorn from those who last month hailed him as a saviour.

Three weeks ago, Botha was shuttling between Savimbi and President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, promising to drag Angola back from new conflict. He failed.

At the weekend, the Angolan government took the unusual step of one country declaring another's foreign minister *persona non grata*. The South Africans say they do not understand why.

Accompanying the ban on Botha were charges in the South African and Angolan press that Pretoria is preparing to send in troops or massing mercenaries on the Zairean border.



Handcuffed ... Unita suspects are held captive before a recent MPLA rally in Bie province in Angola
Photo: JOHN LIEBENBERG

The accusations are apparently baseless, but reflect Luanda's intention to keep Pretoria out. Of more substance are Angolan military assertions that South Africa permitted or ran 50 flights to Unita territory over a five-day period.

The clear implication is that Pretoria continues to offer substantive support to the rebels. Flights from Pretoria's airport continue to land at Mucusso in the far south, where Unita has its field hospital, and Hercules aircraft still fly to Unita's bush headquarters at Jamba.

The South Africans say they carry only food and medical supplies, but they have also been used to move Unita personnel.

At the heart of the disillusionment with South Africa lies an awareness within the MPLA and by some Unita leaders that Botha is intent on finding a solution not in Angola's best interest, but one that reinforces the National Party government's strategy in South Africa.

Botha pressed Savimbi to demand that Angola be governed on federal lines, precisely the system the South African foreign minister favours in his own country to diffuse the power of the black majority.

The blueprint for Angola was drawn up by Sean Cleary, a former South African foreign ministry official who ran the campaign to discredit government opponents in Namibia before independence. Pretoria says: "He has absolutely nothing to do with us."

Cleary operates a company, Strategic Concepts, from Johannesburg and describes himself as a consultant to Unita. During the 16-year civil war he made extensive visits to Jamba, but he works hand in glove with Botha's office.

During Botha's five-day visit to Luanda last month, Cleary travelled several times to the Unita headquarters at Huambo.

The proposals later presented by Botha for a power-sharing deal in Angola were drawn up by Cleary. He also put together as yet undisclosed plans for Angola to shift from a unitary state to a federation, according to a South African official.

"Cleary is a close consultant to Savimbi. He told Savimbi he must start acting like a politician and not a wounded animal," he said.

Cleary was arrested at the Tivoli hotel last week after police stormed rebel positions in Luanda. The South African embassy had provided protection for him which one official says may have saved his life.

After six hours, Cleary was released into the custody of the South African embassy and shipped out of the country with other evacuees. — The Guardian News Service

Arms and the manne

304A

W/Mail 13/11 - 19/11/92

By JAN TALJAARD

FAR rightwingers across the country have been urged to join South African Defence Force commandos in rural areas in order to arm themselves.

The move appears to be a precautionary one, rather than part of a definite plan for armed subversion. But it indicates that, although the current strategy of the right is non-violent resistance, other options are being kept open.

The source of the call is unclear, but it has been purveyed through a range of far right structures over the past month. It is too widespread and emanates from too many quarters not to have been orchestrated.

At the same time, influential rightwing groupings with links to the Conservative Party, are seriously courting former and serving South African Police and SADF officers with rightist sympathies.

One such officer is former SADF chief General Constand Viljoen, who has been approached by EK/Vekom, an influential umbrella grouping headed by former chief of Military Intelligence General Tienie Groenewald, to assist them in an advisory capacity.

A known far rightist, Viljoen is known to command considerable support among former SADF colleagues and troops.

Also being targeted for approach, *The Weekly Mail* has learnt, are the 18 police generals pensioned off in August. It was widely believed that the generals were the casualties of a restructuring programme aimed at bringing the force in line with political reforms.

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Exit Stoffel, dreamer and reformer

W|Mail 13|11 - 19|11|92

Stoffel van der Merwe's retirement has left a gaping hole in FW de Klerk's negotiating team.

Weekly Mail Reporters

THE departure from active politics of Stoffel van der Merwe (52), South Africa's Cliff Barnes look-alike, is a blow for President FW de Klerk and his negotiating team.

Not only was Van der Merwe, a former professor of political science at Rand Afrikaans University, part of the younger, reformist wing of the National Party establishment, but he was also a key element in the De Klerk strategy of turning the NP into a vehicle that could win a democratic election by representing the aspirations of moderate South Africans of all races.

Unlike his *Dallas* TV star equivalent, Van der Merwe is not the bland schemer whose ambition often blinded him. He is rather a party and system loyalist whose intellect and ability to face reality made him realise NP policies and PW Botha leadership was leading South Africa to disaster.

Pleasant, good-natured, intelligent and with a sense of humour, Van der Merwe had credibility within the party and commanded respect outside the ranks of the party faithful. He rarely loses his cool. But he was an intellectual dreamer and visionary, not an administrator. He became Deputy Minister of Information after Louis Nel, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development under Chris Heunis at a time of upheaval in the department, Minister of Information and Broadcasting after PW Botha's ally Alwyn Schlebusch quit in a huff, then Minister of Education and Training at a time when scandal and corruption about the department was emerging, and finally Minister of Development Aid when maladministration in the homelands and in the department was rife.

He loyally did his best for the party and government, and often angered officials because he asked too many searching questions about their bureaucratic empires, but the demands of these jobs, as subsequently underlined in various commissions of inquiry, were beyond the abilities of a single politician. It forced him into an administrative role which he could not play. But taking him away from these portfolio's and appointing him as secretary-general of the NP may have been an even bigger mistake. It seems De Klerk was looking for a super administrator to get the party machinery into top gear for the new dispensation.



Out of politics ... Van der Merwe

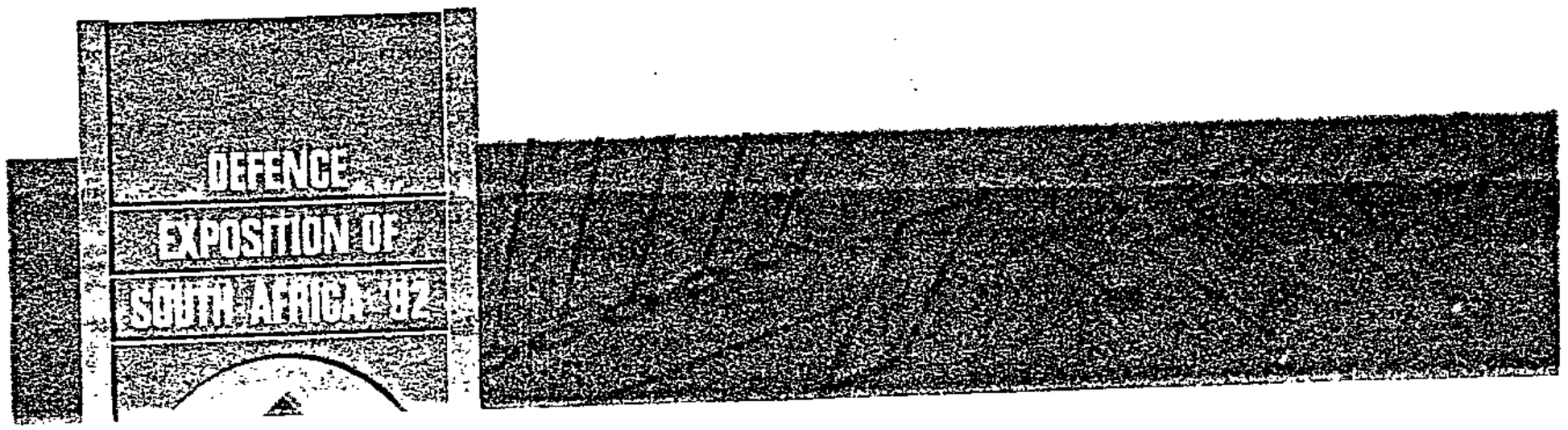
Van der Merwe once again could not deliver. True to his academic nature he was more likely to be found behind a computer plotting grand schemes and visionary projects than attending to the daily management of the party.

In many respects, he was not suited for the demanding job of NP secretary-general. He is not a party organiser, that special breed who can mobilise support and activity among ordinary people while keeping tabs on all details. His academic background and analytical skills made him a good person to have in a negotiating team, but day-to-day party organising was not his cup of tea. And, his personal problems aside, he grew frustrated in the position.

The delays and protracted negotiations over the transition process also fustrated him and he was disillusioned with the way the politics of transition were going. He said he had become "stale" in politics and was working long and demanding hours. This had "over-stressed personal relations in the process" and he has publicly stated that he has marital problems.

With the secretary-general widely acknowledged to be a bit of a ladies man, past histories were unearthed with relish by those purportedly in the know. Names were mentioned, but hard facts (or confessions) are still to emerge. Those close to Van der Merwe also talk about recurring bouts of depression.

When the truth dawned upon De Klerk, Van der Merwe was offered an ambassadorship. Not to Europe, as had been speculated, but to the diplomatic backwaters of Bophuthatswana. He has declined this and chosen to run a political consultancy in Pretoria.



The CP ponders passive protest

w/Mail 13/11-19/11/92. (304A)

In a bid to free itself of African National Congress rule, the Conservative Party is borrowing an old ANC strategy: passive resistance

By **JAN TALJAARD**

THE Conservative Party is actively considering a campaign of passive resistance involving the mobilisation of white trade unions and farmers and a refusal to pay municipal taxes.

Comprehensive proposals for passive resistance are contained in a secret programme for "mobilisation for freedom" from African National Congress domination, approved by the Conservative Party's Free State congress this week.

The aim of the programme is to apply pressure for the partition of South Africa and the creation of a white homeland.

The Weekly Mail has been reliably informed that the proposals include plans for widespread refusals to pay television licences, Model C school fees, and municipal taxes.

The bargaining power of all-white labour unions and agricultural bodies and "white power" mass action may also be put to the test as part of this programme.

The CP has been tight-lipped about the programme. Meeting the press after Wednesday's closed congress session, deputy CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg would not give details on what the mobilisation might entail.

At a public meeting later that evening, leader Andries Treurnicht hinted at mass action, but would still not give details. According to sources the CP is carefully gauging the level of white resistance before committing itself in public.

This commitment may come as soon as tonight when Treurnicht will speak at a public meeting in Pretoria on what the billboards call "an exciting new plan."

The party could hardly have timed it better.

Fuelled by this week's disclosures of massive homeland corruption and mismanagement, and the announcement that the government is to extend key labour laws to farmworkers, individual conservatives have already embarked on their own private satyagraha.

After receiving a tax assessment this week, a Pretoria rightwinger decided not to pay up, but to take the issue to court.

Confident that the amount he will eventually arrive at will be larger than the sum he owes the government, he is suing for the balance.



Andries Treurnicht ... mass action hints



Treurnicht calls for white election

PRETORIA. — The government owes whites an election, possibly in March next year, says Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

At a news conference in Pretoria, Dr Treurnicht accused the government of withholding reports on massive mismanagement in two self-governing territories to get legislation suspending by-elections passed.

He said the reports on Lebowa and KwaNdebele were released only six months after they were completed to save the government embarrassment.

Dr Treurnicht linked the timing of the release of the reports with the fact that certain cabinet ministers had resigned after legislation scrapping by-elections had been passed.

"It is not acceptable that reports already signed before May this year were released only after six months to avoid embarrassment for the government."

He said if the same measures had been applied as in the case of former cabinet minister Dr Connie Mulder, who was forced to resign because of "so-called" irregularities in his department, several ministers would have had to step down after the reports on Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

It would be totally unacceptable if the government simply proceeded with the creation of an interim government and a one-man, one-vote election without first giving voters who had put them in power the opportunity to judge them at the ballot box, said Dr Treurnicht.

Since the March 17 1992 referendum, in which white voters endorsed the government's reforms with an almost 70 per-



Dr Andries Treurnicht

cent majority, the government's support among whites had decreased "substantially", said Dr Treurnicht.

"I am convinced that the government owes whites an election."

He suggested March next year as an election date.

Any steps by the government amounting to the installation of an interim government or the establishment of a Constituent Assembly to write a new constitution would be "irresponsible and in conflict with the mood of whites as well as that of black peoples (volke)", he said.

Asked about Brigadier Hertzog Lerm, a key figure in the KwaNdebele report and now said to be a CP town councillor, Dr Treurnicht said throrough investigation had to be conducted.

"This is not the occasion to announce steps," he said. — Sapa.

US example shows way to democracy

SOWETO 14/11 – 18/11/92 304A

FOR THE first time in the country's history, black South Africans are going to have a say in the drafting and adopting of a constitution.

Apart from the involvement of all South Africa's people, there are other factors which should be observed to ensure that the drafting of a constitution is a democratic process.

There is no precedent in South African history which can serve as a guide for this process, but the best-known constitution of the Western world — that of the United States — can serve as a guide.

The 1789 constitution of the US was drafted in a comprehensive form after problems which threatened the union arose among the then 13 member states.

Before this, a rudimentary constitution existed which could not be legally enforced on member states.

The states were able to pursue their own selfish interests without being obliged to put the interests of the union first.

All thirteen states had to agree on legislation before it could be passed.

With the union facing economic disaster in 1789, there was an urgent need to formulate a set of binding rules which would force member states to put the interests of the union first.

In 1776, 13 colonies had renounced their allegiance to Great Britain, saying they were being badly governed.

Each colony established its own government and together they formed a union of "The United States of America".

The 13 states were independently governed at regional level, but all had equal representation in the central governing organ of the union which was called the Congress.

At Congress, each state had a single vote. Delegates were appointed annually in accordance with the legislature of the respective states. They were maintained at the expense of their states, and were subject to recall at any time.



FOUNDING FATHERS: A portrait of the Philadelphia Convention

The process of declaring a union took two stages. First, the Congress appointed a committee in June 1776 to draft a Declaration of Independence.

It also appointed another committee to draw up a plan for a "form of confederation".

The Declaration of Independence was adopted and a report-back on the plan for confederation was held soon after.

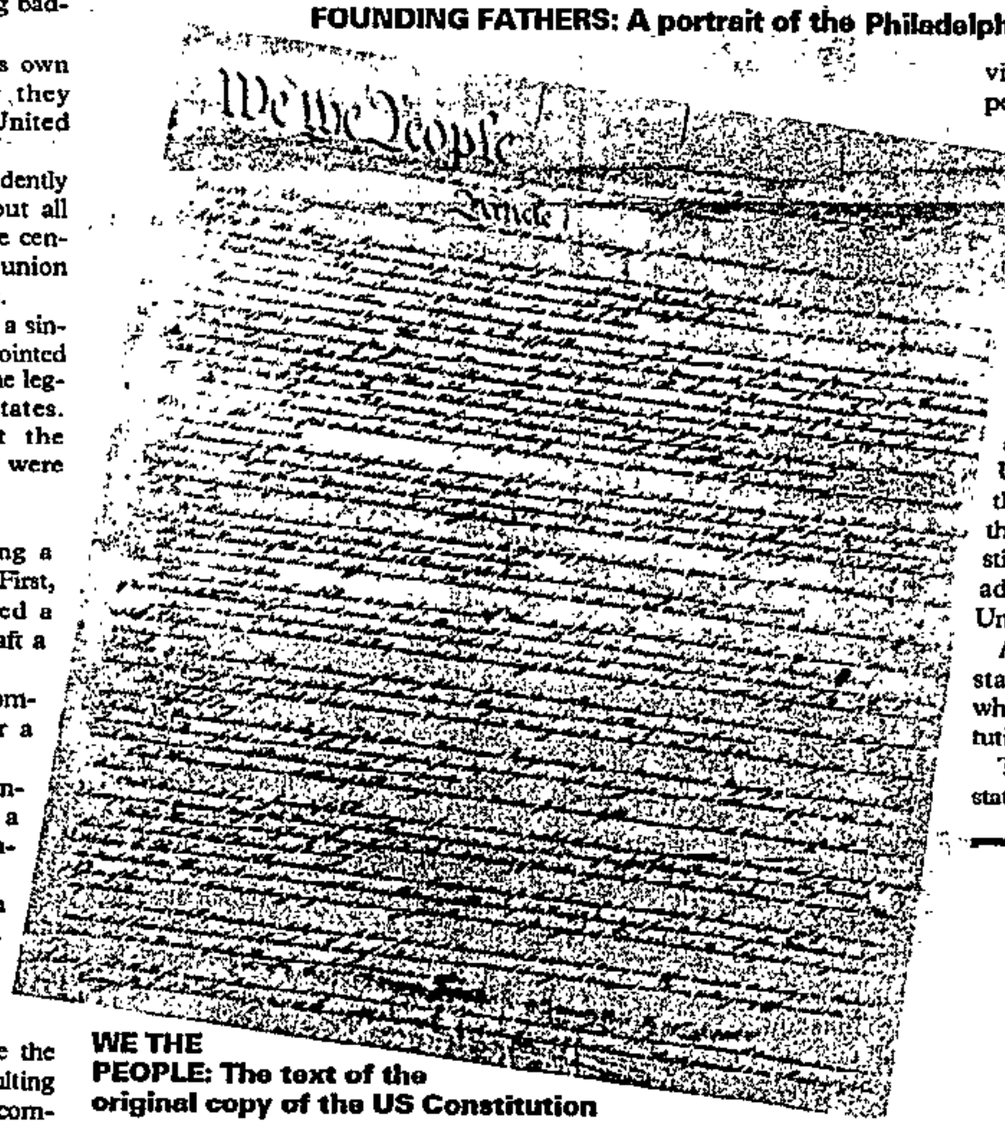
The plan was discussed in Congress for more than a year. Then the amended plan was referred to all 13 states for ratification.

It took three years to secure the approval of all the states, resulting in the articles of confederation coming into effect only in 1781.

Despite the existence of the articles of confederation and the recognition of Congress as the central authority, Congress had two limitations on its powers.

Important decisions could not be passed without the support of at least nine states.

Congress could not compel a state to abide by its decisions other than relying on observance of the clause "every state shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled".



WE THE PEOPLE: The text of the original copy of the US Constitution

This meant that many of the decisions taken by Congress amounted to recommendations only.

In practice, each state considered its own interests first, before deciding whether to ignore or adhere to Congress decisions. This soon began to negatively affect trade and commerce.

Although the articles of confederation stated that the national treasury was to be filled with funds from each member state (the amount to be determined by Congress in accordance with the value of the land within each state) states paid whatever amounts suited them, knowing that Congress was unable to enforce payment.

In 1781, when Congress proposed an amendment to the articles of confederation to authorise the levy of a duty on imports, 12 states agreed. However, the refusal of the 13th state was sufficient to block the amendment.

Similar attempts by Congress to introduce measures to improve the financial status of the union could not be passed because each state viewed such proposals from the perspective of regional rather than national interests.

Reacting to the threat of dissolution of the union, the state of Virginia took the initiative.

It proposed a general trade convention to discuss the trade of the union.

It was from this trade convention, that the proposal for a general convention "to take into consideration the situation of the United States to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union".

An appeal was made to the 13 states to appoint commissioners who would form part of the constitution-making process.

The first obstacle was that one state, Rhode Island, refused to participate. However, a letter signed by tradesmen and merchants in Rhode Island was sent to Philadelphia pledging that they would use their influence to ensure that whatever decisions were reached by the convention of the constitution-amending body would be adopted by Rhode Island.

This is a good example of citizens taking a pro-active stance in defence of their future, despite the selfish refusal of their government to participate.

The convention eventually began on May 25, 1787.

Its first task was to elect a presiding officer. George Washington was unanimously elected because of the popularity he had gained as a result of his role in the war of independence.

A committee of three was elected to prepare standing orders and rules governing the proceedings.

The following procedures were agreed on and adopted:

- that representation at the convention was on the basis of states, rather than individual opinion;
- that each state had one vote;
- that seven states made a quorum;
- that although a majority of states could decide a question, the delegates of any state could postpone the vote on a question until the following day.

It was decided that delegates should be protected from criticism and their discussion should take place free of public opinion.

The sessions were therefore to be strictly confidential. Nothing was to be recorded without the consent of the House and delegates to the convention could inspect the journal in which deliberations were entered.

The main business of the convention — drafting what came to be known as the 1789 Constitution of the United States of America - began in earnest on May 29, 1787.

The convention remained in session until 17 September 1789.

Although the constitution originated among an elite white, largely property owning, men, the relatively democratic character of its birth meant that the same basic document today has great popular legitimacy and it gives every American citizen the right to vote.

(Material from "The Making of the Constitution of the United States" by Max Farrand — New Haven and London Yale University Press)

Full negotiations 'by year-end'

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

■ There are favourable signs of an early resumption of constitutional negotiations — this time by a larger and more representative team.

A SERIES of new peace moves has raised hopes that full-blown constitutional negotiations will be resumed soon — possibly by the end of this year or early next year.

There are also hopeful signs pointing towards an expanded negotiating forum with more key players on board.

At the same time, political leaders are putting a new emphasis on the need for multilateral decisions if a new constitution is to be made acceptable to all.

Hopes have been strengthened by President De Klerk's optimistic prediction this week that all parties would return soon to multiparty talks. He indicated that the government stood by Codesa's agreements and was in a hurry to move forward.

Rejecting claims that the government was clinging to power, Mr De Klerk gave an assurance that it remained committed to reform.

Other moves towards an early resumption of more representative constitutional negotiations include:

■ An announcement that a high-level meeting of the National Peace Committee will be held on November 24. All 20 signatories of the National Peace Accord — including the government, African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party — will be represented.

This meeting, at which political leaders will join forces in a bid for peace, is seen as a prelude to resumed constitutional negotiations;

■ Signs that the Pan-Africanist Congress is set to enter multilateral negotiations, following high-level talks with the South African government at the neutral venue of Gaborone, Botswana's capital;

■ A clear indication from IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that his party wants to take part in multiparty negotiations.

He said the IFP would bring to the negotiating table the principles of federalism, a responsible free market, the rule of law and "the ideal of bringing government closer to the people"; and

■ An agreement between the Bophuthatswana government and the rightwing Afrikaner Volksunie in favour of participation in future multiparty negotiations.

At talks in Mmabatho, they agreed a new negotiation platform would have to be organised on the basis of representation of organisations in southern Africa, with a built-in mechanism to prevent either the hijacking, or the stalling, of the negotiation process by any of the participants.

A significant aspect of the recent talks between the South African government and the PAC is a joint call for a "more representative negotiating forum" to decide on principles for guiding a constituent assembly.

The call seemed to echo objections raised by Chief Buthelezi to the government-ANC Record of Understanding. And, like the Bophuthatswana government and the Afrikaner Volksunie, the PAC seems to fear that the negotiating process could be "hijacked" — in this case by the two major players.

In all the power play and pre-election jockeying for position, Chief Buthelezi and his IFP increasingly have become a force that could not be ignored. He clearly was determined not to be sidelined, and whoever tried to leave him out would stir up a hornets' nest.

There have been ominous noises from his camp that he would "go it alone" if need be. The question is being posed whether a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) for KwaZulu or even the whole of Natal is within his reach if he can't negotiate a federal structure. Some commentators warn that such a move could precipitate civil war.

Idasa's Dr Alex Boraine has been quoted as saying: "Bluntly, Natal/KwaZulu cannot go it alone. For such a move to be possible, consensus is necessary between the main players. I simply cannot see that taking place, particularly with the ANC's emphasis on an undivided South Africa."

Dr Boraine warned that the consequences of unilateral action could be "catastrophic".

Mr De Klerk this week seemed to echo such warnings when he told the Foreign Correspondents' Association in Johannesburg: "There can be no solution without sufficient consensus between all significant parties. The exclusion of any such party will simply be a prescription for future conflict."

100 constituencies in new blueprint

3044A
ARG 14/11/92

■ Wide-ranging proposals on the country's future by the Democratic Party were mirrored in a call by party leader Dr Zac de Beer for a South Africa based on justice, individual dignity, equal rights and an economy that worked.

Weekend Argus Correspondent and Sapa

JOHANNESBURG. — The new South Africa should have 100 parliamentary constituencies with each returning three MPs to a national assembly, the Democratic Party has suggested.

Delegates at the DP's two-day congress in Johannesburg concentrated yesterday on a new constitution and electoral system, and proposals for transition. An underlying hope at the congress was that with expanding black membership the DP could be the third largest party in the country.

National chairman Mr Ken Andrew and Dr Denis Worrall, MP for Berea, set out the party's latest thinking on a new constitution and electoral system. The DP envisaged that an independent electoral commission map out 100 constituencies of equal size.

Each constituency would elect three MPs and they could be from the same or different parties.

However, to take all three seats, a political party would have to win 75 percent of the votes cast.

If a party won all three seats, but did not secure 75 percent of the votes, the party could send two MPs to Parliament for that seat, and the most popular candidate from the other parties would go as the third MP from that constituency.

Mr Andrew said: "This would help minority parties get representation."

In addition, before the election, parties would draw up national lists of candidates to fill another 100 seats. After the votes in the constituences had been counted, the 100 seats would be allocated to parties to ensure that the percentage of seats they occupied in Parliament reflected the percentage of votes they had won at the polls.

The DP envisaged that elections for the federal governments also would be run on this basis.

However, elections for the national assembly and the regional assemblies would not be held at the same time because issues were different.

The DP suggested that a state president be elected by the two houses of parliament and hold office for six years.

The first cabinet formed after democratic elections should, for the first four years, include representatives of all parties who had won at least five percent of the seats in the national assembly.

Dr Worrall said it was to the DP's credit that virtually every political party now accepted the necessity of a decentralised form of government.

He also credited the DP for the fact that almost all other political groups now accepted its principle of proportional representation.

Re-elected DP leader Dr Zac de Beer told about 500 delegates that the party was aiming for power and wished to transform South Africa into a liberal democracy.

"We serve no section of the South African nation, no race or language group — we serve the people ... and as long as people need to be free, as long as people demand rights, as long as people insist on their dignity, we shall be there."

According to DP insiders, however, the party still was burdened by its image as an exclusive white liberal party. Recent membership drives in coloured and Indian areas of South Africa were aimed at changing that view.

Groote Schuur MP Dene Smuts told delegates the party had doubled its branches in the Cape since the beginning of the year with many of these being in coloured areas.

And, if the placards bearing branch names like Katlehong and Tembisa alongside those of George, Albany and Alberton, lining a wall in the Johannesburg City Hall were anything to go by, the DP had branched out successfully into black areas.

Dr De Beer said the party did not pursue power for the sake of power: It wanted to see a South Africa based on justice, individual dignity, liberty, equal rights and an economy that worked.

He warned that the need for a political settlement in the country was vital, especially because South Africa's once powerful economy was rapidly deteriorating at more than one percent a year.

The DP leader fired a broadside at the African National Congress and the government, saying both were "parties of power".

The congress adopted as party policy constitutional proposals calling for a strong federal system of government and a president elected by all South Africans.

The constitutional proposals envisaged a federal state with 10 regions to be governed by a federal government which would exercise powers essential to the national interest.

All other powers would be exercised by regional and local governments.

The proposals provided for a national assembly of 400 members to be elected every four years through universal suffrage and the election of a senate in which each of the 10 federal states would elect between four and nine senators based on the number of registered voters in that state.

The president, elected by all South Africans for a four-year term, would appoint a prime minister from the members of the National Assembly.

The congress adopted as DP policy a discussion paper on transitional government which called for an elected constitution-making body and a separate interim government.

DP parliamentary caucus chairman Mr Colin Eglin told delegates Codesa had failed to deliver the goods and that another, more inclusive, multiparty conference would have to be created to take negotiations further.

Broederbond 'divided' over pact with Mandela

ARG 14/11/92

PATRICK LAURENCE
Weekend Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The executive of the Afrikaner Broederbond is split on the Record of Understanding signed between President De Klerk and African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela on September 26.

"There are two views on the matter," Broederbond chairman Mr Pieter de Lange told Weekend Argus's sister newspaper, The Star, in an in-depth interview.

His disclosure came when he was asked to respond to newspaper reports to the effect that disgruntled members of Mr De Klerk's National Party caucus were blaming the Broederbond for the agreement.

Mr De Lange dismissed the reports as "nonsense", saying that, far from prescribing that Mr De Klerk sign the Record of Understanding, the Broederbond was divided on the issue.

"We have made no attempt to see which is the prevailing or dominant view," Mr De Lange said, explaining that the Broederbond's leaders did not think the issue important enough to risk conflict by forcing it to a vote.

Mr De Lange rejected two popular conceptions of the Broederbond: That it functioned as an elitist and manipulative cabal with the NP; or that it existed to justify unpopular decisions to the Afrikaner volk taken by the NP leadership.

Defining the Broederbond as "an organisation of Afrikaner males", Mr De Lange said: "It operates as a think-tank. Many members of the NP are members of the Broederbond.

"But, we do not promote party political matters directly. I assume we have an indirect influence because of the wide range of topics we discuss."

Mr De Lange made another disclosure — that after South Africa became a republic in 1961, the Broederbond, noting that Afrikaners had started to "make it" economically and had "made it" politically, had to confront the question of whether it had not fulfilled its mission.

It was a time of "repositioning and rethinking", Mr De Lange said, adding that the Broederbond was going through a similar process of reassessment today on the eve of the birth of a non-racial South Africa.

■ See page 18.

SA could be like Angola — Meyer

(304A) CT 14/11/92

PRETORIA. — South Africa could develop into another Angola or Mozambique unless the problem of violence received attention, Constitutional Development and Communications Minister Mr Roelf Meyer warned yesterday.

Mr Meyer said at a meeting here that if the problem was not dealt with effectively, the country could end up with a constitutional settlement leading to an election becoming ever less likely and even almost impossible.

Mozambique and Angola showed the futility of proceeding with an election and a new government while violence continued.

Violence and even a civil war could continue for years after an election, he said. "We must have no illusions that the potential for South Africa to have a Renamo-type situation on our hands in the years ahead is a distinct possibility."

He asked that the violence and conflict be stopped while the country still had the opportunity for a political settlement. "This demands responsible action in the first place from the leaders throughout the spectrum."

Mr Meyer said he hoped negotiations would resume early in 1993.

● The head of the UN military observer team in Mozambique yesterday denied Zimbabwean claims that the UN had asked Zimbabwe to suspend its troop withdrawal from Mozambique. "It is not for the UN to alter the Mozambican peace agreement," said Lieutenant-Colonel G Sinha. — Sapa-AFP

DP unveils assembly plan

3044A CT 14/11/92

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Democratic Party has unveiled the first detailed proposals for a National Assembly elected by proportional representation.

It envisages a lower House of Parliament with 400 members, 300 to be elected by a country divided into 100 constituencies.

The other 100 would come from "national lists" compiled by parties and would be used to ensure that the composition of the National Assembly reflects the actual preference of voters: "So that if a party gets 40% of the vote it gets 40% of the seats," DP national chairman Mr Ken Andrew explained at the party's national congress here.

The crucial congress effectively amounts to the launch of a "new look" Democratic Party, which is making a bid to shake off its predominantly white, middle-class image.

Yesterday about one-third of the delegates were other than whites.

Multi-party talks soon?

3049

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Full multi-party negotiations could restart by February next year if government attempts to woo Inkatha back to the talks table are successful.

It is understood that a major thrust of the government's intitiative is a "special deal" for Natal in negotiations and a joint legislature for the province is even being considered.

This follows a fresh round of bi-lateral meetings between the government on the one hand and the IFP, the ANC and the PAC on the other.

A potential stumbling block — the government's failure to meet the November 15 deadline for fencing off certain hostels — has apparently been resolved with the ANC accepting that the government is committed to the action. CT 14/11/92



African ringbok

New centre-right party formed in view of change

ARG 14/11/92 (3041)

JOHANNESBURG. — A new addition to the South African political arena, the United Federal Party, has been launched here.

Born out of severe discontent with "the pandemonium and insecurity prevailing in the country ... the UFP is a multiracial centrist multipurpose type organisation," its executive council spokesman, Mr Barry Nilsson, told a news conference yesterday.

Chaired by former SABC television presenter Justice Tsungu — who did not attend the conference — the nine-member executive council includes several businessmen, a veterinary surgeon, a manpower consultant and a retired couple.

"Our backbone is made up of members of the business sector who will join forces with innovative political architects to promote pragmatic ideologies. Some verge on the unconventional, but are yet highly workable," Mr Nilsson said.

Asked if the party had a financial support base, Mr Nilsson replied they had approached Texas billionaire and once US presidential candidate Mr Ross Perot, for assistance.

The party would give priority to pragmatic ideas, which included:

■ The restoration of business confidence and a favourable climate for international trade through incentives, concessions and tax rebates.

■ The establishment of a disinformation or propaganda neutralising centre. "The best political psychologists and public strategists will publicly ensure the annihilation of the evil communist fables and doctrines."

■ Mobilising security forces to "clean up the country, apprehending as many criminals as possible".

The security forces would also apply strict influx control to prevent foreigners from entering the country and would also set up work colonies where "criminal elements from society can make a positive contribution to society".

"Roman military pattern control would also be applied to townships and, in fact, to all voting wards throughout the country."

Other ideas were:

■ Revising labour practices and conduct codes with built-in guarantees for employers and investors.

■ The initiation of a comprehensive Aids programme which would include legalising prostitution and twice-yearly health examinations for all South Africans.— Sapa.

rugby team.

ARG 14/11/92 (304A)

Democracy on way in SA, says De Klerk

GARNER THOMSON
Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

LONDON. — President De Klerk has warned that the "gratification of some demands" by South Africa's newly enfranchised voters would have to be deferred until economic growth had generated the wealth to meet them.

But "moderate South Africans" would play a crucial role in meeting such challenges and help to ensure that the country did not slide into the Third World decline that had characterised so much of the rest of the continent.

In an essentially optimistic speech delivered last night at the South Africa Club's annual banquet at London's Savoy Hotel, Mr De Klerk promised his country "substantial change" within "essential continuity".

There had been convergence in the views of some of the major parties on issues such as the need to avoid a constitutional hiatus, the principle of power-sharing and the devolution of power.

"For these reasons I say that constitutional reform is alive and well," he said. "South Africa is well on its way to a new and fully democratic constitution which will have the support of the majority of all our people."

South Africa still had serious and unacceptable violence, and serious economic problems to contend with. But, "three and a half years ago, we were heading nowhere," he said.

"We were isolated. The prospects for our economy were disastrous. We were locked into an accelerating downward spiral of revolutionary uprisings and states of emergency.

"Today we are well on the way to a negotiated settlement with decent prospects for all."

Mr De Klerk acknowledged that in February 1990 too many observers had been over-optimistic.

"Now, too many are over-pessimistic.

"The reality is that we are involved in a lengthy, delicate and difficult process which does not lend itself to simplistic analyses or rigid timetables. But we know where we are going. That is forward, towards a new and truly just dispensation."

Mr De Klerk also welcomed the encouragement South Africa received from abroad.

But, he cautioned, the situation in South Africa was more complicated than it might appear at first sight.

"If foreign involvement is not handled carefully, if it is not administered in the correct dosage and at the right time, it could become part of the problem instead of part of the cure."

Earlier, Mr De Klerk met leader of the Labour Party Mr John Smith and the Commonwealth Secretary-General, Chief Emeka Anyaoku.

A spokesman for Mr Smith's office said the talks were "wide-ranging and constructive", covering in detail obstacles still in the way of formal resumption of negotiations on a new, democratic and nonracial constitution for South Africa, particularly the continuing problems of violence.

Mr Smith stressed the need for progress toward an interim government of national unity and for an election for a constituent assembly.

Chief Emeka's office said the meeting was private and no statement would be issued.

'Let's grasp future hands-on Broeder

304A

With 20 000 members today, compared to 12 000 in 1977, the controversial Afrikaner Broederbond is an apparently growing force. Weekend Argus Correspondent PATRICK LAURENCE talks to Broederbond chairman Mr Pieter de Lange about the organisation and its future in a nonracial South Africa.

MR Pieter de Lange, chairman of the secret Afrikaner Broederbond, loves to work with his hands. His garage at home in Linden, Johannesburg, is filled with carpentry tools, hanging neatly from racks.

Mr De Lange, who took over as Broederbond chairman in 1983, uses his hands to explain his conception of South Africa today and its role in the rapidly changing society.

The fingers and thumb represent the separate cultural and language components which make up South Africa; the palm represents the inseparable nature of the different parts.

For the hand to be strong, all the fingers must be healthy, says Mr De Lange, holding up his hand to illustrate the point.

"If I eliminate the *pinkie*, the grasp is fairly weak. With a healthy *pinkie*, I have a strong grasp. We, as a nation, want to reach out and grasp the future strongly."

A former professor of didactic education and a man with an inclination to philosophise, Mr De Lange, 62, concedes that the problem facing South Africans goes beyond recognising that the cultural groups, like the different parts of the hand, are interdependent.

"The exact balance between diversity and communality is a pragmatic question," he remarks in an interview in his book-lined study. "There will be times when we will over-emphasise diversity. But, there also will be times when communality will be over-emphasised."

His analogy between South Africa and the hand help him define the 20 000-member Broederbond, which is seen by its political enemies as an arcane, racially exclusive and manipulative organisation.

"It is an organisation of Afrikaner males," he states. "Its mission, as defined again recently, is to promote Afrikaner interests in such a manner that it promotes everyone's interests."

The bespectacled Mr De Lange does not elaborate, but it is common cause that the Broederbond played a critical role in pressing the case for power-sharing in South Africa, having circulated a "discussion document" among its members advocating an end to white rule as early as 1986.

Enlightened self-interest — the negotiated end to exclusive white rule — serves the interests of South Africa as a whole as well as the Afrikaners in particular, posits Mr De Lange.

Elected Broederbond chairman in mid-1983 in place of Professor Carel Boshoff, the son-in-law of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, unbending apostle of apartheid, Mr De Lange summarises the differences between conservative and modernising factions of the Broederbond at the time.

"He represented the section within the Broederbond who were of the opinion that you could promote Afrikaner interests in isolation, whereas the opposing group — of which I became the leader — were of the conviction that the interests of South Africa had become so interdependent that the only way to promote Afrikaner interests was to promote everybody's interests."

The South African Communist Party, confronted with accusations from the ruling National Party (all of whose top leaders are Broeders) that it is manipulating Mr Nelson Mandela's African National Congress, counters by depicting the Broederbond as a manipulative cabal within the NP.

The charge is put to Mr De Lange, who was among the group of avant garde Afrikaners who pioneered contacts with the ANC in the 1980s, when it was still an outlawed organisation.

"They are comparing two situations which are not readily comparable," he replies quietly but adamantly.

"They are a political movement (which aspires to power). We don't want to become a ruling political party.

"Our relationship with members of the NP within our ranks or the NP as a formal organisation is completely different from the relationship of the SACP with the ANC."

The SACP notes that its decision to become a secret organisation was forced upon it by a decree outlawing it in 1950 and that within two years of the banning order being lifted it resurfaced as an open organisation.

The Broederbond, the SACP observes further, did not have a similar excuse for its secrecy and yet its membership is still secret.

These points are relayed to Mr De Lange. He deflects the criticism with a barely supressed chuckle: "In our case, secrecy became a habit," he states.

Then he responds seriously: "If I may express a personal opinion, I don't think secrecy is really necessary. There is nothing that we do that can't stand the light of day ... I have come into the open. I speak openly on these matters."

The decision by the Broederbond to become a secret organisation a few years after its formation in 1918 was, Mr De Lange recalls, prompted by fear that Broeders would be discriminated against in an economy largely controlled by

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[redacted]

' says ' boss

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English-speakers.

But, Mr De Lange discloses, the Broederbond is reassessing many of its long-standing traditions, including its covert membership and modus operandi and its racially and sexually restrictive composition (membership is limited to carefully selected white Protestant Afrikaner men).

"All these issues are under discussion at the moment," says Mr De Lange. "We are focussing on ourselves, assessing the effectiveness of the organisation. The popular issues of the day come to the fore."

One of the issues which is being debated by Broeders is the need — as Mr De Lange puts it — "to get beyond race and gender", to open the ranks of the Broederbond to Afrikaners who are not white and to Afrikaner women.

A questionnaire is being prepared and will be put to members early next year, meaning that a decision on these central issues could be made in 1993, the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Broederbond.

Mr De Lange believes gender may prove to be a trickier question than race, that it will be easier to admit coloured Afrikaans-speaking men than white Afrikaans women.

He admits to espousing an "anthropological view of man", saying it is normal for men to congregate among themselves, just as it is normal to women to get together as women and, in a different context, for men and women to enjoy one another's company.

"The insistence that every male organisation should be open is not recognising the nature of man, of male man," says Mr De Lange.

He denies, however, that he is prejudiced against women. "I have three daughters and I don't think there should be any restrictions on a female realising her full capabilities."

Of the Broederbond's role in the future South Africa, Mr De Lange says: "I hope the Broederbond will reposition itself in such a manner that it can play a constructive role in helping to create our common future."

Coloureds 'see ANC as black group'

SOUTH 14/11 -19/11/92 (SOUTH)

By Rehana Rossouw

THE ANC is fighting a losing battle in the coloured community, say "Brown Nat" members and officials.

One of the 11 full-time NP organisers in the Western Cape, Mr Hubert Loubser, claims that most coloured people blame the violence in the country on the ANC and the "kaffirs fighting among each other".

"Most of the coloured people who have joined the NP have a religious background and they are scared that if the ANC takes over the country their churches will be closed down and satanism will be the official religion of the country.

"Of course, I know this isn't true, but this is what the people tell us."

Most coloured NP members interviewed by SOUTH said they had joined the party to ensure there would not be black majority rule in South Africa.

Mr Attie Talmakkies, of Lentegeur, Mitchells Plain, says that although he was an ANC supporter during his school years, as a Christian adult he found that he could not depend on the ANC for a prosperous economic future.

"I grew up in the platteland and no-one can talk to me about the pain of apartheid. I experienced it every day," Talmakkies says.

"But I saw Mr Mandela on TV one night when he was asked if he was a Christian. He couldn't answer the question — that's when I changed my opinion."

Talmakkies says South Africans must learn lessons from what happened in Africa. Socialism cannot provide employment and the NP's promise to build a strong free market economy is more convincing than the ANC's economic policy.

"I have to think of my family's future. I have no other option but to vote for the NP," he says.

"The ANC is an organisation for blacks and we can't trust blacks to run the country efficiently. I feel more confident with white people in parliament.

"People ask me how I can vote for the *boere* who oppressed me but I say better the devil you know than the one you don't know."

Mr Henry Scheepers, of Bonteheuwel, where the NP claims it has 17 branches, says he joined the party because it offered a "new vision" for South Africa.

"The majority of people in Bonteheuwel support the NP. The ANC is fighting a losing battle here," Scheepers claims.

Scheepers says De Klerk does not have to ask for forgiveness for apartheid as he is not responsible — his forefathers were.

"I don't have any problem with the fact that people were moved to Bonteheuwel under the Group Areas Act. I'm proud to live in Bonteheuwel," he says.

'I feel more confident with white people in parliament'

NP organiser Loubser insists that the NP's role in designing and enforcing apartheid for four decades is not a stumbling block in its recruitment campaign.

"We don't hide the fact that the Nats were responsible for apartheid," he says. "We tell them the NP today is a different party with different leaders."

Loubser says NP leaders have apologised on numerous occasions for apartheid and that more apologies will not serve any purpose. The best way of atoning is to build a better South Africa, he says.

Loubser says he cannot give an accurate estimate of how many NP branches or members there are in the Western Cape as an audit is only being done later this month.

But the party claims a "presence", if not a branch, in every residential area in the region.

The thrust of the NP's recruitment campaign is not to discuss NP policies in depth with potential members, but to focus on the future of the country, particularly its economic future, Loubser says.

NP organisers find that in working class areas particularly, people are reluctant to discuss politics but are concerned about feeding their children, finding jobs and houses.

"We get involved with the community, in their social lives, showing them that we care," Loubser says.

"In Bishop Lavis recently there were two funerals and NP women made tea and sandwiches for the mourners.

"People will remember the political party that gave them bread, not the one that gave them policies."

In an election the NP's chief opponent in the Western Cape will be the ANC, Loubser says, and he is confident that the majority of coloured people will vote NP.

He believes this is mainly because coloured people have closer ties to the white community than the African community.

"The sentiments I get from coloured people are that they regard the ANC as a black organisation, one which caters for Xhosas.

"We try hard to stop the racism among our members. The days of kaffir jokes are long over. We chastise our members if such terminology is used in our meetings."

Loubser says the election of Dr Allan Boesak as regional leader of the ANC will not help the organisation win coloured votes. Coloured voters are more impressed by President FW de Klerk, he claims.



BACKING THE NATS: Hubert Loubser predicts that coloured people will vote for the Nats because they have closer ties to the white community than the African community

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN.
Community Adult Education Programme 1993:
Dept of Adult Education & Extra-Mural Studies
CAEP is a training programme for people involved in educational work in community organisations, trade unions and NGO's it is designed to give those who do not have the

People are the power behind a constitution

SOUTH 14/11 – 18/11/92

(304A)

SOME OF the participants in Codesa are correctly making the point that Codesa is not a proper forum to draft and adopt a constitution for South Africa.

But there seems to inexplicable resistance to doing something about democratising the process from other quarters.

This re-affirms the view that political parties which played a decisive role in the authoritarian apartheid policies of the past, can in no way stand up and claim to be disciples of democracy.

The most fundamental thing that confers legitimacy on the constitution of a country, is the extent to which its people recognise the constitution as being legitimate.

And it is only to the extent that they regard it as being legitimate, that they will feel themselves bound by the provisions of that constitution.

People will only regard a future constitution as legally and morally binding if they are satisfied that they were somehow involved in its formulation and adoption.

Time running out for SA says ambassador

SI Times 15/11/92.

Report: BRIAN POTTINGER

Picture: COBUS BODENSTEIN

PRINCETON LYMAN, the US's new ambassador to South Africa, believes the country is reaching the end of the period of hope created by President FW de Klerk's reform speech in February 1990.

Unless there was an interim government by early next year and elections for a non-racial government within a year, he warned, the country could reach a point of no return.

Disillusionment would set in among the public and the flight of skilled people abroad could become unstoppable.

The US envoy gave this sombre assessment during a wide-ranging interview this week, the first formal one since his arrival in the country two months ago.

Although optimistic about the quality of political leadership in the country and long-term prospects once stability returned, he repeatedly emphasised the importance of halting the drift to violence which in some parts of the country could be compared with what had happened in Yugoslavia and Somalia.

"If people do not see results from negotiations, they will become discouraged. That does not make it impossible to turn the situation around, but it will make it all the more difficult to bring people back.

Investment

"If you have been out of a job for two years and are told that in a year's time there might be an election and at least another year is needed before bringing back investment, you are going to say: 'What's in it for me?' ".

At that point people would be tempted to search for alternatives to negotiations.

"I have a great sense of the need for urgency," he said.

The arrival of the veteran diplomat — he has been in the country's foreign service for 31 years — just preceded the change in administration in his own country.

On the immediate future, he foresaw both change and continuity in Africa policy following Mr Bill Clinton's victory.

The continuity would be the promotion of democracy and development in Africa and the support for UN peacekeeping efforts in the country.

Change would be found in the way the US sought to encourage progress in negotiations. There were three distinct stages. In the first, the negotiating phase, the US would continue providing support through non-governmental agencies, but the country could not expect significant development aid.

Stage two was interim government. During this stage the US would be guided by the internal parties as to what sort of assistance should be offered.

If there was a clear signal for assistance, the Clinton administration would be "very supportive". If there were mixed signals, the administration would most likely hold back.

Economy

The last stage, when an elected new government was in place, involved major changes to the South African economy and that of the region.

The South African economy, he said, would have to change.

"It has become very capital intensive recently, jobs have not been created and the economy will have to change internally as well as regionally. If that does not take place, nothing will happen regionally."

Mr Lyman said he believed the needs of the region were so enormous that he did not expect to see an early dividend, even if there was political stability. But if looked at over the longer term, up to 20 years, the potential advantages were enormous.

"There has been so much famine and war in Africa that there is a danger that Americans may become dispirited about Africa. But there is a different view about South Africa: a belief that it has the potential to become a democratic government and an economic powerhouse," he said.

The role of the the US in the region with the end of the Cold War has also changed.

Under the Clinton administration, greater reliance on multilateral forces could be expected. There would thus be strong support for the United Nations presence in South Africa aimed at preventing violence.

War

"The problem about violence is that once it gets beyond a certain point, there is very little outsiders can do about it. The trick is to avoid it happening. Once it happens, one is stuck with trying to contain the situation, but peacemaking in the middle of a civil war is very difficult," he said.

Is the region inherently unstable?

"There is no reason why it should be, but a low-level civil war can be carried out for a long time without any major outside interference.

"If the war is being fought at the level of AK-47s it can go on for a long time and the outside world cannot do much about it. The lessons of Yugoslavia and Somalia are that once you cross a certain line, you cannot come back. That is the concern about Natal."

But, says Mr Lyman, one thing is clear: to say negotiations cannot continue until there is an end to violence is to make negotiations hostage to violence.

"It puts the perpetrators of violence in control of the process."

Democracy first priority

ST Times 15/11/92.

United States President-elect BILL CLINTON spells out his policies towards Africa and South Africa

A REVOLUTION is under way in Africa. From South Africa to Ethiopia, from Kenya to Zaire, Africans are struggling to achieve political and economic freedoms that we Americans often take for granted.

If we are to lead a global alliance for democracy, we must be willing to work as hard in Africa as we are working in other parts of the world. That means putting the same kind of energy into helping South Africans overcome the legacy of apartheid as we do into helping the peoples of the former Soviet Union overcome the legacy of communism. It means opposing political oppression across Africa as firmly as we oppose political oppression in Asia and the Middle East. Over the past three years, Africans have made great strides towards democracy. But we should not allow this progress to lull us into complacency.

As recent events in Ethiopia and South Africa have reminded us, the road to democracy in Africa, as in other parts of the world, will be long and difficult.

Africans must take the lead in addressing the underlying causes of the continent's failure to develop stable democratic governments and prosperous economies. Among those causes are failed statist economic policies, bureaucratic corruption and one-party rule. A growing number of African leaders are beginning to take up these challenges and they deserve our strong support.

Our top priority must be to foster democracy. We cannot guarantee the success of the democratic experiments, but there are several actions we could take that would improve the chances that those experiments will succeed.

First, we must reform our aid programmes to ensure that the assistance we provide truly benefits Africans and encourages the development of democratic institutions and free-market economies.

In the 80s the Reagan and Bush administrations provided record amounts of aid to Africa. But much of that aid was used to support corrupt, dictatorial regimes. I am confident that Americans will support generous assistance to Africa if they believe that it will be used effectively to assist those struggling for democracy and economic opportunity — and not to curry favour with their oppressors.

We must also reform the way we deliver aid to Africa. The existing structure is too large and cumbersome and too much money is spent on bureaucracy and consultants.

A second step we should take to encourage progress in Africa is to support measures to strengthen UN peacekeeping capabilities.

War is the enemy of democracy. Unless we are willing to commit ourselves to creating international mechanisms that preserve the peace, we are likely to witness an unending series of humanitarian crises.

Finally, we need to devote special attention to the struggle for democracy in South Africa. The stakes there are very high and what happens in South Africa will inevitably affect the prospects for democracy and economic growth in the rest of the continent.

We need to do three things to encourage the transition to democracy in South Africa.

First, we must work to help end the violence that has ravaged black townships and threatened the Codesa process.

We must firmly insist that the De Klerk government investigate and prosecute those responsible for the violence, target some of our assistance towards strengthening local peace-keeping structures and support Nelson Mandela's call for international monitoring.

Second, we should maintain all remaining state and local sanctions, as well as diplomatic pressure, until there is an irreversible, full, and fair accommodation with the black majority to create a democratic government with full rights for all its citizens.

We should also continue the current restrictions on South Africa's access to international financial institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund, until this goal is reached.

Finally, when the transition to democracy is assured, a Clinton administration will begin to develop a programme of aid and investment incentives that can be used to help a democratically elected government overcome the bitter legacy of apartheid.

● This is an edited version of an article which first appeared in Africa Report. Copyright (c) 1992 African-American Institute.

Fired-up DP aims high

ST Times 15/11/92 . (304)

THE Democratic Party emerged from a two-day national congress yesterday aiming at a new image as a political party for all South Africans — and believing it could one day come to power.

"No other party has proven as we did today that the DP is a party for all South Africans," DP leader Zach de Beer told about 500 delegates in his closing address.

The congress resolved to take wide-ranging steps to ensure its growing membership among all population groups is more represented in party structures — including the top echelons.

"Call it affirmative action, call it what you like, but it is necessary," DP member and former University of the Western Cape rector Richard van der Ross told congress.

But already the party, which Dr de Beer dubbed "the new DP for the new South Africa", presented a changed face.

Delegates from traditional DP powerbases like Houghton and Wynberg sat next to delegates from newly-established branches in Alexandra, Tembisa and Soweto.

Unpopular, but Nats still supported by most whites

MOST whites think the government is making a mess of running the country, but are prepared to continue supporting the National Party.

The reason, it would appear, is that they are even less impressed with the performance of its chief rival and only serious contender for power — the ANC.

A survey conducted among 1 000 whites by Market and Opinion Surveys for the Sunday Times in October this year shows whites think the government has handled most issues poorly.

Crime

The running of the economy received the worst rating, with 69 percent of respondents believing it was being handled poorly or very poorly.

The surveyors ranked respondents' opinions on an index of 0 to 100. The government's handling of the economy received an index rating of 25, its handling of negotiations with the ANC 41, its response to ANC

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

demands 31 and the manner in which it dealt with the controversy surrounding the national anthem and flag 29.

The only two issues perceived as being reasonably handled by the government were crime prevention by police (55) and relations between the Ciskei and South Africa (51).

Despite this vote of no-confidence in the government's performance, 51 percent of the respondents said they would vote for the National Party if a parliamentary election was held today — a growth of five percent in support since March this year.

Voter support for the DP increased by three percent to 13 percent, while support for the Conservative Party dropped nine percent to 21 percent. The ANC would receive a meagre 0,4 percent support among whites in an election, the survey shows.

Most of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents said they would vote for the NP (58 percent) or the CP (29 percent) while most of the English speaking respondents said they would vote for the NP (47 percent) or the DP (30 percent).

The survey shows a sharp downward rating of the ANC and its president Nelson Mandela.

Blow

Over 80 percent of the respondents held a poor opinion of the ANC while over 70 percent held the same opinion of Mr Mandela and the organisation's chief negotiator, Cyril Ramaphosa.

Over 65 percent of the respondents said their opinion of Mr Mandela had worsened and 70 percent indicated their opinion of the organisation had also changed for the worse over the past eight months.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi emerged as the political leader that 56 percent of respondents held in high esteem, second only to President de Klerk, who was favourably rated by 66 percent.

FW: SA is headed for settlement

STATE President FW de Klerk said on Friday that constitutional reform was alive and well in SA and a negotiated settlement was in sight.

"SA is well on its way to a new fully democratic constitution which will have the support of the majority of all our people," he said.

"Constitutional reform is alive and well," he added in a speech prepared for delivery to the SA Club, which groups British businessmen and politicians with South Africans living in Britain.

De Klerk, who arrived in Britain earlier for a three-day private visit, said he believed the ANC was "back on the negotiation track" to carry forward the reform process he launched in February 1990. C/Pres 15/11/92.

ANC and government in talks

REPRESENTATIVES of the government and the ANC on Friday held talks as a follow-up to bilateral meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa. CP&M3 15/11/92

"Progress in the implementation of the Record of Understanding of 26 September 1992, was noted. It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon to ensure further implementation," said a terse statement issued by both parties.

It is believed the meeting was held to discuss the agenda of a proposed meeting between the two parties later this month (20th).

Mr Pheko, you do yourself a disfavour

Cpress 15/11/92

By GORDON FREER

INTERNATIONAL law is not a fixed, stable feature of the international system.

It is often contradictory and fluctuates wildly as the international system changes.

Events happen around the globe, not according to a set pattern, but rather as people make them happen.

International law has to catch up. It changes as people and events force change upon it.

On occasions something happens beyond these guidelines and international law has to include these events.

There is an debate that argues that SA is not a legitimate country because the government Acts that gave the territory self-government and independence never took the indigenous people into consideration.

This argument is put forward by M Pheko in his recently-published *South Africa: The betrayal of a colonised people.*

Pheko goes further in his argument stating that SA is still a colony for this reason, and that the government of SA has no right to negotiate because it is not a government of a country but rather of an "alien people'.

His primary fault is that he does not take the ever-changing nature of international law into consideration.

What is regarded as correct today was not necessarily regarded as correct 200 or even 50 years ago. This is what happened in the colonial debate.

The definition of a colony is "a collection of people whose origin is in some mother country, and who retain the languages, customs and allegiances of that country, but whose social and economic life is sustained by the place to which they have moved."

In other words a colony consists of people who move from 'home' and maintain all their ties to 'home' while governing in another country.

SA clearly does not fall into this definition. The people who regard themselves as South Africans are duplicated nowhere else in the world.

While the system of government in SA may be illegitimate, the people in government are not ruling to favour any outside powers but rather to favour themselves.

They serve no interests other than their own in controlling their 'home'.

The government may be illegitimate but the nation is not.

Pheko argues that SA is a colony not only because its government is made up of 'alien' people, but also because the State has not been recognised as an independent entity in the international system.

There are two primary ways of granting a state international legitimacy.

Firstly, a state has to fulfil three qualifications: it has to have territory, a stable population and a government to rule over the population and territory and which can engage with other governments.

Secondly, the international community must recognise and enter into relations with the state.

In both cases SA qualifies as a state. It fulfils the three qualifications in the first case and in the second it has been given international status by other states entering into negotiations with it.

By entering into relations with SA, states do not necessarily agree with Pretoria's policies.

They recognise the state as independent however, because they did not first ask Britain's permission.

Even the OAU and other African states have recognised the State of SA while oviously not necessarily agreeing with the government's policies. The OAU has recently visited SA on a fact-finding mission.

Pheko falls into the trap of equating recognition of the state with recognition of the government and approval of its policies.

One of Pheko's main contentions is that the 'alien settlers' were allowed to vote on the issue of SA independence *to the exclusion* of the indigenous people of SA.

The injustice of this act is not denied, but, once again, it is the legitimacy of government not of the state which is affected.

He further implies that the 'alien settlers' should not be allowed to vote at all because it is not their country.

However, former colonial settlers in other colonies in Africa were granted the right to vote on the coming of independence. Yet Pheko argues that SA should follow the same rules in the transition to independence.

The definition of a settler has become too elastic to be applied to a population which has lived in a territory for over 100 years. Taking the arguement to the extremes: Should white Americans return to their European 'home'?

Americans of Hispanic origin in Latin America would have to return to the Iberian Peninsula and those of Arabian descent whould remove themselves from North Africa, the greater Middle East and the Arabian peninsula!

Pheko's arguement falters on a number of misinterpretations and contradictions.

Historic injustices can be corrected in the present, but it will require taking *all present* factors into consideration.

The clock of time cannot be turned back.

To concentrate on and grumble about the recognised injustices of the past while the future is being moulded, is to weaken your position in the present and to undermine your role in the future.

The writer is a staff member in the Department of International Relations, University of the Witwatersrand.

British govt denies Major snubbed FW

LONDON — The Anti-Apartheid Movement's claim that UK Prime Minister John Major "snubbed" President F W de Klerk by not joining him to watch the historic rugby test between SA and England was denounced strongly by a spokesman at No 10 Downing Street yesterday.

"It simply is not true," she said. "The Prime Minister made a special effort to drive to London from his constituency in Huntingdon to meet De Klerk, in spite of a heavy ... schedule over the weekend.

"He also especially asked Peter Brooke, who as Heritage Secretary is responsible

(3044) Own Correspondent

for sport, to come in at noon on Saturday and escort De Klerk to Twickenham."

And, it was pointed out, De Klerk was Major's guest at Twickenham for the England-Australia final of the World Cup.

According to the schedule issued by the SA embassy, De Klerk and Major were due to leave from Downing Street for Twickenham after their 11am meeting on Saturday. But no official announcement was made by Downing Street. B/DAM 16/11/92.

☐ To Page 2

Snubbed

B/DAM 16/11/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

Saturday was the 21st birthday of Major's daughter — and the celebration was "only one of the reasons why he could not join De Klerk".

Asked if the South Africans had felt angry — as reported in one newspaper — about the alleged snub, SA team manager Abie Malan said: "It's mad to even suggest such a thing."

Sapa-AP reports that De Klerk and Major discussed progress in SA's constitutional talks at their meeting.

"The prime minister renewed his encouragement for talks on the constitutional process in SA, said the spokesman.

She described the mood of the 70-minute meeting as "constructive".

On Friday, De Klerk told the SA Club that constitutional reform was "alive and well" in SA.

"Three-and-a-half years ago we were heading nowhere," he said. "We were isolated. We are now swimming with the tide of world history. We are in step with the free world in every sense."

● Picture: Page 3

in brief

Sowetan 16/11/92 (304A)

The newsaper quotes De Klerk as saying no deal will be made unless the ANC fully accepts NP's "fundamental requirements".

These, the paper reports, include the installation of a government of national unity, the introduction of a Bill of Rights to protect minorities and individuals and provision for strong regional government.- *Sowetan Foreign News Service.*

DP woos blacks (304A)

The Democratic Party is to take far-reaching measures, including the promotion of blacks to leadership positions, to broaden its image and attract black supporters.

The decision was taken at the DP's national congress in Johannesburg at the weekend. Sowetan 16/11/92

Black delegates told the congress of intimidation by members of rival organisations, especially the African National Congress.

DP's national chairman Mr Ken Andrew said the party aimed to win between 10 and 12 percent of the vote in the country's first democratic elections.

De Klerk warns ANC

Sowetan 16/11/92

LONDON - President FW de Klerk has vowed to continue white minority rule indefinitely unless the African National Congress agrees to his demands for power sharing, according to the London *Sunday Times.*

De Klerk is said to have taken "a hardline stance" to head off National Party MPs who accuse him of giving too much away in talks with the ANC.

(HEB) (304A)

Govt hopeful

Outcome of meeting with ANC could pave way to full-blown negotiations:

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE South African Government's hopes that full-blown negotiations will resume before the end of the year rest on talks-about-talks which get underway with the African National Congress next week.

There were other signs following a series of meetings between Government negotiators and various organisations.

During his visit to London at the weekend State President F W de Klerk told the British media he hoped all parties would meet before the end of 1992.

The PAC's chief negotiator, Mr Gora Ebrahim, who met the NP's Roelf Meyer last Wednesday, yesterday said his organisation and the Government would meet on December 9 to finalise a new and inclusive negotiations forum.

Sowetan also learned Mr Meyer met IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.

The government and ANC are scheduled to hold a top-level "bush summit" on November 29.

DP ends congress with plan to change image

(304A) B/Day 16/11/92

THE Democratic Party (DP) emerged from a two-day national congress on Saturday aiming at a new image as a political party for all South Africans and believing it could one day come to power.

"No other party has proven as we did today that the DP is a party for all South Africans," DP leader Zach de Beer told some 500 delegates in his closing address.

The congress resolved to take wide-ranging steps to ensure that its growing membership among all population groups become represented more in its party structures — including in the DP's top echelons.

"Call it affirmative action, call it what you like but it is necessary," DP member and former University of the Western Cape rector Richard van der Ross told the congress.

Our Political Staff reports that the DP unveiled the first detailed proposals for a national assembly elected by proportional representation.

It envisages a lower house of parliament with 400 members, 300 of whom would be elected by a country divided into 100 constituencies.

The other 100 would come from "national lists" compiled by parties and would be used to ensure that the composition of the national assembly reflected the actual preference of voters.

"So that if a party gets 40% of the vote it gets 40% of the seats," DP national chairman Ken Andrew explained.

The crucial congress effectively amounts to the launch of a "new look" DP, which is bidding to shake off its predominantly white, middle-class image.

Yesterday about one-third of the delegates were other than whites.

They heard party leader Zach de Beer say the party had the potential to "rule the country one day".

De Beer said new branches were being opened across the country with new members and people being drawn to the DP because it was not tainted by corruption or violence.

Andrew, explaining the DP's plan for a new electoral system, said a senate was also envisaged and each federal state would be allowed to elect a minimum of four and a maximum of nine senators.

Berea MP Dennis Worrall, explained that the national assembly and the senate would have "co-equal" powers, except in respect of appropriation and other money powers, where the national assembly would be able to override the objection of the senate.

There would also be state assemblies, Worrall said. — Sapa.

Govt, CCB keep talking

(304A)

STEPHANE BOTHMA

NEGOTIATIONS between former CCB members and government in a bid to reach an out-of-court settlement for improved retrenchment packages could result in the postponement of Transvaal Supreme Court hearings due to start today. B/Day 16/11/92

The CCB and government have asked Judge President C F Eloff to postpone two civil hearings set down for today. (25th)

Another 21 similar hearings were scheduled for February, amid continuing mediation in the presence of the Ombudsman, Judge P J van der Walt, over government's contractual obligations to the former unit.

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Income statement

	Six months ended 31 August 1992 Unaudited R000	Twel 1991 R000
Turnover	54 280	54 382
Operating profit	6 842	5 649
Funding costs	3 454	3 918
Profit before taxation	3 388	1 731
Taxation	1 635	592

ROBIN HOOD

Talks to continue, says joint statement

B/DAY 16/11/92

(304A)

RAY HARTLEY

ANC and government negotiators are pressing ahead with bilateral talks despite government's alleged refusal to fully implement undertakings given in the record of understanding and new disclosures of alleged corruption and dirty tricks.

While no date has been set for a formal *bosberaad* between the ANC and government, neither party appeared concerned at the weekend that unrest hostels had not been fenced by the November 15 deadline.

A statement issued by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at the weekend made no reference to hostels. "Progress in the implementation of the record of understanding was noted. It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon to ensure further implementation," the statement said.

Some progress towards implementation of the record was achieved at the weekend when 42 political prisoners were released.

A senior ANC source said government's refusal to fence hostels by yesterday's deadline would not affect talks. The ANC was aware of the difficulties and was itself meeting hostel dweller organisations to "try and work something out".

Ramaphosa and Meyer agreed at the weekend to hold several meetings to deal with the record's implementation.

At a weekend meeting of the Campaign for Open Media in Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said the ANC regarded itself as "well within the transition process".

"We see the next phase being the period from the establishment of the transitional executive council leading up to the election of the constituent assembly and the establishment of an elected interim government of national unity," he said. After this, a new constitution would be drafted.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said disclosures that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer had personally authorised the covert Operation Echoes, aimed at undermining the ANC, would not affect bilateral talks.

Macozoma said "the purity of a particular individual" would not affect the ANC's decision to forge ahead with talks.

The ANC source said President F W de Klerk's announcement last week that government would stand by agreements reached during Codesa II would boost the negotiation process.

Government is believed to be trying to bring Inkatha back into negotiations before it continues with a second high-profile bilateral meeting with the ANC.

However, Macozoma said army chief Lt-Gen Georg Meiring was becoming a serious stumbling block in the way of fresh talks between the ANC and government.

Legal challenge to Bop death penalty

STEPHANE BOTHMA

LAWYERS for Human Rights (LHR) would institute legal action challenging the constitutionality of the death penalty in Bophuthatswana, a spokesman for LHR said at the weekend. B/DAY

The move followed a successful urgent application by LHR in the Mmabatho Supreme Court on Friday for the stay of execution of three death row prisoners.

Bophuthatswana Chief Justice Theal Stewart granted a 90-day stay of execution, LHR's Andries Nel said.

The three convicted murderers, Jonathan Molema, Stephen Mashinini and Joseph Mnisi, were to be executed in Bophuthatswana tomorrow. 16/11/92.

Nel said the 90 days would allow the three men time to seek legal remedies — petitions to the State President and further psychiatric observation — denied to them previously. In addition, LHR would institute legal action to challange Bophuthatswana's constitutional right to execute death row prisoners, he said.

Molema was given the death sentence in 1987, Mashinini in 1985 and Mnisi in 1989, but on November 5 the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court handed down execution orders for the three.

Sun International, whose MD Ken Rosevear last week agreed to assist LHR to appeal to Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope for clemency for the three, welcomed the court decision which was "in the interest of everybody".

Bilateral talks: ANC, govt press on

(304A) CT 16/11/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC and government negotiators are pressing ahead with bilateral talks in spite of the government's refusal to fully implement Record of Understanding undertakings and new revelations of corruption and dirty tricks.

While no date has been set for a formal "bosberaad" between the ANC and the government, neither party appeared concerned at the weekend that unrest hostels had not been fenced by the agreed November 15 deadline.

A joint statement issued by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer at the weekend made no reference to the fencing of hostels.

A senior ANC source said the government's refusal to fence hostels by yesterday's deadline would not affect talks. The ANC was aware of the difficulties and was itself meeting with hostel dweller organisations.

ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macazoma said revelations that Mr Meyer had personally authorised covert Operation Echoes aimed at undermining the ANC would also not affect bilateral talks negatively.

Some progress towards implementing the record was achieved over the weekend when 42 political prisoners were released.

The government is believed to be trying to bring Inkatha back to negotiations before a second bilateral meeting with the ANC.

FW to stay in power in 1995?

ET 16/6/92 (304A)

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — President F W de Klerk will stay in power after March 1995 — the constitutional date for elections — and rule with "moderate blacks" in his cabinet if there is no agreement on power-sharing, says a report in yesterday's London Sunday Times.

According to "National Party sources" Mr De Klerk has indicated he will use recent legislation to stay in office rather than hold a whites-only general election.

In this event Mr De Klerk "would appoint a number of moderate blacks to his cabinet, in an attempt to deflect criticism that he was continuing white rule".

The report, however, adds that during an exclusive interview, Mr De Klerk refused to be drawn on the subject.

'No Hitler'

Mr De Klerk said he saw a convergence of views and predicted 1993 would be the "crucial" year.

He told the Sunday Times there would be no deal with the ANC unless it totally accepted his "fundamental requirements".

"I am flexible on details but I will not say 'yes' to a winner-takes-all constitution.

"The new constitution must effectively prevent an Adolf Hitler or Idi Amin from gaining power in South Africa."

ARGT 16/11/92

DP plans big drive for black members

(304A)

Political Staff

THE Democratic Party is to take far-reaching measures to attract black supporters.

But at the party's national congress in Johannesburg at the weekend many delegates from new black branches told of intimidation by rival parties, especially the ANC.

DP leader Dr Zac de Beer said the party aimed to govern the country. National chairman Mr Ken Andrew said the DP aimed for 10 to 12 percent of the vote in the first democratic elections.

The congress passed a resolution to embark on an urgent expansion programme and membership drive.

The programme includes voter education programmes, registration drives and the establishment of a trust fund into which local and international contributions would fund the expansion programme.

The DP's drive to attract black members was already apparent at the congress, where about a third of delegates were black.

Delegates from traditional DP power bases in Johannesburg, like Houghton and Sandton, sat beside delegates from new branches in Alexandra, Tembisa and Soweto.

In the Western Cape DP branches have more than doubled since the start of the year and party workers were processing some 400 new membership applications every month, delegates said.

Eight of the 10 members of the new national council are black.

"No other party has proven, as we did today, that it is a party for all South Africans," Dr De Beer told the 400 delegates in his closing address.

But former University of the Western Cape rector Professor Richard van der Ross lambasted the party for its all-white leadership and the congress accepted his resolution that blacks should be co-opted into leadership positions.

"Call it affirmative action, call it what you like, but it is necessary," said Professor Van der Ross.

He suggested that the new legislation allowing parties themselves to fill vacant seats should be used to send more black members into parliament.

Black members said the way to win black voters was to get involved in community problems such as housing and health and to help residents with official problems such as obtaining identity documents.

It was clear at the congress that the DP will face enormous intimidation from rival parties, especially the ANC, in trying to woo black voters.

Chairman of the new 450-member Soweto branch Mr Andile Mzaidume said all the executive members of the DP's branch had received visits "from strange people who won't tell us who they are. Their message is that by starting a Soweto branch we are going against the struggle".

The congress also passed resolutions calling for an independent commission to probe control of State expenditure; a federal system of government with a president elected by all the people; the disbanding of private armies; a national lottery to finance assistance to the aged; and a national compulsory pension scheme.

Much to look forward to beyond transition

B/Day 17/11/92.

(306A)

BARRY SWART

HOW will political transition change our business environment: our market opportunities, our costs, our taxes? When the changes are big, as they are in SA's case, it is not enough to say "trust me".

Change makes people uncertain, unwilling to invest. It is the key problem that keeps the economy from performing much more strongly than it does.

We need a much higher rate of investment. That in turn requires confidence — certainly that risks will remain controllable and that the returns will be adequate.

However, the concern about uncertainty may be overdone. The time to buy is at the bottom of the market, and that is usually three months after the last optimist has turned pessimist.

We should now be planning, and investing, for when we come out of transition. For example, FNB is building a new head office complex that will house more than 5 000 employees by 1995, at a cost of more than R1bn in 1995 money. The benefits from that investment will be enormous, especially once the economy starts growing again later in the decade.

During the past two years we have encountered a very bad case of business pessimism. Ever since we entered recession seriously in 1990, with company profits falling badly, there has been a broad deterioration in business confidence. There was nothing positive on or beyond the horizon. And so everyone started to cut costs with a vengeance we have not seen since the '30s.

While this may be warranted in many businesses in the short term, is it really true for the medium term? I firmly believe we will have a successful political transition — one that will maintain this country as a growing concern. The condition of the world economy will eventually start to improve, giving us our export-led recovery. And, importantly, the current cost-cutting in so many companies is changing their operations fundamentally, making many of them leaner and meaner, and more cost-competitive.

This is something that will be the key to success as economic policy becomes less protection-minded, gradually allows greater competition from outside, and encourages more and more businesses to enter the export market.

As a country we are now underborrowed — indeed, undergeared. Our natural resources remain a strong card. If the politicians can strengthen our constitutional framework, and the economic policy-makers succeed in making us less inflation-prone and protection-minded, we should eventually turn the corner. This will hopefully coincide with a general upturn worldwide.

The weakness in the world economy is a remarkable coincidence of factors which are forcing many parts of the world economy to adjust themselves to changing realities.

However, such restructuring strengthens the world economy in the long run, creating the basis for a new strong growth cycle.

"Undoing the damage" is what the current world recession is all about, not least because there have been additional factors at work preventing a robust recovery, especially in the US. The increasing indebtedness of individuals and companies can be sustained in a period of rising incomes and asset prices, in other words, the combination of growth and inflation. However, when the growth slows down and the inflation is reduced, an over-leveraged situation can become very painful.

What we were witnessing was structural change. That is beneficial, as it creates the foundation for renewed growth in times to come.

One of our big advantages is that we are a very small country, struggling to normalise our place in the world. There is a certain sympathy for that, and we should make sure that we exploit all opportunities open to us, especially in Europe and the Far East.

Then, too, for many years we have been unable to compete on an equal basis for the African market. Over the past two years it has become obvious that we can recapture quite a market share by profitably replacing suppliers from other continents.

The SA exporter is not without support. A well-managed company should benefit from the General Export Incentive Scheme. In addition, we may find special export processing zones or units finally being allowed next year, and it should be possible to further reduce the effect of import tariffs and surcharges, and benefit from greater deregulation.

Economic development, growth and prosperity do not come about by themselves. They require great dedication, foresight, application, energy and much more to get an enterprise off the ground. Every success story is generally driven by some champion, or champions. It is dedicated people who can make a success of a business, even under the most trying of circumstances.

With enough champions on hand we should be able to make a successful beginning with our own restructuring. When the time comes, we will find that business conditions do move in cycles, and that although we may have missed one, there is ultimately much to look forward to as the '90s unfold.

☐ Swart is FNB MD. This is an edited extract from his address at the the SA Non-Listed Company Award in Sandton last night.

LETTERS

SA corruption dwarfs African states — DP

CT 17/11/92 Political Staff (304A)

THE scale of corruption in South Africa dwarfs Uganda and Zambia combined yet no minister or department head has been sacked, Democratic Party MP for Wynberg Mr Robin Carlisle said last night.

He told a public meeting in Wittebome the extent of corruption in South Africa was "horrendous".

Mr Carlisle also demanded the resignation of Mr Adriaan Vlok, who was the reponsible minister when flagrant abuses by the security forces were committed in KwaNdeble.

Abuses in the KwaNdebele security forces were detailed in the Parsons Commission report last week and have not been denied or questioned by the authorities, Mr Carlisle noted.

He said the National Party ignored at its peril the public outrage at ongoing revelations of vast corruption in government and its homeland satellites.

"This is corruption on a scale that dwarfs Uganda and Zambia combined", Mr Carlisle said.

NEWS Fencing of 18 hostels on the agenda ● Judicial inquest was closed to the public

Meeting between Govt, ANC is on

Sowetan 17/11/92

304A

■ BUSH SUMMIT Discussion on implementation of Record Understanding:

A "BUSH SUMMIT" between the African National Congress and the Government may be held before the end of the year, ANC spokesman Mr Saki Macozoma confirmed yesterday.

This confirmation follows an agreement between the Government and ANC in Pretoria last week to hold a meeting to ensure the further implementation of the September 26 Record of Understanding.

Mr Macozoma said the date for the meeting still had to be jointly announced. He would not confirm a report that November 29 was the day scheduled.

Asked if further "talks about talks" were necessary or if the meeting was on track, he said: "The meeting is on track... We hope it will be before the end of the year."

Certain to be on the agenda of the meeting, to be held at an as yet-unnamed bush retreat, are the issues of political prisoners and the fencing of hostels.

The Record of Understanding between the Government and the ANC stipulated that ANC political prisoners would be released and 18 hostels would be fenced by November 15.

From September 26 to November 15, the Government released 195 political prisoners from the ANC's list. The National Council on Indemnity is seeking information on another 22 prisoners.

Correctional Services spokesman Lt Burt Slabbert said the department's understanding was that the ANC, having accepted the October 8 1990 cut-off date for political crimes, was satisfied with this.

Constitutional Development and Communications Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa last week issued a terse joint statement saying "progress in the implementation of the Record of Understanding ... was noted.

"It was agreed that a follow-up meeting would be held soon." - *Sapa*

FW denies bid to undermine ANC

(304A) RAY HARTLEY (BBB)

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk denied yesterday that government organs were being used to undermine the ANC, but hinted there could be members of the security force with a hidden agenda.

In a BBC World Service interview just hours before Judge R Goldstone's disclosures on a Military Intelligence project regarding Umkhonto we Sizwe, De Klerk said: "Obviously there might be individuals who have their own agendas. We have nothing to hide. There is no third force. There is no sinister cabal within the security forces working against government. The government is in firm control of the security forces." BIOAM 17/11/92,

De Klerk said he could not comment on disclosures last week that SA agents had been sent to Britain to smear the ANC by linking it to the IRA and PLO because the matter was under "judicial review".

There was no plan to split the ANC and he continued to "get along well" with its president Nelson Mandela, he said.

"In the party political sense, we are definitely opponents because we will be vying for support and we will be fighting an election against each other. But I regard him as a very important interlocutor in the negotiation process."

De Klerk said multiparty talks could resume "in a month or so". There was convergence between negotiating parties on a government of national unity, regional government and increased majorities in a constitution-writing body.

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Malaysian, SA meeting

ACTING President Pik Botha and ANC president Nelson Mandela held talks with Malaysian Prime Minister Mahatir bin Mohamad at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday.

A Foreign Affairs spokesman said Botha and Mandela met Mahatir together to discuss constitutional affairs and economic matters, before meeting him separately.

Between their meetings with Mahatir, Botha and Mandela held talks.

Mahatir, en route to Namibia for a four-day visit, left later for Windhoek, where he was met by Prime Minister Hage Geingob and Foreign Minister Theo-Ben Gurirab.

Mahatir is leading a delegation that includes senior government officials and businessmen connected with mining, agriculture, trade, banking and shipping. — Sapa.

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Switzerland, he said.

Malaysian, SA meeting

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Hope for resumed talks revived

CT 17/10/92 2 (304A)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Hopes for resumed constitutional talks were raised yesterday by President F W de Klerk who said they could resume within a month and by ANC predictions that its "bush summit" with the government was imminent.

Mr De Klerk predicted before leaving London for South Africa that within two years he would be part of a government of national unity with Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

"It is not impossible that within a month or so a multiparty conference will reconvene where all the relevant parties are present," he said.

Yesterday ANC official Mr Saki Macozoma said the "bush summit" might be held by year's end.

The government is trying to arrange a similar "bosberaad" between itself and Inkatha.

The IFP's boycott of negotiations is the biggest obstacle to the resumption of multiparty talks. The IFP suspended talks with the government on September 27 after the ANC and goverment signed their Record of Understanding.

The Record of Understanding said political prisoners should be released and hostels fenced by November 15.

Sapa reports that 195 prisoners from the ANC list have been released, but the government has not yet fenced all hostels because of hostel-dwellers' hostility.

De Klerk rule after '95 denied

Political Staff

DURBAN — President FW de Klerk's office yesterday denied reports that he has contingency plans to stay in power after March, 1995 — the constitutional date for the next elections — as an "incorrect interpretation" of the government's intentions.

The London Sunday Times quoted National Party sources saying Mr De Klerk was prepared to continue ruling after that date with "moderate blacks" co-opted to his cabinet if there was no deal on power sharing. (304A) CT 17/11/92

But Mr Dave Steward, government spokesman and director-general of the president's office, said Mr De Klerk had no such plans.

The ANC issued a statement yesterday saying it "totally rejects the notion" that the NP could stay in power beyond March, 1995.

the nation in brief

Sowetan 17/11/92

300 families left homeless

MORE than 300 families at Brooksby in Bophuthatswana have been left homeless following severe thunderstorms that have raged in the area for the past two weeks.

The defence force has supplied them with tents as temporary accommodation.

Eight on fact-finding tour

EIGHT South Africans will undertake a two-week fact-finding tour of East Africa from tomorrow, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa said yesterday.

Mrs Shelagh Gastrow, head of Idasa's Africa Programme, will lead the tour, which will include a visit to Kenya as observers to the first multiparty elections. The tour will also include a visit to Eritrea and Ethiopia. The tour party comprises Gastrow, Mr Cas Coovadia, general secretary of the Civic Association of Johannesburg, Mr Jerome Ngwenya of the Independent Mediation Service of SA, Ms Ilse Olckers of Lawyers for Human Rights, journalists Barney Mthombothi and Thoraya Pandy and Idasa staffers Henning Myburgh and Simon Ntombela. Sowetan 17/11/92

5 charged for 24 murders

FIVE men appeared in Durban's Regional Court yesterday in connection with last month's massacre at Folweni in which 24 people were killed.

They are Mr Lucas Ngubane (19), Mr Mlungisi Nzama (21), both of Umbumbulu, Mduduzi Ngcobese (18), Mr Bongani Hlatswayo (19), both of Folweni, and Mr Sfiso Mthambeni (22), of Chesterville. They are charged with 24 counts of murder, 24 of attempted murder and several of the illegal possession of explosives, firearms and ammunition.

Sowetan 17/11/92

April is DP's vice-chairman

THE Democratic Party has re-elected Mr David Gant as chairman of its national council while former Labour Party parliamentarian Mr Chris April was elected as vice-chairman of the council.

The DP announced the elections yesterday. The party's two-day national congress, which ended on Saturday, resolved that party structures at all levels should reflect the nonracial nature of the DP's current membership and support base.

Kenya's voting under spotlight

304A PMG 18/11/92

Into Africa go SA facts group

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

EIGHT South Africans leave for Kenya, Eritrea and Ethiopia today on a two-week fact-finding mission organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

The group will visit Kenya as observers of the first multi-party elections there, and they will be the first South Africans to visit Eritrea since World War 2.

The leader of the group, the head of Idasa's African Programme, Mrs Shelagh Gastrow, said the aim of the visit was to help South African decision-makers learn from exposure to post-colonial countries.

"The idea is to examine problems those countries share with South Africa, such as ethnicity, discrimination against women, underdevelopment and violence.

"The aim is to break down barriers between South Africa and the rest of Africa. South Africa needs to move away from a Eurocentric point of view to an understanding that we are not isolated.

"Many of Africa's problems have become our problems and this is all part of South Africa's reintegration into Africa," she said.

Idasa's Africa Programme, implemented about 18 months ago, is intended to build partnerships with other pro-democracy and human rights organisations on the continent.

The delegation will meet government representatives, opposition leaders, women's rights activists, media people, lawyers, academics and officials from the diplomatic corps.

Other members of the group are Mr Cas Coovadia, general secretary of the Civic Association of Johannesburg, Mr Jerome Ngenya of the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa, Ms Ilse Olckers from Lawyers for Human Rights, journalists Mr Barney Mthombothi and Ms Thoraya Pandy and Idasa staffers Mr Henning Myburgh from Bloemfontein and Mr Simon Ntombela from Durban.

Meyer talks with Inkatha chairman

B1 DAM 18/11/92

304A

ADRIAN HADLAND and BILLY PADDOCK

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose had held a series of meetings, sources said yesterday.

It is understood the meetings, which are an attempt to draw Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi back into negotiations, are on the same lines as those between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Meyer in the past few months.

It is hoped that at a meeting of the peace committee executive next week, a meeting of national peace accord signatories will be arranged at which Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela will have a chance to speak to each other.

A senior government negotiator indicated yesterday there was little hope that multiparty talks would get off the ground this year.

The creation of a national multiparty conference of review is emerging as a central demand for Inkatha's return to national negotiations.

Speaking in Canada this week, Buthelezi urged "the establishment of a national multiparty conference of review" to re-evaluate the entire peace process and the process of renewed negotiations.

The creation of such a conference could "effectively deal with the inherent shortfalls of Codesa", he said. He argued for formal statutory powers to be given to the conference to oversee the process and guarantee the continuation of negotiations.

Of particular interest to Buthelezi would be the conference's examination of government and the ANC's record of understanding.

"If President (F W) De Klerk and Nelson Mandela are genuinely convinced that their bilateral agreement is good for SA, they would have no hesitation in putting themselves, and their agreement, to review and debate," Buthelezi said.

While government and the ANC have been lukewarm at best regarding the proposal, Inkatha spokesmen insist it is critical to the resumption of national negotiations.

Sapa reports Buthelezi told Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs Barbara McDougall in Ottawa yesterday the West appeared more eager to end apartheid than to establish a multiparty democracy.

McDougall said earlier she would use the meeting to urge Buthelezi to return to constitutional talks.

Buthelezi also told a Canadian parliamentary foreign affairs committee he was prepared to talk to Mandela to try to stop violence. "But it seems he is not prepared to see me."

Meanwhile, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini told the BBC yesterday that Zulus would resist rather than be ruled by what he called the communist followers of Mandela.

ANC, DP call for tolerance

(304ft) Political Staff

THE ANC yesterday called for political tolerance in the run-up to South Africa's first free elections. CT 18/11/92

The call was made by the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, at an ANC meeting in Knysna last night.

He said if it was true that DP members were being intimidated by ANC supporters in Western Cape townships, this was being done without the knowledge or consent of the movement's leaders in the region.

He also said the call by the DP MP for Wynberg, Mr Robin Carlisle, on the ANC leadership to stop the intimidation was the first indication he had had that the DP was being prevented from operating normally in the townships.

B1047 19/11/92

1994 elections likely

INDICATIONS were that democratic elections would be held in SA at the beginning of 1994, Home Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar said yesterday morning after a meeting in KwaNdebele with Chief Minister Prince James Mahlangu and his cabinet. (304)

ANC says yes to 'sunset clause'

Sowetan 19/11/92

Sowetan Correspondent

THE ANC's national working committee yesterday adopted a strategy document which proposes power sharing with the National Party during the transition.

The document, entitled "A Strategic Perspective", contains most of the proposals made previously in a paper by SACP chairman and ANC executive member Mr Joe Slovo.

The document notes that the ANC and the NP occupy a central role in the transition and that their relationship is marked by conflict arising from attempts by the Government to block the transition, and by constructive interaction in pursuing agreements.

"We also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity - provided that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of

■ Movement proposes power-sharing with National Party:

government," the document said.

Discussing the basis for minimising the threat to stability and democracy during the transition, the ANC recognised that the SADF, SAP, other armed formations and the civil service had the capacity to disrupt and delay the transition if the transition to democracy affected them wholly negatively.

"In this process it may by neeessary to address the question of job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty at some stage as part of a negotiated settlement. These measures will need to apply to all armed formations and sections of civil service," the ANC said.

The document said some elements of the final negotiated settlement would take the form of multi-lateral agreements while other elements of the settlement package would involve "binding" bilateral agreements between the ANC and the NP.

Cabinet in all-day deliberations

Govt thrashes out response to Goldstone

BILLY PADDOCK

CABINET met behind closed doors all day yesterday but by last night it still could not state what its course of action would be in the light of the Goldstone commission disclosures.

For two days government has failed to respond comprehensively on how it intends to deal with the disclosure of a dirty tricks operation within the SA Defence Force.

On Tuesday President F W de Klerk said he was treating Judge Richard Goldstone's disclosures very seriously and would issue a statement after the Cabinet meeting. But in a brief statement just before 8pm, his office said that Cabinet, which began its meeting at 10am, would probably not announce its decision before midnight.

One source said: "All the big boys were closeted in an office with their heads together trying to work out the statement." There were, the source said, "logistical problems".

Cabinet spent the day considering how best to limit the damage of the disclosures that dirty tricks were continuing within its security establishment — despite assurances from De Klerk to the contrary.

Goldstone found that former CCB operative and convicted murderer Ferdi Barnard was employed as a senior agent in Military Intelligence. His task was to undermine government's chief negotiating partner and political opponent, the ANC.

It was expected that Cabinet would accede to Goldstone's plea to give his commission wider powers and more co-operation and resources to investigate all public and private security forces and armies.

This plea was made in terms of the UN Security Council resolution that Goldstone spearhead an investigation into the SADF, SAP, Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla, the KwaZulu Police and homeland security forces.

It was also expected that at least certain lower-level officials within the security establishment would face disciplinary action, if not dismissal.

Constitutional Minister and former Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said on Tuesday that he had issued strict instructions to all the heads of the military establishment to ensure political impartiality. Disobedience would result in strong action.

With local and international pressure mounting on government, Cabinet would be seeking the best way to act while keeping the political heads out of the fray.

Even within government's ranks there was protest at the Goldstone findings. SA ambassador to Washington Harry Schwarz said he was "furious and outraged" because the disclosures had undermined all his embassy's hard work.

The US admininstration also called for the prosecution of those involved in the covert operations.

Yesterday the ANC welcomed the plea to extend the Goldstone commission's powers and said it would co-operate with the commission and allow it to investigate Umkhonto fully. But the KwaZulu government said it would refuse Goldstone the right to investigate its police force.

● See Page 2
● Comment: Page 8

Rebuilding SA 'is a burden that must be shared'

BIDAM 19/11/92 (304A)

KATHRYN STRACHAN

IT WAS unreasonable to expect political leaders to shoulder the total load of placing SA on a successful course of reconstruction, Urban Foundation CE Sam van Coller said last night.

In his address to the Urban Foundation's AGM Van Coller said individuals and organisations outside the political arena had to share the responsibility for moving SA forward. There were many avenues through which organisations could complement the work of politicians and help create a society that was "shaking off its past".

"There is at present a very disturbing trend in SA — it is a belief that the future of our country lies almost totally in the hands of the political leaders. Our history has also generated high levels of dependency, a fact epitomised in the statement: 'Once there is a new government, I am going to get a house.'"

He said that if development continued to be seen as primarily that of physical provision by government, SA would fail.

Many organisations were involved already in development programmes, although the extent to which these were both strategic and effective in terms of the country's needs was difficult to assess, he said.

If there was to be a return to stability, Van Coller said, SA had to meet three challenges concurrently — that of becoming a democracy, of returning to economic growth and of achieving rapid socio-economic development.

"Yet there is a natural tendency for many leaders to see these challenges in sequence — to say that we need a political settlement to stop the violence, that this will generate business confidence and economic growth, and that these factors in turn generate funding for socio-economic development," he said.

But to achieve stability, these factors had to be accompanied by greater commitment to improving people's circumstances, which meant more effective use of resources.

In spite of the economic problems there were significant government, private sector and international resources available for development.

It was also possible to apply these resources effectively despite violence and conflict, but it was vital they were applied in terms of sound criteria and not used for social engineering or parochial interests.

In a keynote address at the AGM, Urban Foundation vice-chairman and Peninsula Technikon rector and Franklin Sonn said the movement towards national level negotiations on education had become bogged down in a mixture of hope and despair.

He said the high political valency of education meant discussions about a new system would have to wait for an interim government.

"An inclusive negotiation process which will involve all interest groups in the process of designing the reconstruction of our education system continues to elude us," said Sonn.

While the legitimacy of apartheid education had collapsed, the system remained. There was an urgent need for leaders to negotiate a new education structure because it lay at the heart of the challenge facing SA.

"Education will be the critical cornerstone in the reconstruction of our society, in arresting the social degeneration, in rebuilding the fabric of our society and in countering violence."

In reconstructing education, Sonn said there would have to be a greater focus on providing the skills most needed. Without a massive reorientation the education system would simply reproduce the cycle of unemployment and frustration, he said.

French minister to visit

FRENCH Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman will arrive in SA on Sunday on a three-day official visit — the first to SA by a French foreign minister in two decades. (304A) (2

Kiejman would meet Foreign Minister Pik Botha, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Finance Minister Derek Keys, a French embassy official said.

It is understood that meetings with President F W de Klerk and Judge Richard Goldstone have been requested. G10A 20/11/92

Breakaway right-wingers meet Mandela

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Volksunie (AV), which recently broke away from the Conservative Party, has met African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and top officials here.

Unlike the pro-negotiation AV, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht refuses to negotiate with Mr Mandela or the ANC.

After a two-hour meeting yesterday the two groups released a joint statement acknowledging the significance of the meeting and said they would hold further talks.

AV leader Dr Andries Beyers said he expressed to the ANC the AV's perception of the concern of the Afrikaner community, their hopes and visions.

Mr Mandela said the presentation by Dr Beyers had been "frank" and he had made it clear he was not speaking on behalf of all white South Africans, but for the Afrikaner.

The ANC expressed its appreciation for an opportunity to hear, for the first time, Afrikaner nationalist views.

Afrikaner Volksunie meets ANC leaders

THE Afrikaner Volksunie presented its ideal of self-determination to the ANC yesterday and in turn listened to the organisation's stand on regionalism.

Headed by Volksunie leader Andries Beyers and ANC president Nelson Mandela, the two organisations said they would be considering the possibility of establishing a joint committee to discuss detailed constitutional questions.

A joint statement issued after the meeting at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters said: "The parties agreed on the need for negotiations between all parties to resume as soon as possible.

"The parties also agreed to consider ways of ensuring Afrikaner nationalists would be defenders of the new order."

Reading the statement, Beyers said both organisations had acknowledged the significance of the meeting. "The Afrikaner Volksunie expressed its perception of the concerns of the Afrikaner community, their hopes and visions," he said.

Mandela said earlier that by sitting down with each other, the two organisations had "already cut down our problems by 50%". — Sapa.

UNIQUE NEW WINE FROM HAMILTON RUSSELL VINEYARDS



Negative poll expected

GAVIN DU VENAGE

MARKINOR's latest political survey should be free of the "referendum halo" which characterised results produced in May, Markinor senior research executive Mari Harris said yesterday.

The last poll, which measured popular support — or lack thereof — of the country's political bodies and their leaders, was conducted shortly after the referendum when the general mood throughout SA had been positive, said Harris.

She said the latest survey, to be released next month, would probably show that people of all races had lost some of the high expectations that followed the "yes" vote.

Continued violence and the recent corruption scandals would have a strong impact on how the public viewed politicians and their organisations.

She said support for the NP might have dropped while the ANC would have reached its plateau.

Although corruption in the homelands had been no secret, official confirmation of its scope would have influenced people, she said.

The latest poll was conducted among 800 whites, both rural and urban, and more than 1 300 metropolitan blacks. Rural blacks were excluded because of financial restraints.

Harris was confident the results would be an accurate reflection of the prevailing political climate.

Harris said polls were already a recognised political planning tool in SA.

"The big danger for politicians is to lose touch with the electorate," she said. Polls provided a voice for the populace and gave political leadership a barometer of their followers' feelings at a specific time.

NEGOTIATIONS FM 20/11/92 (3041)

Cautious optimism

President F W de Klerk's prediction this week that multiparty talks might resume within a month or two is in line with government's general view that negotiations could be under way again by February — barring any new obstacles that could arise before then.

But, considering government's mounting credibility crisis in the face of financial and political scandals, resignations of "burnt out" senior party lieutenants, continuing violence in Natal and the Inkatha Freedom Party's intransigence, this outlook may be hopelessly optimistic.

Another possible obstacle is the entry of at least two new negotiating partners — the Pan Africanist Congress and the conservative Afrikaner Volksunie, both of which may demand backtracking on issues already covered by Codesa. Government would, however, oppose such demands.

It was significant that De Klerk predicted the formation of a government of national unity "within the next two years," indicating the likelihood of a lengthy period of multiparty talks — possibly the whole of next year and even beyond.

Intensive preparations for the resumption of multiparty talks are already under way and have included bilateral meetings over the past few weeks between government and

CONTINUED

a range of other groups aimed mainly at removing "obstacles" to full-blown negotiations.

It is likely that government and the ANC will meet secretly for a "bush summit" before the end of the year. A similar meeting with Inkatha is also being planned.

The two main obstacles to restarting multilateral talks are the violence in Natal and the IFP's attitude, though it is not clear what conditions Inkatha is setting for the resumption of talks.

Government wants the negotiations to be as inclusive as possible. It does not envisage pushing ahead without one or more of the main players. Every effort will be made to bring them all on board.

It is understood that government is prepared to be flexible on the structure of resumed talks to make it as easy as possible for all parties to join. ■

off a train.

March on Rosslyn factories

SCORES of Congress of SA Trade Unions members are expected to march on three factories at Rosslyn near Pretoria on Monday to press home certain demands.

Cosatu's Mr Jerry Moropa said at a Press conference yesterday the workers would demand a settlement for a labour dispute at the local August Laepple factory and the reinstatement of colleagues at the Wubbling and Apache engineering works.

1 164 Natal dead

UNREST in Natal has now claimed the lives of 1 164 since the beginning of the year, according to a report by the Human Rights Commission.

The HRC says 19 people were killed in Natal since last Wednesday. Six of the deaths were in the Natal Midlands, another six at Umgababa on the South Coast and the remaining four on the Natal North Coast. Sowetan 20/11/92

Offensive names changed

THE Government has taken the first steps to remove offensive words from the names of places in South Africa. Sowetan 20/11/92

This could mean that places like Kaffersdrift and Kafferrivier could disappear from the map to be replaced by more acceptable names.

It is not known at this stage how far the Government plans to go and if it will change the names of places like the Hendrik Verwoerd Airport and P W Botha Airport, or leave this to an incoming government.

The announcement about renaming places was made by Deputy Minister of Land Affairs Mr Johan Scheepers.

AVU and ANC frank talks

THE Afrikaner Volksunie presented its ideal of self-determination to the ANC and listened in turn to the organisation's stand on regionalism in a historic meeting yesterday.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela left the meeting early but said the presentation by AVU leader Mr Andries Beyers had been "very frank".

Beyers had suggested that an ANC-AVU committee be established "to look into areas of common interest". The meeting was held at the ANC's headquarters. - *Sowetan Reporters and Sapa*

Sowetan 20/11/92

NEWS Mandela calls Steyn appointment a good encouraging step

Call to boycott arms exhibition

Sowetan 20/11/92

■ **Occasion dubbed a celebration of war:**

MEMBERS of the international community, including ambassadors and South Africans, have been called upon not to attend today's opening of the arms exhibition at Nasrec outside Johannesburg.

The exhibition, due to open to the public today, has been organised by the Government-funded Arms Supply Corporation of South Africa.

The call was made jointly by the SA Council of Churches, the New York-based Special Committee Against Apartheid and the World Campaign Against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa.

Political row to erupt

Sowetan 20/11/92

■ **Steyn's appointment can be seen as ignoring Goldstone's request for wider powers:**

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

304A

A POLITICAL row is poised to erupt after State President F W de Klerk appointed a South African Defence Force general to head all intelligence functions following the Goldstone revelations.

De Klerk announced the appointment yesterday of Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn, chief of SADF staff, to head all intelligence functions, including Military Intelligence.

This development was seen in some quarters as ignoring Goldstone's recommendation that he be given wider powers to investigate all public and private security forces and armies.

De Klerk is to meet Goldstone on Monday.

The ANC rejected Steyn's appointment and called for an investigation by impartial specialists led by Goldstone.

It said De Klerk's response was dismal.

Past sham

"This is similar to past sham commissions in which the police were set up to investigate themselves."

But *Sapa* reports that ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said De Klerk's decision to appoint Steyn was an encouraging step.

"It is a good encouraging step ... as a Government they acted on the facts they could find," Mandela said.

The Pan Africanist Congress said the move by De Klerk meant "nothing" and repeated its call for the Government to resign. Publicity director Mr Waters Toboti said the Goldstone revelations were "just the tip of the iceberg" as the Government had proved to be corrupt.

The Azanian People's Organisation said it rejected "with contempt" the appointment of Steyn.

. Also calling for De Klerk's resignation, Azapo said: "You cannot appoint criminals to investigate criminals.

"If De Klerk believes this ploy will establish credibility for him and his Government he is sadly mistaken."



STATE OF THE N[redacted]N

3044 FM 20/11/92

De Klerk's acid test

Lord Moran, Churchill's personal physician, liked to say that each man who went into battle had within him a stock of courage. When it was used up, he needed to be withdrawn from the danger zone in order that the stock might be replenished through rest and recreation.

Extending the image into politics, it was clear from the opening weeks of his presidency that F W de Klerk had great courage — and so far there has been no sign that it is diminished. He has evidently been sustained by his integrity, his determination to do what is right — and by his sheer stamina, even when senior lieutenants are falling all around him and losing heart.

But when it comes to credibility — without which stamina and integrity are useless in politics — De Klerk and his government have been running on empty since the beginning of the week. It is the biggest crisis of his presidency.

The shock of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's disclosures on Monday does not lie in what Military Intelligence has been up to; or the unsavoury characters it chose to employ; or even in the fact that MI has recently been trying to undermine the ANC. These things are deeply disturbing, to be sure. But, sadly, we have become used to such scandals — with all their attendant corruption, flaky characters and weird political fantasies — and have almost come to expect them. The only comfort is that news of the latest round of revelations at least indicates that there are still men of honour who are prepared to dig out the dirt.

The real shock is that, for the first time, we have heard unambiguous evidence that De Klerk has not been in control. His previous assurances (some offered as late as last weekend) about secret agendas and dirty tricks have been made to sound pathetic — and, at worst, like downright lies. Thanks to that great NP tradition of unaccountability, which De Klerk has so far done little to change, he has been made to look a fool by his own Cabinet.

Whatever strange tricks of logic are employed by the Nats, we know as a matter of political record that three Cabinet Ministers have held the Defence portfolio since De Klerk took office: Magnus Malan, Roelf Meyer and Gene Louw. It follows that at least one of them can be held politically responsible for MI's most recent antics.

By an astounding and merciful coincidence, all three of them are still serving in De Klerk's Cabinet. Unlike some of their colleagues, they have not yet achieved that state of indemnified grace which retirement or ill health bestows upon former Nat Ministers who have erred.

At least one of the three can and must be held politically accountable for what MI was planning and carrying out in direct contradiction of De Klerk's statements. Whether the sin was of omission or commission, it remains a sin: in democratic countries, Ministers have paid with their careers for lesser negligence.

But it must not stop there. Judge Goldstone's statement is unequivocal that the SADF lied when it denied that agent Ferdi Barnard was employed by the army in 1991. The generals have a lot of explaining to do.

This is a familiar tale in a country that now takes for granted amazing levels of corruption in so many areas of national life. It is surely time for De Klerk, at last, to set a few hard examples.

Those who have failed or betrayed him must not be allowed to retreat into obscurity and prosper on superannuation. That would be the easy way out. It would also be the cowardly way. It would undermine the integrity of the democratic institutions we already enjoy — institutions that, almost alone in Africa, have proven their democratic utility, even though they have not been open to all races.



The script is familiar: the Minister (usually in a new portfolio by the time the scandal breaks) denies knowledge and responsibility; senior civil servants do the same; junior civil servants are not identified or claim they were following instructions; and everyone sits tight until the media attention switches to yet another scandal.

The Nat tradition of rewarding incompetence with early retirement on full pension is immoral. Every time it occurs it compromises the many thousands of honourable soldiers, policemen and civil servants who have been honest and loyal and who deserve better from their leaders.

Judge Goldstone does not operate alone. He depends on other men and women of integrity, often working against obstructive officials and with scant resources, to produce the evidence on which his conclusions are based. If De Klerk refuses to respond adequately to Goldstone's endeavour, he will undermine their initiative, create widespread despondency and entrench corruption.

For when corruption flourishes, nothing else does. There can be no democracy, no justice, no equity or honour in public life.

And, as corruption inevitably overwhelms the efficient allocation of resources by market forces, it makes sustainable economic growth impossible.

No embezzlement in the private sector here has ever reached the collective levels now being revealed in government and the satellite states, which it cannot control.

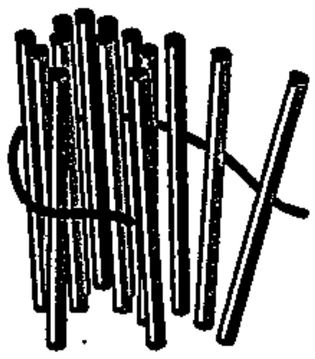
If no-one can be found to be responsible, and the word of so many generals is suspect, and government does nothing, then its stock of courage has indeed run out. ■

FM 20/11/92

UNBUNDLING

Picking up the gauntlet

Big business isn't always bad business



Summarising his impressions of the annual *FM* Investment Conference, the ANC's Albie Sachs told a luncheon audience he thought some important issues had either been ignored or dealt with inadequately.

In a speech notable for its solicitude, Sachs, probably the ANC's best propagandist, told mesmerised businessmen he thought a number of issues needed to be debated fully and publicly. He was, he added, throwing down the gauntlet to the business community. And first on his list for airing was the matter of "unbundling."

The word itself has taken on pejorative intimations since Finance Minister Derek Keys placed it in the spotlight when, as chairman of Gencor, he hinted that it could unlock added value. Since then the perception seems to be that that which is "bundled" is bad and needs, therefore, to be undone.

Unbundling has subsequently taken on a political dimension. It is a word which is being used with such abandon in that respect that it threatens to become dispossessed.

When Keys first made use of it, he meant that value in certain assets was not being credited to shareholders, because the market was either ill-informed or did not know how to impute that value.

A single case illustrates the point. Dabi is an investment company in the JCI group which held a wide spread of interest in many quoted companies, largely in the mining sector.

The market consistently refused to value the company on the basis of its underlying investments, even though these were well known and publicised in its annual reports, preferring instead to apply a discount.

So substantial did this discount become, on occasion as much as 35%, that JCI decided to sell the underlying shares and distribute the capital profits to Dabi shareholders. The market reacted, perversely and typically, by revaluing Dabi's shares at a level which now closely approximated the market value of its underlying assets.

Some other SA groups certainly are giving serious consideration to how they realise underlying wealth in this way. They will need also to consider the tax implications that could flow from a new regime.

However, the Keys definition of unbundling is clearly not what is meant by those who call for it to become a national policy in the new political dispensation. The puzzle is to tease out precisely what it is they wish to unbundle.

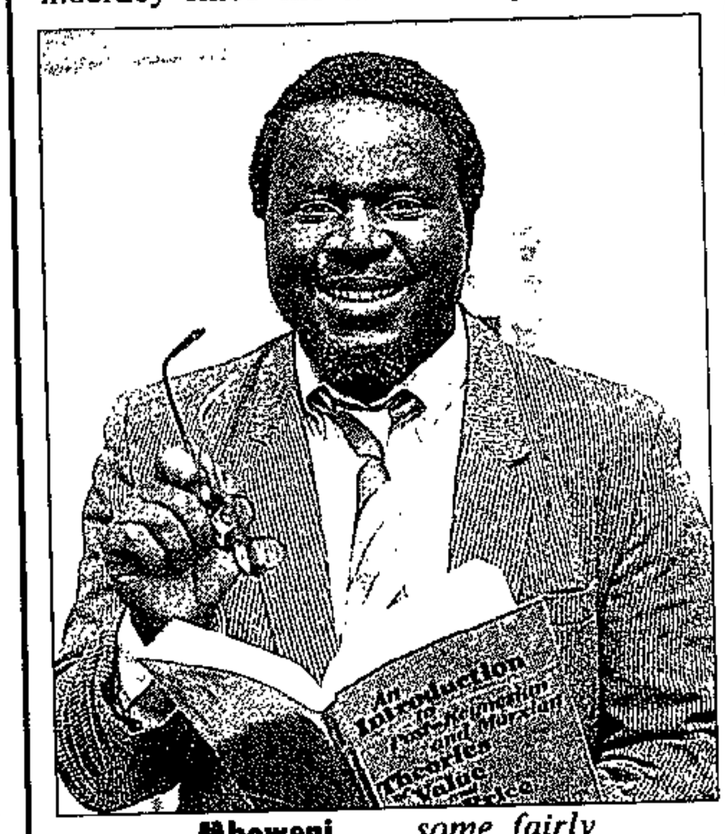
The issues in SA most often linked by the term unbundling are: first, pyramids, whether they are good or bad and whether they should be collapsed. Second is conglomerates and whether they should be broken up. Finally, and to confuse the first two, comes the enforcement of a competitions or anti-trust policy.

The purpose of a pyramid is to enable an entrepreneur to retain control of his company and to raise capital for development by issuing what are, in effect, non-voting shares, even though he holds only a minority shareholding.

And non-voting shares are anathema to the British-North American system of corporate governance because of the element of protection they provide to voting shareholders and, through them, the managers. In an article published in the *Financial Times* in August, Sir Alan Walters and George Guise argue that SA's pyramid structure puts feather beds in SA board rooms and protects the managements of SA's conglomerates "from any true accountability to their shareholders."

The answer to this country's problem of simultaneously awakening sleeping assets which form SA's wealth and promoting growth, suggest Walters and Guise, lies in sending for Hanson and Goldsmith. And to give them greater effect, SA's tradition of permitting pyramid structures of control must be swept away.

Well, it sounds simple enough and it must be of great attraction to those in the ANC seeking economic dominance. But it hides a fallacy. Britain has espoused shareholder democracy since the last century. It has no pyramids and few non-voting shares to protect entrepreneurs. It does have Hanson and Goldsmith. But it has not necessarily stimulated economic growth.



Mboweni ... *some fairly clear ideas*

The Walters/Guise thesis ignores the transparent success of the Alpine system of corporate governance which prevails in much of Europe. Dual-class shares and pyramids are pervasive in Scandinavia and Switzerland.

In Germany, the banks have long played powerful roles in controlling the major corporations (frowned on across the water). Much the same applies in Japan. Only the most perverse will deny the successes of those countries.

Economics consultant Jos Gerson argues that mass unbundling by disallowing pyramids may help shareholders at the level of the holding company, but it is likely to destroy value at the operating company level as their ability to raise capital cheaply is weakened. Gerson predicts that, on balance, shareholders will lose.

SA's system is one which evolved over decades with the consent and blessing of government and the investment community. No-one has ever been forced to invest in companies in which the controlling shareholder, often the founding family, retains control. Investors did so because they believed their own interests would be served best. And that lesson shouldn't be ignored.

ANC trade and industrial policy co-ordinator Tito Mboweni has some fairly clear ideas of his own on the subject. "Pyramid holding companies are particularly powerful," he says, "because they are able either to facilitate or constrain the rate of investment being contemplated by a subsidiary. A study we conducted recently revealed a specific example in which the desire for growth in a particular direction by a subsidiary ran counter to the policies of the holding company. Our view is that the whole system of pyramids in SA needs to be re-examined; we have to produce a policy (on pyramids) which will be part of the much wider issue dealing with monopolies and cartels."

The second issue is that of the conglomerates. These are, broadly speaking, enterprises engaged in several diverse or unrelated fields of activity, very often having been formed through buccaneering acquisition rather than organic growth. In SA, conglomerates generally have interlinking holding companies with many diverse sets of shareholders. For example, the shareholders of SA Breweries are not identical with those of OK Bazaars or JCI, yet the linkage between the three companies is considerable.

By and large, however, they do not possess a common body of shareholders. In the strict

FW's nightmare as ship sinks

Sowetan 20/11/97 (3049)



Joe Thloloe's Perspective

IT'S AMUSING to watch State President FW de Klerk trying to plug the holes when it is the whole dam wall that is collapsing.

He and his Government should remember what a character in literature said - "discretion is the better part of valour" - and bow out gracefully.

Instead they want to brazen it out and argue that they have changed, they are responsible for the changes taking place and, by the wave of a wand, deserve to be treated with respect.

The sorry performance of National Party secretary general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe on TV the other day showed just how wrong they are.

He was trying to wriggle out of the responsibility for the corruption exposed by the De Meyer and the Parsons commissions.

It was a sad performance.

He tried to argue that as soon as the Government started suspecting that matters were not right in the homelands of Lebowa and KwaNdebele it appointed the commissions.

So, by implication, the Government was blameless because it was not itself corrupt and it had acted promptly against the culprits.

Come off it, Doctor.

The whole edifice of apartheid was built on corruption: The National Party had no support among blacks for its policies and it therefore had to buy support.

Most people who had credibility and skills would have nothing to do with the system and that left the field open for those who wanted to make a quick buck.

And they made their money, in the town and city councils and in the homelands. Previously poor people were suddenly driving German-made luxury cars, living in big and beautiful homes, owned strings of businesses. But worst of all, they would dole out favours, for a price.

You knew this, Doctor.

The revolt that started on September 3 1984 in the Vaal Triangle was precisely because township residents were tired of being exploited and fleeced by the black town councillors.

The anger engulfed the whole country and we are still feeling its effects.

All those who complained about corruption, about the black local authorities and the homeland system were labelled communists and were viciously stamped on by the Government and its new-found friends.

The majority of white South Africans looked on impassively as their money was being squandered. No, not quite impassively: they felt safe because the National Party was protecting them from the black hordes and the communists.

That edifice is now crumbling. Corruption in Lebowa, security force scandals, anger among the taxpayers and the insistent liberation movements pounding at the door - it must be a nightmare for De Klerk.

There is no doubt that more is still coming - we know that as the ship sinks, more and more people will jump off and tell the world the real story.

DET to help in squatter school plan

THE Western Cape United Squatter Association and the Department of Education and Training have reached consensus on the appointment of teachers in squatter areas, the DET said yesterday.

Teachers in squatter areas will enjoy the same conditions as public school teachers.

The department already subsidises teachers' salaries and operational expenses at private squatter schools.

● Over five million DET matric exam papers — estimated to weigh over 330 tons — are being moved to various centres to be marked. — Sapa

Slovo slams Congress hardliners

Political Staff

THE ANC would undoubtedly win a free and fair election but most of the other main levers of power, including the economy, would be maintained by the present power bloc, according to SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

"The army, police, civil service, judiciary and so on, will, broadly speaking, be the same," he said in an interview in yesterday's issue of New Nation.

Mr Slovo also lashed out at the "triumphalists" in ANC ranks who wanted to scuttle negotiations until a complete surrender could be forced.

This, he said, involved a risk, ignored by the "triumphalists", and there was "no guarantee, however hard we work, that the balance of forces will be more favourable to us in say two years time".

He also rejected the argument by the ANC's head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, that in the context of the liberation struggle negotiations did not allow for power-sharing.

"This is an unsustainable proposition, more worth of people who have a talent to fight struggles in their heads rather than on the ground," he said.

Mr Slovo said the ANC alliance would immediately take affirmative action to transform the army, police, civil service and judiciary.

CT 21/11/92

Afrikaner 'heartland

■ Significant progress has been made by a determined group of Afrikaner homelanders in their bid for a place of their own in a new South Africa 304A ARG 27/11/92

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

PROSPECTS for an Afrikaner homeland inside a new South Africa are getting better as a result of negotiations between homelanders and other political leaders.

When all hidden agendas for clinging to white power are out of the way, the idea could find acceptance in the African National Congress and among other black groupings.

This is the view of veteran group relations specialist Professor H W van der Merwe, who has mediated between a group of Afrikaner homelanders and the ANC.

He told Weekend Argus this week the negotiations between homelanders and the ANC were continuing — and, so far, significant progress had been made towards reaching agreement on important issues.

As executive director of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, a position from which he retired recently, Professor Van der Merwe was one of the pioneers of mediation and peace-making initiatives in South Africa and one of the key players in early talks with the ANC in the 1980s.

He is now a senior consultant at the centre and still is involved in mediation projects.

In a recent study of Afrikaner ethnicity he found only one of various *volkstaat* proposals — the plan put forward by Professor Carel Boshoff's Afrikaner Vryheidstigting (Avstig) — to be "both realistic and negotiable".

He outlined his findings in a paper presented to a discussion on political transition, held at Port Elizabeth's Vista University.

Avstig's plan, he said, raised the prospects that Afrikaner ethnicity, deprived of its political, racist and *baasskap* elements, mightbe accommodated in the new South Africa.

He noted, however, that the idea of an independent (Afrikaner) state was unacceptable to black leadership. While the prospect of an Afrikaner homeland as a geographic and economically viable unit was questionable, an Afrikaner "heartland" did have symbolic importance.

In discussions between Avstig and ANC leaders, the latter emphasised that ethnicity never could be acceptable as long as there was any trace of *baasskap* associated with it.

ANC leaders have emphasised the importance they attached to culture, but they said culture should not be used as a political tool. As one ANC leader put it: "When culture is used for domination, it becomes a curse."

Avstig, which grew out of the rightwing Afrikaner-Volkswag movement, took as its geographic and ideological base the small village of Orania on the Orange River and reaching southward to Saldanha Bay and eastwards to Beaufort West and Graaff-Reinet in the Karoo.

While Avstig's literature showed specific boundaries, the movement recently indicated these boundaries were negotiable.

And Avstig has made several fundamental changes in its policies.

One of these was that it no longer insisted on complete political independence as a precondition for negotiation. It was now willing to enter negotiations in order to negotiate for independence.

It also would consider regional autonomy and federalism to the extent that this would contribute towards eventual self-determination and secession.

The movement also abandoned the idea of a white homeland, stating publicly that the concept of Afrikaner was not racist: There also could be brown and black Afrikaners.

Professor Andries Raath, who heads Avstig's constitutional committee, said coloured people who were living in the proposed Afrikaner homeland and who accepted the constitutional arrangements would be given full citizenship.

This approach also meant there would now not be any forced removals of blacks from the area set aside for an Afrikaner homeland.

Professor Boshoff's followers called their proposal the "voice of reason". This was because they asked for a semi-desert area with no major mines or factories. At present, more whites than Africans were already living there, but there were four times more coloured people than whites.

Contrary to most other rightwing movements, Avstig decided to take part in the negotiation process and submitted its proposals to Codesa 2.

In doing this, Professor Boshoff and his colleagues set out on a course which was bound to clash with the proposals of other volkstaters and with the Conservative Party leadership.

Other findings by Professor Van der Merwe included:

■ As the Conservative Party became purged of those volkstaters who were willing to settle for a minor portion of the country, the CP was left with the "left-overs", who were essentially apartheid traditionalists;

■ What remained to be seen was whether ethnicity could be given its rightful place in the new South Africa. That would depend greatly on the extent to which ethnicity could be depoliticised. Blacks would have to overcome the intense resentment and hatred that had built up against the concept, and Afrikaners would have to accept *Afrikanerskap* deprived of *baasskap*;

■ A major reason for the growing tension between Afrikaner homelanders and the Conservative Party leadership was the CP's emphasis on white rather than Afrikaner identity;

■ Avstig leaders have made it clear that Orania was the growth point of an Afrikaner volkstaat and not a white state. "Anderskleuriges" (people of colour) who identified with the ideals of the Afrikaner were welcome; and

■ Professor Carel Boshoff virtually has ruled out violence as a last resort to achieve a *volkstaat*.

Set interim date or else, says Mandela

ARG 21/11/92

Weekend Argus Correspondent

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Unless a date for an elected interim government is set, bilateral talks with the government will be stopped, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela has warned.

Addressing a rally in Joza township, Grahamstown, yesterday, Mr Mandela said the ANC and the government would have a bilateral meeting "very shortly".

He did not give a date, but said it would be before the end of the year. The central issue at the meeting would be the announcement of a date for the installation of an elected interim government.

"If that is not resolved, there will be no further bilateral talks with the government.

"We want to stop talking. We want the people of South Africa to have an effective vote on the planning of the future of the country."

He also renewed his appeal to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini "who does not seem to realise the role to play as a traditional leader," to help bring peace to Natal.

He appealed to the king to "come forward and identify with us in the search for peace". The king should not make statements which could lessen the respect due to him as a traditional leader, added Mr Mandela.

In a generally conciliatory speech, he appealed to Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana, Inkatha leader Chief ~~Mangosutho~~ (304A) Mangosutho Buthelezi and Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to "work with us towards the creation of a peaceful South Africa where organisations will be able to operate democratically".

He also referred to the appointment of SADF chief of staff, General Pierre Steyn, to investigate revelations by the Goldstone Commission of an alleged military intelligence plan to discredit the ANC. He said he would withhold comment until General Steyn made his findings.

"It is possible that General Steyn will behave as a man of integrity and come out with actions which will expose the activities of MI and it would be unwise for me to say anything that may destroy his credibility.

"If he makes findings which protects or covers their crimes, it would be time for me to comment," said Mr Mandela.

He said the ANC wanted the present civil service, police force and army to remain in a future South Africa, but changes would have to be made.

These "would have to be made in a sensitive manner and take into consideration the service rendered under apartheid".

Mr Mandela said senior civil servants, police officers and members of the army "would have to go", but added that they would not go "without their pensions and what is due to them".

Move to change offensive names

Weekend Argus Reporter (3044A) ARG 21/11/92

STEPS are being taken to remove offensive words from the names of places.

This could mean that places like Kaffirsdrift and Kaffirrivier could disappear from the map to be replaced by more acceptable names.

It is not known at this stage how far the government plans to go and if it will change the names of Hendrik Verwoerd Airport or PW Botha Airport.

Mr Johan Scheepers, Deputy Minister of Land Affairs, said at Lydenburg this week that because of the abolishment of racial discrimination he had asked the Department of Land Affairs "to prepare legislation to enable the Registrar of Deeds to alter the name of immovable property in a registered deed, if the minister is satisfied that such a name is offensive because of any racial discrimination therein".

Warning for govt over election date

(304A)

CT 21/11/92

GRAHAMSTOWN. — Mr Nelson Mandela warned yesterday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the government and the ANC he would cut all bilateral links.

Mr Mandela said there would be a top-level meeting between the ANC and the government "before the end of the year" which would focus on setting a date for an interim government.

"If that is not resolved there will be no further bilateral talks with the government," he said at a rally in Joza township near here.

"We want to stop talking. We want the people of South Africa to have an effective vote on the planning of the future of the country," he said.

There was no immediate comment from the government, but on Thursday government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said Pretoria would like to move towards a shared interim government as speedily as possible.

Democracy talks have been directionless since the ANC quit Codesa in May and cut ties with the government in June over continuing violence.

Mr Mandela and President F W de Klerk met on September 26 to discuss violence and to pave the way back to democracy talks.

On a less critical note, Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted the present civil service and the security forces to remain, but not without "certain changes".

These "would have to be made in a sensitive manner and would take into consideration the service renedered under apartheid".

Senior civil servants, police and army officers would be given their marching orders, but Mr Mandela added they would not go "without their pensions and what is due to them". — Sapa-AFP

Hani: FW's image eroded

THE political costs of waging a low intensity war against the democratic movement is starting to escalate for the government and Mr F W de Klerk's personal image has been badly eroded, said Mr Chris Hani.

At a conference yesterday, the SACP secretary-general charged that the government had a two-fold strategy of drawing the ANC into co-responsibility for the transitional process through negotiations while simultaneously disorganising and disrupting the movement through a strategy of low intensity warfare. — Sapa (304A) CT-21/11/92

Socialists sound off over a sunset settlement

SouTH
21/11 - 25/11/92

304A

SINCE the demise of Codesa, political groupings have been sharpening their game-plans in preparation for another outbreak of full-blown negotiations. Within the ANC camp, a plethora of position papers has emerged for internal discussion.

The negotiation debate has so far been dominated by socialists in the movement. It was sparked by SACP national chairperson Mr Joe Slovo in his contribution "Negotiation: What room for compromise?"

His thoughts were challenged by a range of left-wing leaders including Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Blade Nzimande. They argued against Slovo's push for far-reaching concessions.

SACP politburo member Mr Jeremy Cronin sprung to Slovo's defence, arguing that Slovo's detractors were unrealistic and vague in their uncompromising aims.

More recently, Mr Raymond Suttner, ANC political education officer, tried to synthesise the debate.

Discussion has centred on the extent to which the ANC should bend to government demands without upsetting the movement's long-term goal of participatory democracy.

Slovo, perturbed by the tedious pace of transition, prioritises the need for a constituent assembly where all adult South Africans will vote in their representatives who would thump out a new constitution.

Another election would follow where parties would be chosen to rule in terms of the new laws of the land.

Slovo proposes to reach this goal by wooing the NP with a far-reaching concession package. These compromises include joint-rule between the winners and losers of a democratic election for a limited "sunset" period, plus a degree of job protection for civil servants and the top brass in the security forces.

Slovo's critics, within a socialist framework, interpret these concessions as a deviation from the goals of national democratic revolution and social transformation.

Nzimande, in his paper entitled "Let us take the people with us: a reply to Slovo", says: "The types of compromises he proposes and the manner in which he proposes that these should be made are premised on the assumption that the regime will appreciate a gesture on our part, seeing it as a gesture of goodwill."



Raymond Suttner

Slovo believes that his sunset clauses will create the possibility of a major positive breakthrough in the negotiating process, says Nzimande.

"Maybe so, but this has to be demonstrated rather than merely hoped for," he argues. "We have already learnt some bitter lessons about compromises. Our suspension of armed struggle must already have taught us some lessons about the type of enemy we are dealing with.

"At roughly the same time as we suspended armed action, the regime intensified the brutal slaying of our people in the townships, rural areas and on trains."

Nzimande talks instead of a "total defeat of the NP" through a "mass-driven process".

Natal midlands leader Gwala, labelled a crazy Stalinist by some of his critics, discarded Slovo's vision as "an aborted democracy built on expediency".

Says Gwala: "Comrade Slovo goes on to show how much he is worried about reconciliation and allaying the fears of the civil service, but is silent on the fears of the majority in this country.

"Negotiations must not reconcile the oppressed to neo-apartheid dressed in the robes of a new constitution."

Instead of working from a co-opted position to affect meaningful change for the oppressed, as Slovo suggests, Gwala and other critics insist that this change would never materialise under these stifling conditions.

They see it as an immediate priority to further weaken — and preferably destroy — the apartheid state before being in a position to govern effectively.

They also charge, citing examples from countries such as Chile, that placating the civil service and security forces of an old regime only serves to strengthen their capacity for counter-revolution in a new system.

Cronin defends Slovo, and villifies his critics, by accusing them of being too simplistic in their revolutionary approach. He interprets their notions, particularly those of Jordan and Nzimande, as being geared towards a single moment when power is seized completely from the NP and its supporting structures.

"I am not arguing that there are never all-or-nothing moments in political struggle," says Cronin, "But if you are not in a final showdown, it is absolutely unhelpful to strategise as if you were.

"Above all, you leave the door wide open to the very opportunism you are trying to counter.

"Why? Because you are unable to chart a concrete, specific course between the here-and-now and your ultimate objective. The all-or-nothing approach, when it is not an all-or-nothing moment, means that all you can offer is next to nothing," Cronin writes.

Suttner, in his paper, praises Slovo for "taking some of the compromises that are being suggested within our ranks and limiting them in a way that would not or is unlikely to frustrate democratic objectives".

But at the same time, he criticises Slovo for the manner in which these concessions should be given.

Said Suttner: "In regard to the question of with whom a deal should be struck, it is not obvious that the NP should be offered guarantees to civil servants. If we consider this a necessary measure, should we ourselves not offer it directly to such civil servants and not allow the NP to continue to be the dispenser of patronage to whites?"

Turning to the contributions of Slovo's critics, Suttner, while acknowledging the importance of "mass-driven struggle", reiterates the view that their "final showdown" approach is out of step with the ANC's capacity.

One can bet confidently that it will be a long while before the sun sets on the debate.

QUENTIN WILSON

Boipatong, Barnard ... what's next?

SOUTH 21/11 - 25/11/92

304A

JUDGE Richard Goldstone's revelations that military intelligence employed a convicted murderer to head a plot against uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), the military wing of the ANC, is the most damaging scandal the government has suffered so far.

"This is certainly going to take some of the shine off De Klerk," a European diplomat said.

The South African president reacted cautiously on Wednesday. Instead of heads rolling, he simply instructed army chief of staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn to probe the details of the scandal.

He also issued a veiled rebuke to the Goldstone Commission for releasing its information to the press, saying that he would still be considering the full judicial report.

The latest disclosure followed bruising evidence last week of massive corruption in two of the 10 black homelands that were cornerstones of the government's former apartheid policy.

Goldstone's inquiry linked top army officers to a plan to discredit the ANC while De Klerk was engaged in high-profile negotiations with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

"All the worms are coming out of the woodwork," said Mr Tony van Nieuwkerk, an analyst at the University of the Witwatersrand Institute for International Affairs.

But diplomats cautioned against an over-reaction to the disclosures, saying De Klerk should be given time to respond.

F W de Klerk's image as the reform-minded white leader trying to end apartheid is being battered by scandals over corruption and dirty tricks:



President FW de Klerk

"Let's not be too apocalyptic about this," one Western diplomat said.

The diplomat said De Klerk had to be kept in power if only because there was no obvious successor who could take over the process of dismantling apartheid and persuading whites to share power.

Stellenbosch University political scientist Professor Philip Nel said most Western governments were still inclined to support De Klerk rather than Mandela, mainly because of De Klerk's commitment to a market-driven economy.

Nel said that while the black community probably was most disturbed about the disclosure of military bias against the ANC, white Afrikaners were enraged by the evidence of corruption.

"Afrikaners have traditionally trusted their leaders to be honest and they are seriously disappointed about the corruption. Disillusionment is a dangerous thing, it makes people unpredictable," Nel said.

ANC spokesperson Ms Gill Marcus said Goldstone, who heads a judicial enquiry into political violence, had "confirmed what we have always known" when he revealed evidence that the military had lied about employing Ferdi Barnard in 1991.

Goldstone told a news conference he had found military intelligence files confirming that Barnard, a former policeman who served four years of a 20-year sentence for killing two drug addicts, formulated a plan to undermine the ANC.

Marcus said the evidence underlined the need for a quick transition from exclusive white rule to democracy.

"It's not a question of whether De Klerk has to go, the whole government must go — that's why we want interim rule now and elections by the middle of next year. But there might be some ministers who should go more quickly," she said.

Marcus declined to say, however, whether she wanted Mr Roelf Meyer, the government's chief negotiator, sacked because he was briefly in charge of the defence ministry.

"Somehow, I doubt whether Meyer was ever actually in charge at the defence ministry," she said.

One diplomat concluded: "The latest allegations are very serious indeed, but we have to keep going, we must keep the process on track".

— Sapa-Reuter, South Reporter

ANC leadership adopts compromises

SOUTH 21/11 - 25/11/92

THE ANC offered an olive branch to FW de Klerk on Wednesday when its National Working Committee formally adopted a discussion document which opts for a possible power-sharing settlement with the National Party.

The document, "Strategic Perspectives", is a modified version of the paper circulated at the October 29 Patriotic Front conference in Port Elizabeth.

At the time of phasing in a new constitution, the ANC notes that "the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity, provided the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government".

The document identifies the need to restructure the security forces and civil service and to address the question of a general amnesty because of the potential of these issues to delay transition.

The job security, retrenchment packages and pensions of civil servants and members of the security forces would also be addressed.

The document proposes bilateral deals with the regime on issues such as regional government.

It spells out recent retreats of the De Klerk regime as well as the ANC's ability to mobilise mass action and international support.

However, it admits to organisational weaknesses and insufficient military and financial resouces to defeat the "counter-revolutionary movement".

In setting goals for the present round of negotiations, the document warns that "we may not achieve everything we set out to achieve".

Africa's experience highlights choices

SOUTH Africa needs a new constitution which will solve a range of problems which are similar to those faced by a number African states after they had gained independence.

Most countries in Africa have suffered the ravages of colonialism, with its accompanying problem of white supremacist policies.

Colonialism unilaterally imposed new borders without regard for existing tribal borders. Through the policy of divide and rule, it deliberately exacerbated ethnic divisions, and plundered the economic resources of African countries with no regard for the economic well-being of the indigenous inhabitants.

Education and social services were provided mainly for the colonial population. Even where some provision was made for indigenous peoples, it was of an inferior standard, and aimed primarily at equipping a potential labour force with the minimum of skills.

The result was that by the time independent African governments came to power, they were faced with a legacy of poverty, ignorance and illiteracy among the indigenous population; worsening relations between ethnic groups; racism and vast imbalances in the quality of life between white and black citizens.

Because South Africa faces similar problems, we can draw from the experiences of African states and learn why they adopted certain models of constitutions to rebuild their countries after independence.

The African states which faced similar problems to South Africa, adopted different approaches to solve them.

Some opted for a unitary state to overcome racism and ethnic division, while others opted for a federal constitution.

Clinton strategist may aid Mandela

ST Times 22/11/92

3044

From Simon Barber in Washington

THE POLITICAL pulse-taker and strategist who orchestrated President-elect Bill Clinton's march to power may soon be doing the same for ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Stanley Greenberg, a 47-year-old Yale professor turned pollster, has been in contact with the ANC about helping the movement prepare for the constituent assembly elections it hopes will take place late next year.

A spokesman for his Washington-based consulting firm, Greenberg-Lake, confirmed this week that "Stan has talked with people about the possibility of working for the ANC . . . it's under discussion".

She said he was "out of the country" on a post-election holiday and would be considering his next moves after talking to Mr Clinton and the transition team when he returned.

UCT professor Herman Giliomee, who has co-authored research with him and is currently working at the Woodrow Wilson Centre in Washington, said there had been talk for some time in ANC circles about signing him.

Marcel Golding of the National Union of Mineworkers went to see him at Clinton's Little Rock, Arkansas, headquarters two months ago to discuss the ANC's election plans.

Books

A Marxist political scientist while at Yale, Mr Greenberg has written two books dealing with South Africa, **Race and State in Capitalist Development**, a comparative study dealing with South Africa, Israel, Northern Ireland and Alabama, and **Legitimating the Illegimate**, a 1986 treatise on the pass laws and influx control.

Although this was not advertised by the Clinton campaign, he also advised the Marxist Sandinista movement in Nicaragua's 1990 elections. The Sandinistas lost.

Despite his leftwing credentials, Mr Greenberg is credited with developing Clinton's centrist strategy to break the Republican lock on the presidency.

"Even though I come from the left", he told the New York Times recently, "I have always been uncomfortable with elitist liberalism, which I think is disdainful of the values of working-class Americans."

His polling in blue-collars areas like Michigan's Macomb County had convinced him this would help the candidate in the eyes of so-called Reagan Democrats alienated by Jackson's apparent hold over the party and its agenda.

He was also the principal author of the minutely detailed battle plan that took Clinton from third place in the polls to decisive victory in November.

The plan scripted a complete image makeover for Clinton and his wife Hillary to convert the candidate from the slick, untrustworthy philanderer of popular imagination to a warm, caring, man-of-the-people with a bright adoring wife at his side.

Greenberg's services don't come cheap. According to one report, he stands to take in $760 000 (R2,2-million) when the campaign finally settles its accounts. This should give him leeway to offer the ANC a steep discount if he decides to lend it his wizardry.

If the movement does retain him, it will be following in the steps of the government it hopes to replace. After Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980, Pretoria hired as lobbyists two of his closest advisers, John Sears and Stuart Spenser.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Meyer hits out at Mandela threat

ST Times 22/11/92 304A

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer accused ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through unilateral threats.

Mr Meyer said in a statement the government had taken note of Mr Mandela's statement on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the two sides the ANC would cut all bilateral links.

"The agenda for the expected bilateral discussions with the ANC has not been determined. It is therefore a pity Mr Mandela is creating the impression that he wants to determine the agenda and dictate discussions by unilateral threats," Mr Meyer said.

He added the government had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected interim government.

Top ANC man is suspended

ST Times 22/11/92

THE secretary-general of the ANC in the Eastern Transvaal, Mr Joe Nkuna, has been suspended by the organisation for negligence of his duties, pending confirmation by a regional conference to be held on December 12.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the decision followed a meeting by the organisation on Friday in Nelspruit to consider a commission of inquiry into allegations including neglect of duties and corruption by Mr Nkuna.

Another Nat MP resigns

ST Times 22/11/92

THE National Party Member of Parliament for Umfolozi, Mr James Schnetler, announced his resignation from the House "for health reasons" yesterday. 22/11/92

He is the fourth NP MP to resign in the space of a month. ST Times 22/11/92

UN envoy on way to SA

THE United Nations is sending an envoy to South Africa on a two-week mission, according to the UN Observer Mission in Johannebsurg.

Mission leader Angela King said in a statement Norway's ambassador to the United Nations would arrive in South Africa today, however his mandate was unclear.

Woman finds body in yard

A MURDERED Gordon's Bay pensioner was found by his ex-wife tied up in his garden.

Mr Ronald Darke, 80, who lived alone, was found on Friday by his ex-wife, Ruth, underneath some shrubbery. His hands and feet had been bound and he had been gagged.

Police said Mr Darke's house had been ransacked.

NEWS ROUND-UP

Meyer hits out at Mandela threat

ST Times 22/11/92

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer accused ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through unilateral threats.

Mr Meyer said in a statement the government had taken note of Mr Mandela's statement on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the two sides the ANC would cut all bilateral links.

"The agenda for the expected bilateral discussions with the ANC has not been determined. It is therefore a pity Mr Mandela is creating the impression that he wants to determine the agenda and dictate discussions by unilateral threats," Mr Meyer said.

He added the government had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected interim government.

Top ANC man is suspended

ST Times 22/11/92

THE secretary-general of the ANC in the Eastern Transvaal, Mr Joe Nkuna, has been suspended by the organisation for negligence of his duties pending confirmation by a regional conference to be held on December 12.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday the decision followed a meeting by the organisation on Friday in Nelspruit to consider a commission of inquiry into allegations including neglect of duties and corruption by Mr Nkuna.

Another Nat MP resigns

304

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NewCourt

...De Klerk clips colourstone's wings

EVT NOW!



they have learned much
■ Pic: TLADI KHUELE

first

Phuthing was established as a orchbearer of unity, honesty, ustice, respect, self discipline nd responsibility.

Tracey Davis, 16, from waziland said: "Phuthing is a vely school. Here I have arnt to live and share with hers. We're like a family and ow each other well."

Apress 22/11/92 (304A)

City Press Reporters

THE government, stung by a series of damaging scandals, is under increasing pressure to make way for an elected interim government.

The latest scandal prompted ANC president Nelson Mandela to warn on Friday that unless a date for an elected interim government was set at the next meeting between the government and his organisation, he would cut all bilateral links.

Mandela said in Joza, near Grahamstown, that there would be a top-level meeting between the ANC and the government "before the end of the year" to focus on a date for an interim government.

"If that is not resolved there will be no further bilateral talks with the government."

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday accused Mandela of wanting to dictate discussions with the government through threats. He said the government had already commited itself to an elected interim government.

Mandela's warning came in the wake of an expose this week by Judge Richard Goldstone that a branch of Military Intelligence, the Directorate of Covert Collection, was planning on discrediting political opponents of the State while the government was busy negotiating with them.

The Goldstone Commission confiscated files from a MI building in Pretoria earlier in the week, which revealed that Ferdi Barnard, a convicted murderer with a prison sentence of 20 years, was employed by MI to discredit Umkhonto weSizwe.

Barnard planned to subvert MK by linking it to criminal acts, using a network of prostitutes, homosexuals and drug dealers, Goldstone found.

The judge called on the government to extend the commission's powers and terms of reference in order to pick up the pace of investigations into "dirty tricks".

However, at a meeting between Goldstone and De Klerk on Friday night, De Klerk refused to increase the commission's powers, describing them as adequate.

The ANC said in a statement it was "deeply disappointed" at De Klerk's refusal. "The denial seriously hampers the ability of the commission to get to the heart of the problem and it remains an internal investigation into the security forces," it said.

The appointment of an SADF insider, Lt-Gen Pierre Steyn, chief of SADF staff, to lead an investigation into the defence force's intelligence activities has led to fears the "self investigation" could turn into a cover-up.

This was especially fueled by the appointment of former security police colonel and later CID chief Maj-Gen Alwyn Conradie to assist Steyn.

Conradie co-headed and served as chief investigator for the McNally Commission into SAP hit squad allegations by Death Row prisoner Almond Nofomela and former security policeman Capt Dirk Coetzee.

The investigation cleared the police of all charges and discredited Coetzee. Coetzee was later vindicated by Supreme Court Judge Johan Kriegler in the Lothar Neethling "poison" defamation case.

Lawyers for Human Rights director Brian Currin said there have now been sufficient crises for the government to lose their status as a credible negotiating partner. It now had to make way for an elected interim government with joint control over the security forces.

Ex spy tells all to City Press

Apress 22/11/92

By JOHAN RETIEF

RONALD Desmond Bezuidenhout, alias Tokarev, drew up an affidavit at City Press on Friday before turning himself in to the police tomorrow "for fear that I may disappear while in custody because of my intimate knowledge of the workings at Vlakplaas", he said.



LIVING FEAR ... Ronald Bezuidenhout.

Bezuidenhout is currently charged by Mak for fraud.

According to the affidavit, Bezuidenhou claims to be a form member of Vlakplaa "the headquarters of th hit squad of the SAP".

Bezuidenhout was lat involved in at least tw covert activities for Mi tary Intelligence.

In one incident, Bezu denhout shot and injure a drug dealer with a st len pistol. "I was co gratulated personally b the then Maj Eugene d Kock," he alleged.

No action relating t the shooting was taken.

The Askari's were sai to be instructed by D Kock to arrest as man people as possible in a attempt to prevent th closure of Vlakplaas which was a possibilit with the advent of th

■ To Page 2



ANC sticks a spanner in the works

By QUINTON RHODES

THE ANC stuck a spanner in the government's works this week when it formally accepted the principle of power-sharing with the NP government during and even for a specified number of years after the transitonal period.

Though the move appeared conciliatory, in fact the effect was to intensify pressure on the government to speed up the process of transformation and to give in to demands for an interim government.

The decision to accept the notion of a government of national unity was taken at a meeting of the ANC's National Working Committee in Johannesburg this week.

It represents a fundamental departure from the ANC's earlier official position which insisted that the results of elections alone should determine the constitution of the future government.

In terms of the new decision, the ANC is guaranteeing far greater representation in future government to the NP than its support base could democratically claim. It proposes that an interim government of national unity should be kept in place:

- During the period of setting up elections for a Constituent Assembly;
- While the Constituent Assembly is drafting the new constitution;
- During the period when the old constitution is phased out and the machinery of State is being restructured; and
- The proposed government of national unity could be retained into the indefinite future.

In the words of the Strategic Perspective document: "The balance of forces and the interests of the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity, provided the parties who have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government".

The document also concedes on other major areas of conflict, including:

- A general amnesty for the security forces;
- Job security and pension deals for the civil service; and
- The framing of policies on the powers and constitution of regional government by means of bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government.

The document represents an unprecedented gesture of conciliation by the ANC.

More importantly, it meets almost all of the government's stated objections to speedily instituting an interim authority as well as for getting talks back on track. The central point here, as President De Klerk made clear in interviews last weekend in London, is the government's insistence that it would not be prepared to accept winner-takes-all elections and demanded guarantees for the position of whites in the future.

De Klerk has also held out on the question of strong regional government to balance the central authority.

The ANC's acceptance of the Strategic Perspective document has led to intensified local and international pressure on De Klerk to speedily resolve the present negotiations impasse – and to institute some form of interim government.

The announcement of the ANC's willingness to enter into power-sharing arrangements came, calculatedly, amid a growing crisis of confidence, credibility – and most importantly of legitimacy – currently facing De Klerk's government.

This week's revelations by the Goldstone Commission – that SADF Military Intelligence continues to be involved in projects aimed at destabilising the ANC by covert and unsavoury means – came on top of revelations of enormous corruption inside Pretoria's homelands.

In the wake of these and other scandals which continue to break over the government's head on an almost daily basis, the demand for interim government grew in intensity this week when Nelson Mandela stated the ANC would not be prepared to re-enter negotiations until a date had been set for an interim government to take control of the degenerating situation.

Particularly with De Klerk's bottom line of power sharing having been already guaranteed, the ball is firmly in the government's court.

ANC meets on interim plans

CT 23/11/92 304A

'Open division' in ranks

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC's national executive committee is to discuss its contentious plans for transition and a period of power-sharing in a three-day meeting which begins in Durban today.

Although its strategy document has been adapted and approved unanimously by its national working committee, there is open division in the ranks about the proposals, which have been cautiously welcomed by the government.

Its head of information, Dr Pallo Jordan, who was not present at the meeting of the national working committee where the revised document was approved, has publicly criticised the proposals.

On the other hand, the chairman of the SA Communist Party, Mr Joe Slovo, who first initiated the move for limited power-sharing and proposed sunset clauses to limit white fears — particularly in the civil service and the security forces — has criticised Dr Jordan, suggesting he was fighting struggles in his head rather than on the ground.

Mr Slovo also lashed out at "triumphalists" who wanted to drag matters out until the government was forced to a complete surrender.

A member of the national executive and a member of the SACP's central committee, Mr Jeremy Cronin, admitted there were differences about the document and said some people felt the regime was nearer collapse than others.

No one disagreed about the need to fight the counter-revolution, but there were differences of emphasis about how to deal with this.

The position of limited, principled concessions was clearly the unanimous consensus of the naional working committee, "but I have no doubt that on the ground the majority lies in the other direction".

"People understandably dislike any idea of power-sharing," he added.

It is understood that some of the strongest opposition to the strategic document emanates from the Western Cape region.

But a Western Cape member of the national executive, Mr Reggie September, said in a message from the movement to the SACP's regional congress that it was "very serious to spell out and talk about power-sharing".

In the same way that the MPLA in Angola and Swapo in Namibia had been forced to negotiate with the forces they were fighting and share power with them, the liberation movement had to realise that they had to think about these issues, Mr September said.

CP calls for govt to quit

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party — citing alleged capitulation to the ANC as well as rampant corruption —
has called for the government to resign.

The Transvaal CP council said it had discussed the CP's "detailed plans for mobilisation against a government handover to the ANC".

"The council unanimously carried a motion demanding the resignation of the National Party government because of its involvement in massive corruption, its mismanagement of the economy and its capitulation to the ANC and its inability to maintain law and order in South Africa."

CT 23/11/92

Six members were elected to the CP's Transvaal Executive Council, bringing to 10 the number of members on the council. — Sapa

(304A)

Treurnicht hits at Volksunie

PRETORIA. — The Conservative Party has lashed out at the Afrikaner Volksunie for meeting the ANC and has questioned its role in the Concerned South Africans Group. (3044)

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said yesterday the AVU had long had an "obsession" with negotiating with the ANC and had now given substance to it. CT 23/11/92

NEWS Claim that De Klerk is hostage to the military

Pressure mounts on FW

Sowetan 23/11/92

■ Evidence by CCB chief at Webster inquest spurs demands for an interim government:

THE Government, under fire over damning accusations about security force dirty tricks, is facing increasing pressure to make way for an interim elected administration, political leaders and analysts say.

"There have now been sufficient crises for the Government to lose status as a credible negotiating partner. It now has to make way for an elected interim government with joint control over security forces," Mr Brian Currin, director of Lawyers for Human Rights, said yesterday.

Dealing the latest blow to State President FW de Klerk, the chief of the Civil Cooperation Bureau, Mr Joe Verster, said he was told by De Klerk there would be no witch-hunt over security force dirty tricks.

Verster told a closed inquest into the murder of anti-apartheid activist David Webster that a former head of the SADF told him the Government accepted everything the CCB did "was in good faith", according to newspaper reports.

The allegation follows disclosures by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone that there was evidence senior military intelligence officers hired a twice-convicted murderer to discredit the ANC.

A Government spokesman said yesterday that De Klerk, as Commander-in-Chief, had a special duty to protect the SADF from "orchestrated attempts to undermine its legitimate functions and...good reputation..."

He said the State President's approach to the CCB and "similar questions," was "a matter of record".

"It has been his (De Klerk's) position that allegations of wrong-doing should be established and that anybody guilty of offences should be charged and punished," the Government spokesman said.

The Democratic Party spokesman on justice, Mr Tony Leon, said there was circumstantial evidence that De Klerk was hostage to the military.

Acting in concert

"Elements within the security forces are either undermining the Government or acting in concert with the Government according to a hidden agenda. Either option is dangerous. There is now an urgent need for a deal on an interim government," Leon said.

Mr Rocky Williams, a military analyst, said "securocrats" were holding a gun to De Klerk's apartheid reforms.

"The problem is that he (De Klerk) is in a process of transition and you do not cut off options when negotiating.

"He may need to fall back on their assistance and therefore has no alternative but to live with them," Williams said.

Goldstone asked for more powers and resources to investigate wrongdoing by all armed forces of the Government, the black opposition and rightwing groups. De Klerk offered extra police investigators but said the Commission already had sufficient legal powers.

Signalling a tough line ahead of a Government-ANC summit to be held soon, ANC president Nelson Mandela has threatened to abandon bilateral talks with the Government unless there was an agreement soon on a date for the installation of an all-race interim goverment.

In response to Mandela's threat, Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said Pretoria had already committed itself to the implementation of an elected transitional government as soon as negotiations with all political parties had been completed. - *Sapa-Reuter.*



New venture for teenagers

Sowetan 23/11/92.

■ New paper out tomorrow:

A JOINT *Sowetan/Star* venture has come up with a new and exciting newspaper specifically tailored for the teenage market.

The newspaper, to be launched tomorrow, has been born out of a realisation that there is a gap in the market, demonstrated by the popular teenage response to *Sowetan's* column "Gloria's Youth"

A board of editors, comprising six black and six white teenagers, will write stories. Each group will contain the same number of males and females.

Investigative stories, special features, including some written by Gloria and her white counterpart Cathy, are just some of the items to be offered by *The Newspaper With No Name*, as it will be called on its first launch.

A competition will be run and a computer awarded to the person who comes up with the most appropriate name.

The newspaper will be inserted into *Sowetan* and *The Star* and will come out once a month.

CT 23/11/92
304ft

New govt, ANC talks soon

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa will meet this week to finalise the agenda and arrangements for a bilateral meeting lasting several days later this year.

Mr Meyer said he was hopeful that dates could be set this week as the Peace Committee executive would decide tomorrow whether to call a peace conference of all parties and set the dates for this.

He said the ANC-government meeting cannot be finalised until the peace committee has had a chance to thrash out some way of holding its conference.

The ANC has seized the initiative from the government which is reeling under Goldstone Commission disclosures of an third force operating within the military establishment and criticism domestically and internationally over President F W de Klerk's choice of action — appointing the military to investigate itself.

Decision

At the weekend Mr Nelson Mandela quickened the pace of negotiations by demanding a decision on a date for an interim government at the next round of talks between itself and the government.

This was rejected outright at the weekend by Mr Meyer, who insisted that only a multi-party forum could make such a decision.

● Sapa reports that Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will disregard a date set for the establishment of an interim government if that date is decided bilaterally between the ANC and the government.

"Anything done behind our backs won't apply to us," he told a media conference on his return from Canada yesterday.

He said he was awaiting a reaction from Mr Meyer on his proposal for a Multi-Party Conference of Review.

● ANC meets on plans — Page 6

Demand for elections

Sowetan 24/11/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

(304A)

THE national executive committee of the ANC, which meets in Durban this week, will formally adopt the demand that a date be set for a general election.

According to the movement, this demand will be a condition for multiparty negotiations and the ANC will deliver the message to the Government at a *bosberaad* between the two parties early next month.

But the Government, the Democratic Party (DP), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) were unanimous yesterday that the decision on the date of an election would have to be made at multiparty level.

The DP's national chairman, Mr Ken Andrew, said while it was important that elections be held soon to create stability, it was absolutely necessary for the decision to be made at multiparty level.

The Government, the PAC and IFP also said that a multiparty forum had to take the decision.

The demand for the setting of the date for South Africa's first non-racial democratic election was raised by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at the organisation's Natal congress on Saturday.

Ramaphosa said the first item on the agenda for the *bosberaad* was "the question of setting a date for the elections for a constituent assembly.

"If they do not agree to setting a date, then we might just as well put aside the idea of continuing to talk to them.

"We believe that the date for elections must be set without any further delay and we go to the negotiation table to say: Put everything aside, let's set a date. We will settle that first. Everything else will be settled later," Ramaphosa said.

He said the focus of the national executive committee meeting, which started yesterday and ends tomorrow, "will be the forthcoming bilateral negotiations between the ANC and the regime".

■ ANC executive committee meeting will formally adopt a resolution that a date must be set:

Poll date 'should be set by all parties'

PRETORIA. — A date for the election of an interim government should be determined by discussions between all parties, Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha said last night.

He was addressing the press after two hours of talks with French deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Georges Kiejman at the Union Buildings.

Mr Botha said Mr Kiejman informed him that all parties should "hurry up" to get negotiations underway.

Mr Kiejman also told him the perception was growing in the international community that South Africans could not come to peace with one another. CT 24/11/92

● The Democratic Party yesterday backed calls for an early election, agreeing that this could only be brought about on the basis of multilateral agreements. — Sapa, Political Staff (3044)

posal might avert Angolan-type election disaster

More UN troops

Sowetan 24/11/92

Sowetan Africa News Service

■ FRENCH PLAN More UN monitors and troops are to be sent into Mozambique:

MAPUTO - France, one of the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council, will back the deployment of enough UN troops in Mozambique to implement the peace accord.

This was said by French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Kiejman, who has also suggested that the Zimbabwean troops guarding the transport corridors through Mozambique might be allowed to remain under UN supervision.

Sufficient number

Kiejman said that France "will express the need to send a sufficient number of UN personnel to Mozambique to implement the peace accord".

So far only 20 UN monitors have been sent to supervise the gathering of Frelimo government and Renamo rebel troops at 49 assembly points in preparation for their demobilisation and for an election.

The head of the UN military team, Lieutenant Colonel G P Sinha, said he needed five observers at each assembly point - a total of 245 in addition to headquarters staff. The UN is struggling to respond to growing pressure to provide peacekeeping forces in various parts of the world. Inadequate UN monitoring of the election in Angola has been partly blamed for irregularities which have enabled Unita to reject its defeat at the polls.

Fears have been expressed that a similar situation might develop in Mozambique unless an adequate UN presence is established.

Mr Kiejman said he did not know whether the UN would send troops to protect the Beira, Limpopo and Nacala corridors, which link landlocked Zimbabwe and Malawi to Mozambique's ports.

Under the Rome peace accord the Zimbabweans were to have pulled out by November 15 but have remained, with the Harare government saying they were asked to stay by the UN and the UN denying having made such a request.

3 die as radicals firebomb flats

■ Two women, girl (10) killed in neo-Nazis attack:

BERLIN - Radicals firebombed two west German flat buildings early yesterday, killing two Turkish women and a 10-year-old girl.

This was the worst neo-Nazi hate crime since Germany reunited and a wave of xenophobic violence spread over the land.

The attack in the village of Kurstadt near the North Sea, which has a population of 18 000, followed perhaps the worst weekend of rightist violence.

Authorities said that shortly after midnight somebody set fire to two flat buildings about 500 metres apart. Three people were killed and nine injured.

The attack occurred shortly after midnight and an anonymous caller told police: "A house burns on Muehlen and Ratzeburger streets. Heil, Hitler," said prosecutor Guenter Moeller.

The buildings have been home to Turkish families for years.

Moeller said the victims had lived in Germany for years. *Sapa-AP*

'Change or disorder'

(304A)

Sowetan 24/11/92

■ No to white domination:

LONDON - South Africa would get it "more or less right" in the end, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, predicted yesterday.

In a speech to the Association of West European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid in the British House of Commons, he said there might be smooth progress to democratic elections or a slide into anarchy.

There would not be a return to white domination. Overwhelming opposition ruled that out. - *Sapa*

Mandela outlines terms for IFP meeting

CT 24/11/92 304A

Political Staff

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he will meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss political violence — but only if the KwaZulu leader meets a set of ANC demands.

Last night Chief Buthelezi accused Mr Mandela of wasting time by "trotting out conditions while our people are dying on both sides".

Mr Mandela's conditions for meeting Chief Buthelezi are:

- That the ANC is allowed free political activity in KwaZulu;
- That Chief Buthelezi agrees to "disarm his men", and;
- That the IFP agrees to the securing of hostels and a ban on traditional weapons.

Speaking after meeting French deputy Foreign Minister Mr Georges Kiejman here, Mr Mandela said a meeting of the two leaders will not itself resolve violence.

Camps

Mr Mandela, who is also attending an ANC national executive committee meeting here, said the ANC wants a meeting with political leaders across the spectrum" — including Chief Buthelezi — where they can apply "collective wisdom" to violence.

But Chief Buthelezi said Mr Mandela is commander of uMkhonto we Sizwe and charged that MK has killed IFP members.

He said he supports the right of hostel residents not to "live in ANC-proposed concentration camps".

Mr Kiejman will meet Chief Buthelezi today.

● Gwala attacks Slovo strategy — Page 5

G7 leaders for SA meeting

CT 24/11/92

From CHRIS BATEMAN

LONDON. — The former heads of government of the Group of Seven, the world's most powerful industrial countries, will meet in Johannesburg in January in an attempt to redress the "marginalisation" of South Africa.

This was revealed yesterday by former British premier Lord James Callaghan, who will chair the conference, to be addressed by both President F W De Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

Lord Callaghan said the meeting was in response to charges that the G7 countries "really hadn't done enough for South Africa".

Lord Callaghan took time out of the House of Lords to hear European parliamentarians, British MPs and some key South Africans speaking at a conference organised by the Association of Western European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid.

● Talks report — Page

Beyers asked to resign

AFRIKANER Volksunie leader Andries Beyers was yesterday asked to resign his Potchefstroom parliamentary seat, which he won on a CP ticket, by the management committee of the CP's Potchefstroom constituency council.

The council accused Beyers of spending funds he had received from government on promoting his new party instead of spending it in the interests of Potchefstroom voters. (30 WA 5)

Strong govt vital, says FW

Globam 25/11/92 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

THE absence of good government in a stable system would hamper growth and foreign investment in SA, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Presenting the State President's Award for Export Achievement, he said the attitudes of the international business community and foreign governments towards SA were determined not only by technical capabilities, quality and reliability in the economic field, but also by government backing for these.

SA's image had suffered a great blow recently in the field of confidence.

"The cumulative effect of the continuing violence, delays in the negotiating process, the reports of commissions on maladministration and disclosures about real or imagined malpractices in the area of security intelligence has done us much damage," De Klerk said.

Strong action was being taken by government to rectify the situation. With regard to violence, though, police action alone was not enough. The leaders of the ANC and Inkatha held the key to the solution in their hands; they had to make peace with one another through direct negotiation and by disciplining their followers.

De Klerk criticised parties for negotiating by ultimatum. Boycotts and fresh demands were delaying the return to multiparty talks. Government had been patient, "but we will not be blackmailed".

"If progress in negotiations is undermined by unreasonable actions, we shall not hesitate to take reasonable and well-considered initiatives," De Klerk said, indicating that government could be considering pressing ahead with some form of transitional structures.

He said government took maladministration seriously and was determined to "root it out completely".

Various steps had already been taken towards this end, including the appointment of an advocate-general and ombudsman; extending the authority of the auditor-general and appointing commissions of inquiry "without hesitation". There was "no question of any cover-ups"; strong ac-

☐ To Page 2

De Klerk

Globam 25/11/92 304A

☐ From Page 1

tion had resulted from these inquiries.

"I, like the public, am shocked and deeply unhappy about the extent of the maladministration that has been exposed.... Everything we are doing is aimed at preventing a repetition."

Most of the problems had arisen within the complex plethora of separate structures for blacks. "The whole process of reform is to wind up these structures altogether. They will be replaced by a simpler, more manageable, nonracial system."

With regard to malpractices in the security and intelligence forces, De Klerk said the past period of conflict had resulted in extraordinary measures. It was clear that improper actions and even crimes were committed and that the bounds of moral justifiability were exceeded.

"Strong action will be taken against crime or unacceptable behaviour."

He was determined to ensure — by reorganisation and restructuring on the one hand, and by disciplinary action and prosecutions on the other — that good government prevailed.

(304A)

FW vows to clean up

ARG 25/11/92

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

RESPONDING to the recent spate of scandals, President De Klerk said South Africa could not afford to become "a prisoner of the struggle and the mistakes of the past".

He promised to "completely root out malpractices and maladministration."

Mr De Klerk conceded crimes had been committed "on all sides" and "exceeded the bounds of moral justifiability."

The government was serious about taking "strong remedial action in this sphere."

"We are cutting deeply."

Vowing that "good government, now and in the future" was the "highest priority", Mr De Klerk said South Africa's prospects were bright.

Addressing a function in Sandton to mark this year's State President's Awards for Export Achievement, the president said government action since 1989 had been directed at creating a better South Africa.

"We are succeeding," he said; "I ask for your support," he told businessmen.

Disclosing personal "shock and deep unhappiness" about recent exposures of maladministration, Mr De Klerk referred specifically to corruption scandals following the reports of the Van den Heever, Pickard, Parsons and De Meyer reports, as well as "disclosures and allegations of serious malpractices in the field of security and intelligence."

The government was not involved in "cover-ups" he said.

Regarding alleged political crimes, the government had:

- Disbanded the Civil Co-operation Bureau — "only a few aspects of its liquidation are still outstanding because of legal disputes".
- With the assistance of the Kahn Committee, revised and terminated all special secret projects, subject to contractural obligations.
- Adopted stronger legislation concerning control of secret funds.
- Ordered crimes — such as the murder of activist Dr David Webster and UDF official Matthew Goniwe — be investigated by judges.
- Put SADF's Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn head of investigations into Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collections.

"Strong action will be taken against crime or unacceptable behaviour, regardless of who may be involved, but according to legal prescription."

Buthelezi rejects terms by Mandela

ULUNDI. — Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected the conditions laid down by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for a meeting.

Reacting to the demands made on Monday, Chief Buthelezi said: "I am quite appalled at the conditions that Dr Mandela has imposed on a possible meeting between himself and myself." He said Mr Mandela should stop "politicking around the issue".

Among the conditions are that Chief Buthelezi allow free political activity in his KwaZulu homeland and that he accept certain terms of the Record of Understanding between the government and ANC.

● In Johannesburg, French Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Georges Kiejman yesterday said he was convinced there would soon be reconciliation between Chief Buthelezi and Mr Mandela.

Speaking at the end of a three-day visit, he also said the government had not taken the decisions necessary to uplift impoverished black communities. The immense poverty in these communities proved that apartheid was still much in evidence and had to be destroyed, he said.

Mr Kiejman said Mr Justice Richard Goldstone had told him he "has no reason to believe that anything will hinder the continuation of his investigation" into "real or alleged scandals that will cast an unfavourable light on the government". — Sapa

Buthelezi, Mandela for Natal date?

3044

Political Staff APR 25/11/92

A MANDELA-BUTHELEZI meeting is on the cards in Durban next month.

This was hammered out at a meeting in Sandton last night by all parties to the National Peace Accord.

"As a positive strategy was agreed applause broke out," the NPC said.

The ANC and IFP presidents would lead respective delegations to the December summit.

Delegates at last night's meeting were tight-lipped except to say they were jubilant. There was a spirit of general goodwill.

But the meeting did not begin well, as delegates could not find common ground.

When delegates went into recess a small group of ANC and IFP representatives spontaneously remained and after chatting for 30 minutes were able to work out a mutually acceptable way forward.

Mr Nelson Mandela will probably lead the ANC's national executive committee in a meeting with the IFP central committee led by Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Such a meeting would signal major compromises.

Each had dropped preconditions for a meeting — Mr Mandela that peace accord signatories meet first and Chief Buthelezi that Mr Mandela apologise for remarks about the IFP at the UN.

ıg new employment conditions to farm workers

Let's forget the past, pleads FW

Sowetan 25/11/92.

304A

PAST CRIMES De Klerk is committed to rooting out malpractices in Government:

SOUTH AFRICA COULD NOT AFFORD to become "a prisoner of the struggle and the mistakes of the past", State President FW de Klerk said last night.

Responding to the recent spate of scandals, De Klerk told a function in Sandton to mark this year's State President's Awards for Export Achievement that he would "completely root out malpractices and maladministration".

He conceded that in the past, crimes had been committed "on all sides" and that this "exceeded the bounds of moral justifiability".

The Government was serious about taking "strong remedial action in this sphere", he said. "We are cutting deeply."

Vowing that "good government, now and in the future" was the "highest priority", De Klerk said South Africa's prospects looked bright in spite of the rash of scandals in recent weeks.

He said all the National Party Government's actions since 1989 had been directed at creating a better South Africa.

"We are succeeding," he said, "and dare not be forced off course by new shocks about old things.

"I am continuing and, for that, I ask your support," he told the businessmen.

Revealing that he felt personal "shock and deep unhappiness" about recent exposures of maladministration, De Klerk said "reorganisation and restructuring on the one hand, and disciplinary measures and where possible prosecutions on the other (would ensure that) good government prevails in every respect, also in this field".

He said he had "the full support of the Government and the top structure of the security forces", but insisted: "What I dare not allow is that essential activities which have to continue in the national interest, are jeopardised or paralysed by over-hasty action".

The president referred specifically to corruption scandals following the reports of the Van den Heever, Pickard, Parsons and De Meyer reports, as well as "disclosures and allegations of serious malpractices in the field of security and intelligence".- *Sowetan Correspondent.*

Prof Nkuhlu to take over IDT's reins

Black economist to succeed Mr Justice Jan Steyn:

Sowetan 25/11/92

By Mzimkulu Malunga

PROFESSOR Wiseman Nkuhlu, a leading black economist, has been appointed chief executive of the Independent Development Trust.

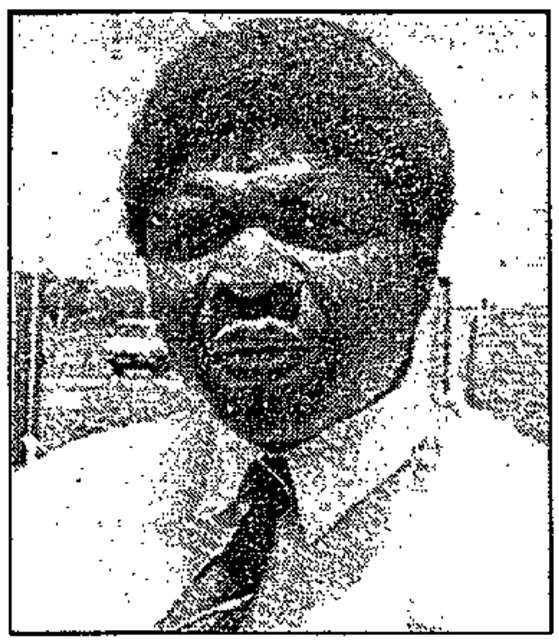
He will also succeed former Minister of Finance Dr Owen Horwood as chairman of the Development Bank's board at the end of the year.

Nkuhlu, who is president of the Black Management Forum, will resume his new position when current chairman, Mr Justice Jan Steyn steps down.

He is one of the most respected economists in Africa and has written several papers on development issues.

The 48-year-old chartered accountant has turned down offers from big international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Nkuhlu is a former rector of the University of Transkei and serves on a number of boards in the private sector.



Professor Wiseman Nkuhlu

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SA needs stability

30 JAN

25|11|92

FW

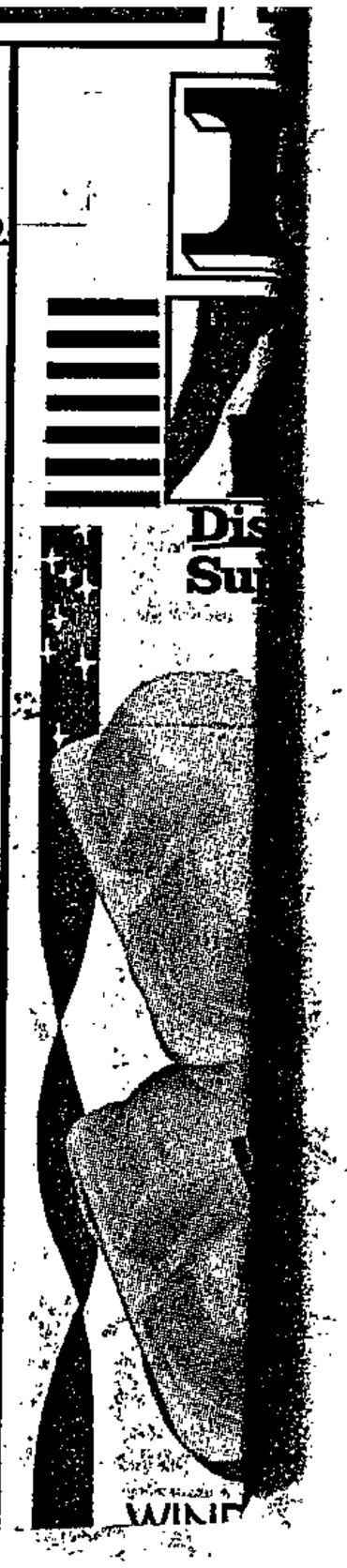
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Economic growth in the country and investment by international businessmen and governments would be strongly hampered if there was not good government in a reliable and stable system, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Presenting the State President's award for export achievement, he said the attitudes of the international business community were determined not only by technical capabilities, quality and reliability in the economic field but also by government backing.

The country's image had been dealt a great blow.

"The effect of the continuing violence, delays in the negotiating process, the reports of commissions on maladministration and disclosures about real or imagined malpractices in security intelligence, have done us much damage," he said.



focus on Government

The Government, with the National Party behind it for the past 44 years, has been revealed as a poor administrator, arbiter and corrupt repository of state power and symbols, writes Political Correspondent

Ismail Lagardien: Sowetan 25/11/92 (304A)



THE GOVERNMENT STANDS TODAY, after 44 years in power, like a person suffering from that big disease with the little name, hanging by a thread to life.

It is as if a villainous character had over the years gone to the Union Buildings and methodically and systematically undone every single screw, bolt, nut and nail of Government.

It is difficult to say exactly when the deterioration started, or when exactly the first door, window or desk at the Union Buildings collapsed.

What has become evident, however, is that the apartheid state is collapsing bit by bit, in slow motion, while its powers of self-rehabilitation are dissipating with its political might.

The moral basis for apartheid was so rooted in racial self-preservation and xenophobia - variables for racism - that the Government quite cynically circumvented the idea of good, clean and, above all, representative government.

Overdosed on political opiates

The National Party held on to power for years with the help of a dream partisan bureaucracy that overdosed on political opiates.

South Africa under the NP was, and still is, run by a civil service and security establishment - backed up by possibly the most powerful electronic media corporation on the continent - that has been loyal to the party and not the principles of good, clean and open government.

Today continued white control of the country, that which fuelled this teeming bureaucracy (in essence, the Government's immune system and therefore its power to rehabilitate itself) has been replaced by abstracts such as democracy.

Democracy, in the true sense of the word, represents everything that xenophobia and racial self-preservation does not.

In fact, democracy represents the uncertainty of change and indeed competitiveness, while the NP has always represented, to the white, predominantly Afrikaner bureaucracy, things like job security and an exclusive way of life.

As the reality of the emerging democracy sinks in, the NP's immune system is collapsing as fast and furtively as the hinges, bolts and nuts in Pretoria, obviously tired under the strain of immorality.

Band of murderers

An even superficial tour of South Africa's political past, present and future, reveals what can possibly be described as the ugliest, most incompetent, callous, cynical, racist, often brutal and murderous network of government operation in modern history.

The Goldstone Commission last week uncovered what has been described as a band of murderers, drug addicts, prostitutes and gangsters that were on the Government payroll through the State's Department of Military Intelligence.



State President F W de Klerk leads a Government that is disintegrating.

In the inquest into the assassination of Dr David Webster, a University of the Witwatersrand academic, the political, murderous and conspiratorial nature of the Civil Cooperation Bureau is as ugly, gruesome and sticky as a congealed pool of blood on a cold concrete prison floor.

The reality here is that the CCB was not created in some sacerdotal way by divine intervention, nor is it the result of a freak accident in an experiment in some esoteric science in a private establishment in some obscure little town in an obscure country.

The CCB was, perhaps even still is, on the Government's payroll like teachers and nurses.

The National Party has also failed politically in the implementation of its own policies and has, worst of all, squandered the country's wealth in the process.

The Development Aid scandal earlier this year stands out like tens of tin toilets in a field as a testimony to a failed ideology.

The massacres at Boipatong and Bisho have revealed festering gashes in the Government and its security establishment and allies.

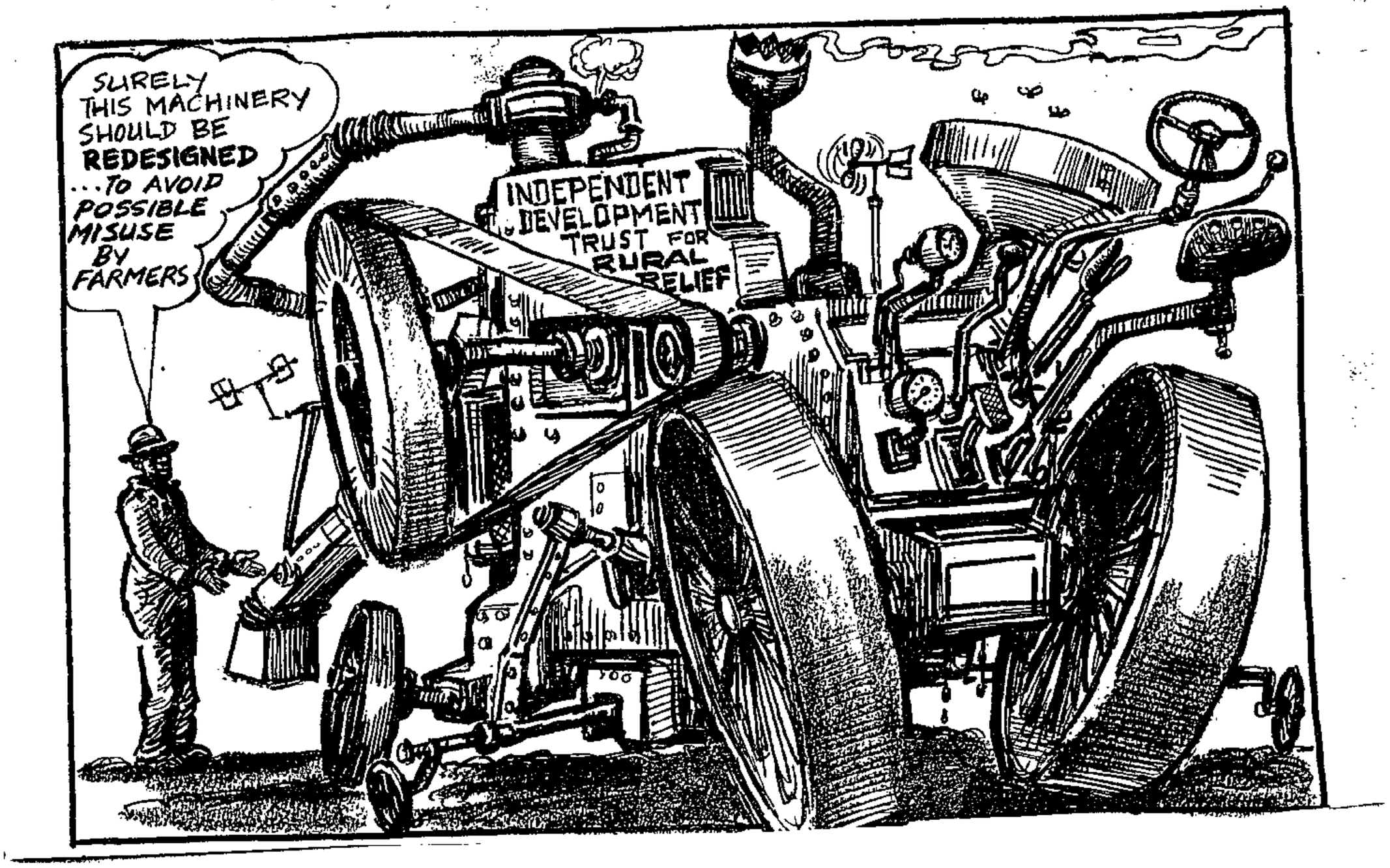
The recent findings of the De Meyer and Parsons reports of corruption in Lebowa and KwaNdebele similarly represent the fruits of a failed ideology.

Absolutely everything that the National Party has over the years stood for, so resolutely and self-righteously, has either failed horribly or has been discredited by its own being.

How much more than is known already could be revealed if the powers of the Goldstone Commission were widened, and if the Government actually opened its cupboards to scrutiny - before they actually split open themselves now that the National Party's immune system has collapsed.

SOWETAN
25/11/92 (304)

FOCUS *The NP is rapidly disintegrating as its ideology dies*



Negotiations process and drive for peace converge

STAR 27/11/92.

It has been a long, hard road to the forthcoming summit meeting between the ANC and IFP leaders. Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH looks at the history of the real and purported obstacles.

EVERY time innocent people have been killed in political violence on the Reef or in Natal, renewed calls have been made for IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela to meet.

Until this week, these calls have amounted to nothing.

The reasons advanced by the IFP and ANC on why their leaders should or should not meet have been expanded or changed almost regularly after each massacre.

This has led a source to comment: "Nero is fiddling while Rome burns."

The planned Mandela-Buthelezi summit may or may not lead directly to a lessening of fighting between adherents, real or supposed, of the two major factions.

But increasingly such a meeting, or a multiparty meeting, is being seen by political commentators as the key to progress in the stop-start negotiations process.

Commentators point out that the negotiations process is now undeniably being linked to the peace process.

Previously the Government and ANC argued that it was impossible to proceed with negotiations if the level of violence remained unacceptably high.

Some observers argue that the violence could not be resolved until an interim government has been installed. On the other hand, because of the violence, negotiations for a transitional government cannot proceed.

It took persistent efforts by National Peace Committee (NPC) chairman John Hall to break the logjam. On Tuesday night the breakthrough came after ANC and IFP representatives to the NPC agreed that their leaders should meet.



Chief Buthelezi . . . no Government "surrogate".



Mandela . . . meeting of two individuals can't end violence.

Earlier this month NPC sources complained bitterly that the ANC, and in particular the IFP, were "shifting the goalposts" of their conditions for a meeting of all signatories. Until this week the meeting of all signatories could still not be nailed down, largely because Buthelezi insisted on meeting Mandela first.

An all-signatory meeting will bring Mandela and Buthelezi together with leaders of the main parties and organisations to find a joint strategy for solving the Natal violence.

Politicians are regarding such a meeting as the likely route to bring Buthelezi back into multiparty negotiations. He suspended talks with the Government after it reached a bilateral agreement with the ANC in the Record of Understanding on September 26.

At the crux of the stalemate was Buthelezi's insistence to meet Mandela before a multiparty meeting, while Mandela did not want to meet Buthelezi before the signatories met.

The dispute about such a meeting began when Buthelezi formally objected to the NPC about Mandela's statement to the UN that the IFP was no more than a "surrogate" of the Government.

However, tensions began to simmer at the Codesa working group meetings where the IFP had problems accepting that sufficient consensus — the way agreements were reached at Codesa — meant in practice that the ANC and Government had to agree on a matter.

The tension between the IFP and some of the other negotiating parties finally bubbled to the surface when the Government and ANC reached an agreement in the Record of Understanding.

This prompted Buthelezi to suspend talks with the Government and to form a lobby, the Conference of Concerned South Africans.

Reacting to the calls for a meeting of the two leaders, the ANC has repeatedly said such a meeting would have to succeed because two earlier meetings had produced no results.

At a Patriotic Front meeting in Port Elizabeth last month, Mandela said: "The position of the ANC, which has been endorsed by the PF, is that this violence cannot be ended or reduced by a simple meeting between two individuals. What is required is the collective wisdom of political leaders across the spectrum, who should come together to address the matter.

"I should also point out that I have gone out of my way over the last two years to sort out the question of violence with Chief Buthelezi, and there has been no progress."

In the latest volley of "I'll meet you, but ...", Mandela said this week he was prepared to meet Buthelezi if he fulfilled four conditions, but Buthelezi rejected these preconditions, adding that he had only one: the agenda of the meeting should include specific items.

Unexpectedly, the deadlock was broken this week, but ANC sources have warned that preparations for the meeting would take some time.

The value of the meeting will be more than a symbolic get-together of two leaders — it could be one of the first steps to get multiparty negotiations back on track. □

ANC-IFP meeting hammers out 'way forward

Hopes for talks Soar

By Esther Waugh and Helen Grange

STAR 26/11/92.

A flurry of bilateral meetings are set to move the country closer to a renewed round of multiparty negotiations.

A mood of optimism swept political circles yesterday after agreement in principle on the long-awaited face-to-face talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was unexpectedly secured at a National Peace Committee (NPC) meeting.

Power-sharing endorsed by NEC - Page 12

The breakthrough — Mandela and Buthelezi have not met for more than a year — has raised hopes that a "Codesa 3" multiparty gathering might now be possible sooner rather than later.

In addition, negotiators believe a planned meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord (NPA) and a Government-ANC "bosberaad" scheduled for next month will give impetus to stalled negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee yesterday formally adopted an amended version of its "Strategic Perspective" policy document — endorsing power-sharing as an option during SA's transition, and even after the first democratic elections have been held.

Government sources have welcomed the ANC approach, raising hopes for significant progress in the "bosberaad".

A joint Government-ANC announcement on the crucial bilateral meeting is expected this week. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet tomorrow.

At a media conference yesterday, NPC chairman John Hall said delegates were aware of the urgent need to get multiparty talks under way.

A summit of NPA signatories to address the issue of violence — expected to take place before the year-end — would hopefully facilitate the climate for a multiparty conference, Hall said.

Although no date has been set for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, it is understood that both leaders have agreed to it in principle.

The breakthrough came at Tuesday night's NPC meeting in Johannesburg.

At the first recess, the ANC and IFP delegations spontaneously stayed behind and spoke for 30 minutes.

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose then announced that they had agreed on a way forward.

Mbeki said: "We — the ANC and IFP — will have a bilateral meeting as soon as possible, attended by leaders of both organisations."

The preparatory meeting would be attended by delegations of the two organisations and the summit would be preceded by in-depth preparations, he said.

Mbeki added that the issue of a multiparty conference will be one of the items on the agenda.

Mdlalose said: "We are in agreement with the position as outlined by the ANC and would add that discussions ... were thorough, practical and without rancour."

US envoy in 'political vision' call

BIDAY 26/11/92

LLOYD COUTTS

SA's political leaders had to begin articulating a new vision of negotiations to their constituencies to allow the first stages of transition to a new government to begin in the near future, US ambassador Princeton Lyman said last night.

Addressing a Thanksgiving dinner hosted by Amcham in Johannesburg, Lyman said that if the negotiating parties stuck on individual issues, there would be no political agreement in the near future.

"And if there is not a political agreement soon, further disillusionment will set in, violence will remain largely out of control and the economy will sink further into decline, making a recovery all the more difficult.

"The political leadership of the country must begin to articulate a new vision of the negotiations to its constituencies; one which foresees a continuing and dynamic process, rather than a final product to be agreed fully in advance ...," Lyman said.

Lyman said US President-elect Bill Clinton had indicated continued support for a negotiated transition to a nonracial democracy. Without that, there would be no support for the removal of remaining state and local sanctions against SA.

From saviour to old villain

STAR 26/11/92.

304A

All the political gains made by South Africa in Angola have been jeopardised, writes HANS-PETER BAKKER for The Star's Africa Service from Luanda.

THE SPIRIT of co-operation which South Africans until recently enjoyed in Angola has changed overnight as old enmities are dragged out of the closet.

Only a few weeks ago, Foreign Minister Pik Botha and other South Africans were warmly welcomed in the once-Marxist capital city.

Many South Africans told of their surprise at the lack of recrimination and the apparent desire of Angolans to forge links with their former enemy. South Africa had pulled its army out of southern Angola, given Namibia its independence and played a significant part in getting the Angolan peace process off the ground.

South African businessmen were a dime a dozen in Luanda — all trying to break into the lucrative Angolan markets.

The South African representative office, although not a fully-fledged embassy, was given a special status and its head afforded many of the privileges normally reserved for ambassadors.

Then two things happened. First, South Africa's former ally, Unita, outraged international opinion by rejecting the United Nations-sanctioned election as fraudulent and mobilising its South African-trained army. Then allegations suddenly surfaced that South Africa was fanning the flames of war by sending arms to Unita and by deploying the much-feared 32-Battalion in Angola.

Overnight being a South African in Luanda become a lot less comfortable. Businessmen waiting to close deals in Luanda hotels suddenly found their once-friendly contacts less friendly. The South African representative office found formerly easy arrangements with government departments suddenly going sour.

Botha was made to feel distinctly unwelcome despite the fact that only weeks before he had been given a rousing welcome.

And when the fierce fighting erupted in Luanda three weeks ago a group of the notorious riot police went in search of two Namibian journalists who they thought were South Africans. Fortunately both the Namibians and this (South African) journalist had left the country.

Last week police randomly stopped disembarking passengers at Luanda's international airport, demanding proof that there were no South Africans on board.

The South African Department of Foreign Affairs has strenuously denied the charges that South Africa has resumed military support for Unita.

The questions remain: if the accusations are true, why is South Africa doing it? And if they are not true, why is the Angolan government making such dangerous claims?

Proponents of the theory of South African guilt vary from those who believe South African Military Intelligence was still playing its old games to those who say Pretoria seeks to focus world attention on Angola to divert the spotlight from South Africa. Proponents of its innocence say Portugal masterminded the whole thing to get control of the markets which it was steadily losing to South Africa and because its leaders were upset by Botha upstaging them all in mediating in the conflict.

Some in the MPLA government are angered by what they believed to have been an attempt by Botha to force a power-sharing option on Angola.

Others in Luanda felt that the South African Foreign Minister had suddenly abandoned Angolans after steering the opposing sides close to a resolution.

Conversations with a variety of people in Luanda leave the firm impression that unless South Africa publicly denounces Unita for what is seen as its role in jeopardising the Angola peace process, Pretoria will continue to be seen as the only country supporting the actions of the rebel movement. And South Africans in Angola will continue to be treated with suspicion, if not worse. □

US aid 'if transition on course'

By Michael Sparks

The United States would encourage and mobilise resources for South Africa once an interim government was in place, the new United States Ambassador, Princeton Lyman, said last night.

Speaking to the Institute of International Affairs, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Lyman said President-elect Bill Clinton had already stated his support for assistance to South Africa once the transition process was irreversible.

He said bilateral aid from the United States to South Africa was unlikely to increase, though America would play a leading role in mobilising multilateral assistance.

But he emphasised the importance of returning to negotiations and a speedy transition, not only because the international community would otherwise become frustrated, but because the same would also happen to South Africans.

Lyman said the status of negotiations at the time of Clinton's inauguration on January 20 was significant. If things were going well then, the new administration would offer immediate support.

But if negotiations were stagnant, the reasons for that would need to be analysed and a response formulated, which would all take time and detract from the real issues.

elections, says a senior leader of the Pan Africanist Congress

calls for a multi-party forum

Sowetan 26/11/92

down cattle thieves!

No Azanian can walk into a train and shoot indiscriminately. How does he know that his relative or friend is not in the train? The callousness betrays the fact that he is not a local and therefore the issue of kith and kin is of no consequence to him. It is also interesting that these trained killers disappear after the act.

The other cause of violence often cited is inter-party rivalry. Inter-party rivalry, in democracy, is healthy and necessary but violence, intimidation and cohesion are wrong methods to canvass for support. However, inter-party rivalry basically aims at creating areas of influence or control for electioneering purposes. Therefore, the best way to minimise and end inter-party rivalry is to quickly move towards a democratic electoral process.

For instance, all claim to want a democratic solution but are they acting constructively? What has prevented us from starting voter registration on a common voters' roll? Why can't we all agree to start voter registration on a common voters' roll on March 1 1993?

The PAC has been calling for the start of voter registration and we shall intensify this demand, because this exercise will also contribute towards containing the senseless carnage.

The PAC in August 1990 volunteered to mediate between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The late President Zephania Mothopeng wrote to both comrade Mandela and Buthelezi expressing concern over the senseless killings and offered to mediate. Buthelezi responded positively but the other side did not.

Once more, motivated by the deaths of innocent men, women and children, the president of the PAC, Comrade Clarence Mlamli Makwetu wrote to Buthelezi and Mandela about the escalating violence in October 1992. Buthelezi again responded positively and consequently Makwetu led a delegation to Ulundi. In the joint communique IFP accepted PAC's mediation. To date we have had no official response from the ANC. Instead some ANC leaders attempted to describe our genuine concern and offer to help as "opportunistic".

The PAC could have begun bilateral contacts with the regime as far back as April 1991. In April 1991 we received a letter from Dr Gerrit Viljoen, the then Minister of Constitutional Affairs, accepting the conditions of neutral venue and neutral chairperson as laid down by the PAC. This letter came when the PAC and ANC executives were meeting in Harare.

That meeting decided to convene the Patriotic United Front Conference. The PAC decided to forfeit bilateral contact with the hope that the acceptance by the regime of the conditions would be taken up by the Patriotic Front. The principles of neutral venue and chairperson were adopted unanimously by the Patriotic United Front.

Unfortunately, since the PAC had shunned bilateral contacts until then, the arrangements for the follow up of the decisions of the Patriotic United Front was then left exclusively to the ANC.

This monopolisation of bilateral contacts led to the difficulties that confronted the preparatory meeting. These difficulties, especially those related to neutrality and representativity, and the pre-packing of the forum with "sufficient consensus" rendered not only our participation impossible, but sowed the seeds that led to the collapse of CODESA.

Thereafter, the PAC remained committed to the decisions of the Patriotic United Front Conference. Our principled adherence to those decisions led to the first formal meeting between the PAC and the regime in Abuja, Nigeria, in April and subsequently in Gaborone, Botswana, in October. These meetings principally focused on neutrality and representativity.

On two separate occasions the regime has met the PAC under a neutral chairperson. The regime and others have been compelled to accept the presence and involvement of the international community.

Having created these conditions, the PAC is calling for the early convening of the multi-lateral forum which would be chaired by a neutral chairperson, a non-South African and preferably coming from the international organisations. This the PAC was able to achieve precisely because it broke the monopoly of bilateralism.



Gora Ebrahim

26/11/92 SOWETAN
(3044)

NEWS Inter-party rivalry would end with the announcement of voter registrations and

'No Azanian can walk into a train and shoot indiscriminately. How does he know that his relative or friend is not in the train? The callousness betrays the fact that he is not a local and therefore the issue of kith and kin is of no consequence to him'

Gora Ebrahim

Sowetan 26/11/92 (3044) (11A)

■ WHITHER AZANIA? asks Gora Ebrahim, PAC secretary for foreign affairs:

AT PRESENT SOUTH AFRICA is witnessing three phenomena which are taking place concurrently.

They are:

- Escalating violence;
- Series of bilateral talks; and
- Growing international involvement.

For the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania it is extremely important that the three be thoroughly examined and addressed.

Associated with the phenomena is the escalating decline in the economy, growing unemployment, record bankruptcies and daily scandals concerning the security forces. The continuing violence and political uncertainty has greatly contributed to lack of confidence by foreign investors.

The primary task must be to address the violence. The PAC has consistently stated that the principal cause of the violence is the presence in the country of mercenaries from Angola, Namibia, Mozambique and the former Rhodesia.

These trained killers were used to destabilise neighbouring countries. Following the independence of Namibia these "loyal" mercenaries were brought here. Currently they are employed by the regime and deployed for "special" duties. According to the regime these include tracking

STAR 26/11/92

Govt denies plan to continue white rule

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

304A

The Government has denied that it has a secret plan to continue white minority rule indefinitely unless the ANC agrees to power-sharing.

A spokesman said yesterday the Government would do "everything in its power" during negotiations to ensure that its basic goals would be included in the interim and ultimate constitutions — and that it had no reason to suppose it would be unable to achieve its goals through negotiations.

"However, should it not be successful in this regard, the Government would certainly not 'continue white rule indefinitely'. Such an approach would be untenable and would be a negation of everything the Government has tried to achieve since 1990."

The Government denial followed an interview in the London Sunday Times in which the newspaper's reporter interpreted President de Klerk as saying the Government would stay in power until the ANC met its requirements. Yesterday the Government spokesman said: "President de Klerk did not say or imply this."

ANC's new conciliatory strategy revives hopes for multiparty talks

DURBAN — The ANC has adopted a conciliatory strategy for talks, announcing at the end of a special session of its national executive committee that the "crisis in our country" has reached a point which demands "an urgent breakthrough".

Preparatory discussions with Inkatha begin next week and at the same time it is expected to meet government for bilateral talks — developments that give rise to new optimism that multiparty talks could be revived soon.

At the end of its three-day NEC talks, the ANC said:

- ☐ It had adopted an amended position paper on negotiations strategy that contemplated power-sharing even after a new constitution was adopted. It was stressed that this differed from the NP's proposed "veto powers for minority parties";
- ☐ It would be pushing for an agreement from government that elections for an interim government of national unity be held within a year — but ANC president Nelson Mandela stressed this would have to be endorsed by all parties in the negotiation process;
- ☐ It would "take all practical measures to curb the violence"; and
- ☐ It had established an independent commission to probe the treatment of former detainees in ANC detention camps.

Political Staff

Highly significant in yesterday's developments was the adoption of the document titled "Negotiations: A strategic perspective", which says: "We also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of the new constitution, the balance of forces, and the interests in the country as a whole may still require of us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity."

There had been reservations about the proposal from some within the ANC hierarchy, but amendments made by the NEC appear to have won them over.

One of the amendments says this proposal should be considered only "provided that it does not delay or obstruct the process of orderly transition to majority rule and that the parties which have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government.

"This is fundamentally different from an approach to power-sharing which entrenches veto powers for minority parties," it adds.

NEC member Mac Maharaj told a news briefing: "We are saying that all parties that win more than five seats in the interim parliament will be able to have seats in the (interim) cabinet."

This could include all parties from across the spectrum, including the likes of the CP and the AWB.

After a new constitution had been adopted "we are saying the same principles would apply, but the question of whether or

☐ To Page 2

ANC strategy

☐ From Page 1

not there should be a government of national unity (at that stage) will be examined on the conditions at that time".

The document also proposes that the ANC consider ways of minimising the threat to a fledgling democracy from the SAP, SADF and public service, suggesting that job security, retrenchment packages and a general amnesty based on disclosure might need to form part of a negotiated settlement.

Mandela said the ANC would insist that government agree to a date for elections for an interim government of national unity during its bilateral meeting next week: "What we have in mind is possible installation within the next nine to 12 months."

While the ANC was seeking common ground with government on this issue, "under no circumstances can we accept that a decision taken by government and the ANC will automatically bind others ... whatever decision we take will be put to the other parties as a recommendation".

● Comment: Page 12

1) Are there adults away looking for work but not contributing to the household.

1=Yes
2=No

2) If yes, how many

Talks flurry signals new move towards 'Codesa 3'

304A

ARG 26/11/92

Political Staff

A FLURRY of bilateral meetings — including long-awaited face-to-face talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — are set to move the country closer to a renewed round of multiparty negotiations.

A mood of optimism swept political circles yesterday after agreement in principle on the Mandela-Buthelezi talks was unexpectedly secured at a National Peace Committee meeting.

The breakthrough — Mandela and Buthelezi have not met for more than a year — has raised hopes that a "Codesa 3" multiparty gathering might now be possible sooner rather than later.

In addition, negotiators believe that a planned meeting of all signatories to the National Peace Accord and a government/ANC "bosberaad" scheduled for next month, will give impetus to stalled negotiations.

The ANC's national executive committee yesterday formally adopted an amended version of its "Strategic Perspective" policy document — endorsing power-sharing as an option during South Africa's transition, and even after the first democratic elections have been held.

Government sources have welcomed the ANC approach, thus raising hopes for significant progress in the "bosberaad". It is understood that the Cabinet discussed the upcoming talks at its regular weekly meeting yesterday.

A joint government-ANC announcement on the crucial bilateral meeting is expected this week. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are to meet tomorrow.

At a media conference yesterday NPC chairman John Hall said delegates were aware of the urgent need to get multiparty talks under way.

A summit of NPA signatories to address the issue of violence — expected to take place before the end of the year — would hopefully facilitate the climate for a multiparty conference, Hall said.

Although no date has been set for the Mandela-Buthelezi summit, it is understood that both leaders have agreed to it in principle.

The breakthrough came at Tuesday night's NPC meeting in Johannesburg. Delegates said the meeting did not start off promisingly, but that at the first recess, the ANC and IFP delegations spontaneously stayed behind in the conference room. They spoke for 30 minutes.

To the obvious delight of other delegates, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki and IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose then announced that they had agreed a way forward.

When the meeting reconvened, Mbeki said: "We — the ANC and IFP — will have a bilateral meeting as soon as possible, attended by leaders of both organisations."

Sowetan 26/11/92

Ex-CP man won't resign

AFRIKANER Volksunie (AVU) leader Mr Andries Beyers, yesterday said he would not resign his Potchefstroom parliamentary seat. (304A)

Beyers was reacting to renewed requests from members of the Conservative Party's Potchefstroom Constituency Council that he should resign his seat as he had won it on a CP ticket before breaking away to form the AVU.

The AVU leader said in Pretoria allegations by the CP council that he was spending funds he had received from the State to promote his party countrywide instead of in the interests of Potchefstroom bordered on libel.

DP MP quits to join the Nats

304A

CT 26/11/92

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Mr Michael Abraham, the MP for Tongaat, has quit the Democratic Party and joined the National Party.

Yesterday morning DP Natal coastal region chairman Mr Mike Ellis handed a letter to Mr Abraham informing the Tongaat MP that he would be suspended from the DP. Mr Abraham handed Mr Ellis, the MP for Durban North, a letter of resignation.

Last night Mr Abraham said he had been surprised by Mr Ellis' letter because he had informed DP leader Dr Zach de Beer by telephone on Friday last week that he was quitting.

In the letter to Mr Abraham, Mr Ellis said the party was concerned that he may not have been utilising his parliamentary constituency allowance correctly.

Mr Abraham dismissed the allegations as a "schoolboy prank" and said he was not even paid a constituency allowance because he operated from his home.

Boost for peace

(304A) CT 26/11/92 SN DS TJ (8

ANC, IFP agree to bilateral talks

Political Staff

NEGOTIATIONS and the stalled peace process were given a major boost yesterday when the ANC and Inkatha agreed to bilateral talks which could include both sides' leaders.

The agreement was made at a National Peace Committee executive meeting on Tuesday night, and was confirmed by its chairman Mr John Hall at a media briefing yesterday.

At a separate briefing yesterday, Mr Mandela announced that the ANC's national executive committee had endorsed the decision.

The ANC's NEC, which met for a special three-day session which ended in Durban yesterday, said after the meeting that "the crisis in our country has reached a critical point which demands an urgent breakthrough".

Highly significant in yesterday's developments was the adoption of the "Negotiations: A strategic perspective" document, which says that a government of national unity will have to be established "even after the adoption of the new constitution".

It means that the ANC has adopted an amended position on negotiations strategy that contemplated power-sharing even after a new constitution was adopted.

It was stressed, however, that this was different to the National Party proposals for "veto powers" for minority parties".

Last week the ANC's national working committee dropped all references to "sunset clauses".

A "sunset clause" relating to an interim government was originally proposed by SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo.

But the new document has adopted Mr Slovo's proposals for a limited period of power sharing to facilitate the transformation of the civil service and the security forces.

Preparatory discussions with the IFP will start next week, when the ANC is also expected to meet the government for bilateral talks.

These developments have given rise to a new optimism that multi-party talks could be revived soon.

The ANC would also be pushing for an agreement from the government that elections to an interim government of national unity be held during the last quarter of next year — but Mr Mandela stressed this agreement would have to be endorsed by all parties.

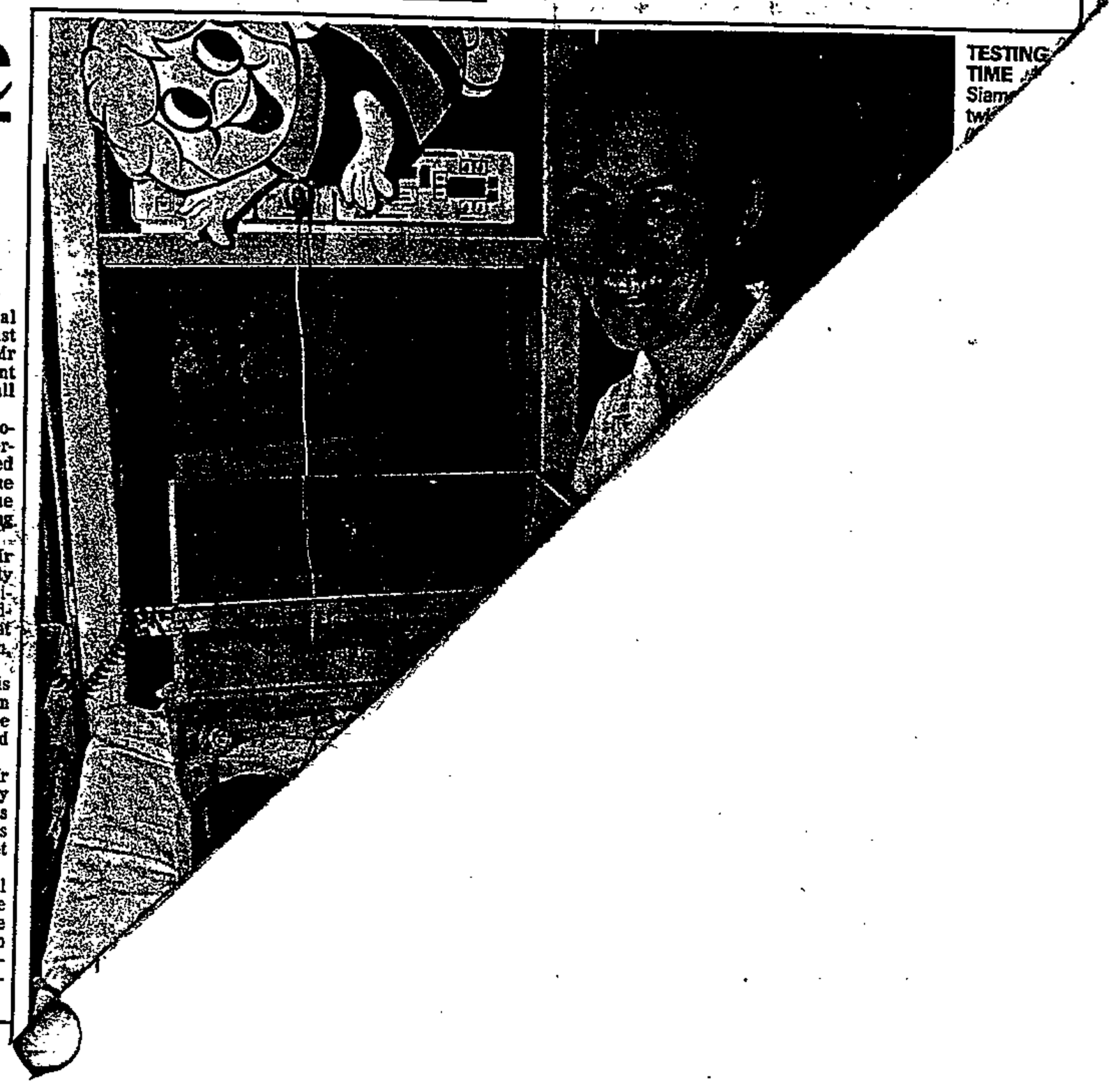
In Johannesburg, IFP spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos said yesterday Chief Buthelezi had accepted the NPC decision and the issue would be fully discussed at the IFP's central committee meeting at the weekend.

IFP national chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose said his party was in agreement with the position as outlined by the ANC, adding that the discussions held at the NPC meeting were thorough, practical and without rancour.

Mr Hall also said yesterday his understanding of the decision meant the stalemate between the IFP and the government had been broken.

At his press conference, Mr Mandela said the preparatory meeting, which could happen as soon as next week, would address the conditions both sides had set for such a meeting.

Some of the agenda points still to be finalised are the role of the SAP and the armed forces, the KwaZulu Police and uMkhonto weSizwe; freedom of political activity and an interim peace accord for Natal.



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WE CAN DO IT The
Thursday November 26 1992 SOWETAN

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Soweton 26/11/92

■ Liberal party refuses to lie dow
columns or to be irrelevant:

South Africa' is gradually getting back on track

act

fill the obituary

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

WHEN the National Party embarked on the redevelopment of South Africa's political landscape, it embraced policies which the Democratic Party and its predecessors had stood for since the early 1960s.

That was in the summer of 1989/90, and at the time, every political analyst in the country said that the fat lady had sung for the DP.

In March 1990, less than two months after the unbanning of the ANC, PAC and SACP, and shortly before the start of the now almost passe process of negotiations, obituaries for the DP started filling newspaper columns.

One political analyst was crisp and curt: "The Democratic Party is irrelevant".

Another asked if the music had not died for the DP, and suggested, too, that the liberals had become insignificant in the then nascent political process leading to the next South Africa.

A former leader of the DP (the Progressive Federal Party at the time), Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, was similarly sceptical about the continued role of his old party at the time, but stopped short of pronouncing it dead.

Speaking, then from All Souls College, Oxford in England, Slabbert made a remarkably prescient comment, which, while directed at the question of the DP's continued existence, subsequently became true, too, of all other political parties in the country.

"The kind of transitional politics we are moving into inevitably must affect the role, composition and style of established parliamentary and extra-parliamentary parties. That alone has far reaching implications for the redundancy of the current constitution.

"It is true that the National Party under De Klerk has moved into the space previously occupied by the DP...," Slabbert said.

But, the DP leadership of the time was not prepared to lie down just yet, and the party's role has become increasingly significant, as mediators in conflicts between Government and the ANC in the negotiation process.

The DP also launched itself into the black community with newfound enthusiasm.

At a recent public meeting in Eldorado Park the DP attracted a few hundred people only, but refused to be deterred.

Branches and members are proliferating in the black townships across the Reef and in the Cape.

But, the DP has learnt: Canvassing support in the black community, for years so loyally divided between the traditional liberation movements, is not an easy task.



A member of the DP's National Council, Mr Tsepo Phoofolo.

The general tendency in the townships is that "the Democratic Party is a white party, and black people shouldn't join it," Mr Tsepo Phoofolo, a member of the DP's National Council explains.

Phoofolo, who heads the East Rand recruitment drive and Kathlehong Branch of the DP, is not quite running for his life, but details sometimes gruesome incidents of intimidation and violence against people attending public meetings of his party.

"People join the DP, but are scared away from public meetings by the grassroots supporters of the ANC, PAC and even the Inkatha Freedom Party," Phoofolo says.

He blames the (low) level of political education and intolerance, perhaps even racism, for the violent opposition to black people joining the DP.

Black people have for many years, prior to the passing into law of the Prohibition of Interference Act of 1968, been members of the liberal opposition, which the DP now represents.

Phoofolo, and people such as the now deceased Percy Qoboza and the incumbent mayor of Soweto, Mr David Thebehali, joined the Progressive Party, from which the DP ultimately emerged in the early sixties.

The DP believes that it can be a valuable asset, as a coalition partner for an ANC majority party.

Phoofolo explains: "The mission of the Democratic Party is to convince the majority of South Africans that a multiparty liberal democracy and a social market economy must form the basis of the new South Africa.

"The DP will ensure that South Africa is governed according to liberal democratic principles, by becoming the government, or by being part of government, or by helping to bring about a realignment of political parties and thereby forming a government committed to principles of a liberal democracy."

For the DP, the route to the election starting blocks for the next South Africa is treacherous.

To borrow, and twist, an adage from ice hockey, the most dangerous team sport in the world: If you can't beat them in the alleys, you'll never beat them in public.

Reform must continue 'without delay'

FW wants a new govt in place by 1994

B/DAY 27/11/92.

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT wanted a fully representative government of national unity in place no later than the first half of 1994, President F W de Klerk said last night.

His statement was in apparent response to the ANC's call for a clear timetable for elections.

De Klerk said should the major parties not co-operate in realising this goal, government would find other means to ensure that constitutional reform continued without delay. The President would not speculate on these "means", as government had not yet laid plans.

"But if the process gets bogged down, we will not sit on our hands. We will negotiate with whoever is prepared to do this . . . so that reform continues to roll."

De Klerk set out eight steps to achieving this goal. As a prelude to the election of a representative government:

☐ Bilateral discussions with political parties for the resumption of multilateral negotiations should be completed before the end of February;

☐ A multilateral negotiating forum should be convened before the end of March;

☐ Multilateral agreements on a transitional constitution (including constitution-making procedures, constitutional principles and regional government), a transitional executive council and an election commission should be concluded before the end of May;

☐ Legislation for these bodies should be adopted in May/June;

☐ A transitional executive council and election commission should be instituted in June;

☐ A transitional constitution (also providing for a constitution-making body) should be enacted before the end of September;

☐ Election rules and regulations should be formulated and promulgated before the end of October; and

☐ The playing field should be levelled (free political participation should be ensured, violence contained, political campaigns concluded, logistical preparations for elections and voter information campaigns conducted) so that elections could be held "no later than March/April 1994".

"Naturally our ability to meet these target dates will depend on the co-operation of the other major parties and their commitment to the process. However, if we are able to make rapid progress in dealing with these steps it may be possible to establish the government of national unity earlier than envisaged," De Klerk said.

The most difficult objective would be to "agree on the negotiating forum and then to reach agreement on the transitional constitution, which is the heart of what has to be agreed upon before the transitional executive council can operate on all cylinders".

De Klerk was confident that the multiparty forum would be established ahead of schedule as a result of the progress being made in bilateral talks. But he said it would be unrealistic to reach the stage of

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New govt

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instituting the transitional executive council and election commission in less than nine months.

One of the main reasons for releasing the timetable was to rebut allegations that government wanted to hold on to power; "we wanted to inject some realism into the process and get parties to focus on negotiations, to get them going again on a realistic basis".

De Klerk said the ANC policy announcements on Wednesday showed a growing convergence on power sharing. Such forms of co-operation could be needed after the adoption of a new constitution. "This drift is promising," he said.

He said the timetable had not been discussed with other parties, but government was willing to negotiate these dates.

While free and fair elections would hardly be possible were violence to continue at its present level, meaningful progress in negotiations was necessary to eliminate political violence.

Sapa reports the ANC last night rejected De Klerk's proposed timetable. The ANC wants an election in 1993.

"SA cannot afford any delay in the process," the ANC said. "The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement; the people will no longer tolerate lack of governance or the increasing uncertainty that will clearly be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deteriorating of socio-economic conditions."

The DP said elections could be held far sooner if they were only for a constitution-making body, our Political Staff reports.

PAC to meet Govt in Pretoria

5 Star 27/11/92 304A

By Montshiwa Moroke

Negotiation teams of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government are set to meet in Pretoria on December 9, PAC president Clarence Makwetu announced in Johannesburg yesterday.

Makwetu, who returned from the United Nations and Norway on Wednesday, said the bilateral talks would deal with the establishment of a more representative multilateral forum.

He said the talks would be positive only if they did not lead to bilateral deals, which would prove catastrophic for the country.

In New York, Makwetu met UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

His address to the UN General Assembly had covered violence and bilateral talks.

Makwetu kicked off a press conference yesterday by saying the PAC welcomed the proposed meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

He said the PAC had been the first to call for international intervention in transitional talks and had insisted on a neutral venue and neutral chairman from the outset.

"We have twice since met the regime at a neutral venue and under a neutral independent chairman in Abuja, Nigeria, and Gaborone, Botswana. We spearheaded the demand to take the issue of violence to the UN Security Council, and succeeded.

"We have been tirelessly working to establish a more representative multilateral forum to discuss the date for voter registration on a common voters roll and the modalities of setting up an elected constituent assembly.

The PAC leader said the organisation had also been consulting with delegations from Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Lebowa and QwaQwa.

De Klerk proposes transition timetable

Star 27/11/92. 304A

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

President de Klerk last night for the first time set out the Government's detailed timetable for transition, targeting March or April 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in democratic elections for a government of national unity.

He said the 15-month timetable would reach its first major milestone by the end of next March with the resumption of full multiparty negotiations, either in a new forum or in a more representative and restructured Codesa.

The Cabinet had decided to release the envisaged timetable to play down unrealistic expectations — which were being created by some parties — of a government of national unity in five or six months.

It also intended answering criticism that it was clinging to power. As shown by the timetable, the Government was in a hurry and had set itself certain goals.

He stressed the timetable was envisaged only by the Government and had not been discussed with, or agreed to, by any other organisation. Some of the target periods were "too short" and "rather ambitious" but could be met or even exceeded if all parties co-operated and were fully committed.

The ANC rejected De Klerk's timetable as unacceptable, the PAC said it wanted a democratic government installed by early 1994 and the Democratic Party said there was no reason why elections for a constitution-making body could not be held before the end of next year.

The Government's target dates were:

- Bilateral discussions completed before the end of February 1993.
- A new multiparty negotiating forum or a restructured Codesa convened before the end of March 1993.
- Agreement on a transitional constitution, a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and an election commission to be concluded before the end of May 1993.
- Legislation for the TEC and the election commission to be adopted by Parliament in May or June 1993.
- The TEC and the election commission to begin work in June 1993.
- A transitional constitution — also providing for a constitution-making body — to be enacted before the end of September 1993.
- Election rules to be promulgated before the end of October 1993.
- First elections for a democratic government of national unity not later than March or April 1994.

De Klerk said he was confident that the multiparty negotiations could resume

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De Klerk's timetable proposal

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● From Page 1

by the March 1993 target date, but that the most difficult target to reach would be agreement on a transitional constitution by May 1993.

He also welcomed the ANC's recently adopted "Strategic Perspectives", which endorsed power-sharing even beyond the transitional period, and said it showed growing convergence.

The Government's understanding of power-sharing was that the party which gained 51 percent of the vote should not command 100 percent of power, and that all parties with significant support should take part in a government of national unity.

The Government's proposed constitution would include measures to place the armed forces under "neutral, non-partisan control to ensure they cannot be abused for party-political ends".

Asked whether the Government was ready to relinquish some control of the security forces beforehand, De Klerk said: "We do not envisage handing over the Government piece by piece."

He noted it was agreed at Codesa that before a government of national unity, there would be a TEC — one of which would deal with security forces.

He said that for these elections to be free and fair, it was inconceivable that political parties could have private armies. The position of these were still under negotiation but all signatories of the National Peace Accord had agreed that no political party should have a private army.

The release of the timetable has further boosted confidence in a resumption of negotiations with the announcement that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet face-to-face to address political violence.

- The ANC said last night that De Klerk's timetable was "totally unacceptable", and demanded elections during 1993 — a year earlier than suggested by the Government.

In a statement the organisation said: "South Africa cannot afford any delay in the process. The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement; the people will no longer tolerate lack of governance or the increasing uncertainty that will clearly be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deterioration of socio-economic conditions."

The ANC said it would be holding an extensive bilateral meeting with the National Party soon, "where all these issues are to be discussed". It was "unfortunate that President de Klerk has seen fit to make pronouncements on issues that are the very subject for discussion at a meeting that has taken months to prepare for".

- PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the movement wanted a democratic government installed by early 1994. It also wants Codesa to be replaced by a multilateral forum early next year and an elected constituent assembly in place by November 1993.
- Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew said today there was no reason why elections for a constitution-making body could not be held before the end of next year.

"Elections are necessary and urgent if we are to introduce a greater degree of certainty in economic and constitutional affairs . . ." he said.

Indignant Schwarz hailed

By Hugh Roberton
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The Washington Post has complimented South African ambassador Harry Schwarz for his angry outburst at disclosures of evidence pointing to dirty tricks against the ANC by Military Intelligence.

The outburst was made in an interview with The Star and widely quoted in leading American newspapers, including The New York Times, and on national television.

In an editorial yesterday, The Washington Post said: "President de Klerk, walking a tightrope between his military and angry anti-apartheid groups, has appointed a new military intelligence chief to conduct an internal probe of this latest scandal.

"But he continues to deny the existence of a 'third force' — a cabal within the security forces.

"That stance contrasts sharply with the 'anger and outrage' that South Africa's ambassador to the US, Mr Harry Schwarz, expressed at the Goldstone Commission disclosures.

"Ambassador Schwarz reacted as one would expect of an official concerned that his government's credibility could go down in flames."

In discussing the relationship between De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela, the editorial added: "Remarkably, Mr Mandela and other key ANC leaders have refused to allow this news to divert them from preparing to open constitutional bargaining with the Government.

"It is significant that yesterday the ANC formally accepted the idea of sharing power with Mr de Klerk's National Party, and announced talks with Inkatha, its black rival. This does not mean that mistrust and anger have run their course. But in Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk, South Africa has two leaders who know, despite the unrelenting past that constantly intrudes upon them, that their war is over."

Friday November 27 1992 **SOWETAN**

Afrikaans will lose its status

■ Prominent educationist explores language policy in the new SA:

By Mzimasi Ngudle 27/11/92

AFRIKAANS will rapidly lose its most favoured status while English, as the lingua franca, will become the most rational policy option.

Prominent educationist Mr Neville Alexander explores national language policy and the status of all languages in one of his essays on the language question.

The following is an abridged version of his digression on language policy extracted from the book *Critical Choices For South Africa* by R Schrirer.Alexander says that there is a general agreement that English should and will remain an official language in a post-apartheid South Africa-Azania.

"In South African society as constituted at present, racial, class and gender aspects of language policy sustain and reinforce inherited social inequalities and national divisions.

"In order, for instance, to acquire well-remunerated employment in any sphere it is essential that the prospective employee should be fluent in English and/or Afrikaans.

"This means that for the vast majority of people officially classified black, such employment is simply unattainable.

"Their home language is neither English nor Afrikaans and in most cases their schooling does not help them acquire the necessary proficiency in either or both of these languages," he says.

"There is no doubt that English will increasingly play a pivotal role in a South Africa released from the mortgage of apartheid language policy."Little opposition will be forthcoming from this component, except from the inevitable band of irredintist Afrikaner *bittereinders*," he says.Alexander concludes that the first component of the national language policy should be the promotion of English as a lingua franca.

The second component, he says, is to encourage the growth of all the languages spoken.

Here cultural-political, rather than economic dimensions of language policy, are paramount.

November 27 1992

Bright future - envoy

Sowetan 27/11/92

304A

■ US ambassador sure transition will succeed:

UNITED States Ambassador to South Africa Mr Princeton Lyman has expressed optimism that a transition to a democratic non-racial government in the country will succeed.

"The political sophistication of the leaders of political parties in South Africa fills me with great optimism that there will be political movement that will prevent the country from civil disintegration," he told a SA Institute of International Affairs meeting in Johannesburg this week.

Lyman made this comment after delivering a speech on US policy towards Africa in the aftermath of the Cold War and the presidential elections.

"My optimism further comes from the fact that I am struck by the patriotism of South Africans, their recognition, from an economic point of view, that South Africa needs to be unified and the lack of bitterness.

Transition

"I am, therefore, optimistic that a peaceful transition to democracy can take place."

Turning to president-elect Bill Clinton's possible policy towards South Africa, Lyman said the incoming president would appeal for urgency to resolve the constitutional crisis.

"Clinton has made clear his support for the negotiation of a transition to non-racial democracy and has pledged his strong support to a new South Africa, once the transition is irreversible."

When an interim government was effected, there would be further support for the country.

"Once such a government is assured, we should see strong (US) support for multilateral agencies like the World Bank and the African Development Bank to complement the work of bilateral donors in helping restore growth as well as meet the demands of the population for housing, jobs and education," he said. - *Sapa.*

Slabbert outlines basics of democracy

B/DAY 27/11/92

(304A)

ONE of the basics of democracy was the ability of the individual to frustrate the will of the political majority in certain instances, Van Zyl Slabbert said at a forum on local democracy in Johannesburg yesterday.

He said there were "certain critical issues" which formed the principle of "bounded uncertainty" that had to be removed from being politically contested.

These included basic elements usually found entrenched in a constitution, such as a bill of human rights, which included freedom of association, adult suffrage and so on, Slabbert said.

Another basic element was what he called "contingent consent" in which a party winning an election did not deny its opponents the right to win the next ballot.

The ruling party could not assume that its mandate gave it a right to rule in perpetuity, and abolish the opposition in favour of a hegemony.

By the same token, a losing party should not deny the victor the right to rule.

"You have to accept losing, and when you lose, accept that the stronger party has a right to govern," said Slabbert.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

Substantial or participative democracy could be measured in the way people were allowed to excercise their rights, he said.

They should be able to express their points of view through protest and mass action, and be able to call for referendums and challenge the rulers in votes of no confidence. However, mass action could never be a substitute for democracy. While people would mobilise when they felt strongly about an issue, they soon reached a "rally fatigue" and mass action would fizzle out.

Slabbert said there was place for a minority veto, but not along the lines of ethnicity, or where a minority group, which had governed undemocratically, sought to preserve some of its power.

A minority veto should only be used to protect issues such as religious freedom and cultural expression.

He added that it would be difficult for democracy to exist without economic growth and redistribution.

Numsa wins appeal over strike ruling

BLOEMFONTEIN — An appeal by the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) to set aside an order of the Labour Appeal Court was allowed by the Appeal Court yesterday.

The case was remitted to the Labour Appeal Courtto reconsider whether the proved facts constituted unfair labour practice. B/DAY 27/11/92

The Labour Appeal Court had dismissed with costs an appeal by Numsa against an industrial court refusal to reinstate employees dismissed by Vetsak Co-operative, Isando Industries and Turin Pressings.

The case arose from a nationwide strike by 31 000 workers in the iron and steel industry on August 3, 1988. Among the strikers were 600 workers employed by Vetsak, Isando Industries, Turin and an associate company LM Nywerhede. There were 200 strikers at Isando and 400 at Bothaville.

On August 5, the group announced that the Bothaville strikers were dismissed, but no effect was given to the announcement. On August 8, 1988 the strikers at Isando were dismissed. Despite requests they were never reinstated.

The appeal was allowed by Judge Botha and acting Judges of Appeal Kriegler and Harms. — Sapa.

Groundwater safety probed

B/DAY 27/11/92

GAVIN DU VENAGE

GROUNDWATER that supplies most of SA's drinking and industrial needs may in many cases be unfit for human consumption, Water Research Commission research manager Tony Reynders has said.

The commission has funded an investigation into developing a strategy for accurately monitoring SA's groundwater on a regular basis, and recently published a set of guidelines on pollution testing.

Reynders warned that while South Africans had always taken for granted that their water was safe, experience overseas had shown that groundwater was sensitive to pollution.

Reynders said municipal waste dumps and old mine dumps often released excessive salts and heavy metals which could end up in the water table.

Lack of sanitary services in squatter camps, where waste was uncontrolled and was left to soak into the ground, also posed a great danger of pollution.

Overseas it had been found that groundwater could be polluted by agricultural fertilisers.

FW SETS DATE

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

RESIDENT F W de Klerk has et March or April 1994 as the overnment's target date for n election for an interim overnment — and the end of hite rule.

Mr De Klerk has also proposed a sched- e of steps towards interim government d said the government's "attainable time hedule for the constitutional process" is being publicised because "unrealistic pectations" were being created by target tes set by other parties.

However, the ANC last night dismissed s proposed schedule as "totally un- ceptable".

And the Democratic Party said elections uld be held far sooner if they were only r a constitution-making body.

Mr De Klerk said he hoped multi-party gotiations would be resumed by the end March next year — and provision made r a transitional executive council as well as an election commission by June next year.

He stressed at a news conference that the proposed dates had not been discussed with other political parties but the government felt it necessary to be bring "some realism" to the constitutional debate.

Mr De Klerk said the government was willing to discuss its proposed schedule and said the date had nothing to do with the September 1994 expiry of the mandate given to him in the September 1989 election.

He said he hoped to have dealt with the whole matter "well before" his mandate expired.

The ANC said last night South Africa could not afford any delay in the process and it wanted an election next year, "almost a full year earlier than the government envisages".

The DP's executive director, Mr James Selfe, said the sooner elections were held, the better as "elections alone would produce constitutional certainty".

Last weekend ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said there was no point to further negotiations unless an election date could be set.

The ANC has called for elections within 12 months, but not much sooner, despite last night's statement.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin admitted publicly at the weekend the organisation may be in trouble if elections were held earlier, as it is aware its level of organisation is not sufficient to fight an election immediately.

Although the government's deadline is some months later than the ANC's, Mr De Klerk emphasised he was flexible about the schedule, although he felt there should be at least nine months between the installation of the transitional council and the electoral commission, and the election date.

he said this schedule would be discussed in talks with other parties.

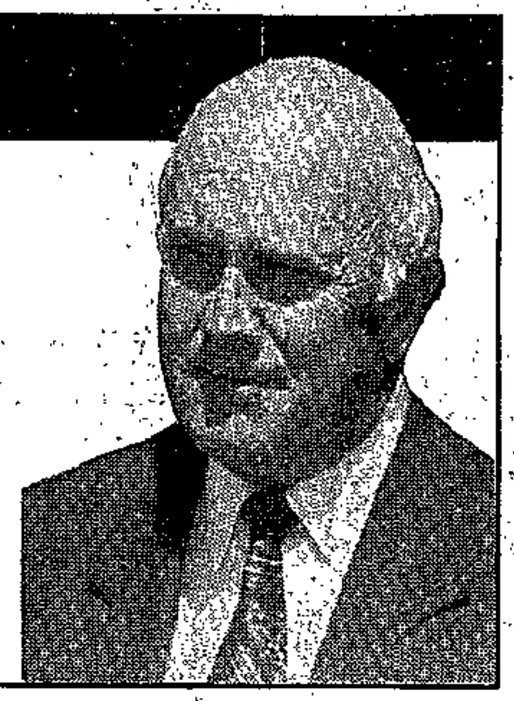
"I'm convinced that the programme set

To page 3

TIMETABLE FOR CHANGE

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk has proposed the following schedule leading up to elections early in 1994:

- **By the end of February 1993: After bilateral discussions, agreement on a resumption of negotiations in a new forum or a more representative and a restructured Codesa.**
- **Before the end of March 1993: Start of multilateral discussions.**
- **Before the end of May 1993: Multi-lateral agreement on transitional constitution, transitional executive council and electoral commission.**
- **May/June 1993: Adoption of legislation for transitional council and electoral commission by Parliament.**
- **Before end of June 1993: Institution of both the council and the commission.**
- **Before end of September 1993: Transitional constitution to be enacted.**
- **By October 1993: Election rules and regulations to be formulated and promulgated; then levelling of playing fields, free political participation to be ensured and violence to be contained, political campaigns to be organised and logistical preparations made.**
- **March/April 1994: Elections for an interim government.**
- **First half of 1994: "A fully representative government of national unity."**



Elections

out is attainable. We cannot turn back, we cannot get bogged down."

The government would do everything to shorten the time span and, he said, he was confident multi-lateral talks would start ahead of schedule.

Mr De Klerk also welcomed the ANC's acceptance of power-sharing.

"My analysis of the latest statement is that there is a growing convergence of opinion on the need for power-sharing, and even the need for such co-operation or power-sharing after the new constitution."

The ANC said no further delays could be allowed.

"The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement and the people will no longer tolerate lack of governance or the increasing uncertainty that will be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deteriorating socio-economic conditions.

"It is unfortunate that President De Klerk has seen fit to make pronouncements on issues that are the very subject for discussion at a meeting that has taken months to prepare for."

The ANC and National Party are to meet soon, where all these issues will be discussed.

The organisation said its negotiations commission would meet this morning.

SA on standby for all-race election

3514A
ARG 27/11/92

Major political parties continue talks

Political Staff

SOUTH AFRICA is on standby for its first all-race election as the major political parties continue bilateral talks to remove obstacles to the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

After President De Klerk's announcement of a timetable for transition, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa were meeting today for preliminary talks on the resumption of bilateral discussions between the government and the ANC.

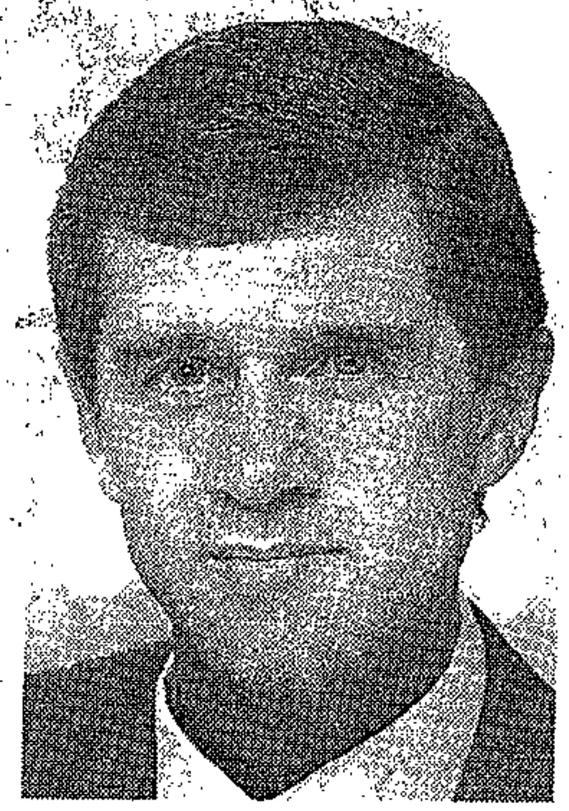
The government is also having preliminary talks with Inkatha. Mr Meyer and Dr Frank Mdlalose, national chairman of Inkatha, have been talking and discussions with the PAC and the Democratic Party are continuing.

A tough preparatory meeting between the ANC and Inkatha, aimed at thrashing out arrangements for a summit between their leaders, is due to take place.

Indications were that the gap among the various parties was narrowing amid a growing feeling that multilaretal negotiations must be resumed soon.

The ANC has rejected Mr De Klerk's timetable, but top government sources dismissed this reaction as "playing politics". At most, the difference between the two parties was one of a few months.

Mr De Klerk targeted March or April 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in democratic elections for a government of national unity.



Mr Roelf Meyer



Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

The 15-month timetable would reach its first major milestone by the end of March next year with the resumption of full multiparty negotiations either in a new forum or in a more representative and restructured Codesa, Mr De Klerk announced at a Press conference in Pretoria.

The government's target dates were:

- Bilateral discussions completed before the end of February 1993;
- A new multiparty negotiating forum or a restructured Codesa convened before the end of March 1993;
- Agreement on a transitional constitution, a transitional executive council (TEC) and an election commission to be concluded before the end of May 1993;
- Legislation for the TEC and the election commission to be adopted by parliament in May or June 1993;
- The TEC and the election commission to begin work in June 1993;
- A transitional constitution — also providing for a constitution-making body — to be enacted before the end of September 1993;
- Election rules to be promulgated before the end of October 1993; and
- First elections for a democratic government of national unity not later than March or April 1994.

for today. Look for today

Open vote in 1994 - FW

(304 words)

■ ANC raps De Klerk over the knuckles:

27/11/92.

THE African National Congress has rejected as "totally unacceptable" President Mr FW de Klerk's proposed timetable for elections leading to a constituent assembly.

The organisation's reaction came soon after De Klerk announced the Government's time-schedule for the constitutional reform process, targeting the first open elections for an interim government and constituent assembly for early 1994.

De Klerk said in making the Government's schedule public, he hoped to instil a sense of realism concerning constitutional reform.

"We are presenting it because we feel it is necessary to introduce a note of realism and get the public and parties focussed on the process itself and to realise that time is of the essence," he said.

He stressed the dates were not rigid and inflexible.

But the ANC immediately dismissed the Government's announcement.

"South Africa cannot afford any delay in the process.

"The economy cannot sustain a further year of corruption and mismanagement. The people will no longer tolerate lack of governance or the increasing uncertainty that will clearly be accompanied by escalating violence, growing unemployment and deteriorating of socio-economic conditions," a statement released by the ANC said.

An election during 1993 would be attainable under the circumstances, the organisation said.- *Sapa.*

NEGOTIATIONS

Kissing and making up

FM 27/11/92
304A

Though soured by the continuing rancour between the ANC and Inkatha, plans for the resumption of full-scale negotiations in February, according to government, are on track.

In recent weeks there has been a series of preparatory discussions between government and various parties, including Inkatha, the PAC and the white Right; as well as between the ANC and certain homelands, notably Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

More important is that the crucial *bosberaad* between government and the ANC is set to take place early next month, according to the ANC's Carl Niehaus, which should facilitate the convening of the vital multiparty conference.

Any decisions taken at the *bosberaad* would have to be ratified by an all-party indaba, Niehaus indicated. This is critical to the process, considering the opposition — chiefly from Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi — to bilateral agreements between government and the ANC being presented as a *fait accompli* to other parties.

Buthelezi reiterated his rejection of such deals, in response to the ANC's announcement that, before the year's end, it wants a date set for elections to a constituent assembly-cum-interim goverment. The ANC appeared to threaten another suspension of talks with government if a date were not forthcoming. But the demand seems to be more of a pressure tactic to get the ball rolling. It may be unwise to set a rigid deadline for interim government elections, which the ANC would like "as soon as is practicable" — meaning by the end of 1993.

Yet how — if Buthelezi is not to be further alienated — can an election date be agreed upon prior to December 31 this year, unless the multilateral conference is held before then?

An ANC spokesman explains that the organisation is "expressing serious concern that if a date is not set we may face further delays, which are counterproductive. There needs to be a target. There can be further discussions (on setting a date) in a multilateral forum."

Much will depend on the attitude and atmosphere at the ANC-government summit due within weeks. If the two teams agree on a date, it would be wise to try to keep this a secret until all parties have been consulted — but leaks on such an important matter appear inevitable.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said this week that the date should be determined by discussions between all the parties, lest some feel excluded, as was the case with the Record of Understanding signed by government and the ANC in September. "We want a



multiparty conference off the ground as soon as possible," Botha added.

As the ANC sees it, the first phase of interim government would begin soon after the setting of a target date for the start of the second phase, an elected interim government.

Phase one — likely to be introduced "quite early next year" — would be a limited, transitional arrangement under which there would be joint control over areas such as the security forces, the SABC and the Budget. Parties other than the Nats would have significant influence on decision-making in these areas for a short term (about six months). The aim would be to level the playing field for free and fair elections.

It is during this phase that the ANC envisages the beginnings of an integrated security/defence force, based in part on the recommendations made in one of the Codesa working groups, which were never ratified. This, perhaps more than any other factor, will be crucial for the process to succeed.

Record of Understanding

Meanwhile, the ANC's national executive committee was meeting in Durban this week, partly to finalise its interim government policy. There was heavyweight opposition — from information head Pallo Jordan and Natal Midlands chief Harry Gwala — to aspects of proposals put forward by Joe Slovo. These include "sunset" clauses, aimed essentially at making the transition smoother by not alienating the existing public service corps.

Also to be ratified is a proposal aimed at forming an ANC transitional government of national unity, in terms of which any party with at least 5% of the vote would be represented in such a government.

While the ANC has had constructive meetings with the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, accord with Buthelezi seemed as elusive as ever. Even if the ANC succeeds in neutralising the first two — who sit in alliance with Buthelezi (and the white Right) in the "concerned citizens" grouping formed after the Record of Understanding — isolating Buthelezi could be shortsighted.

After meeting French Deputy Foreign Minister Georges Keijman this week, ANC president Nelson Mandela said he was willing to grant Buthelezi his wish of a face-to-face meeting — provided Buthelezi accepted certain conditions (which he probably knew would not be acceptable). These were that he should: allow the ANC free political activity in KwaZulu; disarm Inkatha members; abide by the ban on traditional weapons in public; and agree to the fencing of hostels.

Mandela said the ANC had done everything in its power to plan for ending the violence but that Buthelezi had failed to attend important multiparty meetings of leaders on the issue.

In response, Buthelezi told the *FM*: "I can no longer take seriously anything that the president of the ANC says because he chops and changes at every turn." He said Mandela had reneged on undertakings to meet him that Mandela had given to Kenneth Kaunda and Peace Committee chairman John Hall. "He must have been bluffing the French Deputy Foreign Minister just to gain the false high moral ground on the issue," said Buthelezi.

Neither he nor the KwaZulu Cabinet had ever disallowed any political activity in KwaZulu by the ANC or any other party and Mandela knew that "our members have been killed in their thousands" in KwaZulu. "The problem we face is that of political intolerance and we need to deal jointly with the cult of violence among members of our organisations," said Buthelezi.

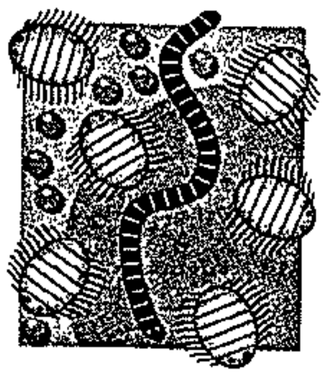
The KwaZulu chief again said that he "cannot accept any decisions made behind our backs without being given a chance to debate and understand them." Inkatha would not accept the banning of "Zulu cultural accoutrements in all circumstances" as this could not be implemented. "The residents of hostels have rejected the fencing of their hostels. I respect their democratic right to refuse to be forced to live in the ANC-sponsored concentration camps."

According to Buthelezi, the (proposed) meeting of the Peace Accord signatories (which Mandela favours as the forum for meeting Buthelezi) "cannot be compared with joint rallies addressed by leaders of both parties" (that is, he and Mandela). It was not the problem of the other leaders, he said, pointedly asking why Mandela had refused mediation offered by the PAC. ■

THE PRESIDENCY

Guilty until proved innocent

Despite his commitment to reform, De Klerk risks becoming SA's Nixon



Does President F W de Klerk really want to clean up his administration? Or is he being forced into a position where his past associations are weighing more heavily than moral convictions?

Following his response to Justice Richard Goldstone's statement about files confiscated from Military Intelligence (MI), De Klerk — for the first time since he took office — no longer gets the automatic benefit of the doubt; evidence that there might be more behind his stance than mere inaction is mounting.

The MI files indicated that Ferdi Barnard, a former agent in the notorious Civil Cooperation Bureau and a convicted murderer, was employed by MI's Directorate of Covert Collection (DCC) from May 1991 until December 1991. Apparently he had been recommended to the DCC by the SADF intelligence chief, Lt-General Witkop Badenhorst.

Barnard drew up a detailed plan to undermine the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, using an underworld network. The plan, says the Goldstone statement, "was submitted to senior members of MI and thereafter he was employed as a chief agent." Though the plan may not in fact have been implemented, or not fully so, MI evidently thought Barnard worth keeping on.

In July 1991, during the period that Barnard was employed, the government was shaken by the revelation (after earlier denials) that the SA Police had funded the IFP. De Klerk gave the assurance that secret activities of this nature had been suspended and appointed a committee to evaluate all secret operations. In August 1991, Ministers Adriaan Vlok (police) and Magnus Malan (SADF) were relieved of their portfolios after sustained pressure from the ANC, amid allegations of secret agendas and a "third force."

In December 1991, a *Beeld* report carried an allegation that Barnard was employed by the military. This was denied by an army spokesman, but, says Goldstone, "that denial was false." Ten days later, Barnard's employment with MI was terminated, according to the confiscated files, "upon instructions from the Minister." In January 1992, Barnard's MI handler also wrote that Barnard was sacked "on instructions of the Minister of Defence."



Judge Goldstone

The Minister of Defence at the time was Roelf Meyer, now in charge of constitutional negotiations. He has denied that he knew anything about Barnard.

It is hardly likely that the MI files — seized in a surprise raid — are part of an elaborate forgery. We must assume they are genuine. Yet even if one accepts that the SADF hired Barnard for the kind of black diplomacy most military elites engage in from time to time, the country is still entitled to know:

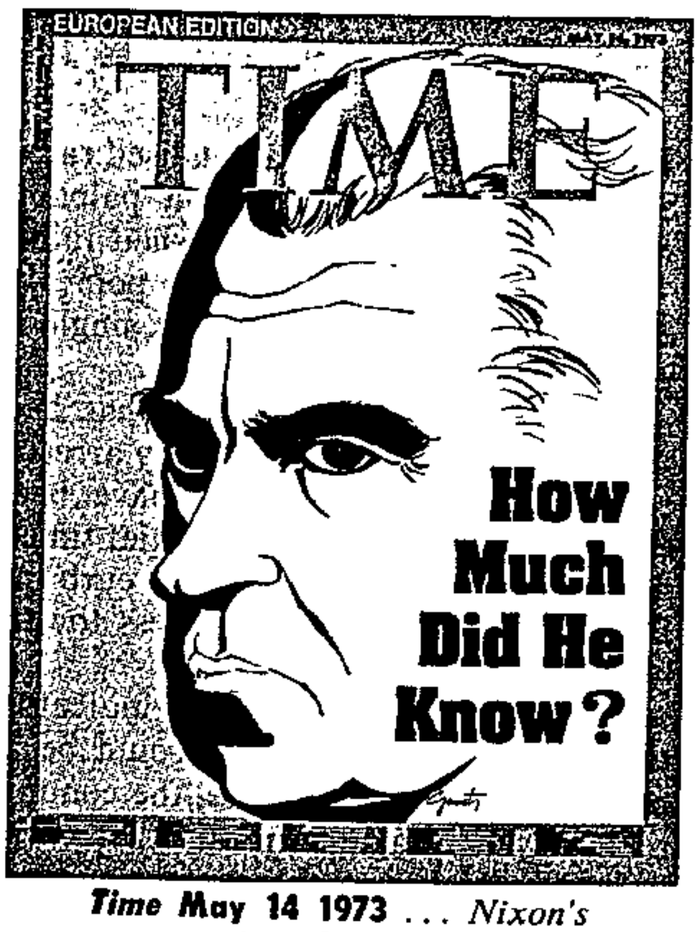
- ☐ Why Barnard was encouraged to draw up plans to undermine the ANC — particularly at a time of extreme political sensitivity and in the face of apparently misleading assurances by De Klerk;
- ☐ How Meyer can claim ignorance if Barnard was dismissed "on instructions from the Minister";
- ☐ Why, if Meyer knew nothing, did he not make it his business to ensure that such covert programmes were halted; and
- ☐ Whether the chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, and any other senior officers outside MI, knew what was going on.

De Klerk's response to Judge Goldstone's remarks was grudging and enigmatic: they were "issued in the form of a press statement and did not constitute an official report ... many of the aspects contained in the statement have thus far not been tested within the framework of the normal procedures applied by a judicial commission."

Yet Judge Goldstone made no untested conclusions. He merely raised questions, while noting the evidence that MI had employed "a person with a serious criminal record involving crimes of violence and dishonesty;" that the SADF had lied about Barnard's employment; that a senior officer had recommended the illegal arming of Barnard with an SADF weapon; and that 48 DCC members operated credit cards and had spent hundreds of thousands of rands.

There are no military secrets here; the security of the State is not remotely at stake. The obvious and natural response from De Klerk would have been to instruct the Goldstone Commission to investigate the other MI files and report to him in due course. Instead, De Klerk has ordered an in-house investigation — which makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that government itself has something to hide.

Former Leader of the Opposition Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert believes that De Klerk's



***Time* May 14 1973** ... *Nixon's point of no return*

response is consistent in that his government "has always thought that it can maintain stability with a highly controverisal security establishment. The Nats think, 'It is our system.' "

For the first time, perhaps, De Klerk has realised that it is not "his" system any more — and Slabbert detects panic in his reaction. "De Klerk is on the back foot. When he took office he distanced himself from the tricameral system — and then used its most disreputable feature, P W Botha's worst weapon, the President's Council, to force through the Indemnity Bill. He has been a bit shaky."

De Klerk would be well advised to take note of recent political history. We have the example of Watergate in the US as well as our own Info scandal. In both cases, the discovery of corruption happened almost by chance. In both cases, after months of tenacious judicial work in the face of executive lies and stonewalling, the rot was revealed to go right to the top — President Richard Nixon and Prime Minister John Vorster.

De Klerk has asked Lt-General Pierre Steyn, appointed earlier this year as Chief of Defence Force Staff, to take command of all intelligence functions of the SADF. He is to provide De Klerk with "a complete and comprehensive analysis of all of the SADF's intelligence activities ... and to report to me as soon as possible on the advisibility of restructuring these functions."

Steyn will be helped by Police General Alwyn Conradie in analysing the files of the DCC "to ascertain whether any activities have taken place which might be in contra-

P.T.O.

Afrikaner homeland takes shape after talks with ANC

w/mail 27/11 - 7/12/92

304A

Surprise talks with the ANC have given impetus to the Afrikaner Volksunie's plans of regional self-determination.

By **JAN TALJAARD**

INSIDE their Pretoria offices, Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) leaders are poring over maps with felt-tipped pens, drawn and demographic statistics at hand.

It appears that last week's surprise discussions between the AVU and the African National Congress have provided some sort of impetus to the AVU's plans of regional self-determination. "Fruitful" is how AVU leader Andries Beyers this week described the outcome of the bilateral talks.

Carefully cloaking his replies in the words of a man who does not want to disclose the full extent of his future strategies in a time of negotiation, Beyers nevertheless admits to feeling good about the attitude of the ANC towards regional self-determination.

No, this was not just a getting-to-know-you exercise, he says. The success of the meeting was largely based on the fact that the real issues were immediately addressed by both parties.

"After this meeting, I have faith that there is a definite willingness on the side of the ANC to accommodate reasonable aspirations," he says.

Does this include a fully autonomous Volkstaat? Not at this stage, Beyers admits. Although a Volkstaat may be the ideal, any direct claims for a Volkstaat would be premature. But the ANC indicated it was not averse to a regional dispensation with "reasonable powers of self-determination".

"We are moving in a direction where we want the maximum amount of self-determination in any future political dispensation. What we are asking at the moment is to be given a small area in the northern part of the country with Pretoria as a focal point, and that the borders be drawn in such a way that the Afrikaner people will at least be in the majority."

Members of other races will be accorded full citizenship but, in order to uphold Afrikaner values, the Afrikaner will have to be the majority in such a dispensation.

He is adamant that such a region is practically feasible. The demarcation of borders need not be more artificial than the ANC's own plans for a regional dispensation, Beyers says.

Does the ANC acknowledge Afrikaner ethnicity, even though it may to a large extent be based on race? "I think the ANC has come to recognise the reality of ethnicity existing next to multi-ethnicity," Beyers replies.

In talking to the ANC, Beyers admits that he had to overcome certain personal reservations: "You must remember that the ANC was banned until three years ago, and during that time was even shunned from inside the Democratic Party.

"But if I say that I won't talk to the ANC, I am also saying I won't talk to the leaders of the black people. It's not in the interests of my own people not to talk with the ANC."

On the feedback from fellow conservatives about the talks, he says his own constituency supports him all the way. Two vastly different reactions came from the ranks of the Conservative Party: some were negative, but there had been a very positive and inquiring reaction from most of the CP members he had talked to.

Beyers argues that the AVU has perhaps become the last remaining political vehicle able to do things for the Afrikaner and Afrikaner nationalism: "The National Party has embarked on a multi-ethnic and multi-nationalist road where it can no longer give voice to the exclusive interests of the Afrikaner.

"As for the CP, unrealistic expectations and old-fashioned politics are also in the process of sidelining them. It is into this vacuum that we have stepped."

Goldstone and the sort-of solution

STAR 28/11/92. 304A

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*



OH DEAR. So Beeld has joined Rapport in launching a tirade against the dreaded *Engelse pers*, The Star in particular. There's a lot of the old South Africa still around, and it's as well to be reminded of that fact from time to time. Favourite old South African habits die very hard — when the going gets tough, blame the ones you always used to blame.

I think the latest attack — of which, more presently — is curiously comforting, because it illustrates the substantial and healthy differences in philosophy and approach that persist between newspapers. These differences become blurred when things are going well in the land; most newspapers, after all, share the ideal of a peaceful settlement. But when things go awry ... the division between the party-political and the politically independent shines like a beacon.

In this light, thank goodness Beeld disagrees with us. I'd be concerned that we might have lost our way if that were not the case. Let me explain.

The latest piece of stone-throwing from Beeld's glass house appeared this week under the headline "Tell it like it isn't".

Anonymous columnist "Lood" laid into this newspaper for its coverage of the Goldstone "dirty tricks" revelations.

I'll try to summarise his case for the prosecution:

We (The Star) were still "breathless" about the issue a whole week after the Goldstone bombshell. We reported that the judge was not to be given wider powers. Then we reported that diplomats and politicians were cross about that.



GOLDSTONE: Satisfied with the outcome of his meeting with De Klerk.

Then we reported that Judge Goldstone and President de Klerk were satisfied with their meeting. Lood thinks we were just Government-bashing.

Positively brimming with indignation and moral rectitude, he sneers: "As is to be expected, the newspaper did not have the courage to tell its readers why there was no more talk of a cover-up, and why the 'diplomats' had disappeared."

Further: "In its haste to attack the Government over the Ferdi Barnard revelations, The Star is making a serious mistake." We (who "never miss an opportunity to drag in 'Nationalist newspapers' ") should learn to "treat such sensitive matters more responsibly". We are "beginning to sound more and more like the holier-than-thou liberal Master's Voice of old."

BEELD'S columnist, Lood, will be disappointed to hear that 'talk of a cover-up' has not ended, and will not end until there is proof that the State's grubby little tricksters have been exposed.

Anyway, you get the idea.

Well, all I can say is: *Sjoe*, Lood! A lecture from *you* on journalistic responsibility! That's a bit rich! But of course I defend your right to say what you think.

Lood will be disappointed to hear, however, that "talk of a cover-up" has not ended, and will not end until there is proof that the State's grubby little tricksters have been exposed. Experience does not provide a compelling case for accepting the Government's promises at face value.

Nor have the diplomats "disappeared". When it is appropriate — probably next week — they will be back to give their frank, non-party-political assessments of events.



DE KLERK: Unmistakably admonished the judge.

As a footnote to posterity, let us run quickly through the Goldstone revelations saga. After the judge's press conference, President de Klerk released a statement in which he unmistakeably admonished Goldstone for going public with his discoveries, rather than whispering them to officialdom in private. This admonition was greeted with *hoor hoors* in more slavish media quarters. It was an unedifying spectacle to see some newspapers complaining that a source was *too* forthcoming. But leave that aside.

Then the President and the judge held their meeting (last Friday) and issued a brief statement afterwards. No further comment could be elicited from either of them, and responsible newspapers set about speaking to a range of politicians and diplomats to hear their analyses. These were reported in Saturday Star: the interviewees were not happy, and said so.

After this report was published, The Star again sought comment from the President and the judge, but they chose to say nothing at all. Not the politicians and diplomats: they were still not happy, and this was reported. Finally The Star was able to glean from Goldstone Commission sources that the judge was satisfied with the outcome of his meeting with De Klerk, and this was reported too. (It is important to note here that in politics, just because two protagonists say everything is hunky dory, that is not necessarily the whole story — and it most definitely does not mean that everyone else is happy about their deliberations.)

The fact is that as the story unfolded The Star reported — in good faith and to the best of its undoubtedly flawed abilities — what the various interested parties who were prepared to say anything were saying at the time. That is what appeared variously in print; accurate reflections of the position as it was known at the time. The Star sought more information than was contained in the Government's press statement, because we are not in the habit of accepting the blandishments of political parties as gospel — be they the NP or the ANC — and we do our best to get as close as possible to the truth.

My own view, for what it's worth, is that there has been a degree of intentional ambiguity about the De Klerk-Goldstone saga; that this is the reason why neither was prepared to give a full and frank statement after their meeting; and that this resulted in necessarily ambiguous reporting. I believe the Government was angry with Goldstone for going public on his own and Goldstone was angry about the bilious responses from the SADF and SAP. I believe feathers were smoothed on both sides because both knew that a public fallout would be damaging to the country. Therefore Goldstone was sort of given what he asked for, and the Government sort of got what it wanted. I think that that is closer to the truth of the matter than Beeld's easy-answer version, which allows no room for nuance.

As for Lood's comment that we were still "breathless" about the scandal a *full week* after its exposure — well, that says more about his tolerance levels for graft and dirty tricks than it does about our news values. But then this Government is

e and the sort-of solution

28/11/92

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN *Johnson*



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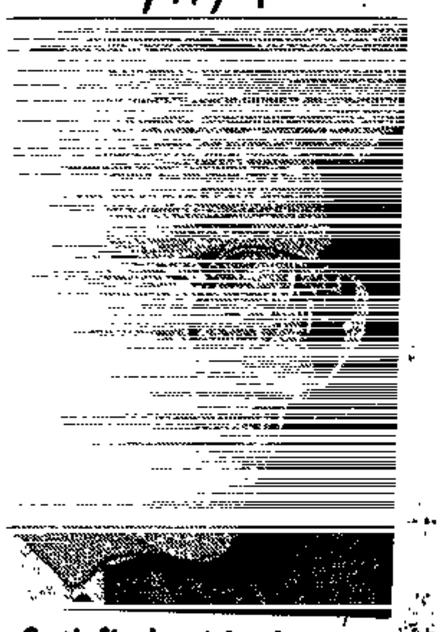

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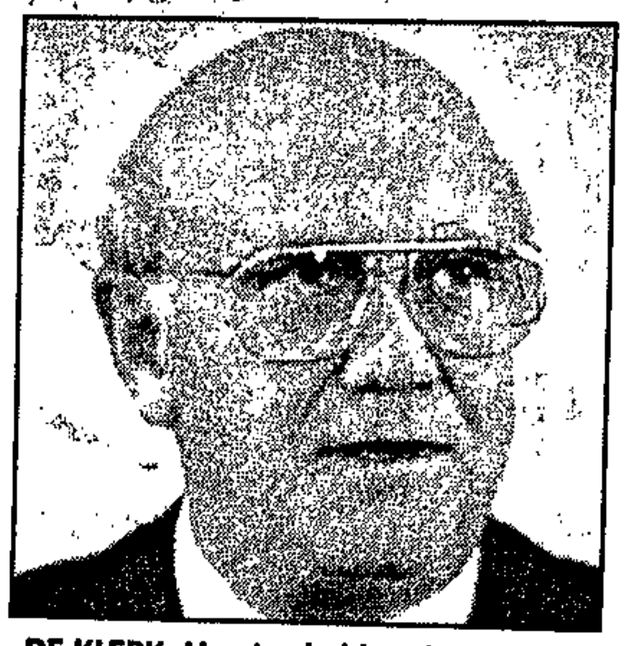

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After this report was published, The Star again sought comment from the President and the judge, but they chose to say nothing at all. Not the politicians and diplomats: they were still not happy, and this was reported. Finally The Star was able to glean from Goldstone Commission sources that the judge was satisfied with the outcome of his meeting with De Klerk, and this was reported too. (It is important to note here that in politics, just because two protagonists say everything is hunky dory, that is not necessarily the whole story — and it most definitely does not mean that everyone else is happy about their deliberations.)

The fact is that as the story unfolded, The Star reported — in good faith and to the best of its undoubtedly flawed abilities — what the various interested parties who were prepared to say anything were saying at the time. That is what appeared variously in print; accurate reflections of the position as it was known at the time. The Star sought more information than was contained in the Government's press statement, because we are not in the habit of accepting the blandishments of political parties as gospel — be they the NP or the ANC — and we do our best to get as close as possible to the truth.

My own view, for what it's worth, is that there has been a degree of intentional ambiguity about the De Klerk-Goldstone saga; that this is the reason why neither was prepared to give a full and frank statement after their meeting; and that this resulted in necessarily ambiguous reporting. I believe the Government was angry with Goldstone for going public on his own and Goldstone was angry about the bilious responses from the SADF and SAP. I believe feathers were smoothed on both sides because both knew that a public fallout would be damaging to the country. Therefore Goldstone was sort of given what he asked for, and the Government sort of got what it wanted. I think that that is closer to the truth of the matter than Beeld's easy-answer version, which allows no room for nuance.

As for Lood's comment that we were still "breathless" about the scandal a *full week* after its exposure — well, that says more about his tolerance levels for graft and dirty tricks than it does about our news values. But then this Government is used to simply brazening out scandals, and, goodness knows, they are embroiled in enough of them. Why should this particular piece of disgusting deceit be of interest for more than a week?

Nee, ou Lood, the time has passed when embarrassments for the Government could be obscured in a cloud of chest-thumping protestations about *boerehaters* and the *geldmag*. We're nothing so sinister; just concerned South Africans who believe that washing out dirt now makes a cleaner future possible. We make mistakes, sure. But we do not intentionally distort in the service of political masters. When we do attack the Government (or the ANC), it is because we believe they deserve it.

It may relieve some of Lood's tension to put the boot into The Star. Might I humbly suggest, however, that it would be of greater benefit if he were a little more concerned about the real issue — that a murderous former CCB agent has been caught red-handed in His Master's House.

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Talks wagon creaks on to the road again

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STAR 28/11/92.
30(A)

PETER FABRICIUS
and ESTHER WAUGH

THE cumbersome and long-dormant negotiation machine began to creak into action this week as plans were announced for the long-awaited Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and an intensive "bosberaad" between the Government and the ANC.

The negotiation barometer moved to "cautious optimism" as it emerged that a team of Cabinet ministers under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and top ANC officials under secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would retreat into a secret bush venue from Wednesday to Friday to thrash out the remaining obstacles to resuming Codesa-style multiparty negotiations.

The two sides moved closer together earlier this week when the ANC's national executive committee endorsed a strategy option of sharing power with the National Party even after interim government.

Programme for transition

Giving an overview of the week's positive development, one key player remarked that all parties had finally realised they could not destroy each other, and were at last resorting to real negotiations.

President de Klerk sounded an optimistic note — and tried to seize the initiative from the ANC — when he announced that Codesa could start in March, setting in train a negotiation process leading to the country's first democratic elections in March or April 1994 for a government of national unity.

The ANC officially spurned De Klerk's timetable as too long, but ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said that at last the Government had committed itself to a definite programme for transition.

The most troubling problem still outstanding is the position of Chief Buthelezi and the IFP, who still remain officially outside the negotiation process.

Although the planned Buthelezi/Mandela meeting is seen as an encouraging sign that the IFP leader is thawing, the Government is fearful that its bosberaad with the ANC may once again infuriate Buthelezi and drive him further away — as did the ANC/Government summit of September 26.

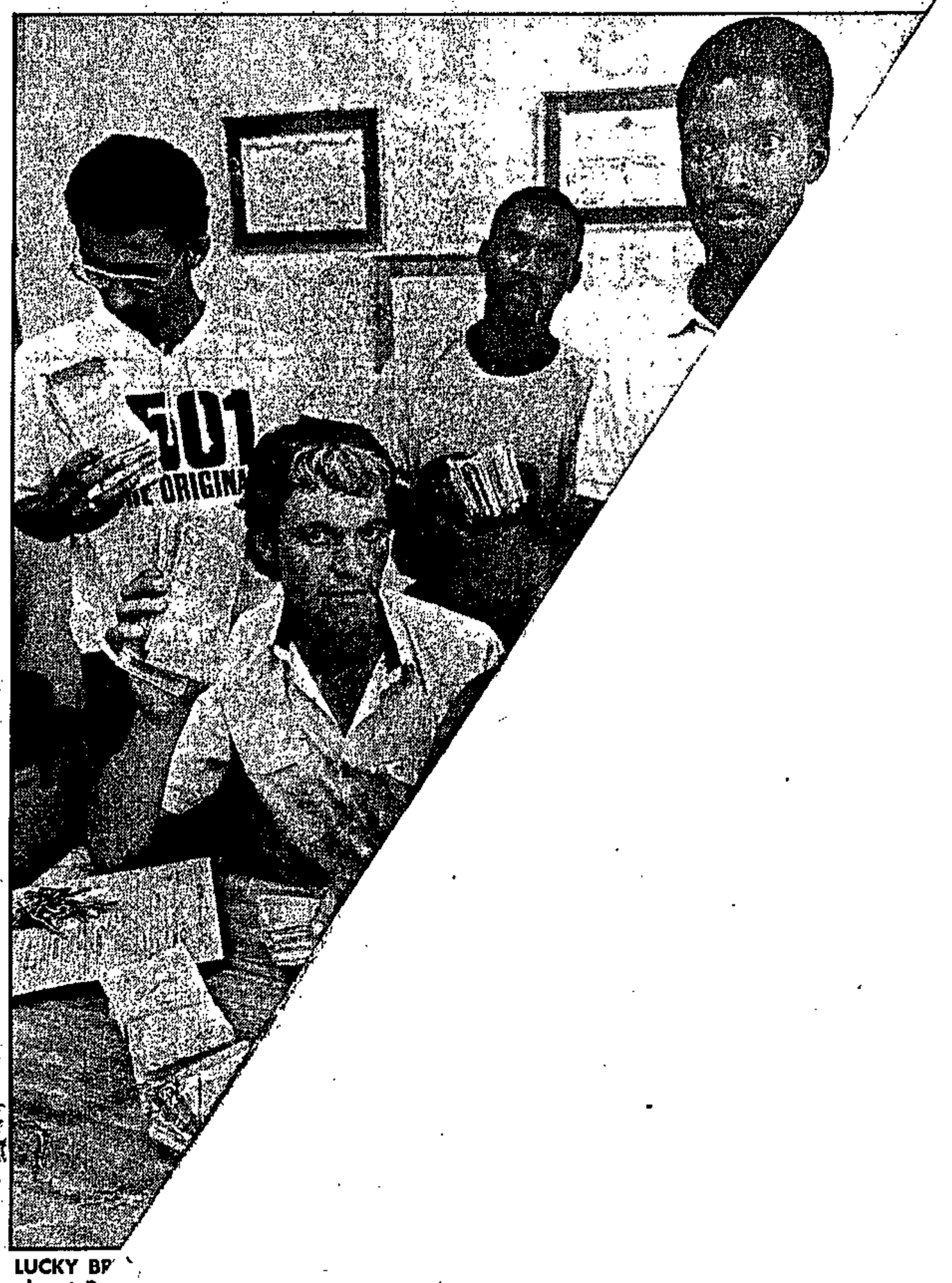
In an interview yesterday, Meyer was at pains to point out that the bosberaad would not be a summit, as De Klerk and Mandela would not attend.

He said that the Government was currently meeting all major players, including the IFP. It would meet the PAC on December 9, and Buthelezi and other estranged homeland leaders also next month.

He and Ramaphosa yesterday announced a second phase of this week's bosberaad in January.

The meetings would deal with multilateral negotiations, the transition process, the problem of violence, transitional/interim government, a constitution-making body, a transitional executive council, a climate for free political activity and participation, and unilateral restructuring. Another topic is likely to be the ANC's power-sharing strategic perspective.

No date has been set for the Mandela/Buthelezi meeting and the agenda is still to be discussed.



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CT 28/11/92

Preparing for first (304A) phase of new talks

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the African National Congress met yesterday to prepare for a "first phase" of the three-day bilateral meeting starting next Wednesday.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa led delegations at the meeting.

It was agreed the bilateral meeting would take place in two phases: A three-day meeting on December 2 to 4 to be followed by another meeting.

The agenda:

- Multilateral negotiations;
- The transition process;
- The problem of violence;
- Transitional/interim government;
- Constitutional-making body;
- Transitional executive council;
- Climate for free political activity and participation; and
- Unilateral restructuring.

It was announced that preparatory meetings between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer would be held on a continuing basis.

Earlier yesterday, the ANC said the agenda would be topped by President De Klerk's timetable leading to democratic elections.

Mr Ramaphosa said a second bilateral meeting would take place in early January. — Sapa.

More than six months have passed since constitutional negotiations came to a standstill within a deadlocked Codesa 2. Now the debate about power and how it will be shared has been pushed into the foreground once more by President De Klerk's newly announced timetable for change and by fresh moves towards resuming multiparty negotiations. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** reports.

The road ahead peaceful or not?

3044
ARG 28/11/92

THE real issue that nearly wrecked the peace process is said to be power. How to handle it, where to place the controls, how to prevent too much power falling into the hands of the wrong people.

The breakdown, according to some analysts, was a clear sign that the choice between federalism and a unitary system of government will be a basic and crucial issue in the resumed constitutional debate.

It is an issue that can make or break the fragile peace process in coming months. Burning questions will include: what shape should the new South Africa take and who will hold the levers of power?

Codesa 2 ended in deadlock when it had to decide, among other things, on the percentage vote needed to write the post-apartheid constitution, particularly on matters relating to the powers of regions.

Veteran former opposition parliamentarian Mrs Helen Suzman has noted in her presidential address to the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) that the all-important issue of federalism had been the final stumbling-block at Codesa 2.

She identified the issue that could not be resolved as whether or not the central government would have the power to override second and third-tier governments.

And since the deadlock, Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Dr Tertius Delport has confirmed that regionalism would be "the nitty-gritty" of the constitutional debate.

Meanwhile the debate on regionalism/federalism increasingly reveals a deep-rooted political conflict about the very shape of a new

The maps show some of the choices for changing the face of South Africa when multiparty negotiations are resumed early next year, as proposed by President De Klerk.

South Africa.

What are the prospects for a settlement? Is agreement on these highly emotive issues possible in a climate of violence?

Some indication of the road ahead has been given by the South Africa Foundation in an analysis of the federalism/regionalism debate.

Eleven of the 19 Codesa participants (including the National Party, the Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party) are claimed to be in the federal camp, although Dr Delport has put the figure as high as 13, with the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the Natal/Transvaal Indian Congresses and Transkei, KwaNdebele and KaNgwane homelands being anti-federal.

According to the foundation's analysis, the ANC and its allies accept not only the principle of "strong" regional and local government, but also its entrenchment in the constitution.

At the same time, however, they insist that South Africa needs a unitary, centralised state — the only kind of state, in their opinion, that would be capable of intervening to redress inequalities.

The foundation quotes a formidable range of opinion-makers who urge the negotiators to opt for a federal system of government.

Among them is Professor Albert Blaustein, emeritus professor of law at Rutgers Law School, New Jersey in the United States, and chief adviser to Inkatha at Codesa. He says self-determination and autonomy of regions is "a fundamental principle to ensure long-term successful co-existence and development".

Blaustein contends that such a system prevents authoritarianism and widespread corruption. The ANC's vision, on the other hand, is designed to break down linguistic, ethical, social, cultural or religious differences — a vision "for a potentially totalitarian state".

Mr John Kane-Berman, executive director of the SAIRR, says the real issue in the federalism debate is not when and how power will be transferred, but how checks on abuse of power can be built into a constitution which puts individual liberties beyond the reach of politicians.

Professor Mervyn Frost, of the University of Natal, says an advantage of a federal structure is that the entrenchment of powers at a regional level forces the two levels of government to co-operate in the drawing up of policy.

ANC objections, as outlined by Professor Kader Asmal, professor of human rights law at the University of the Western Cape, include criticism that the National Party's federal proposals "are really support for a surrogate system of apartheid".

He says the proposals of both the NP and the DP "must be seen as a method of locking wealth and resources into smaller units of of government where consensus decision enables a veto to be used, resulting in constitutionally-protected walls of privilege to be erected — a recipe for the entrenchment of segregation".

The SA Foundation's analysis concluded that the fundamental choice appeared to be between a federalist or unitary system.

"Reality may well introduce compromise," it says, a suggestion also put forward by influential political analyst and commentator Dr Oscar Dhlomo, executive chairman of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

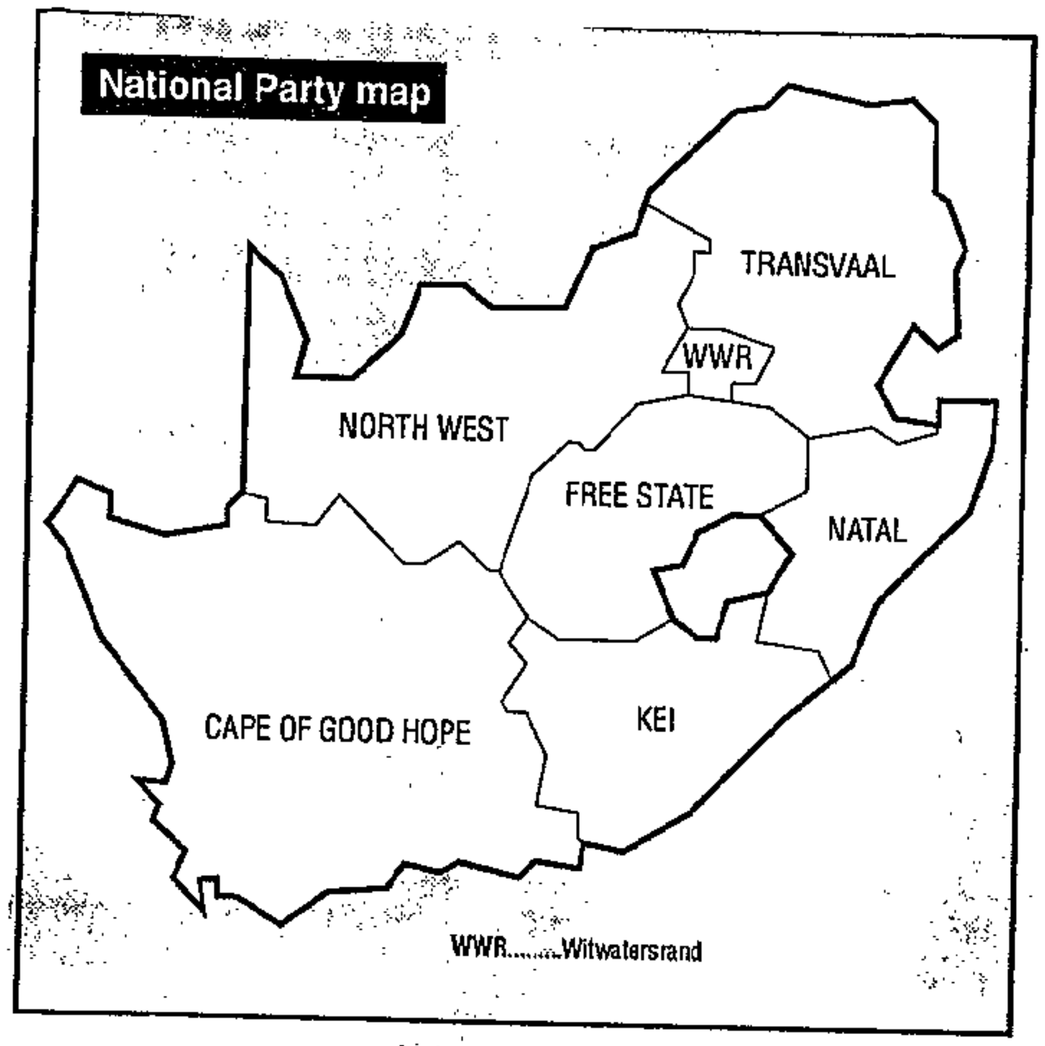
He says the ANC's alliance with the SACP has fuelled suspicion that the ANC wants to create a highly centralised one-party dictatorship.

However, Dr Dhlomo sees no need for the polarisation of the federalism-versus-unitary state debate. Democracy, he says, is quite feasible under either.

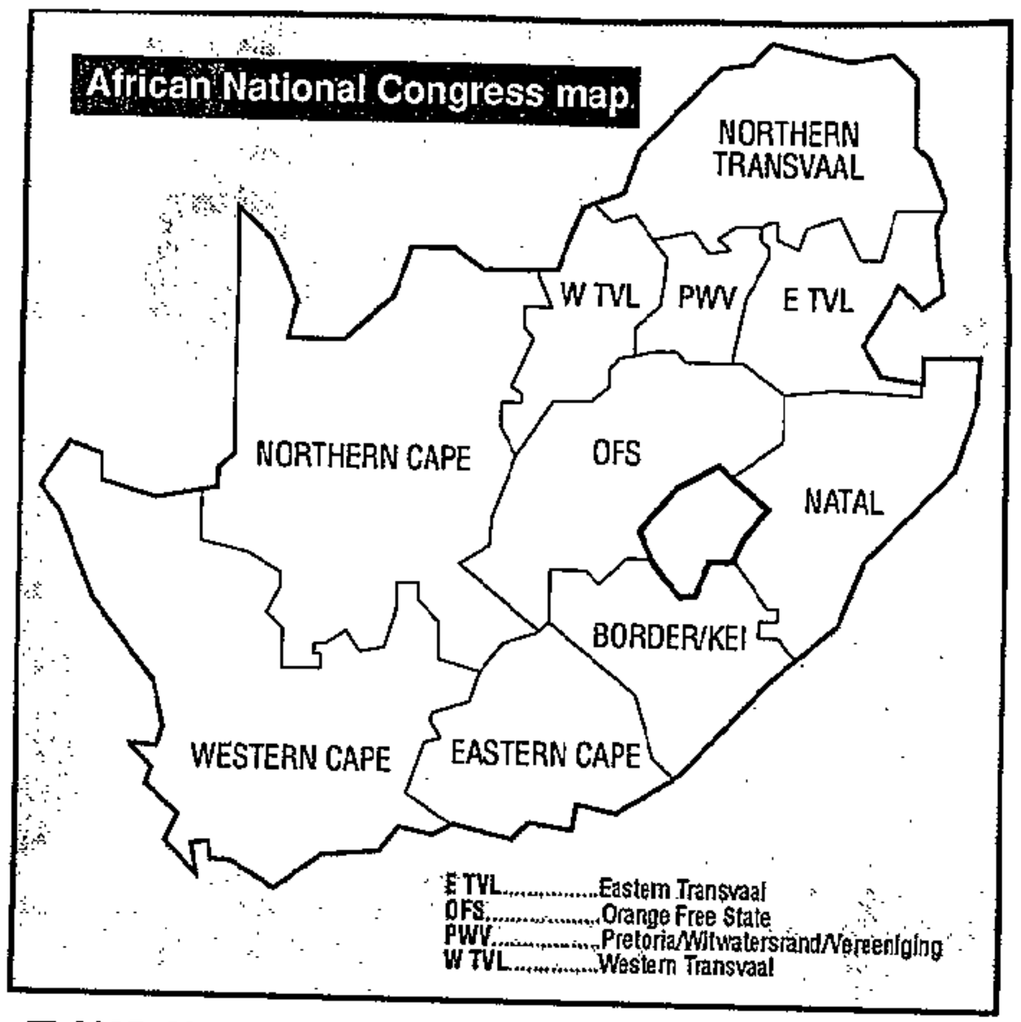
"The ANC and the NP and their allies would do well immediately to drop the 'F' and 'U' words in this debate. Both parties need to go further and debate which powers the regional governments will enjoy and how these powers will be guaranteed in the constitution.

"I believe we will ultimately end up with a form of government which will have elements of both federalism and unitarianism."

One of South Africa's top political researchers and analysts, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, says that in this big debate each side views the other with suspicion.



☐ **NAT VISION:** This is the National Party's latest map on the demarcation of regions in a future South Africa. It makes provision for seven autonomous provinces (including all 10 homelands) instead of the nine previously favoured by the party.



☐ **ANC VISION:** This is the ANC map on its earlier plan for dividing the country into 10 regions which were largely similar to the NP's plan, but with an additional Border/Kei region. It is now said they favour a larger number of regions than the 10 originally proposed.

Cosatu fears intimidation over NP programme

NP seeks maids for membership

(3044) ARG 28/11/92

IN Vereeniging, madams have been seen chaffeuring their maids to the local National Party offices in the wa-Benzi.

And, in Edenvale, madams have been seen unpacking their best china to serve tea to their maids.

Hau! Maybe there's something to be said for this New South Africa...

But, Cosatu (Congress of South African Trade Unions) and Sadwu (SA Domestic Workers' Union) claim they have discovered something sinister behind the tea and political chit-chat.

Sadwu's Vaal Triangle organiser, Ms Elsie Komaku, said at least 15 members in the Vereeniging area had approached her office and complained of victimisation and intimidation following the meetings — held at a suburban church and the local NP offices.

"Our people have been told that if they do not support the NP or the IFP they will lose their jobs and their accommodation. The threats are coming more from the madams after the meetings," she said.

■ Throughout the country madams are taking their maids to special National Party-organised "tea parties", as part of the party's latest drive to win the hearts and minds of black South Africa.

MARK STANSFIELD
Weekend Argus Reporter

"They are told the ANC are bad people and if they join the NP they will have houses and their children will be educated ... they have been told to choose between their jobs or the ANC.

"Some of our people have joined the NP — but, out of fear for their jobs more than anything else. Others, who cannot read or write, tell us they have been forced to sign papers. We still do not know what these were," she added.

Similar tales are being told from various districts, according to Cosatu spokesman Mr Niel Coleman.

"We have had reports of similar incidents from Cape Town, Durban, the Witwatersrand and the Northern Transvaal," he said.

Vereeniging MP Mr Thomas Gunning admitted such meetings had been held and that the drive would be intensified in the new year. He denied any knowledge of intimidation tactics being used in the drive for membership.

"I have no evidence of intimidation or victimisation; if it is happening, I will try to put a stop to it. The NP does not stand for such things," he said.

Sadwu's Germiston organiser, Ms Margaret Nhlapho, said similar meetings were being held in Edenvale and Germiston.

Edenvale's Democvratic Party MP, Mr Brian Goodall, said if the threats of job losses because of political affiliations were true, the DP would "take strong exception".

"Threatening someone's home or their livelihood is equal to threatening their life. People must be made aware that their vote is always kept secret so they need not fear reprisals such as these," he said.

Mr Gunning said the "Maids and Madams" programme would be intensified in the Transvaal next year.

"We intend circulating a booklet and broadening the programme to include other black workers, like farm labourers," he said.

Mr Coleman said similar propaganda tactics had been used by the whites in Namibia and Zimbabwe shortly before elections.

ANC, govt prepare for talks

3049 CT 28/11/92

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the African National Congress met yesterday to prepare for a "first phase" three-day bilateral meeting starting next Wednesday.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa led delegations at yesterday's meeting.

The two said in a statement it was agreed the meeting would take place in two phases, firstly a three-day meeting on December 2-4, to be followed by a further meeting.

Earlier yesterday, the ANC said the agenda at next week's bilateral meeting would be topped by President F W de Klerk's proposal for a timetable leading to democratic elections which it rejected.

Mr De Klerk's proposals met with criticism yesterday from the HNP, the CP and the Boere Weerstandsbeweging which all expressed concern that Mr De Klerk was allowing himself to be dictated to and would "lose control".

The SA Council of Churches criticised Mr De Klerk's proposal for pre-empting multi-party discussions on the matter. — Sapa

Rightwingers reject FW's unity plan

ARG 28/11/92 (304A)

PRETORIA. — A government of national unity will "never succeed" and President De Klerk will have to "capitulate totally" to the African National Congress's demands to form such a government by 1994, says Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht.

He said last night that the goals Mr De Klerk announced at a news conference in Pretoria on Thursday were unattainable.

"He knows from experience gained during the past year how dangerous it is for him to negotiate successfully within specific time-scales," said Dr Treurnicht.

The ANC's intended "socialist and communist straight-jacket" for the country was a nightmare and could not be made acceptable through negotiations.

"One democracy for the voters of 13 nations and groups on a single voter's roll is no democracy, but constitutes a serious disregard of nations' right to freedom," said Dr Treurnicht.

"Therefore, a single constitution can never be acceptable for the self-determination of different nations."

The CP was in favour of an alternative forum where points of departure should be the acceptance of Christian values, the rejection of communism and any form of ANC domination, as well as the recognition of nations' full freedom and right to self-determination.

The CP considered it presumptuous to accept a single government of so-called national unity, one election for all nations' voters and one constitution for different nations as a point of departure for a time-scale, even before these principles had been cleared in any way with those concerned.

■ Mr De Klerk's intention to have a constituent assembly by 1994 was "a declaration of war", the Boere Weerstandsbeweging and the Wit Wolwe said in a joint statement yesterday.

Mr De Klerk and the National Party had forced down an armed struggle, "and will have to accept all responsibility for what will happen in this fatherland of ours".

Mr De Klerk had no mandate from the "Boer" nation or any white for the constitutional timetable he outlined.

"The BWB and the Boer nation consider this government illegal and all its laws will be rejected by the Boer nation," said the statement. — Sapa.

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Rule now — and get rich later

SOUTH 28/11 - 2/12/92 (304A)

Instead of Swiss bank accounts, South Africa's ruling elite will reap riches through huge early pensions, according to the latest edition of the ANC journal **Mayibuye**:



THERE is no longer any doubt that the apartheid system has enabled free-for-all plunder of state coffers. Scandal after scandal involving financial misappropriation has emerged.

The government is apparently unable to do anything to bring to book those accused. A case in point is the multi-billion rand scandal of the former Department of Development Aid which was run by Dr Gerrit Viljoen, until recently President FW de Klerk's right-hand man in negotiations.

Now that revelations have been made about the size and conditions set for state pensions, it is partly clear why the government has been reluctant to act.

The plunder is taking many forms, one of which is through parliamentary legislation.

The Parliamentarians' Pension Act provides for the state president, his cabinet and many long-serving parliamentarians — NP and CP alike — to have huge pensions waiting for them when they are ousted from power. Senior police and army personnel can also count on comfortable pensions.

ANC economists say this can only be described as plain plunder of the country's riches while the sun still shines for the present racists.

More disturbing for those who will inherit the economy after the massive dip into the kitty is that not only are existing state funds being plundered, but these corrupt payouts are financed by borrowing on a vast scale from foreign financiers.

This will ensure that long after the former dictators are pensioned off, taxpayers will feel the pinch and blame it on the new government.

When De Klerk announced a major restructuring of the police force recently, it turned out to be nothing but another occasion to publicly offer a golden handshake to loyal servants of apartheid.

Some officers were retired prematurely on full pensions while others were promoted to more senior jobs with bigger pensions.

In other areas of the public service the practice has been to pension off employees and re-employ them. This has been most blatant in education and the SABC.

Teachers unhappy with working in non-segregated schools have been given generous golden handshakes.

In the SABC, early retirement has been offered to some senior staffers who are now engaged as "consultants" on full pay.

Blacks who have loyally served apartheid have not been forgotten, probably because their services will still be required. It has been reported that former black mayors can expect pay-offs of R100 000 and councillors of R50 000. This comes on top of the benefits that have accrued to them all along, including housing, transport and education.

In Venda it was revealed that the administration was preparing grounds to privatise its pension scheme to benefit top echelons.

The question economists and politicians are asking is whether it would be morally right to allow such people, once there is a new government, to continue to draw these large pensions.

In the case of De Klerk (and PW Botha), the issue is compounded by the fact that, as state president, the payout will be tax free for life.

In the wake of the 1978 Information Scandal, it was alleged that millions of rands had been stashed away in Swiss banks in anticipation of leaders fleeing the country.

The Soweto uprisings had already signalled the end of apartheid rule and contingency plans had to be made. The scheme backfired and John Vorster was replaced by PW Botha. It was during PW's rule that the plan of "taking care of old buddies" began to flourish.

Plans were hatched to ensure that apartheid leaders lived like millionaires after retirement.

This whole system has to be reviewed for the sake of the economy and a democratic approach to pension schemes.

Hybrid system of rule can have best of two worlds

SOUTH 28/11 - 2/12/92 (304A)

DEBATES on forms of constitutions for a particular country generally revolve around two options — a federal or a unitary system of government.

But some countries have found that neither system is suitable for their conditions and have opted for a combination of the features of both.

In practice, these "hybrid" constitutional systems occur more often because the "pure" forms of unitary and federal may sound lofty in theory but are sometimes not applicable.

Many constitutions deliberately blur the distinctions between the two, using terms such as "quasi-federal", "quasi-unitary" and "unitary with federal ingredients".

India, Czechoslovakia — until its recent breakup — Spain and Italy are examples of hybrid constitutional models.

India's 1950 constitution allocated wide powers to its states as well as to the national government.

But the constitution also authorised the national parliament to pass, with a two-thirds majority, laws that superseded any conflicting state law.

The president was authorised, in times of emergency, to suspend the constitution and take over the administration of any state or states.

In Kerala, the communists formed a state government in 1957, but riots and disorders intensified until 1959 when the national government proclaimed "president's rule".

The communist government was removed and the national government ruled Kerala until elections were held in 1960.

The same occurred in 1968 in West Bengal when parliament, at the urging of prime minister Indira Gandhi, again declared "president's rule" when the governing system broke down in the state.



INDIRA GANDHI: The then prime minister who asked for 'president's rule' in West Bengal

The Communists were the strongest of the 14 parties in the regional coalition government, but in early 1968 the governing system broke down in a deadlock between the Communist-led coalition and the state governor.

Because of this, India has been called "a federal government in normal times, but a unitary government in times of emergency".

Another variant on the hybrid system is where the constitution might fit the characteristics of a unitary or federal system, but in practice does not operate like either.

An example of this are federations which have been called "paper federations". These include countries such as Argentina, Mexico and Venezuela.

The advantages and disadvantages of hybrid systems depends on the combinations of characteristics combined and how applicable they are to local situations.

It does provide the opportunity for the best features of both systems to be used to suit the prevailing conditions best.

Opting for a hybrid system also improves the chances of constitutional negotiators to strike compromises and come to face-saving solutions.

On the negative side, vague and ambivalent language can cause serious misunderstandings and the content of the constitution will be open to interpretation.

Often the constitutional court — essentially undemocratic in its nature — assumes an important role in giving operational content to the provisions of the constitution.

Codesa by Christmas?

SOUTH 28/11 - 2/12/92

By Quentin Wilson

IT MIGHT be worth pencilling December 14 and 15 in your diary as a tentative date for Codesa 3.

While Codesa's dormant administrative staff have been "instructed" not to speculate about a date, a source who works inside the World Trade Centre confirmed there are "preparatory plans" for the resumption of full-scale negotiations on these two days.

The source said "unless there is some major political catastrophe of the same magnitude as the Boipatong massacre or the Ciskei shootings", Codesa 3 will take place before Christmas.

According to the source, the 'bosberaad' planned between the ANC and the NP for early December is part of the preparations where both organisations will try to establish enough common ground for Codesa 3 to be successful.

Sources within the ANC and NP will not say enough to quash this possibility, although they are sceptical that Codesa 3 will get off the ground this year.

At most, they are optimistic that an extended meeting of Codesa's management committee could happen before Christmas.

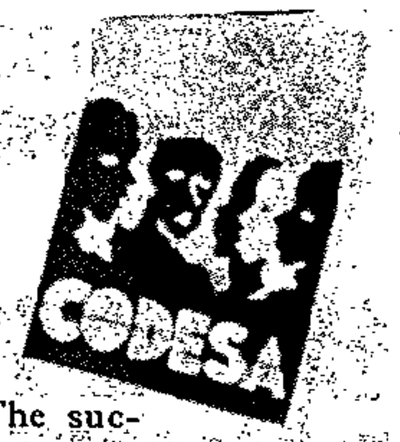
At this meeting, about 40 to 50 representatives of Codesa participants could try to reach broad agreements to help make a full plenary session of Codesa productive.

30(A)

A source within the NP said time was running out for the government as they are forced to call another tricameral election in 1994.

ANC spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus said it was "premature to speculate on an exact date" but added that the sooner the security forces are brought under multi-party control, the better — and this development could mean negotiations as soon as possible.

"A lot depends on the outcome of the ANC/NP bosberaad in early December," Niehaus said, "We need to reach further clarity and a common understanding of what the guidelines should be for a constitution-making body and an interim government.



"The success of further multi-lateral talks depends on this."

Chief Democratic Party negotiator Mr Colin Eglin said it would be "unrealistic" to expect a Codesa plenary session in December. But he said it "was not improbable for an agenda to be planned" during that month by the management committee.

"The real negotiations happen in the management committee — if agreements are made which the plenary can rubber-stamp, then progress will have been made. And that is possible," Eglin said.



They'll have to get it right first time

304A

ST Times 29/11/92

A SHIVER of excitement ran through the country's business elite this week on the rumour that talks about talks were going well, and that a transitional executive council — in effect, an unelected multi-national government — might be only months away.

But still people asked each other, as South Africans tend to do wherever they meet these days: "Are you optimistic? Pessimistic? Do you have hope?"

President de Klerk tried to restore some perspective by offering a time-table, if all goes well, for a transitional executive council to start work in June, and for national elections nine months later.

The ANC, which had been nagging him for a timetable, and which had promised to call off sanctions as soon as it had a date for transitional government, flew into a tantrum. The country, it said sanctimoniously, could not endure an extra year of corruption and mismanagement; elections had to be held in 1993, not 1994.

As usual, the ANC's middle-class and foreign-funded apparatchiks were being both cheap and shallow: the country has been sliding into poverty since 1981 or so, and living standards have only got as far down as 1965. There's a long, long way to fall yet.

Not all the news is bad — inflation is falling at last, and even government spending is coming down a bit, and one of these days, mark my words, we shall see somebody in government prosecuted for corruption, or perjury, or fraud.

Anyway, there's no guarantee that we should be better off under the ANC, which on its good days can barely manage Shell House and which has been ferocious in preserving for its own future use the National Party's machinery of patronage, the centralised spending, the huge bureaucracies, the parastatals, the interfering and overweening government that breeds both corruption and mismanagement.

Nevertheless, businessmen and foreign ambassadors have been trying to force the pace of negotiations, and the ANC itself has decided to "turn on the tap". Its motives are a matter for speculation, but it's fair to suggest that Finance Minister Derek Keys may have secured the attention of the ANC's limousine revolutionaries with his charts showing how we are hurtling towards the end of the world.

The attempt to hustle President de Klerk quickly offstage, even if it means offering him "sunset clauses" and other bribes, may not be unconnected with the ideological dispute between Joe Slovo and Pallo Jordan, the left-of-SACP intellectual who seems to think negotiation is a form of consorting with the enemy.

Suddenly the ANC is impatient for power, and the reason hardly matters. What does matter is that nobody seems to be asking the critical question: will the main parties agree — can they agree? — on the substance of a democratic constitution in time to meet the ANC's timetable, or even President de Klerk's?

Put the question a bit differently: what powers will the Nationalists allow the ANC to wield over Nationalists? Or what powers will the ANC permit Chief Buthelezi to wield over ANC members? Which of them will control the armed forces of the state, and if none of them, then who?

OUR very recent history has shown us that the Nationalists cannot be trusted with money, the armed forces cannot be trusted with power, and neither the ANC nor the Inkatha Freedom Party can be trusted to keep the peace. So what rules will they make for each other? What restraints on power? What checks and balances?

What power to the people?

John Maynard Keynes, I think, once said that no meeting of business competitors did not end in a conspiracy against consumers; similarly, no meeting of politicians does not end in a conspiracy against the people. So what are the chances that the tax-funded Nationalist WaBenzi from Bryntirion and the ANC's *nouveau riche* WaBenzi from Houghton will not, if they agree at all, conspire against the rest of us?

And what's the rush? They have all the time in the world. The pressure is off. One cannot find a local businessman, nor a German banker, nor a diplomat, nor a government official, who thinks a government of national unity will bring us investment, or restore overseas faith in our blood-soaked economy.

A cabinet minister remarked this week in private conversation that South Africa was drenched in goodwill; the whole world seemed to be holding its breath, praying for us to make a successful transition before the entire subcontinent slips irretrievably into the abyss. To which a prominent Afrikaans capitalist retorted that, yes, they wish us well, but they turn away at the very mention of risking their precious cash here.

THE stark reality is that we are, for the time being, on our own. If our survival depends on foreign investment, we won't survive. If we hope to restore economic growth, we shall have to pull ourselves up by our bootstraps. A few years of disciplined behaviour, of tight monetary policy, of frugal government, of low inflation and rising productivity, of lawful behaviour in the streets and civilised discourse among politicians — and then we shall be able to talk again of foreign investment.

To achieve any of this we shall need agreements, and conventions, and forums, and the Nats and the ANC and the IFP will have to talk to each other. If, in doing so, they reach agreement on a constitution under which each of them is willing to trust the other with the possession of power, well and good. If not, they must carry on talking, because constitution-making is arduous, painstaking work, and if we do not get it right we shall simply have to do it all again, after another round of violence and destruction.

KEN OWEN

THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT
By EDYTH BULBRING

For realism, read compromise

ST Times 29/11/92 (3044)

SOUTH Africans must be experiencing a sense of déjà vu.

About this time last year the country's negotiators had finally stopped talking about talking and, with the launch of Codesa 1 on December 20, started the rather excruciating process of "real" negotiations.

Past the stand-offs, the breakthroughs, the breakdowns, the rhetoric and jargon, we seem to be back where we started, and few understand what has happened anyway.

Except, a year down the line, battered by violence and economic decline, the politicians now seem to have discovered what is realistic rather than what is ideal.

From now onwards negotiations will be governed by one word — compromise. Clumsy, Codesa-style, multi-party forums are a thing of the past.

Instead, the new focus will be on a series of bilateral meetings between the ANC and the government such as that scheduled to take place this week and again in January, and meetings with those parties with the capacity to wreck.

After the January meeting it is hoped sufficient progress will have been made for the Codesa management committee to be reactivated to start deciding on a slimmer, more effective Codesa.

The government wants the new Codesa to meet before the end of March, while the ANC feels it should happen before the end of February. Whatever the date, newcomers to Codesa will probably include the Afrikaner Volksunie and the PAC, while the CP could join its ranks as part of the "concerned-SA" grouping.

At Codesa the parties will theoretically decide two main issues. First, how and when elections will be held; second, what the elected body will do and look like.

However, by then it is likely that the government, the ANC, Inkatha and those parties deemed to have the ability to disrupt will have already reached agreement on these issues. Codesa will be no more than a rubber stamp.

Clearly, the most important bilateral meetings will be those between the government and the ANC.

Broadly speaking, their discussions will focus on two phases — the lead-up to elections and what happens afterwards.

On the first phase there is, in fact, already agreement: what will happen is that a multi-party body called the transitional executive council (TEC) will be appointed to monitor the activities of the government to ensure that no party is favoured in the run-up to elections.

An independent election commission will be appointed to oversee the holding of elections and arbitrate if there is unfair practice.

What is at issue is when these bodies should be appointed.

President de Klerk said this week that the structures could be in place by June next year. The ANC wants them in place by March.

Before the TEC is appointed there will have to be agreement on what happens after the holding of elections.

It is this stage that will give the ANC and the government the most headaches at their "bosberaad". Both are agreed that after the holding of elections there should be a government of national unity and that the elected body will serve both as a parliament and as a constitution-making body.

The three key areas of dispute are regionalism, a bill of rights and power-sharing.

In essence the ANC does not want to be stuck with a transitional constitution that it cannot change, while the National Party wants its chief concerns — power-sharing, protection of minorities through a bill of rights, regionalism, economic policy — guaranteed before the constituent assembly sits.

Obviously there will have to be compromises.

On regionalism the ANC has now endorsed a proposal that it agree, in discussions with the government, what the powers, functions and boundaries of regions will be. However, this agreement will be enforced only when the constituent assembly sits down to writing a new constitution.

The government has said this is not good enough, but both sides are showing flexibility, and resolution of this matter is possible. An important feature of any solution will be agreement that any matters affecting regions will be subject to special majorities.

Similarly, a likely deal is in the offing over a bill of rights, which both the ANC and the government agree should exist in various forms during the transition.

The sticky clause on property rights could be got round by suggesting the inclusion of clauses making it obligatory for the state to pay compensation for any property it expropriates. And that the necessary compensation be fixed by a neutral body.

On the vexed question of power-sharing, we have already seen movement on both sides and can expect more. The ANC now accepts that there will be power-sharing during the period in which the constituent assembly is drawing up a new constitution.

But it has also said that it is likely that such power-sharing will have to continue even after the new constitution is adopted.

This is an acceptance on its part that, while it might emerge the party with the most support, it will not have the backing of important sectors of society such as the military, the civil service and the business community. It will have to seek alliances with parties which have the backing of these interest groups.

On the government side, key negotiators have stated that the idea of enforced coalitions is the weakest feature in its constitutional proposals. On this issue, as with others, it is possible to detect a convergence in thinking.

Finally, there is dispute about timeframes.

The government wants the new Codesa convened between February and March, with its work completed by May. It wants to legislate on the TEC by May or June and implemented by June end. It wants to enact the transitional constitution by September and the promulgation of election rules by October's end. It envisages elections before the end of March or April 1994.

The ANC wants Codesa convened before February, with the TEC in place by March or April — implying that there will already be agreement on the second phase of transition by then. It has September 21 or 22 1993, in mind for an election.

But this is what the organisation says in public. One senior ANC official said in private this week that the time-frames proposed by Mr de Klerk were reasonable. Again, a compromise solution would appear easily attainable.

What is not is the quelling of violence. No matter what deals are struck by the negotiators, they could be undermined if violence continues unabated.

In this regard the meeting of the peace signatories early next year before the new Codesa sits, and strengthening the National Peace Accord, is going to be crucial.

University of the Western Cape professor of Human Rights Law KADAR ASMAL looks at some tricky questions surrounding reconciliation.

Restitution is not just about money

Argus 29/11/92 (304A)

COMING to terms with the past is a difficult and, for some, a painful matter.

Many countries in recent years, faced with a transition from dictatorship to a democratic order, have tried to grapple with the past, partly to heal the wounds and partly to provide concrete redress for the offences of the past.

Retribution has rarely been the primary motivating factor. In the majority of these countries, where the change has not been fundamental, as it will be in our country, an attempt has been made to ensure a surer basis for the new democratic order.

In Argentina, after a military dictatorship from 1975 to 1982 resulted in the disappearance or death of over 300 000 people, some of the torturers and murderers and leaders of the armed forces were prosecuted to purge the horrors of the dictatorship.

Even in Chile, while Gen Augusto Pinochet retains the formal trappings of power, there has begun a slow attempt to bring to book some of the more evil men who destroyed the democracy of Allende. The Chileans say that reconciliation cannot occur without truth. Justice, not punishment, is being proposed in order to compensate the victims of past wrongs.

But there is increasing pressure in all Latin American countries which have had military dictatorships to respect the obligation of successor democratic governments to investigate, prosecute and punish the crimes of former regimes.

In the Soviet Union files of the KGB are being made available and in different republics bans are being placed on former state officials in order to break with the past.

In Czechoslovakia, a "Lustration Law" – a convenient way of avoiding the Kafkaesque word "purge" – was passed in October 1991. This forbids a range of former officials from being employed in schools and from holding governmental positions for five years.

The German government has only recently set up a commission of inquiry to investigate the responsibility of individuals in East Germany.

But such trials of the top stand on shaky ground because the implication is that if former head of state Erich Honecker is convicted, then the majority are absolved from responsibility for dutifully casting in their lot with tyranny.

It is in Germany, though, that the law has continued to provide a safeguard against any form of collective amnesia.

Germany has a remarkable record for compensation of past wrongs.

The German word for restitution – "Wiedergutmachung", means "to make good again". Both the Federal Republic and the individual German states have attempted to make good the history of the National Socialist era – to those who suffered because they were politically opposed to the Nazis, or because they were prisoners-of-war, or simply because they were Jews.

The Western Occupying Powers enacted the first laws restoring property confiscated by the Nazis to the original owners. If such restoration was not possible, then compensation had to be paid. But there was not provision for the pain, suffering or general personal damage done to the victims of Nazi persecution.

The "new" Germany admitted that it had a duty to pay reparation to those inside and outside Germany for what then Chancellor Konrad Adenauer called "unspeakable crimes".

More than 80 billion marks have been paid in compensation in the past 40 years.

The German experience ought to have been raised by SA theologians and lawyers because it has important implications for us.

It is not simply a question of money. It is the acknowledgement which is vital to the process of rehabilitation ...

We will have to close the book on the past, but before we begin to do it, we must not suppress it.

Out in the cold . . .



MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI



LUCAS MANGOPE



OUPA GQOZO

Moves towards a power-sharing deal between the Government and the ANC have enraged homeland leaders – KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo.



INITIATOR . . . Nelson Mandela got the ball rolling.

Friends become enemies and enemies become frie

THE BIG E

Cape Times 29/11/92. (3044)

While revelations about security force meddling in SA political life – very much a part of the old pattern of violent SA conflict – may hold the public's attention, ANC and NP negotiators are beavering away at shaping an unheard of, but potentially momentous, long-term power-sharing deal. *Africa Confidential*, an influential British-based newsletter, renders some sharp observations about their dramatic behind-the-scenes manoeuvrings, and the heady stakes involved.

THE Goldstone Commission's dramatic November 16 report, which provided irrefutable evidence of a 'third force' sanctioned at the top levels of Military Intelligence (MI), will strengthen the ANC's hand internationally and locally.

But behind the ANC's calls on the government to resign, is the belief of its negotiating team that substantial progress towards a power-sharing deal can be made over the next three months. Multi-party talks are likely to be resumed, probably early in the new year, and an interim administration established soon afterwards.

A key to breaking the deadlock is the new thrust by pragmatists in the ANC and SACP to prepare the political climate for a power-sharing deal based on the compromise outlined by ANC President Nelson Mandela in his famous memorandum from prison nearly three years ago. The deal, which could even take the form of a secret protocol, would spell out the ground rules for ANC-National Party (NP) co-operation during the three phases of the transition envisaged by the Codesa II agreements: An administrative transitional executive council, an elected constitution-making body/interim government and a transitional government of national unity to emerge after the adoption of a new constitution.

The deal would guarantee enforced – not just voluntary – power-sharing, as against majority rule, at least until the end of the century or longer. This is what State President FW de Klerk wants – an open-ended arrangement that would not set a deadline for the power-sharing period. But even ANC moderates insist that eventually there must a time limit – five or 10 years – and that there can be no question of an NP veto. A five-year time limit, assuming the new constitution comes into effect in 1994, would take SA effectively to the end of the year 2000. Thereafter, majority rule would begin.

Such a deal in practice would relegate other Codesa parties – including Mangosuthu B[illegible]helezi's Inkatha, other homeland leade[illegible]and tricameral parliament parties – to minor roles. As suggested in the discussion paper circulated by the tripartite alliance of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu, the negotiating focus has shifted to two-party talks. That development, confirmed in the September 26 De Klerk-Mandela Record of Understanding, has already enraged Buthelezi and other homeland leaders (Ciskei and Bophuthatswana); provoked threats of secession, and produced cleavages in the NP.

The current internal ANC debate on power-sharing has for the first time fully revealed the fault-line between pragmatists and hardliners (doves and hawks). It will be as pivotal in determining whether there is a negotiated settlement as De Klerk's eventual decision on whether to sideline Buthelezi or not.

Obstacles

The two major obstacles to an ANC-NP deal are the fiery resistance to power-sharing among ANC hardliners and the NP's long-standing, expedient and even sentimental attachment to Buthelezi. Both are fundamental issues for the two parties to thrash out at the delayed ANC-NP bush summit which could begin on December 5. Alongside this meeting, there is likely to be a series of meetings between smaller players from which a multi-party forum would emerge.

The timetable then would look like this:

■ Enabling legislation for the transitional executive council phase could be passed by the present tricameral parliament by June and a council established soon after.

■ Next, elections for a constitution-making body (CMB) – held under an interim constitution – could follow a year later, perhaps by July 1994.

■ The CMB is unlikely to sit for less than two years and possibly much longer. It would be meaningless to predict the date of the first elections under a democratic constitution.

The balance of forces at the NP's decision-making levels is swinging towards a coalition with the ANC, rather than plunging all efforts towards weakening and discrediting the ANC before an election. The departure of NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe, one of those who believed the ANC could be politically defeated, has strengthened the pro-coalition camp.

Africa Confidential learns that De Klerk has already begun to search for allies outside the NP who could come into the transitional executive authority to act as honest brokers between NP liberals (Leon Wessels, Roelf Meyer, Dawie de Villier, Sam de Beer) and the ANC. Some of the main factors pressuring De Klerk to strike a power-sharing deal are:

■ Internal problems in the NP parliamentary caucus and Cabinet have increased. These began with the decision to release ANC bomber Robert McBride and other prisoners. Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee is seen now as the most credible leader of the hardline faction.

■ Mounting defiance of De Klerk's authority from within the security establishment, more particulary the increasingly provocative speeches by Chief of Army Staff Gen George Meiring. His polemics are already the subject of an inquiry by the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission and of a libel action to be brought by Siphiwe Nyanda, head of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe (MK). De Klerk is putting on a brave face as elements of the security establishment arrogantly go their own way.

■ Apart from Goldstone's November 16 report, two other plans to discredit the ANC have been exposed, approved by the SADF. They include "Project Echoes', initiated in April this year with Meiring's personal approval and which has damaged British-SA relations.

■ Further disclosures of massive corruption and maladministration in Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

■ Further loss of economic confidence, deteriorating growth, mounting unemployment and capital flight.

■ Abortive efforts by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, first to hijack the peace talks in Mozambique (to broke a power-sharing deal and postpone the October 1993 elections), and his unsuccessful intervention in, and subsequent banning from, Angola.

■ The likelihood of the US President-elect Bill Clint[illegible]ting more [illegible]negotiations.

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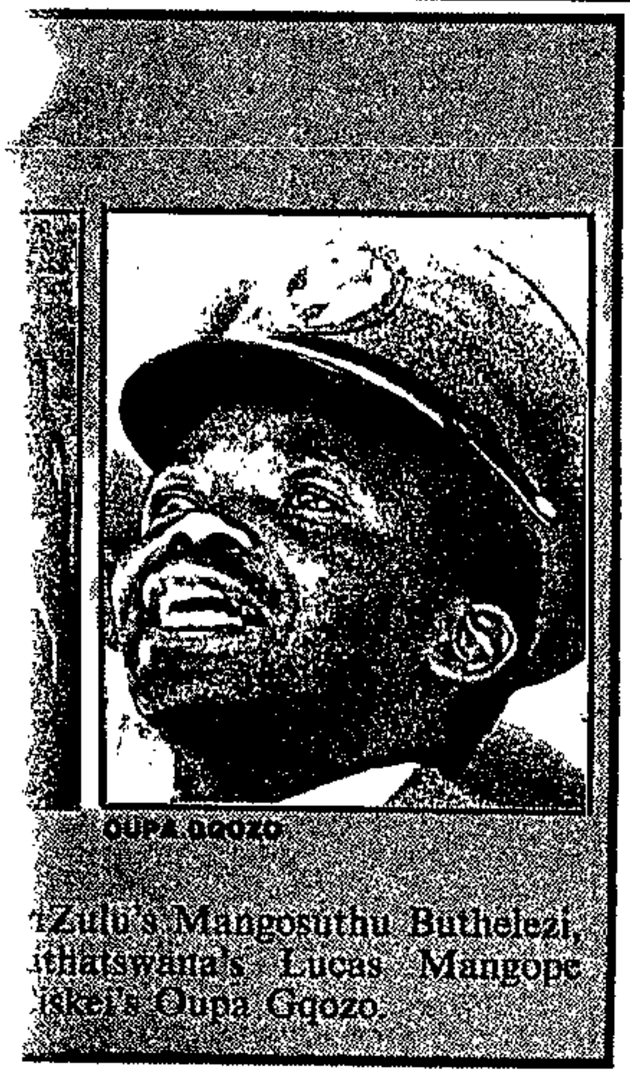
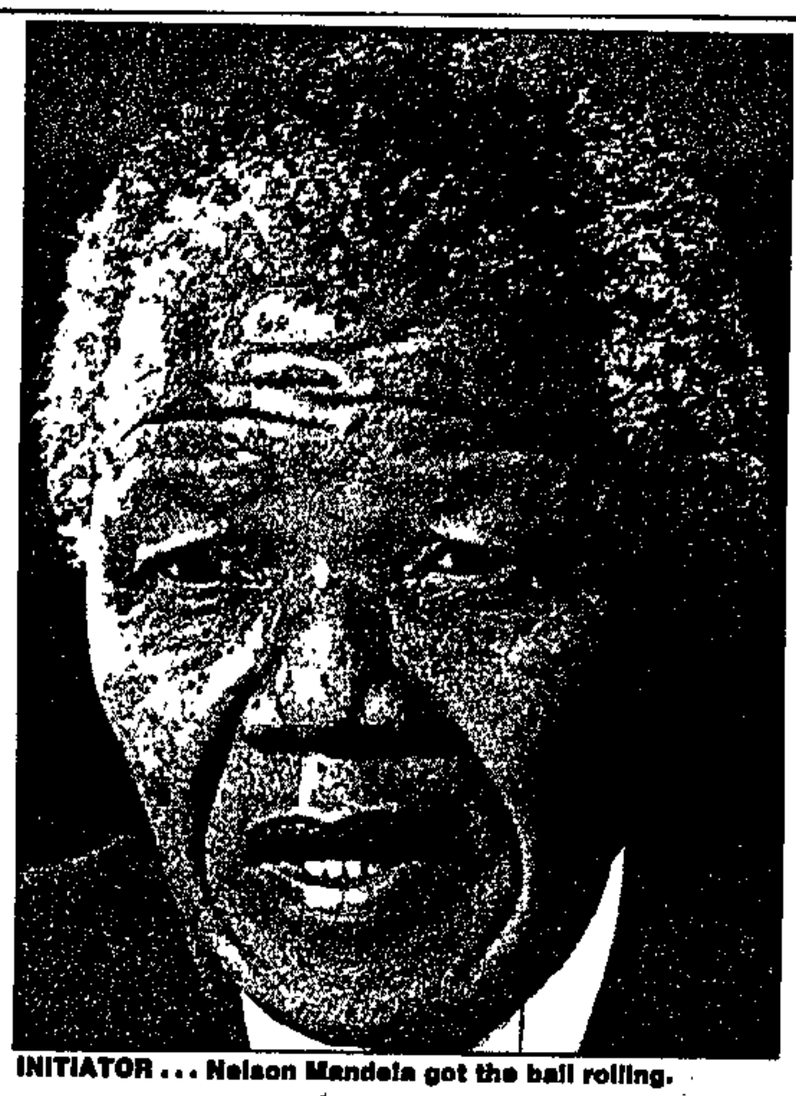


Zulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, thatswana's Lucas Mangope iskei's Oupa Gqozo



INITIATOR ... Nelson Mandela got the ball rolling.



DISSENT ... FW de Klerk in trouble on the homefront.

ies and enemies become friends in ...

BIG DEAL

Cpress 29/11/92. (3044)

While revelations about security force meddling in SA political life – very much a part of the old pattern of violent SA conflict – may hold the public's attention, ANC and NP negotiators are beavering away at shaping an unheard of, but potentially momentous, long-term power-sharing deal. *Africa Confidential*, an influential British-based newsletter, renders some sharp observations about their dramatic behind-the-scenes manoeuvrings, and the heady stakes involved.

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■ Abortive efforts by Foreign Minister Pik Botha, first to hijack the peace talks in Mozambique (to broke a power-sharing deal and postpone the October 1993 elections), and his unsuccessful intervention in, and subsequent banning from, Angola.

■ The likelihood of the US President-elect Bill Clinton's Democratic government putting more pressure on Pretoria to speed up negotiations.

■ The possibility of escalating civil war in Natal and spreading violence nationwide.

De Klerk is publicly admitting difficulties with Inkatha and Buthelezi, while the ANC is dividing into camps over SACP chairman Joe Slovo's seminal October article in the *African Communist* in which he suggested an extended period of enforced power-sharing ("sunset clauses") as a realistic alternative to the ANC's making a dash for absolute power now.

Slovo's sunset package is not new. Mandela first publicly raised the idea of a transitional government of national unity at a background briefing for journalists as early as March 1991.

Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Mac Maharaj and Mohammed Valli Moosa later proposed that the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) should accept Slovo's proposals. The NWC (which is dominated by hawks) rejected them but the sunset lobby is not unduly upset by this early setback. It believes it has time, logic and the heavyweights on its side. Because Slovo proposed the sunset idea (effectively on behalf of the ANC moderates/pragmatists), it has gained a credibility it would have lacked if it had come from an obvious moderate:

■ ANC moderates find it increasigly difficult to control radicals in Natal.

■ It would be better for the ANC to let De Klerk and the security forces, and ultimately an interim government, handle Buthelezi and his warlords rather than yield to a bloody fight to the finish in Natal.

■ The ANC is losing much of its liberation gloss and is seen by township residents as increasingly impotent.

■ MK is spiralling out of control, weakening the ANC's negotiating position.

There are clear signs that ANC pragmatists are trying to help NP liberals who favour a power-sharing coalition, for example a conciliatory approach to the government's failure to implement parts of the September 26 Record of Understanding, particularly the fencing of hostels and outlawing weapons.

Slovo's proposals have met sharp opposition from within the SACP and ANC. The counter-attack is led by the ANC's radical intellectual heavyweight, Pallo Jordan, an independent socialist who was once detained by the SACP-dominated ANC security wing.

Common ground

Jordan says the Slovo paper is a fundamental departure because it elevates negotiations to a primary strategy and has the "unfortunate effect" of re-orienting the ANC away from confrontation with the enemy to a search for common ground. Ronnie Kasrils, a member of the Jordan camp, asks how the ANC is going to fight an election when its supporters know the outcome is a powersharing deal with the NP: its supporters might as well vote for the NP.

The wildcard western Cape region, under Allan Boesak, has rejected the Slovo proposals, while most other regions are debating them and have not yet taken a position. But the moderates/pragmatists argue that to go for the "immediate and total defeat of the apartheid regime is increasingly to choose the "Beirut option".

Flying into a fiery furnace

STAR 30/11/92. (304A)

YEARS ago, I was in the Pretoria office of a senior civil servant. He was a little man, and a huge South African flag towered over him. A few weeks before, the Human Sciences Research Council had published the results of a poll showing that the flag was no longer a unifying symbol in SA. Catching my curious stare, he hissed: "Dis my land en my vlag en wie aan my vlag raak, raak aan my" ("It's my country and my flag, and whoever touches my flag, touches me").

Recently, President de Klerk said much the same to Mr Justice Goldstone: "Whoever touches my security forces, touches me."

By ramming the Amnesty Bill through the President's Council, he has given the same message to the whole country. These are not the desperate feelings of a bewildered man. On the contrary, De Klerk remains what he has always been, a shrewd manipulator playing his cards with consummate skill.

What is he seeking to achieve?

It is critically important that South Africans concerned with the unfolding political process, and what it means for our future, reflect on the following propositions.

● The Government's idea of a reasonable transition period towards full democracy is nearer to 10 or 15 years than one or two. Power is seductive, and the closer powerful men get to renouncing it, the more inventive they become in finding ways to delay elections.

● To stay in power, all this Government needs is an army and police force that are powerful and loyal. Many South Africans believe the Government's grip on power was weakened by dismantling apartheid and repealing measures such as the Group Areas Act and Population Registration Act. It's not true. Franco, Pinochet and Papa Doc prove the opposite. To stay in power for decades, you don't need apartheid laws, all you need is an army loyal to you and the secret police.

● Meanwhile, hedging its bets, the Government is using all of its awesome powers to conduct a brilliant election campaign. It has set out to win 50 percent or more of the votes in the first universal franchise election, and, in alliance with its homeland and tricameral allies, this is not impossible.

Electioneering is perfectly democratic — until it uses criminality to achieve its ends.

● Corruption in SA and the homelands is more than a disease; it is an instrument of State power. Since the days of the Matanzima dynasty in Transkei, the Nationalist Government has shown a fine grasp of the uses of corruption to maintain its own power over its servants.

If your office in the government or civil service is making you much richer very quickly, you develop a passionate loyalty to those who keep you in power.

In any election, the Government can rely on this huge fifth estate of graft takers to deliver hundreds of thousands of votes to its centrist alliance. The corollary is that we poor taxpayers would be naive to expect this Government to take decisive action to expose and punish those who siphon off billions of rands of our money every year.

So far, so bad. But the most horrifying proposition is still to come:

● The wave of violent crime that has engulfed this country, including its once-peaceful white suburbs, delivers thousands of votes each and every day to the Government and its allies.

The more insecure ordinary people feel, the more they long for an all-powerful authority to restore order and give them back their personal security.

The only people in this country with the power and skills to restore order are the generals in the police force and army. But the generals and their political masters are the only people who stand to benefit from the continued violence in the PWV townships, on the trains, at the taxi ranks and in the white suburbs.

The Government has skilfully portrayed the township violence as "political", and therefore mysteriously beyond its power. In fact, the "political' killings are also a failure of ordinary policing and detective work. The killings continue because the killers get away with it time after time.

Think about it.

Until 1990, a bare two years ago, we had one of the most awesomely effective police forces in the world. How far would a minibus full of men killing passersby with AK-47s have travelled before it was stopped? A hundred metres? Fifty?

How long would random train killings or warlord armies bristling with illegal weapons have been tolerated? A day? An hour?

Now the country is flooded with illegal weapons, and nothing happens.

Last week, a woman I know was frogmarched round her home by an intruder who made her soap her fingers so he could wrench off her wedding band. He was a kindly intruder. He did not rape her, throttle her or chop off her finger; he has not been arrested.

Ordinary blacks fear for their lives, and suffer poverty in the highest unemployment in this country's history — a direct product of the violence. So, every day, more and more black South Africans lose faith in the ANC and its leadership, the Government's main opponent in an election.

Every day, more and more middle class South Africans watch the guts being torn out of the economy and their own businesses, and long for a strong hand to restore order.

The Government is buying votes, and the fabric of our society is the coin with which they are being purchased.

□ □ □

THE Mont Fleur scenario ends in a blaze of optimism with the Flight of the Flamingos. My scenario is blacker. It is the Flight of the Phoenix into the heart of the fiery furnace.

What is tearing this country and its economy apart is the breakdown of ordinary crime prevention and policing. The most dreadful things we read in our newspapers are about crime, and the stories get worse day by day.

We have a right to competent, concerned, accountable policing at the local level. The time has come to exercise community power, to work at local police station level throughout SA, with the tens of thousands of decent, dedicated policemen and women trying to do their best to fight crime.

Let strong local community groups, black and white and coloured, representative of churches, businesses, residents' associations or civics in a local police station area, link with the station captain and his force to discuss more effective policing and help them achieve it.

If we can do that, the Phoenix will fly again. □

● *Nell is a community psychologist working on violence prevention programmes in Johannesburg.*

Refreshing breeze blows through SA politics

STAR 30/11/92. 304A ~~11A~~

SUDDENLY a sea change. In a matter of days, it seems, we have moved from a welter of accusation and recrimination to an acceptance that some time next year there will be a government of national unity and this time the ANC and IFP simply have to put the screws on their followers and get them to behave.

The two are connected, of course. Much of the communal violence is prompted by the consideration that it is a matter of survival. Either you survive and they are ploughed under or vice versa. In this frame of thought it is inconceivable that both sides could gain.

It makes the political struggle most desperate, hence the coining of such quaint political slogans as "Bugger them up!" — followed by earnest TV debate as to what Chief Buthelezi actually meant.

Buthelezi it was who first gave us a glimpse of what might be in store. On his recent trip to Canada he made statements so optimistic about a settlement next year that many people here wondered what on earth he was on about.

Then this week's meeting of the ANC's national executive committee, which produced statements indicating a quantum leap in thinking. The ANC's decision that it could serve in government with any party that passes the test of winning electoral support is truly momentous. It not only offers a respite from the politics of buggeration, it could be the nucleus of a solution to Africa's dilemma.

Westminster democracy has not grafted well on to Africa — and this country is no exception.

The African countries to the north — most of them ethnically fragmented by a cavalier drawing of colonial boundaries — grappled with enormous problems in trying to make sense out of their diversity. The concept of loyal opposition was difficult enough to grasp; in countries with the potential for ethnic mobilisation it was positively threatening.

Most African countries therefore opted for the one-party state. Many saw this as the moral equivalent of communist dictatorships, but that was unfair. What those countries were trying was to recreate — on a grand, multi-ethnic scale — the circle of tribal elders making decisions based on their pooled wisdom.

But it didn't work. The scale was too grand and the one-party state breeds corruption, nepotism and brutality.

Here we have an alternative. All groupings contribute to government without having to submerge their identities. They stay sharp and lean, they keep an eye on their competitors/fellow members of government. They have every incentive to increase support — but it is not a disaster if they remain a minority.

What a turnaround if our political leaders should get together as good buggers — in the best Australian sense of bonhomie. □

Codesa still best forum for settlement – Mandela

STAR 30/11/92 (304A)

By Montshiwa Moroke

The Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) is still the best forum for achieving a negotiated settlement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Mamelodi yesterday.

Mandela appealed to all political organisations — including those on the far Left and far Right — to come forward and present their views at Codesa.

The ANC leader was addressing more than 10 000 ANC supporters at a rally in the H M Pitje Stadium.

He said he would not call for the reconstruction of Codesa because he believed it was "adequate" as a forum where the country's problems could be addressed.

Mandela said the ANC believed no one, including homeland leaders, should be sidelined.

"President de Klerk tried to persuade me to agree on the formation of a troika between his party, the ANC and the IFP, but I rejected that," Mandela said. "I could not abandon my colleagues."

Mandela told the crowd: "We have chosen negotiations because we believe it is the only way to end the violence and put the country's ailing economy back on track."

He cautioned De Klerk against attacking the ANC, as he had done on a number of occasions. The ANC president said he had not responded to the persistent attacks because he had the interests of the country's people at heart.

Mandela said he was prepared to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi — but only after thorough preparations had been made.

Right-wing won't topple FW — Slovo

NEW YORK — President de Klerk probably will not be toppled by right-wing forces because "there is no visible alternative" to him, ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said in an interview yesterday.

He told Newsweek magazine that despite De Klerk's recent political problems, there were not "strong enough forces to bring about some kind of coup".

He said the election of an interim government of national unity should take place before the end of 1993, not by April 1994 as proposed by De Klerk.

— Sapa-Reuter.

Training of MK abroad 'not secret'

ARG 30/11/92 3044

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — ANC president Nelson Mandela said he had told the government last year the liberation movement would continue to train members of Umkhonto weSizwe outside the country.

"We want to have an army of our own which protects the gains we have made," he said during his address to a mass rally in Mamelodi outside Pretoria.

Mr Mandela's comments were in reaction to a report in a Sunday newspaper, which stated that the ANC had "secretly" sent more than 1 000 recruits to Uganda for military training.

The training of MK soldiers in several countries outside South Africa was anything but secret, the ANC president said. If the media had approached the ANC, they would have been told the real position.

He argued that the ANC wanted all South Africans to be equipped to serve in all sections of the state service — the army, police force and civil service.

The press report which provoked Mr Mandela's explanation stated that the recruits had left South Africa in possession of lawful travel documents on six chartered flights in September and October.

The report made the point that earlier some 14 000 exiles — many of them MK members — had been brought back into South Africa from abroad at a cost of some R100 million to the United Nations.

Addressing the question of why the ANC had not simply kept MK members in readiness abroad, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC wanted "to see as many people as possible upgraded to a standard where they could function in a new South African defence force".

● The Inkatha Youth Brigade and Conservative Party have once more called for the banning or disbandment of MK as a result of the training drive.

"We demand the immediate banning of MK and the detention of its members in South Africa," CP defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said.

In reaction to the MK training report, the Transvaal council of Inkatha Youth Brigade announced it was to meet on Wednesday to decide whether to recommend to its membership the establishing of "community protection units and train protection units".

Focus on ethnic conflict is wrong

"Democracy Dies in the Womb" proclaimed The Independent on Sunday, London, in a headline over a survey of the current situation in Africa by Richard Dowden.

The headline over-dramatises Dowden's conclusions; unfortunately, the impression gained by most readers usually comes from headlines rather than from a careful reading of an article.

What Dowden actually wrote was that "democracy in Africa, a candle of hope which flickered briefly, is guttering" — ie, not yet stillborn. He continued: "Ethnic conflict and an increasingly harsh economic climate are driving more and more African countries into intolerance and strife."

It is unarguably true that economic conditions account for many of the major difficulties of African countries, but to single out "ethnic conflict" as the other major cause of "intolerance and strife" is misleading. What is fundamentally wrong with the kind of analysis offered by Dowden is its failure to describe the dynamics of change in societies at a stage of transition as a *process*.

There are certain political phenomena that are universal to all societies undergoing fundamental change. The collapse of strongly-centralised regimes inevitably ushers in a period of disintegration: new competing forces emerge, and long-repressed grievances come to the surface. The ensuing power struggle over the shape of a new political system is conducted at a time of a weak and crumbling central authority.

The inevitable result is turbulence and conflict.

This is what is happening not only in Africa. In what was the Soviet Union there are currently 32 major ethnic and regional conflicts, and a weak divided centre. Yugoslavia is an extreme example of what happens when an authoritarian system collapses.

In situations such as these, the crumbling old regimes, or their immediate, usually temporary, successors use whatever means they still command to retain as much of their power as possible, while their challengers employ whatever methods open to them to mobilise support. One feature of this phase of the struggle is an appeal to ethnic or regional constituencies. But while ethnicity is a crucial factor in power struggles it is not the only factor.

In fact, in the majority of African countries ethnic communities have combined to strengthen their bargaining power. In Angola, for example, the ethnically based Unita was defeated by the multi-ethnic forces of the MPLA.

To concentrate too exclusively on inter-ethnic conflict results in a distorted picture of the nature of on-going power struggles.

The key element to understanding the difficult transition from single party and military regimes to multiparty democracy is to see it as a continuing political process. There is no straight line from authoritarianism to democracy; it is a wavering line of ups and downs, sometimes curving back on itself like a parabola. Freezing the frame of the focus at any particular stage is to lose sight of the momentum of ongoing change.

Setbacks are inevitable. The residual power at the centre can be relied on to engage in every trick to retain as much of its power as possible while the challengers not infrequently resort to pressure tactics that enhance conflict.

The road to a true democratic society is a long and stony one. It takes time — at least a decade. The African continent has only just begun its journey; to write it off now, as a "guttering candle" is to miss the incandescence of the hope that has begun to shine right across the continent. □

● *David Walker is at large, and his column will resume when he returns.*

Talks set for major advance

BIDAY 30/11/92. 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

THIS week's crucial three-day bilateral meeting between government and the ANC could be an important step towards speeding up the negotiation process and hastening the arrival of full nonracial elections for an interim government.

Developments last week in the national peace committee and President F W de Klerk's announcement that government had accepted a set of timeframes for a fully representative government have set a positive climate for the meeting.

A timetable for the path forward in the near future is sure to be high on the agenda at the bosberaad. However, government will be anxious to avoid binding itself too firmly to agreements with the ANC, for fear of further alienating Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthlezi.

At the weekend, the Inkatha central committee urged De Klerk to call a multiparty conference as a matter of extreme urgency in order to establish a constitutional negotiating forum before Parliament convenes in January.

It also warned against any unilateral or bilateral decisions taken by government and the ANC about steps needed for the holding of elections.

The ANC has rejected De Klerk's proposal for elections within 18 months, calling for voting to take place sooner. But government has declared it is fully pre-

☐ To Page 2

Talks

B1DAM 30/11/92. 304A

☐ From Page 1

pared to negotiate its proposed agenda with other parties. In announcing eight steps to transition last week, De Klerk said he was flexible on the dates and hoped the deadlines could be brought forward.

There were strong indications in political circles at the weekend that there was room for compromise on the part of both government and the ANC. The gap between the two parties on a date for a general election is only about five months, and speculation yesterday was that it was likely a poll date around the end of next year would be settled on.

Yesterday ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said De Klerk's timeframe for an election by May 1994 was "too relaxed". The ANC wanted a poll by October next year.

Slovo pinpointed two key targets for preelection negotiators: the levelling of playing fields to allow all political organisations to canvas and win support, and the election itself.

He agreed that the main topic at this week's meeting would be timeframes.

However, he did not believe finality on a date would be reached at this meeting. A further meeting, probably early in January, would give delegations the opportunity to discuss the issue with the national executive committee and Cabinet.

He acknowledged that De Klerk's announcement was a vital boost to the process and a major development for government, which had always steered clear of putting its lifespan on the line.

Government, on the other hand, also has other issues it wants to sort out.

It will try to tie up loose ends from the Mandela-De Klerk record of understanding, such as issues connected with violence and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend it was "totally unacceptable" for the ANC to be sending MK recruits out of the country for training. Responding to reports that the ANC's armed wing was training thousands of men in Uganda, Meyer said this issue would have to be resolved before there could be a political settlement.

Government will also be trying to remove some of the sticking points Inkatha has raised in relation to the ANC.

At its weekend central committee meeting, Inkatha said there had been no national agreement yet on an interim government. The committee instructed its executive committee to formulate a strategy for a KwaZulu/Natal negotiation forum to adopt a federal proposal for the region and a national government.

● Picture: Page 3

DP must woo the anxious black voter

STAR 30/11/97

For the party to emerge as a kingmaker it must go on the attack and offer itself as a centrist haven amid the political storms, writes JOHN CARLIN.

THE party of manicured suburban lawns, superior liberal chatter, tea and cakes, is attempting a transformation into something altogether grittier, more punchy, more appealing to the majority who dwell in the dust and deprivation of the townships.

The Democratic Party, which won 33 seats in the last (white) parliamentary election, believes that a large number of South Africans of all colours are currently without a political home.

Party leader Zach de Beer noted at his national congress earlier this month that, with elections likely within 12 months, the time had come for the guardians of liberal values to inject some killer instinct into a long tradition of moral uprightness.

Seeking to put words into action, the DP has done the unthinkable and opened a branch in Soweto which, so far, has signed up 400 members. The chairman is Andile Mzaidume, a computer programmer who has calculated the membership could easily rise to 10 000.

He says: "Our big advantages are, on the one hand, that people have become disillusioned with the ANC because of the violence, because of the 'mass action' programmes and because people are not comfortable with the allianee with communists."

"And on the other hand, De Klerk has lost the appeal he had because of all the corruption and dirty tricks that have been exposed."

Theoretically, the scope is there for the DP to seize perhaps 15 percent of the national vote and, by capturing the coloured and Indian vote, which De Klerk believes he has in the bag, undermine any notion that the National Party might have of persisting into the future as a significant political force.

A 15 percent vote could offer the DP an influential, some say "kingmaker" role in shaping the new political dispensation.

But the DP, as Mzaidume, noted, has one big problem: "It is still seen as a party for wealthy whites."

How to transform that image is a task which engages Kobus Jordaan's every waking hour. Jordaan, a former government official and National Party supporter is today one of the DP's leading strategists.

"The votes of the Indians and coloureds are there for the taking. They definitely won't vote, most of them, for the ANC. But they couldn't bring themselves to vote for the Nats either — not out of any conviction, anyway. That leaves the black vote as the nut to crack."

He added that "what we always bang up against is the question of a leader".

What is needed is a black face or two. And credible black leaders with the necessary national appeal are either in short supply — the market being cornered by the ANC — or too wary to reveal their true colours.

Doubts also remain about the timing of such a venture.

Tony Leon, MP for the wealthiest constituency, Johannesburg's Houghton suburb, and successor to Helen Suzman, wonders whether 12 months is enough time to set about the radical reorientation necessary to fulfil what he sees as the DP's undoubted electoral potential. — The Independent News.Service. □

(304A)

Codesa 'right forum to solve problems'

ARG 30/11/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Convention for a Democratic South Afr ca (Codesa) was the right forun — "as it is" — in which to resolve the country's political problems, ANC president Nelson Mandela said.

Speaking in Mamelodi yesterday, Mr Mandela appealed to all political organisations, including those on the far left and the far right, and all those who were not members of Codesa, to come forward and present their views.

The ANC leader was addressing more than 10 000 ANC supporters and members of the United States and Japanese diplomatic missions at a rally in the HM Pitje Stadium. It was his first visit to the Pretoria township since his release from jail in February 1990.

He said he would not call for the reconstruction of Codesa, but believed it was "adequate" and the kind of forum where the country's problems could be addressed.

Mr Mandela said there were 19 political organisations at Codesa because the ANC believed no one should be sidelined.

"President De Klerk tried to persuade me to agree on the formation of a troika between his party, the ANC and the IFP, but I rejected that. I could not abandon my colleagues, including those in the PAC and Azapo, who were with me in prison, to form a troika with organisations I knew little about.

"We have chosen negotiations because we believe it is the only way to end the violence and put the country's ailing economy back on track. I appeal with all humility to all parties to join us at Codesa to get South Africa out of the present mess, pull our resources together and repair the economy," Mr Mandela said.

Mr Mandela cautioned Mr De Klerk to desist from attacking the ANC as he had done on a number of occasions — here and abroad. He said he had not responded to the persistent attacks because he had the interests of the country's people at heart.

The ANC leader said he was prepared to meet Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi just as he had met other homeland leaders — but only after thorough preparations had been made.

Their two previous meetings had ended with no positive results. Decisions which had been reached at the meetings had not been implemented because full preparations had not been made.

ANC, NP ready for poll talks

304A
CT 30/11/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — This week's three-day secret bilateral meeting between the government and the ANC is the first urgent step toward speeding up the negotiation process and shortening the period to full non-racial elections to the end of next year.

Developments last week in the peace committee and then President F W de Klerk's announcement that the government had accepted a set of time frames for a fully representative government to be elected within 18 months has been described as a "major boost" for the process. However, the ANC has rejected it as being too far into the future.

Yesterday Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi called for a multiparty conference before the end of January following a central committee meeting of the party at the weekend.

The government has declared that it is fully prepared to negotiate the time scales with other parties.

In announcing the eight steps to transition last week, Mr De Klerk said he was flexible on the the dates and hoped the deadlines could be brought forward.

Yesterday ANC negotiator Mr Joe Slovo said Mr De Klerk's time frame for elections by May 1994 was "too relaxed and we believe it can be cut shorter. We want the election by October next year".

He said there were really only two key targets: levelling the playing fields for all political organisations to canvass and win support and the elections.

The government, on the other hand, had other priorities it wanted to sort out at the meeting.

The main issue for its delegation was to try to tie up loose ends and reach agreement on the outstanding issues from the record of understanding concerning violence and uMkhonto weSizwe.

Mandela urges parties to go back to Codesa

PRETORIA. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela on Sunday at Mamelodi outside Pretoria appealed to all organisations to the left and the right of the political spectrum to join hands to get South Africa out of "the mess it is in".

He urged all political parties to join Codesa as he believed negotiations could end violence and put the country's ailing economy back on track.

He reiterated that he was prepared to meet Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the question of violence, but only after proper preparations had been made. — Sapa

Right 'will not topple De Klerk'

NEW YORK. — President De Klerk will probably not resign or be toppled by right-wing forces because "there is no visible alternative" to him, African National Congress negotiator Mr Joe Slovo said in an interview.

He told Newsweek magazine that despite Mr De Klerk's recent political problems, there were not "strong enough forces to bring about some kind of coup or replacement for De Klerk".

Mr Slovo said Mr De Klerk's political problems, including a series of corruption scandals and embarrassments involving the security forces, have given the ANC added negotiating strength.

He said the election of an interim government of national unity should take place before the end of 1993, not by April, 1994 as proposed by Mr De Klerk.

Mr Slovo said it was in the interest of the ANC to share power with the white National Party on a temporary basis in order to avoid a white backlash against black majority rule. — Sapa-Reuter.

Porn king 'richest'

LONDON. — Mr Paul Raymond, left, a Soho property landlord, striptease club owner and publisher of sex magazines, has been named as Britain's richest man.

... sex and careful ... are said

S. A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1992

DECEMBER

Talks: Govt slams Inkatha

(354A) CT 1/12/92

Political Staff

CONSTITUTIONAL Minister Mr Roelf Meyer yesterday rounded on Inkatha, saying that while the party and its leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi demanded an urgent multi-party conference, they were actually responsible for preventing it from taking place.

Inkatha last night denied this, saying it was the ANC, "the friend of the government", who had walked out of Codesa and that future meetings had been cancelled because of wider consultations made necessary by the Record of Understanding between government and the ANC.

In a strongly worded statement, Mr Meyer said he wholeheartedly supported Inkatha's call for multi-party talks, but he found it "very strange that Inkatha had avoided and refused, for weeks, attempts by government to restart negotiations with it".

Reacting to an Inkatha central committee weekend resolution that a new negotiating forum be set up before the end of January, Mr Meyer said delays in the negotiations process had to be removed as soon as possible.

"The government would appreciate it if Inkatha would throw its weight behind these endeavours and was prepared to give fair attention to any obstacles to facilitate the negotiation process," Mr Meyer said.

Mr Meyer said Inkatha was responsible for cancelling a two-day meeting with government on September 28 and 29.

It also cancelled another on November 18 and 19 which government was to have with the Concerned South Africans Group, which Inkatha heads, Mr Meyer added.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose yesterday denied Inkatha was responsible for holding up negotiations and blamed the NP and the ANC for holding up the process.

Dr Mdlalose said it was "strange that he should say that when it was us who were left in the corridors after the ANC walked out (of Codesa)".

False start to top talks

DURBAN. — Planning for a Mandela/-Buthelezi meeting got off to the shakiest of starts yesterday when the IFP's preparatory committee arrived at a local hotel for talks — only to find the ANC delegation was not even in town.

Hurried consultations — and a series of phone calls between the hotel and ANC headquarters in Johannesburg — yesterday led to agreement that the meeting would go ahead on Wednesday, December 9.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, leading the IFP's five-man delegation, said yesterday a meeting of the two committees had been arranged following last week's meeting of the National Peace Committee executive.

He said the meeting was scheduled for 10am.

The ANC's muted response from its information and publicity department was: "The task force of the ANC . . . was unaware of the proposed meeting for today, November 30."

IFP to launch federalism plan

Political Staff

DURBAN. — KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is poised to launch an initiative for Natal/KwaZulu which Inkatha has predicted will have "vast implications for negotiations and future constitutional proposals".

An IFP statement yesterday said the initiative would be "of particular relevance to the debate on regional issues and territorial autonomy".

A weekend meeting of the IFP's central committee strongly emphasised that it believed federalism could only be established in South Africa "if existing regions with an historic identity and a will come together to ensure a regional structure for themselves".

It added that the central committee should compile a document spelling out the IFP's role in promoting federalism and "moving to a KwaZulu/Natal negotiating forum".

Chief Buthelezi told the President's Club in Maritzburg yesterday the process of broadening the negotiation process could begin now "by allowing regions to negotiate their own constitutional futures".

He will unveil the initiative in Ulundi this afternoon before a special two-day session of the KwaZulu legislative assembly.

CT 11/12/92

(304A)

Govt, ANC meet in hideaway

STAR 1/12/92 (3044)

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

Top negotiators of the Government and the ANC will retire to a secret northern Transvaal hideaway today for an intense three-day "bosberaad" aimed at removing the remaining obstacles to the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, on a visit to Lebowa, yesterday reiterated the ANC's belief that the two parties would be able to announce a date for the country's first democratic elections after the "bosberaad".

The two teams — Cabinet ministers on the one side and top ANC officials on the other — will spend virtually all their waking hours between tomorrow and Friday trying to regain the rapport that has been lost this year.

The discussions will centre on the managing of the transition process, and differing timetables for an interim government. Other specifics will include ways of restarting multiparty negotiations, and the structuring of a constitution-making body and an interim government.

Debate on the structuring and functioning of a Transitional Executive Council — which will supervise the run-up to elections for a government of national unity — is expected to form an important part of the meeting. Joint control of the security forces could be discussed under this agenda.

ANC allegations about security force covert operations are likely to be discussed under the official agenda topic of creating a climate for free political activity.

Surprisingly, the two parties have agreed not to discuss political violence and the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The Government has been at pains to stress that the "bosberaad" will not make agreements binding on other parties — fearing it could further alienate parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Both the Government and ANC point out that it is necessary for them to thrash out differences between themselves before these are discussed in a multiparty forum — to avoid the danger of another collapse of negotiations like Codesa 2.

However, the ANC sees the purpose of the "bosberaad" as getting the Government to accept co-responsibility for driving the transition process.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will head the delegations.

Nats prepare for elections

(304A)
21/12/92

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The National Party in Natal is preparing for non-racial elections by redefining its regions and breaking from traditional constituencies.

It has divided the province into five areas based on the Joint Services Boards' borders and yesterday announced the launching of the Port Natal/Ebhodwe region — the greater Durban region.

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Renier Schoeman was elected chairman of the new region, the NP said.

Mdlalose blames IFP

Govt accuses Inkatha of stalling talks

(304A) (SHB)

B|DAY 1|12|92

1|12|92

BILLY PADDOCK

CONSTITUTIONAL Minister Roelf Meyer rounded on Inkatha yesterday, saying while the party and its leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi demanded an urgent multiparty conference, they were actually responsible for preventing it from taking place.

Inkatha last night denied this, saying it was the ANC, "the friend of the government", that had walked out of Codesa.

In a strongly worded statement, Meyer said he supported Inkatha's call for multiparty talks, but found it "very strange that Inkatha had avoided and refused, for weeks, attempts by government to restart negotiations with it".

Reacting to an Inkatha central committee weekend resolution that a new negotiating forum be set up before the end of January, Meyer said delays in the negotiations process had to be removed.

"Government would appreciate it if Inkatha would throw its weight behind these endeavours," Meyer said. Government had been talking to all possible negotiating parties to get a multiparty forum off the ground, but Inkatha had held back its participation, he said.

Meyer said Inkatha was responsible for unilaterally cancelling a two-day meeting with government on September 28 and 29. It had also cancelled another meeting on November 18 and 19 between government and the Concerned South Africans Group, which Inkatha heads.

"In this way Buthelezi postponed a meeting he, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo were to have with President F W de Klerk," he said.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose yesterday blamed the NP and the ANC for holding up the negotiating process. Mdlalose said it was "strange that he (Meyer) should say that when it was us who were left in the corridors after the ANC walked out (of Codesa)".

It was not possible to keep the September meeting, after the ANC and NP had "bulldozed" through the record of understanding, as it was necessary for Inkatha to consult other South Africans.

The November meeting was postponed, not cancelled, as the Concerned South Africans Group had been waiting for a "clear indication" from government on what it thought of the analysis presented by the group on the form a multiparty congress of review should take.

Our political staff reports that planning

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

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(304A) (SHB)

□ From Page 1

for a meeting between Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela got off to the shakiest of starts yesterday when Inkatha's preparatory committee arrived at a Durban hotel for talks, only to find the ANC delegation was not even in town..

Hurried consultations led to agreement that the meeting would go ahead on December 9.

Mdlalose said the meeting had been arranged after last week's meeting of the national peace committee executive. "The IFP delegates arrived to keep the meeting. For a variety of reasons the ANC was unable to keep the appointment," he said.

The ANC's information and publicity department said only that "the task force of the ANC ... was unaware of the proposed meeting for today".

□ DP leader Zach de Beer has welcomed the three-day meeting between government and the ANC which starts tomorrow. He said although they played the leading roles in negotiations, they had to involve other parties in developing solutions.

De Beer called on the ANC and government to reconsider separating the functions of an interim legislature and that of writing a new constitution.

The DP wanted to issue a serious warning against the difficulties and dangers involved in trying to charge the same body with the dual functions of legislating and drafting a new constitution.

"An attempt to do this will invariably necessitate a comprehensive interim constitution providing all the necessary checks and balances, and we foresee that any attempt to provide this will delay the process for a long time," De Beer said.

He supported the idea of a multiparty government of national unity to run the country for a few years, even after the introduction of a hew constitution.

● Comment: Page 8

Kierin O'Malley focuses on the PAC

Ethnic realism has positive spinoffs for SA

PROFESSOR Themba Sono who must rank as one of the most refreshingly straight-talking intellectuals in this country — made two central and related claims about the PAC. (Opinion, November 24).

The first is that the PAC conceives of itself and portrays itself as "an organisation of 'Africans' and that this emphasis on Africanity is neither racist nor racial, but a concept inclusive of all South Africans.

The second of Sono's points is that this self-conception of Africanity, as he puts, it will resonate widely and loudly across South Africa when the time for elections arrives and could well translate into significant electoral support for the PAC.

Assuming that the PAC is able to articulate this Africanity far more effectively than it has been able to do to date — and this is the big if — Sono's second point is certainly valid. More contentious — and more fundamental — is his description of what Africanity means.

Following Sobukwe, Sono defines an African variously as "one who owes ... loyalty to Africa; who accepts the primacy of African interests, who is willing to identify with Africa and Africans, emotionally and perceptionally".

Definitions which include the word one is trying to define are not particularly clarifying.

Apart from the anti-pluralism implicit in notions of a hegemonic loyalty to Africa and African interests (ie the implication that divergent conceptions of what loyalty to Africa and African interests are, cannot exist), these attempted definitions in fact cloud rather than clarify understanding.

Implicitly recognising the circuitous nature of the aforementioned definitions Sono then tells us that "African" is not a racial or ethnic concept, but a "land" concept. In other words, anyone — black, coloured, Indian or white — can be an African as long as he associates with the African continent.

This non-racial description of the notion of Africanity however is a patently superficial one. Portraying it as the reverse of the French colonial policy of assimilation, Sono in fact concedes this. The French *evolué* policy was certainly non-racial in the sense that black Africans were accepted as Frenchmen after adopting all the trappings of French culture. But the term non-racial has surely got to mean more.

The assumption of assimilation was that French culture was inherently superior and not simply different to that of the indigenous peoples of Africa. The assumption is surely racial, ethnic or ethnocentric.

To draw an analogy between the French policy of assimilation and an allegedly non-racial Africanity illustrates a very narrow and illiberal meaning to the notion of non-racialism.

If it is to mean anything, non-racialism must surely mean the tolerance of different cultures, and not simply a cultural or racial imperialism parading under a superficial non-racial banner.

This is not to say that this is the essence or totality of the PAC or Africanity. It is rather one of the unfortunate results of the dominance of a mythical "non-racial" paradigm in South Africa which forces all political entities — including ethnic or national realists — to "explain" their positions in superficially inclusive non-racial terms.

This resulting tension is evident in Sono's description of the symbolic and substantive attraction of the "non-racial" concept Africanity "first to the 'indigenous' African and second to the "African evolue". Plainly speaking an indigenous African is a black African and one gets back to race.

In an unguarded moment Sono — in describing the likely appeal of Africanity — writes "for the black man there is a definite psychological pride in knowing that at long last ... he is considered the top dog, his concerns come first". The white (and I assume coloured and Indian) is the "evolved" African.

Over and above the negative and illiberal cultural and racial imperialism implicit in the notion of Africanity, there is however something positive — namely the implicit recognition of the fact that the conflict in South Africa has a central national, ethnic or communal dimension to it.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC does not attempt to hide this fundamentally important dimension of our social reality. The PAC's refusal to talk in explicity African nationalist terms is not a reflection of its essence, but rather a grudging terminological concession to "non-racialism".

South African liberals and other ethnic realists should thus not make the mistake of rejecting out of hand the PAC and its Africanity. The latter incorporates an ethnic realism — albeit partial — and thus a liberal dimension to the PAC.

The strange love/hate relationship that liberals and other ethnic realists — following Patrick Duncan's example of the 1960s — continue to experience with honest black nationalists is not simply attributable to a virulent anti-communism. □

● *O'Malley teaches African Politics in Unisa's Department of Political Sciences and is co-chairman of the Liberal Forum.*

● *Barney Mthombothi is away this week. His "Out of Africa" column will resume when he returns.*

Cabinet shuffle strengthens talks team

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Cabinet takes on a slightly new face today with the addition of former Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport, but the thrust towards a streamlined negotiations team is much stronger.

President F W de Klerk has taken the opportunity of State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen's resignation to realign his limited manpower with the focus on intensified negotiations by lightening the load on key negotiators.

Delport's promotion to the Cabinet as Local Government Minister can be seen a shrewd move by De Klerk, who wants him to concentrate on developing and negotiating one of the NP's fundamental constitutional proposals — regional government.

Delport has been the key NP politician drafting the regional proposals.

One of Delport's problems at Codesa II — when he stepped into Viljoen's shoes as the main negotiator on the last critical days — was that he did not have the authority to clinch deals with the parties and had to return constantly to Cabinet for the go-ahead.

This allowed the ANC to escape from the plan that government had manoeuvred it into and resulted in Codesa II failing and government losing the initiative.

Lightening the load on Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, a known liberal in the NP, was also a strong indication that he would be playing an increasingly important role in negotiations. His attitude and track record over the past year have demonstrated that he consults widely on controversial issues, but at the same time is a tough negotiator.

By loading an extra portfolio, that of National Housing, onto Education and Training Minister Sam de Beer, government has acknowledged that although the black education portfolio is a tough job, government is not going to do anything more than administer the portfolio until the new dispensation scraps it in favour of a single education department. De Beer will be assisted by Glen Carelse who has been appointed to devote his attention to National Housing, dropping his former functions of Local Government and Manpower.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has also shed the communication portfolio, allowing him to involve himself solely in negotiations. His work in this field has already been a huge burden with a series of bilateral negotiations with different parties each week.

Delport's replacement as Meyer's deputy has gone to former National Health Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman, a loyal De Klerk follower but unschooled in constitutional matters. It is expected he will be responsible merely for the communications function.

De Klerk has also rewarded another stalwart supporter by appointing Boy Geldenhuys to take over Schoeman's functions of Health and Welfare.

In the near future, probably during the first half of next year, there may be further changes as more older NP MPs resign under the new law that does not require by-elections — making way for younger and more liberal appointees.

DP constitutional expert Colin Eglin states blandly that De Klerk had such limited scope within which to move, because of the lack of talent among NP MPs, that he could not free his negotiators entirely from their responsibilities as Cabinet Ministers.

Scheme pays not to claim

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A MEDICAL aid scheme which allows members to regulate their own contributions and exercise full control over their benefit funds has been launched.

The Managed Health Care System, launched by Pro Regno Financial and Economic Services together with Botshelo Health Care Systems, gives members an incentive to reduce medical consultations.

The package includes a savings account into which two-thirds of monthly contributions are paid.

Each member receives a card to pay immediately for routine medical services. The other third covers insurance against hospitalisation.

Botshelo Health Care Systems MD Douglas Kalkwarf estimated that 25% of all medical aid payouts were fraudulent, amounting to about R1,3bn.

"The managed health care system places the control of medical expenses in the hands of the member and provides an incentive for him to handle it in a responsible manner to his own benefit."

Kalkwarf expects fewer claims will mean that contributions will not rise as rapidly as in past.

Dr Lawrence McCrystal, CE of Pro Regno and member of the President's economic advisory council, claims that members' medical aid costs are rising faster than medical expenses. Yet medical aid schemes are increasingly running at a deficit.

Costly deadline for CFCs

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Copenhagen agreement signed last week, which brought forward the deadline for the phasing out of CFCs worldwide, will have enormous financial consequences for local industries, Castrol marketing director Chris le Marquand says.

The agreement set January 1 1996 as the date for the removal of all ozone-depleting gases — a drastic acceleration on the earlier Montreal agreement which set the deadline at 1999.

"The financial consequences of this accelerated process to SA are enormous as it is estimated that to phase out in 1999 could cost millions of rands, but to push this to January 1 1996 would cost billions instead," said Le Marquand.

"Fifty percent of the CFCs generated by SA come from the refrigerant industry and, while SA comprises only 1% of the world's production of CFCs, our role is as critical as any other country," he said.

Castrol and AECI play a leading role in the conversion of CFC 12s to the environmentally friendly gas R134a.

Le Marquand said the industries which would be most affected by the increased costs would be those that depended heavily on refrigerants, such as mining, transport and food wholesalers.

Serviceable CFC refrigeration equipment would have to be converted to the more environmentally friendly alternatives with the minimum expense and disruption, he said.

"Fortunately the ingenuity of various manufacturers has ensured more efficient methods of conversion from existing CFC 12 to HFC 134a within the refrigeration industry."

But the major problem was the incompatibility of the new HFC refrigerants and conventional compressor oils, he said.

Castrol industrial marketing manager Kevin le Roux said that although the new deadline would increase the cost of conversion for manufacturers, the industry was concerned about the hazardous environmental effects of the gases and had not lobbied government to delay the deadline.

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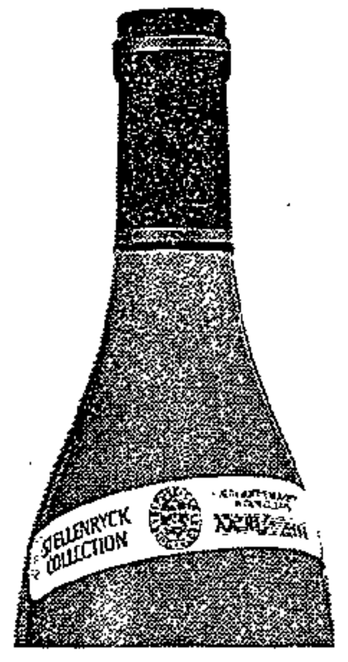

News in brief

Sowetan 1/12/92

Apla behind club killings

A MAN claiming to be an Azanian People's Liberation Army cadre telephoned the SAP radio control room in East London yesterday to claim responsibility for the machinegun and handgrenade attack on a Border golf club at the weekend.

Police spokesman Colonel Christo Louw said the man phoned at 8.21am to say Apla, the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, had launched the attack in which four people died and 17 were wounded.

Workers picket AECI

Sowetan 1/12/92

MEMBERS of the SA Chemical Workers Union employed by AECI held a lunch hour picket at the company's premises in Modderfontein yesterday to press for demands in wage negotiations.

The union is demanding a R250 - or 14 percent, whichever is the greater - across-the-board increase. Workers are also seeking assurances on job security as well as a reduction in working hours from 45 hours a week to 40 without loss of pay.

DP presses for elections

30/A

A CONSTITUTION making body should be elected as soon as possible and the present Parliament be allowed temporarily to discharge the legislative function, the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer, said yesterday. Sowetan 1/12/92

He said the DP further strongly supported the idea, recently revived, of a multiparty government of national unity to run South Africa for some years.

Can the ANC resist the temptations of unbridled power?

Bloom 1/12/92.

SIMON BARBER in Washington (304A)

BEFORE writing Tropical Gangsters, a much-acclaimed memoir of his years as in-country World Bank adviser to Equatorial Guinea, Robert Klitgaard penned Controlling Corruption. In it he derived the following equation: Corruption equals Monopoly plus Discretion minus Accountability.

The SA government, it scarcely needs saying, is living proof of Klitgaard's theorem. Every day brings fresh evidence of the degree to which the NP and its creatures have plundered the country. Will the ANC turn out to be an exception — a glowing testament to the notion that honourable men and women can avoid the temptations of ill-checked power? If merely asking this question provokes a torrent of invective and further calls for the "training" of journalists who, as Moeletsi Mbeki of the ANC/Cosatu Media Project recently put it, "can see the world in its true colours", optimism will be difficult.

The movement already exercises a considerable degree of monopoly over such matters as who may invest in SA and under what conditions. For US firms, in particular, entry into the SA market is heavily influenced by the ANC and its gatekeepers in state and local authorities. If the ANC wants to let someone in, all it has to do is write to the relevant US officials asking them to make an exception to their regulations. In other words, it enjoys broad powers of discretion — powers, it should be noted, shared by no one else.

To whom is it accountable? It is difficult to say, though the organisation might perhaps point to "the masses" it is seeking to liberate. But, as the ANC itself quite correctly points out, the masses as yet have no constitutionally binding voice on anything.

Under present circumstances, the only way the majority of South Africans can call the ANC and its allies to account is prospectively — on the theory that one day, ideally in the not too distant future, they will get a chance to vote and therefore it would be wise to not take them for granted now.

But that is a slender kind of accountability, and one that has not prevented members of the ANC from agreeing to give their outside friends special treatment in a new SA before consulting the masses themselves. All in all, if the Klitgaard equation is 100% watertight, the liberation movement should be a hotbed of illicit, or at least improper, behaviour. Here's hoping he's wrong.

Ron Gault, MD of First Boston Corp, a major US bank, observed at last month's National Conference in Support of the ANC in New York: "We realise we have to be in sync with the ANC. If not, all the talking, all the good intentions are misplaced." He was explaining an arrangement under which a number of US banks, among them JP Morgan, Manufacturers Hanover, Citibank and his own, are providing in-house training for black South Africans. In return, the ANC, acting through New York mayor David Dinkins, has agreed that the banks are to be treated relatively leniently for the sin of having once lent money to SA. In practical terms, this means they will not be discriminated against under New York's anti-apartheid boycott rules.

On the face of it, this is a benign, even positive, use of the ANC's power over foreign investors, both actual and potential, as exercised with the assistance of its overseas solidarity network: a creative exploitation of penalties imposed on banks that have been unable, thanks to the debt standstill, to extricate themselves fully from apartheid SA, in order to promote the common good in the post-apartheid era. Who would be so insensitive as to even whisper the word blackmail — let alone so churlish as to wonder about the criteria upon which the training candidates were selected?

Trouble is, such thoughtcrimes are hard to suppress when the ANC itself admits that even when it decides to call for the lifting of remaining sanctions, investment is unlikely to come flooding back to revive what Moeletsi Mbeki rightly calls the "emaciated carcass that is the SA economy".

Since it is agreed by virtually all parties that foreign capital will return at needed levels only once the present government has been replaced by a nonracial one and peace has been restored, what possible added incentive for change can continued boycotts offer? If none — and none is the answer the ANC's own logic now demands — is there some other purpose? To the untrained mind come nagging suspicions.

Consider the case of Apple Computer, which has been pleading to reenter the market it righteously abandoned about seven years ago, well before state and local sanctions threatened it with loss of business. "The ANC must begin to send the right signals to those who support its efforts," the company's government affairs manager, Jackie Robinson, implored Don Mkhwanazi, director of the ANC's trade and investment policy group, at the New York conference. "There are those companies who want to come and make a contribution but are prevented from doing so.... Why should the good guys have to pay?"

Apple, which prides itself on its corporate responsibility, has discovered that rewards stored in heaven cannot be factored into quarterly bottom lines. By being good, it has been forfeiting SA market share to makers of IBM-compatible machines and software who have not been so saintly — or so subject to sanctions.

Because their products are so widely installed, and would thus be so costly to replace, the IBM-ers have generally been granted waivers by the state and local sanctioneers. Apple has a case of the Big Blue blues.

What's to stop the ANC giving it a break? Part of the answer might lie in Robinson's delphic remark that his company would like to return to SA "in accordance with sound business practices", a concept his SA interlocutors had evidently misunderstood. The reference, though he himself was loath to be more specific, was to reports that ANC officials have told the firm it was welcome to return, so long as the distributorship went to persons of their own choosing. Apple demurred. One hopes that the movement will sincerely deny this sordid tale and disavow any such intention in future.

Otherwise, the impression might spread that the ANC's sanctions policy had begun to have less to do with its official (if spurious) function of maintaining pressure on the government, and more to to with ... well, something else and more Klitgaardian. Patronage is among the kinder words that swim before the untrained observer.

Later this month, a group of American franchisers — Kwik-Copy, Speedee Oil Change, Everything Yogurt, Mail Boxes Etc, and Jani-King are on the list — will be in Johannesburg looking for potential "master licence-holders" to run franchise chains in SA. No doubt, candidates selected to meet the firms by the US Agency for International Development's Black Integrated Commercial Support Network will have been selected purely on the grounds of business potential, and for no other reason.

Govt, ANC start 'bosberaad' today

Political Correspondent 304A

THE government and the ANC today begin a make-or-break "bosberaad" or "lekgotla" aimed at ending the negotiation logjam and setting the stage for the speedy introduction of a government of national unity. CT 2/12/92

The ANC said on the eve of the three-day meeting that it was "crucial".

The government has spent the last two days holding a special two-day cabinet meeting.

The cabinet will reconvene on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday next week in a year-end stock-taking session.

The government's negotiating team will be headed by President F W de Klerk and includes Constitutional Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport, Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and Defence Minister Mr Gene Louw.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will lead a team including ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the SACP's Mr Joe Slovo.

Trust in constitutional ru

STAR 2/12/92.

(304A

A VISIT to Ireland during its recent election campaign helped to buoy my spirits, politically speaking, after months of depressing gloom in South Africa.

My statement is not that of a romanticist who has been enchanted by the Emerald Isle and its charming people. It is based on sober assessment and takes account of Ireland's problems of unemployment and poverty.

The first point is that after a long and savage struggle for independence from Britain and a civil war which tore Ireland asunder, the major Irish political parties are firmly committed to the constitution and the rule of law.

Even the IRA — or, more accurately, the Provisional IRA — acknowledges the force of constitutionalism and the need to participate in the established political process: it contests general elections through its political wing, Sinn Fein, and is decisively rejected by the voters.

Extrapolating to South Africa, that invites the hope that in the not too distant future this country's extra-parliamentary forces, from the Pan Africanist Congress to the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, will enter the arena as political parties seeking the support of the people in elections.

Since its formation amid fierce strife as a modern state in 1922, Ireland, it seems to me, has witnessed steady movement towards acceptance of constitutionalism and acknowledgement of the need to function within the constitutionally defined parameters.

Thus, to cite a powerful example, Eamon de Valera, the last Irish Volunteer commander to surrender during the 1916 rebellion and later one of the staunch opponents of the Irish Free State, eventually formed his own party, Fianna Fail ("Soldiers of Destiny") and won control of the state that he had opposed militarily.

There is another facet of Irish political life which helps to lift the spirits of depressed South Africans: the Protestant minority, far from being oppressed, seems happily ensconced in a state where the overwhelming majority of people are Catholics. For anxious white South Africans it is an auspicious omen.

No two situations are ever completely comparable. The differences between whites and blacks may well be greater than those between Protestants and Catholics. It is important to remember, however, that the differences between Protestants and Catholics, between the descendants of English colonists and Gaelic Irishmen, were once immense.

I was intrigued to note while I was in Ireland that Dick Spring, the leader of the Labour Party, was championing the notion of a rotating Prime Minister or Taoiseach. In South Africa, of course, the idea of a rotating president has been raised by President de Klerk's ruling National Party.

Spring and De Klerk have little in common ideologically. They may, however, come to share one experience. Spring is the leader of a party which has never won power on its own. At best it has been the junior partner in a coalition government. Once black South Africans are enfranchised that is a fate which may befall De Klerk's National Party.

After last week's election in Ireland, Spring appears to have emerged as the "king-maker"; his Labour Party, which made significant advances, ended as the third largest party, not far behind Fine Gael, which vied with Fianna Fail for power for decades.

Spring holds the balance of power between the two biggest parties. The price of his support may be agreement by the contracting party to introduce a rotating Taoiseach.

Viewing a rotating prime minister or president through the prism of Irish experience offers a new perspective. Instead of appearing as a political device to preserve or prolong minority rule, it can be seen as a constitutional mechanism to bolster smaller parties which represent a significant slice of the electorate and to give them a share of power and responsibility.

Another interesting aspect of the Irish election for me was its system of voting. Ireland has a system of proportional representation. It is not the national list system used in Namibia and broadly favoured for South Africa by De Klerk's NP and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

Ireland uses the Single Transferable Vote (STV) system of proportional representation, a system which, in the view of many constitutional experts, has distinct advantages in divided societies.

The STV system is constituency-based, unlike the list system which is based on a national list or a regional list of candidates (or, as envisaged by the ANC, a combination of both).

Unlike the winner-tak Westminster system where t can only be one MP per cons ency, the STV system of pro tional representation rests multi-member constituencies. number of MPs returned by a stituency may be a high as fiv

To qualify for election a c date must secure the req quota of votes. The quota i tained according to a fixed fo la (the number of valid votes is first divided by the numb seats plus one; a further o then added to the answer to the quota).

Voters need only place a next to the candidate of their choice. They may, however the remaining candidates in order of preference by ra them "2", "3", "4", and so on. to the voter's advantage to because his second or even preferences may help that c date to obtain the quota and win the right to represent hin

The advantages of the ST tem have been succinctly marised by Andrew Reynol the University of Cape Town.

They include a high degr proportionality — i e, partie represented in rough proport

NERVE CENTRE

Telephone executives ar a company's most valuable asset. It's tim to stop treati them as "poc relations".

PHANGISILE MTSHALI reports.

Speedy settlement could dispel morbid symptoms

STAR 2/12/92



Allister Sparks

WITH President de Klerk's credibility in tatters, the Government rotten with corruption, the ANC's reputation tarnished with disclosures of torture in its camps and clandestine training in Uganda, violence continuing in new and uglier forms, the economy nosediving, unemployment soaring, and the nation generally in a state of malaise, South Africa is now closer to reaching agreement on the future than at any other time.

This paradox stems from the fact that our transition is crisis driven. All the political parties are engaged simultaneously in negotiations and electioneering, which means that while they are talking they are also engaged in political combat, circling each other like boxers watching for opportunities to score points.

They become so preoccupied with the contest, so inward looking to their own interests, that they lose sight of the national interest. Then a crisis occurs that jolts them into an awareness that while they are jockeying for position the country is falling apart, and that whoever wins will inherit a wasteland. At that point they decide to get together and act to save the situation. We then move forward another notch in the negotiation process.

It's a helluva way to draft a constitution for a country, but then it's a pretty unusual process we're going through — a stalemated revolution encountering a failed system of oppression and trying to find a democratic solution to their mutual dilemma — so let's not get too picky about it. Just be thankful it's happening at all, and pray that it will deliver something workable in the end.

The important thing is that at this time of national degeneracy, this week's bilateral meeting between the Government and the ANC could provide the breakthrough. By week's end we could have an agreement between the two major negotiating parties on the steps to be taken to full democracy and a timetable for them. More important, there could be tacit agreement as well on the kind of compromises that can be reached to bridge the gap between the different visions the two sides have of our constitutional future.

There will, of course, still be the difficult task of bringing the smaller parties along, notably the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress, whose main negotiating weapon is their ability to upset the negotiating process itself.

Beyond that there is the threat posed by the military-security establishment. While the evidence of the past few weeks makes it clear that President de Klerk must have known about some of the covert operations against the ANC, it seems equally clear that a large part of that establishment has taken on a life of its own and is operating beyond any kind of civilian control.

At the heart of this security underworld is the Military Intelligence Unit, which more and more looks like the Third Force we have been hearing about for so long.

These are the primary dangers we face. To solve them, two things are necessary.

The first is a joint exercise by the National Party and the ANC to bring the military on-side. Reliable generals have to be identified, agreements reached between them and De Klerk and Mandela, and then the Defence Force and the police force must be restructured under the command of these committed leaders, with Umkhonto we Sizwe and the various "homeland" forces integrated at the same time.

The second necessity is speed. The only way to stop the disintegration of our society and our economy, to dispel the gloom and the doubt and instil a new spirit of optimism, is to get a momentum going and to keep it going.

The transition itself is a bad time. As the Italian thinker, Antonio Gramsci, put it, it's a time when "the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear".

We are experiencing those morbid symptoms aplenty now, and we shall experience more the longer the interregnum drags out. We must hasten the birth of the new South Africa so that our national energies can shift from political jousting to nation-building.

Looking at the timetable President de Klerk proposed last week, getting a Transitional Executive Council set up by next May looks reasonable.

That will in effect be an all-party interim regime to take over the running of the country from the present Government and hold the ring while our first one-person-one-vote election is held.

But to wait a year, until April 1994, for the election itself is far too long. Admittedly there is much to be done in the way of voter education and ensuring that everyone eligible to vote has an identity document, but that work can start now.

A year-long election campaign is unconscionable. The three months we have had in the past has been bad enough for the bitterness generated, and that is just within the narrow band of the white community. Twelve months of open combat between the Nats and the ANC hardly bears thinking about. I doubt the country could survive it.

That in any event would not be the end of the matter. After the voting the elected Constituent Assembly would have to sit and negotiate the new constitution — another three or four months. That means two more years, on top of the two we have already had, of the interregnum with its morbid symptoms.

Too long. I say speed it up, get it over and done with. Four months for the election campaign is time enough — more time than either Zimbabwe or Namibia had. So let's get cracking now on the education and the arrangements, and even if things are not perfect when the time comes the disadvantages of that will be less by far than the consequences of a year-long battle that will tear this country to smithereens. □

Government and ANC to begin talks, PAC left out

Summit in the bush

304A
ARG 2/12/92

Political Staff

AS the government gets together with the ANC today for intensive talks to clear up obstacles in the way of multi-lateral constitutional negotiations, its contact with the PAC is in trouble.

Last night the government broke off further talks with the PAC following the claim by its armed wing Apla that it was responsible for the King William's Town golf club killings.

Minister of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel said there could be no further dialogue with the PAC until there was clarity on its stand on acts of terror.

The three day ANC-government bush summit will bring together a delegation from the governmment, led by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer, and one from the ANC, led by the movement's general-secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr Meyer said the talks were aimed at reaching common ground on points of difference between the parties to ensure swift progress towards the resumption of multi-party negotiations.

He said no firm agreements would be reached but, after the parties reported to their leaders, follow-up talks were planned for early next year.

Bilateral talks with other parties would continue.

The ANC said its delegates would put pressure on the government to speed up negotiations as a matter of urgency.

Among items on the agenda were the transition process, setting the date for non-racial elections, the constitution writing mechanism and violence.

The movement warned yesterday that South Africa could not afford negotiations to proceed at a "leisurely pace" while the economy declined, confidence was sapped and uncertainty grew.

"This is a patriotic demand," said ANC constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal at a briefing, which was also addressed by his colleague Professor Albie Sachs.

The ANC has said it will seek to bring forward President De Klerk's proposed 1994 election date.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the movement would seek a date within the next nine to 12 months for an interim government.

The government's view is that any date before 1994 is unrealistic.

The bush summit is seen in the ANC as the single most important step on the way to resuming full-scale multilateral negotiations.

Professor Asmal said it was not an attempt to "strike a deal for bi-polar hegemony" and that other parties would not be bound by any agreement reached.

But it was a matter of reality that breakdowns occurred in the negotiating process when the NP and the ANC were "at odds".

He said the ANC also wanted a declaration of intent from the government that it would support the re-incorporation of the homelands into South Africa.

The country had to confer South African citizenship on homeland citizens before an election, he said, adding that "three-quarters of the people in Khayelitsha are not South Africans and are not eligible to vote".

Ulundi's shock plan to go it alone

CT 2/12/92 (3044) (169)

From CHRIS WHITFIELD

ULUNDI. — The KwaZulu government yesterday threw down a negotiations gauntlet to the ANC and the government — adopting a draft federal constitution for Natal/KwaZulu and announcing that it intends holding a regional referendum on the plan.

If accepted, the proposal would result in far-reaching autonomy for Natal/KwaZulu — including a state militia and a separate taxation system.

The announcement immediately drew a strong reaction, with the ANC saying it came "as a bolt from the blue" and amounted to a "very drastic" departure from the constitutional process".

The Democratic Party in Natal warned that it could be a recipe for civil war.

Government spokesman Mr Dave Steward said the proposals should "form an integral part of the negotiation process" and "any impression of unilateral action should be carefully considered".

However, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the proposal was essentially a discussion document and "my attitude is not confrontational or adversorial".

To page 2

From page 1

Buthelezi

(3044)

He dismissed as "nonsense" suggestions that KwaZulu was adopting a "go-it-alone" or unilateral declaration of independence option.

The draft federal constitution for Natal-KwaZulu was approved by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly at a special sitting yesterday.

Chief Buthelezi said this approval was the "first step in a process which will establish the state of KwaZulu/Natal as a member state of the Federal Republic of South Africa".

CT 2/12/92

It would include the submission for approval and adoption by the joint executive authority for Natal-KwaZulu "and/ submission to the South African government".

"It is envisaged that after extensive consultations followed by a popular referendum this constitution will become the supreme law of the state," he said.

Chief Buthelezi added: "It is intended that once ratified by the electorate of KwaZulu-Natal, the new constitution will stand in force, regardless of the direction taken by the constitutional process of South Africa."

He and his government "perceive it to be their historical responsibility to bring the issues of federalism, pluralism, minority protection, privatisation and social justice to full national debate".

Asked when he anticipated a referendum taking place, Chief Buthelezi said the KwaZulu government intended approaching the issue "step-by-step", but added that "this doesn't mean a long time".

Asked if he would press ahead with the plan irrespective of the government's reaction, the chief minister said he did not want to bedevil the process by responding to possibilities.

Buthelezi warned — don't go it alone

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The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The government has bluntly told Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi not to take any unilateral steps following the release of his proposed new constitution for Kwazulu/Natal.

Dr Buthelezi has sparked a major debate on what his motives were for releasing the 113-clause constitution yesterday. This has overshadowed the contents of the draft constitution, which in itself is rather progressive and liberal.

At a Press conference in Ulundi yesterday, Dr Buthelezi emphasised that the constitution would not be implemented until it had been endorsed by the voters of Natal and Kwazulu. He envisaged, however, that with widespread approval it could be put in place before a national constitution was worked out at negotiations.

Dr Buthelezi insisted that the constitution would not take the place of the national negotiations, and that the state would be a sovereign member of the federal republic of South Africa.

The draft was the basis for debate, and it was nonsense to see it as a unilateral declaration of independence, Dr Buthelezi said.

Inkatha Freedom Party stalwart Dr Dennis Madide said the important aspect of the draft was that for the first time there was a complete federal constitution up for debate, so people could see what was involved. The IFP wanted other parties to table their draft federal/regional constitutions.

However, the timing of the release — on the eve of today's summit between the government and the African National Congress — has alarmed the political opponents of the IFP. Several have accused Dr Buthelezi of acting unilaterally.

In reaction last night, the government said constitutional issues should be part of multi-lateral negotiations involving all significant parties.

Any impression of unilateral action should be avoided, the government cautioned Dr Buthelezi.

IFP leaders should as an obvious first step discuss their proposals bilaterally with the central government at the earliest possible date, the government said.

The prospect of bilateral talks between the IFP and the government is likely to be taken further next week when Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo meet President de Klerk in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party expressed its disapproval of Dr Buthelezi's plans. Constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said: "While we support federalism, the fact remains that we cannot approve of the latest IFP action. This is no way to develop a new constitution for a country."

The ANC said Dr Buthelezi's action was a "drastic departure" from South Africa's constitutional process. His unilateral action came "as a bolt from the blue" to the ANC and other political players.

However, Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht backed Dr Buthelezi's action, saying the constitutional suggestions were in line with the rejection of a South African unitary state.

Scepticism over IFP 'breakaway'

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

The Inkatha Freedom Party's surprise announcement of a draft go-it-alone constitution for the "KwaZulu-Natal state" was received yesterday mainly with scepticism and some dismay by the main political players in the negotiation process.

The central Government expressed reservations, without rejecting it out of hand, but the National Party-controlled Natal Provincial Administration mainly expressed approval.

The Democratic Party firmly rejected the initiative, but the Conservative Party warmly welcomed it as a rejection of a unitary South African state.

The Government's chief negotiator, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, said the constitutional debate could be taken further only by multiparty negotiations.

The Government was involved in bilateral discussions with all parties with a view to restructuring the multiparty negotiating forum, and wanted to have discussions with the IFP as soon as possible, Meyer said.

In its preliminary response, the ANC said the announcement of IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi came "as a bolt from the blue" to the organisation and other political players.

"The step taken by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, which is wholly dominated by the IFP, constitutes a very drastic departure from the constitutional process that the country has thus far been following," the ANC said.

"This unilateral action has implications beyond the borders of the KwaZulu bantustan."

Natal NP leader George Bartlett said he thought the IFP's proposal for a joint legislature in Natal would be a good interim step on the way to a new national constitution. But he said that President de Klerk had already made it clear that homelands like KwaZulu could not entrench themselves as sovereign states, regardless of the direction of negotiations.

However, Bartlett said he was very much in favour of testing the will of the Natal people through a referendum.

Natal Administrator Con Botha also came out strongly in favour of a referendum and said the rest of the Natal Executive Council would also back it.

DP constitutional spokesman Dr Denis Worrall said whatever the virtues of the IFP constitution, the party had been mistaken in the approach it had taken to getting it implemented.

"Their attitude is 'we will do this regardless of whatever anyone else says'. This is unacceptable and regrettable."

CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht said the CP had always supported the right of the Zulu nation to self-determination, and would like to continue negotiating with KwaZulu and other states on the establishment of a commonwealth of states.

Nats call for urgent meeting with Buthelezi

Alarm over IFP plan

STAR 2/12/92 (304A)

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

The National Party today called for an urgent meeting between Chief Buthelezi and President de Klerk in the wake of the Inkatha leader's go-it-alone statement.

The chief's announcement yesterday of plans for a autonomous KwaZulu-Natal state took his negotiating partners by surprise.

The plan — in the form of a new constitution for the region — would go ahead regardless of what happens in central negotiations, according to documents released in Ulundi.

Transvaal NP spokesman Sheila Camerer said Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose had held talks over the past few weeks to organise a meeting between De Klerk and Buthelezi. This meeting, Camerer said, was now more urgent.

"We might see such a meeting within the next 10 days," she said.

Some commentators said Buthelezi's plan virtually amounted to a "unilateral declaration of autonomy" and forecast that it would hamper efforts to negotiate a new constitution for South Africa.

Buthelezi asked, and received approval from, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly for a constitution for a strongly autonomous "state of KwaZulu-Natal" within a federal South Africa.

He also announced he would ask the Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA) to agree to put the plan to a referendum of all citizens of KwaZulu and Natal.

If it were ratified, the IFP constitution would become "the supreme law of the land ... in spite of whatever course the negotiations at central level happen to take", the IFP said.

The IFP constitution would give KwaZulu-Natal strong powers over matters such as police, health and education, leaving more general affairs such as defence, foreign relations and the currency to the central State.

But the province would reserve strong autonomy even in these areas as, for instance, federal troops could not be deployed in Natal without the Natal government's say-so.

Buthelezi, who has long been a proponent of federalism, presented a special session of the assembly with a 44-page constitution for the KwaZulu-Natal region and called on members to help popularise the document.

The Chief Minister said President de Klerk and his Government had to know that KwaZulu had now "drawn a line through history, and that the Government is not in a position to dictate events either on its own or with the help of the ANC".

Buthelezi criticised the ANC and Government for allegedly trying to make a deal behind other parties' backs.

He added that the KwaZulu-Natal constitution approved yesterday was an initiative "amounting to a KwaZulu-Natal negotiating base which could formulate proposals for the kind of central government to which this region would be prepared to devolve some of the regional powers".

His new initiative, Buthelezi said, was merely picking up where the Buthelezi Commission and the Natal Indaba, which tried to negotiate

● To Page 3

Alarm over IFP plan for Natal

(304A)

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● From Page 1

a regional settlement in the province, had left off.

"An expeditious adoption of this type of constitution will allow us to seize the initiative of the entire negotiations process in our country and, in tandem, immeasurably enhance and strengthen the position of the IFP and the KwaZulu government nationally and internationally," Buthelezi said.

The proposed referendum would have to be held 30 days after the JEA's adoption of the constitution, although the date could be postponed by a specially created referendum committee "to reflect political convenience and other factors".

IFP chairman Mdlalose told the assembly yesterday: "Given the urgency and the enormous pressure which is put on us by the dynamics of the negotiating process at central level, we simply do not have the time nor the opportunity to make amendments to this constitution, even if they are to improve any of its clauses."

Buthelezi, who said people in the region had to be mobilised around "democratic radicalism" to get the country to adopt the fundamentals of federalism and pluralism, said implementation of the constitution was the first step to ensure the region's political supremacy.

Next would come attempts to get the entire country — especially commerce and industry, professional people and religious leaders — to endorse the KwaZulu-Natal constitution "and even to sign approval of it personally".

Key features

304A

Features of the KwaZulu-Natal constitution include:

- Chief Minister, called the "Governor", elected by majority of votes in a state-wide constituency election and serving a maximum of two three-year terms.
- Bicameral legislature: House of Delegates and Senate. Members elected for five years.
- Official languages: English, Zulu and Afrikaans.
- Private enterprise fully guaranteed, private property fully protected. STAR 2/12/92
- Protection of minorities and promotion of power-sharing through coalitions.
- Recognition of communal property and the right of traditional leaders to exercise customary law.
- No power of the federal government may be legitimately exercised in the region if it is inconsistent with KwaZulu-Natal's principles and provisions.
- Guaranteed freedom of the media provided they do not "publish erroneous information as a result of gross negligence or malice".
- Inclusion, through negotiation, of areas "historically, culturally and socio-economically strictly connected to the territory and state of KwaZulu-Natal".
- Taxes and duties levied "only with the advice and consent of the state of KwaZulu-Natal".

Diplomatic ties with South Korea

STEPHEN COPLAN

FOREIGN Affairs Minister Pik Botha announced the establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea yesterday.

The agreement, signed in Tokyo yesterday by the South Korean ambassador and the SA chargé d'affaires provides for the immediate establishment of diplomatic ties at ambassadorial level.

SA now maintains official relations with most of the major trading nations on the Pacific Rim such as Japan, the Republic of China, Singapore, Thailand, Hong Kong and now South Korea. Informal relations also exist with the People's Republic of China.

SA's links with South Korea date back to the Korean War in the early 50s when 37 SA soldiers died while serving as part of a UN force against North Korea.

South Korea offered excellent opportunities for bilateral trade and technological co-operation which could benefit the people of both countries, Foreign Affairs said in a statement.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that Botha hailed the country's establishment of diplomatic relations with South Korea as another milestone in its international relations.

The signing further strengthened the friendly relations between the two countries and opened up new opportunities for co-operation in the fields of tourism, trade, technology and culture, the Foreign Minister said.

Sapa-AP reports that the end of the Cold War allowed South Korea to open relations with more nations. Last week, South Korea established ties with Israel, and officials were looking toward establishing ties with Egypt.

In Seoul, the foreign ministry said in a statement that the South Korean government "wishes to reinforce contacts with the SA government as well as the political parties and organisations in SA, and to thereby further contribute to the international efforts to build a democratic non-racial SA".



SCANT ATTENTION ... People die in horrible attacks in the townships every day but do not get the attention the King William's Town attack is generating from the authorities and the general media.

White life is still more precious...

■ Africans killed the same way as they were shifted about:

Sowetan 2/12/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

INDIGENOUS Africans have since the advent of colonialism at the tip of the continent always been mere props in the largely European drama in this part of the world.

The indigenous people were of no account during those early days, to the extent that Dutch settlers imported labour in the form of slaves from their other colonies in South East Asia.

Through it all, African people were shifted about, conveniently, to fill in the spaces on the stage, never to play a part or even mime...

By the early '80s of this century all the slaves, traders, migrant workers and even some of the "fairer skinned" people from the indigenous to the North Western Cape region were brought into the ruling elite in the tri-cameral parliament and its white, coloured and Indian chambers.

But that is all in the past, they say, and indigenous Africans are being given (slowly and carefully, at a pace determined by the descendants of the European colonialists and settlers) a role in the big picture.

The irony is, when indigenous Africans were props, they could be moved around, now that they are brought to life, they are killed in the same callous way that they were shifted about the land.

In other words, in life or limbo, indigenous Africans are of no account.

At least 6 000 African people have been killed in South Africa since February 2 1990.

That the African people are coming into their own, does not, however, mean that the white descendants of the Europeans are now less important or insignificant. No...

White life and liberty is still precious while Africans ... well, they don't have to be moved - so dying silences them just as well.

Four white people were killed in an attack on a golf club in King William's Town last Saturday night.

The attack could have been staged by anybody from South Africa's Department of Military Intelligence, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC's armed wing, dissident members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, or even the Ciskeian Defence Force for that matter.

What makes this attack so different from the daily carnage in this country is, it seems, purely because the victims were white.

The ANC and PAC both pointed out on Monday that the Government, police and media reaction to the golf club attack was racist.

But the media, shapers of opinion and society ran "outrage" stories (damn it) for four white deaths when at least 20 other black people died on the same weekend.

Sure, the white people were dining (harmlessly) in the golf club...

What on earth were the five black people doing in stokvels in the Vaal on Sunday night? Plotting the overthrow of white domination?

No. They were harmlessly enjoying themselves.

One cannot but conclude from the response of the Government, the police and the media (*Sowetan* included) that indigenous Africans have metamorphosed from being inanimate dispensable objects to innocuous dispensable people.

How else is it possible to explain the responses to the death of four white people in the King William's Town attack? ...

Challenge to De Klerk on IFP constitution for Natal and Kwazulu

Let voters decide says Buthelezi

3049
ARG 3/12/92

Political Staff

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has challenged President De Klerk today to let the voters of Natal and Kwazulu decide their future themselves.

Chief Buthelezi's challenge, which follows the release of a draft constitution for the State of Kwazulu/-Natal, raises the prospect of a protracted battle with the government.

This has chilling implications for the region, particularly if Chief Buthelezi refuses to be part of a negotiated political settlement.

Relations between Ulundi and Pretoria today are little better than they were when the P W Botha government tried to snatch the Ingwavuma area away from Kwazulu a decade ago.

Mr De Klerk said it was unfortunate that Chief Buthelezi had frequently adopted a confrontational course with the government, more often than not on erroneous assumptions.

Chief Buthelezi's continual allegations that the government was not doing enough to curb violence were simply untrue and unfair, he said.

But the IFP leader said last night that he was determined to go ahead with a referendum to let voters in Natal and Kwazulu decide on the constitution. He described Mr De Klerk's reaction as negative.

"I feel we are at a crucial time in the process of transforming South Africa into the long sought-after land of social justice, freedom and equal opportunities for all people," he said.

"At this juncture there should be no space for rigidity and preconceived notions on how this process should develop and evolve."

Chief Buthelezi has two ways of staging a referendum. Either he could persuade Mr De Klerk to agree to it or he could call it unofficially. Either way the African National Congress will probably decry the IFP initiative.

Matters could come to a head next week when Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo meet Mr De Klerk in Pretoria.

For his part, the State President told Chief Buthelezi last night that constitutional agreements should be pursued within the framework of multi-party negotiations.

"It is a matter of concern that Chief Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach."

It was also worrying that the IFP appeared to be moving away from the consensus reached at Codesa on this and other points.

Mr De Klerk said unilateral action by Chief Buthelezi could bring Kwazulu into direct confrontation with Pretoria, with other parties in South Africa and in Natal, and with the international community.

"It is imperative that this should be avoided," he said.

Moves to speed up reform

CT 31/12/92

304A

THE ANC and government constitutional negotiating teams yesterday began three days of bilateral talks aimed at speeding up the reform process.

The meeting, the first half of a continuous bilateral dialogue to be continued at a similar meeting in January, is a follow-up to address outstanding matters raised at the September 26 Record Of Understanding summit.

The two teams which will include senior negotiators on both sides are being led by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and the Minister of Constitutional Affairs Mr Roelf Meyer.

Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr F W de Klerk will not attend the meetings unless specific circumstances require their joining the talks.

Details of the follow-up meeting in January are likely to be refined before the conclusion of the present round of talks tomorrow.

Issues to be discussed include violence and shortening of the government's time scale for the step-by-step process needed to secure the first open elections. The ANC is eager to have an elected interim government before the end of 1993, while the goverment is aiming at March or April 1994.

A major concern of the government is the status of the ANC military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and more particularly the ANC's insistence that it will continue training cadres in foreign countries. Sapa

stop.doc

De Klerk warns Buthelezi over proposal

STAR 3/12/92.

By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatsumba

Relations between the SA and KwaZulu governments plummeted last night as President de Klerk firmly rejected KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "unilateral" plan for a KwaZulu-Natal state — and warned him he was heading for direct confrontation with the Government.

De Klerk said that the KwaZulu move could delay the start of multiparty talks and escalate violence.

He accused Buthelezi of abandoning previous constitutional agreements and of frequently adopting a confrontational course with the Government — usually on "erroneous assumptions."

Buthelezi's speech to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly this week had given rise to serious concern, he said.

So far there had been no major differences in principle between the Government and Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

The Government and the IFP had also agreed to the proposals of Codesa 2, including those for constitutional transition.

But the IFP now appeared to be moving away from the consensus at Codesa. De Klerk accused Buthelezi of delaying follow-up meetings.

De Klerk said he was particularly concerned about the impression of unilateral action created by Buthelezi's initiative.

The impression was that this action would be:

- Incompatible with multiparty negotiations.
- Could disrupt efforts to resume multiparty negotiations.
- Could escalate violence.

De Klerk urged Buthelezi to meet him as soon as possible to resolve differences.

IFP central committee member Walter Felgate said Buthelezi would not meet De Klerk until the Record of Understanding between the State President and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had been subjected to a multiparty conference of review.

Felgate also called on the Government to stop holding bilateral meetings with the ANC and convene multiparty talks as a matter of urgency, preferably before the end of the year.

Meanwhile, National Party spokesman Johan Steenkamp warned Buthelezi against becoming another Bishop Muzorewa by pursuing a Rhodesia "UDI" option.

But he expressed approval for the idea of regional negotiations in Natal to seek a solution for the province.

Felgate stoutly defended the new KwaZulu-Natal constitution, and said the people of Natal had a right to decide what kind of government they wanted.

United States Ambassador Princeton Lyman said in Umlazi, Durban, yesterday that the KwaZulu-Natal constitution could be a major contribution to the implementation of a federal-type structure in South Africa if it fitted into the negotiation process.

NEWS 14 security force members are killed ● MK protest at ANC headquarters

FW angry over Buthelezi move

■ IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk:

IT was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night.

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi's announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"In respect of constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP.

"It is a matter of concern that Mr Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach," De Klerk said.

In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk's request for an urgent meeting.

Shell House sit-in

■ Cadres complain about jobs, housing, money and Vaal structures:

By Abbey Makoe

LACK of accommodation for returned Vaal MK soldiers took a new turn on Tuesday when a delegation of 27 soldiers staged a sit-in at the ANC's head office in Johannesburg.

The soldiers were yesterday roaming the foyer of Shell House and some called members of the Press to talk about their anger.

Those interviewed did not want their identities revealed. They said they had submitted a memorandum to the ANC leadership about four weeks ago, detailing their grievances, but had received no response.

The grievances include lack of rations despite "the ANC having received some money from Italy, aimed at alleviating the returned soldiers' problems".

Another soldier said they were concerned about "continued claims in the Vaal's ANC structures that the MK was answerable to the Youth League".

They said they slept on the third floor of the 22-storey building on Tuesday and were not provided with food.

By late yesterday the group was insisting that they would not leave until their demands were met.

MK Chief-of-Staff Mr Siphiwe Nyanda denied any knowledge of the sit-in.

The ANC's media liaison officer, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, confirmed the sit-in. He lashed out at the soldiers, saying they knew the correct procedures to follow when unhappy.

ANC PWV regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said he had received the MK memorandum and added that it was being given attention "at the highest level".



FW warns Buthelezi of possible confrontation over autonomy

BDAY 3/12/92 (304A)

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk last night warned Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that his attempt to push for regional autonomy in KwaZulu/Natal could lead to "direct confrontation with government and other parties in SA and Natal".

He said it was imperative that this be avoided as it had the potential to increase violence.

He called on Buthelezi to meet him urgently to "discuss this latest initiative and to resolve whatever problems may exist regarding Inkatha's return to bilateral and multilateral negotiations".

The call for a meeting was rejected by Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate, who said Inkatha was not prepared to discuss any constitutional issues with government until the record of understanding between De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela had been put before a multiparty conference of review.

A government source confirmed, however, that Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope were expected to meet De Klerk next Thursday, but said this was not enough to satisfy De Klerk.

It is understood that a meeting of the principals of the Concerned South Africans Group — Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo, CP leader Andries Treurnicht and Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers — will take place on Monday afternoon. That morning Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo will meet to draw up an agenda for Thursday's meeting with De Klerk.

De Klerk said it was unfortunate that Buthelezi had on a number of occasions "adopted a confrontational course with government, more often than not on erroneous assumptions".

He was most concerned about the impression of unilateral action by the KwaZulu government; the action was incompatible with the agreed goal that constitutional reform should be the result of multiparty negotiations. It also disrupted efforts to resume multiparty talks.

On constitutional matters there was little difference in principle between government and Inkatha and "it was our common approach that these agreements in principle should be pursued within the framework of multiparty negotiations".

The common approach was also reflected in the broad agreements reached at Codesa II, including proposals for constitutional transition. It now appeared that Inkatha was moving away from this.

De Klerk also complained that after arranging the conference on federalism/regionalism with Inkatha, the party delayed efforts to convene follow-up talks.

Government was supportive of the importance of Natal/KwaZulu and of the devolution of power to it. This was apparent

☐ To Page 2

Buthelezi

BDAY 3/12/92 (304A)

☐ From Page 1

from the fact that Buthelezi administered a budget of R4,769bn — bigger than that of many independent African states. He already exercised many of the powers he envisaged in his new constitution.

Government also supported the joint executive authority, and during the recent short session of Parliament had started to prepare to broaden the role of joint regional management.

Felgate said the federal plan was an attempt to get a multiparty conference off the ground this year. While Inkatha would present its plan at negotiations, the constitution could not be changed or scrapped if it had passed the test of a referendum.

The constitution would be submitted to the joint executive authority, made up of representatives of parties within the tricameral Parliament as well as the KwaZulu government and the Natal administrator, for approval to put it to a referendum.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose is joint chairman of the authority with NP member Tino Volker.

The NP-controlled Natal Provincial Administration expressed approval of the constitution and putting it to a referendum.

NP Natal leader George Bartlett said a joint legislature for Natal/KwaZulu would be a good interim step towards a national constitution and he was in favour of testing it by means of a referendum, as was Natal administrator Con Botha.

But the NP federal office, while agreeing with several points in the proposed KwaZulu/Natal constitution, said Inkatha could not hope to go it alone.

It said the suggestion that the joint executive authority could make a decision on the proposals was not valid.

● Comment: Page 8

bid

Govt calls off indaba with the PAC

Sowetan 3/12/92 (S44) (304A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Law Ministry urges organisation to give up its armed struggle:

NEXT week's meeting between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress has been called off and the organisation has been urged to give up its armed struggle before talks resume.

A spokesman from the State President's office yesterday confirmed a remark made earlier in the day by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, who said that until the PAC distanced itself from "acts of terror", there would be no further bilateral discussions.

The PAC and the Government were to meet next Wednesday. Bilateral talks between the two parties have so far been "exploratory" while Wednesday's meeting was to have focused on details of a multiparty forum.

The PAC yesterday said that "irresponsible reaction from the Government such as the statement made by Kriel impacted adversely on the economy and closed the door for a democratic solution and investor confidence".

Yesterday Mr Benny Alexander, the PAC's secretary general, said his organisation had not received official notification that next week's talks had been cancelled.

'Talks held hostage'

NEGOTIATIONS were now held hostage to violence in South Africa, the new US Ambassador, Mr Princeton Lyman, said at Umlazi in Durban yesterday. BOAT (2)

Commenting on violence in the country, Lyman said most people were concerned about increasing violence in South Africa and, for that reason, he thought negotiations should be supported. Sowetan 3/12/92

Asked how the coming in of a new US government would impact on that country's foreign policy, he said he could not yet say much about that.

FW angry over Buthelezi move

■ IFP leader has adopted a confrontational course, says De Klerk:

IT was unfortunate that KwaZulu leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had adopted a confrontational course with the Government on several occasions, State President FW de Klerk said last night. Sowetan 3/12/92

De Klerk was responding to Buthelezi's announcement of a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

He said there were no major constitutional differences between the Government and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"In respect of constitutional matters, there have thus far been no major differences in principle between the constitutional approaches of the Government and the IFP.

"It is a matter of concern that Mr Buthelezi is now apparently embarking on a course which militates against this approach," De Klerk said.

In a later briefing, a source said it was hoped Buthelezi would accede to De Klerk's request for an urgent meeting.

Dithering Nats lack a coherent transition policy

BIPM 3/12/92. (304A)

STEVEN FRIEDMAN

IT IS BY now glaringly obvious that the architects of the world's most reviled system of race domination set out three years ago to negotiate a formally nonracial order in which they still would play a major role.

The project called for unusual political talent and skill. At the minimum, NP leaders needed to achieve two things to reach their goal of an orderly, conservative transition.

Firstly, they had to develop a realistic strategic sense of where they were going and how to get there, as well as an accurate assessment of how much of the old order they had to surrender in order to ensure a new one that would not be all that "new".

Secondly, they had to ensure that their reluctant constituency became more enthusiastic about travelling that road with them. Events this year suggest that the NP may have failed on both fronts.

Assuming that the Nats are trying to shape the future on their own, they do not seem to be doing terribly well.

Economic policy remains frozen in mid-air waiting, admits the Finance Minister himself, for a political settlement which government is either unable or unwilling to achieve. The townships are no more stable than they were a year ago; the state's security structures are even less credible guardians of public order than before. The groundswell of conservative black support that the Nats so confidently predicted is yet to show up on an opinion poll.

If the NP is trying to woo its enemies into co-operation on its terms, the performance has been less than impressive. How else does one assess the constant aversion to arrangements that might "co-opt" the "enemy" into solving problems jointly?

Leaving aside the interim government issue, the Nats have refused to join negotiation forums on socio-economic issues on the ground that they refuse to be bound by their decisions. They persist in their demand that the negotiating partners take joint responsibility for problems such as violence and economic decline, but without ceding any of the power that accompanies such responsibility.

How does the NP square the constant prediction of electoral victory with its continued demands for minority vetos? Why run a combative election campaign against the ANC while insisting that no settlement is possible without its agreement? What is one to make of the public enthusiasm for an alliance with Inkatha and other conservative parties when the NP attends a summit without bothering to tell its "ally" what it plans to concede?

There are countless other examples, but they all seem to add up to a common theme: either Nat leaders are not sure where they are heading, or they are remarkably unsuccessful at getting there.

Moreover, it is not clear that the rank and file are dead keen on staying with them for the ride. Word has it that an air of despondency has set in among NP grassroots; indeed, resolutions at party congresses and public opinion surveys suggest a very strong hankering for the old SA. If the grassroots are unwilling to make the changes needed to steer the party through the transition, the leadership will have to become assertive to change their minds.

Instead, President F W de Klerk has been reacting with credible impersonations of P W Botha.

Now, one can view all this as political theatre. With imagination, all the inconsistencies and blunders can be explained away as sly stratagems. Many of the "failures" could be viewed as subtle ploys to weaken the "enemy" and secure a better deal: the more conditions worsen, the more bellicose Ulundi becomes and the more the Nat grassroots protest the easier it becomes to persuade bargaining partners to settle in order to ward off the looming horror.



□ DE KLERK

If there is a subtle game plan behind the bungling, its success is hardly unqualified. If the plan is to defeat the liberation movements, it must be measured against the 23% of the vote which, according to the HSRC, the Nats would win in a nonracial poll. (Readers who sense a master plan to change all that, may be interested to know a Cabinet Minister recently said he had begun wooing mass electoral support by greeting blacks as he jogs past them.)

If the plan is to pummel the liberation movements until they settle on Nat terms, it must be measured against the concessions De Klerk was forced to make at the summit with the ANC's Nelson Mandela. All in all, the NP performance has been underwhelming.

Why? Many senior Nats appear not to have a realistic vision of where they want to go and how to get there. Younger Ministers such as Leon Wessels and a "technocrat" like Derek Keys seem to grasp that the Nats cannot run the future alone.

But Hernus Kriel and others (Kobie Coetsee? Pik Botha?) do not seem to share that insight. In theory, they accept that power-sharing is the best they can get. In practice, they still see the transition as a Nat-led journey to a future in which their opponents will accept a junior partnership in a new order not very different from the old. Such limited and contradictory visions remain embedded in Nat thinking.

Two factors deserve attention. Firstly, it is one thing to contemplate in the abstract surrendering sole power after 40 years, quite another to leave the room when the time comes. Older Nats tend to hesitate at the brink. Ministers also have personal stakes in key bargaining issues: former State Security Council members are keener on a general amnesty than Ministers who did not warm the seats of that inner sanctum.

Secondly, the March referendum convinced senior Nats they could get away with far more than they had anticipated. This sense stemmed not from an assessment of local support, but from attitudes abroad.

Analyses of the transition often underestimate the effect of world opinion on NP thinking: major decisions have been made with an eye both to foreign capitals and to local constituencies. NP leaders read the wave of international sympathy after the referendum as a signal the world would settle for far less than the opposition wanted.

The result has been not so much a juggernaut strategy that debilitates the "enemy", but strategic miscalculations and statements which (together with matching problems on the side of the opponents) debilitate the transition.

The root of the malaise extends to the Nat bottom line, or lack thereof. While the NP would like to keep as much of the old as possible, it is not clear what they believe is feasible. Power-sharing is about the only bottom line that stands out. The Nats know they cannot run the country without "the enemy".

But what else do they want? to preserve property rights and the market by limiting the post-apartheid state's power? Or to ensure that they can apply a firm hand to the rudder of the new state? Do they want to preseve "efficiency and order" or white privilege?

Many Nats seem to want all of the above. But the goals are often contradictory.

The result is a string of ad hoc steps and leaps — sharply influenced by noises abroad — instead of a coherent strategy. And it is doing as much damage to a workable transition as it is to the Nats themselves.

Of course, none of this makes a settlement impossible. The Nats and their bargaining partners have demonstrated a remarkable capacity to fudge seemingly stark choices and to muddle on without effective leadership or strategic clarity.

The problem is what happens after a settlement? Unless the Nats (and their adversaries) develop realistic strategies and persuade their constituencies to back them, political life after a deal may be as fragile and unstable as it is now — and hopes for an economy that will allow us to fight poverty will dissolve.

□ Friedman is Centre for Policy Studies director. This article originally appeared in Work In Progress.

Buthelezi rebuked

3049
CT3/12/92

FW: Don't act alone

By CHRIS WHITFIELD

PRESIDENT F W DE KLERK yesterday sharply rebuked Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, warning that unilateral action by KwaZulu could increase violence and bring it into "direct confrontation" with the government, other parties and the international community.

His comments came amid increasing indications that deteriorating relations between the government and the IFP, the PAC and the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments could delay an early return to multi-party talks.

The president broke from the government's three-day bilateral meeting with the ANC to issue a hard-hitting statement expressing "serious concern" at the KwaZulu government's move on a federal constitution for Natal/KwaZulu.

He warned that any impression of an unilateral initiative by KwaZulu:

- Could bring about a "further escalation of violence".
- Could have a "disruptive effect on the concerted efforts which are currently underway to bring about the resumption of multi-party negotiations".
- Would be "incompatible with the agreed goal that constitutional reform should be the result of multi-party negotiations".

UN ASKED TO AID APLA PROBE

See PAGE 2

He called on Chief Buthelezi to "meet with me as soon as possible to discuss this latest initiative and to resolve whatever problems may exist regarding the IFP's return to bilateral and multilateral negotiating processes".

Government sources said a meeting between Mr De Klerk and Chief Buthelezi, Ciskei ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, and Bophuthatswana leader Dr Lucas Mangope may take place next Thursday.

Mr De Klerk said it was "unfortunate that Chief Minister Buthelezi has on a number of occasions adopted a confrontational course with the government, more often than not on erroneous assumptions".

He said the government had always been supportive of the KwaZulu government — pointing out that Chief Buthelezi administers a budget of R4,769 billion, "larger than that of many independent African states" — and "also supported the principle of devolution of power".

Government negotiators have become increasingly frustrated with the IFP's refusal to talk to them, and yesterday Mr De Klerk sharply criticised Chief Buthelezi for this.

He said the IFP had delayed efforts to convene a follow-up to the September 7 conference on federalism and "Dr Buthelezi has consistently refused to discuss any problems which he may have with the government in bilateral discussions with me".

A well-placed government source said it was difficult to say how the "direct confrontation" the Mr De Klerk talked about would manifest itself, but if KwaZulu pursued unilateral initiatives of this import it would mean "the governments are on divergent courses".

Mr De Klerk said it was "imperative" that such confrontation be avoided.

The source added that, given the govern-

To page 2

Bosberaad bid to salvage talks

EC4A
ARG 4/12/92

Political Staff

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators at a three-day "bosberaad" are believed to have changed their agenda in an urgent move to seek ways of rescuing multi-party negotiations.

The talks are gravely threatened by the breakdown in relations between the government and both the Kwazulu government and the Pan Africanist Congress.

Top government and ANC negotiators return today from an intense round of discussions in the Northern Transvaal bushveld aimed at an early resumption of the multi-party talks that have been suspended since June.

They started with an agenda dealing with problems between themselves but dramatic events shifted attention elsewhere.

First Kwazulu chief minister and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced a unilateral initiative to establish an autonomous Kwazulu/Natal federal state.

Then the government broke off talks with the PAC pending clarification of its stand on claims that its armed wing, Apla, attacked a King William's Town golf-club party last Saturday.

It is not clear whether a planned meeting next week between President De Klerk, Chief Buthelezi and other homeland leaders will go ahead.

Bosberaad forced to look at new crises

CT 4/12/92 BOSA

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE "bosberaad" between the government and the ANC enters its final day today with issues raised by parties outside the bilateral discussions also clamouring for attention.

Apart from the timetable towards democracy and ongoing violence being discussed at the bush summit, the emerging crisis with Inkatha, the Ciskei and the PAC are also expected to force their way onto the agenda at the bilateral talks.

The delays to a speedy transition process posed by stands taken by parties outside the current talks is expected to set alarm bells ringing for both the government and the ANC.

They both expressed the hope that inclusive multi-party constitutional talks can be resumed early next year.

An extended cabinet meeting — including deputy ministers and members of the Nationalist-controlled ministers' councils — will be held at a final year-end stock-taking session by the government from Monday to Wednesday next week.

The ANC and the government are planning a further bosberaad meeting in January before the opening of the 1993 session of Parliament.

'Bosberaad' tackles crisis

STM 4/12/92

By Kaizer Nyatsumba and Peter Fabricius

Government and African National Congress negotiators at a three-day "bosberaad" are believed to have changed their agenda urgently to seek ways of rescuing multiparty negotiations.

The breakdown in relations between the Government and both the KwaZulu government and the Pan Africanist Congress have put multiparty negotiations in jeopardy.

Government and ANC negotiators return today from an intense round of discussions in the northern Transvaal bushveld aimed at an early resumption of multiparty talks which have been suspended since June.

They started with an agenda devoted to addressing bilateral problems, but two dramatic events have shifted attention elsewhere.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced a unilateral initiative to establish an autonomous KwaZulu-Natal federal state. Then the Government broke off talks with the Pan Africanist Congress following claims that its armed wing Apla was responsible for the King William's Town golf club attack.

It was not clear yesterday whether a planned meeting next week between President de Klerk, Buthelezi and other homeland leaders would go ahead.

The Government said it was going ahead with planning for it.

The KwaZulu government and Inkatha Freedom Party were prepared to put their autonomy plan for a KwaZulu/Natal state to multiparty discussions if requested, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said on SABC's "Agenda" programme last night.

Yesterday, in its first formal comment on the KwaZulu plan, the ANC joined the Government in condemning it as a unilateral initiative threatening negotiations.

In another development, the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa yesterday said approval of the "KwaZulu-Natal constitution" would mean either an enforcement of the federal option countrywide or secession by that region. Either outcome, Idasa programme director Paul Graham said, would not be acceptable to the other parties involved in national negotiations.

Natal Administrator Con Botha said yesterday if KwaZulu asked the Joint Executive Authority (JEA) to conduct the referendum, the Natal Provincial Administration component of the JEA would have to consult the central Government "and I doubt that they would give the go-ahead".

● Collision course – Page 15

Buthelezi's proposal is 'racist'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Natal/KwaZulu draft constitution is apartheid-inspired and serves the narrow interests of ethnicity, the ANC said in a statement released yesterday.

"Inkatha is an integral part of South Africa's negotiation process", but with the Natal/KwaZulu draft constitution it has "defined itself out of the processs", the statement said.

The ANC was commenting on the document released in the KwaZulu capital, Ulundi on Tuesday, and the stated view that it would be presented to the Joint Executive Authority (a Natal local government-KwaZulu body) and residents of "this region".

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's speech at the launch of the document "is a clear indication the IFP has chosen the path of conflict and confrontation" the ANC said.

"The IFP has opted for enforced balkanisation on the model of the apartheid past.

"South Africa can ill-afford further apartheid-inspired designs that serve the narrow interests of ethnic political formations." (3049)

Meanwhile, according to a government source, the government is likely to block any attempt to hold a referendum in KwaZulu/Natal.

The source was speaking after Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi had thumbed his nose at President F W de Klerk's criticism of KwaZulu's constitutional initiative, and signalled his determination to hold a referendum.

The government source yesterday predicted the President would refuse to allow the referendum.

Natal National Party information chief, Dr Johan Steenkamp said its MPs in the province were fully behind Mr De Klerk on this issue.

Dr Steenkamp described Dr Buthelezi as "not an easy customer ... he gets bad advice and we are afraid it will lead to his demise".

"It's a crazy move and might be his laste," he said.

Yesterday the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) said if the draft constitution was approved it would mean either enforcement of the federal option on the rest of the country or secession by the region. ET 4/12/92

Natal referendum would be illegitimate, says ANC

B|DAY 4|12|92

LLOYD COUTTS

THE ANC warned yesterday that a referendum on Inkatha's draft constitutional proposals for Natal/KwaZulu would be illegitimate and could exacerbate tensions in the province.

"The very idea of a Natal/KwaZulu referendum to decide on an issue that impacts on the future of the whole country is itself totally illegitimate. Given the repression, formal and informal, that is pervasive in KwaZulu, it would be impossible to hold a free and fair referendum.

"Both the NP and Inkatha are an integral part of the unfolding multiparty negotiations. As a consequence of blind ambition, confusion or sheer desperation, Inkatha appears to have elected to define itself out of that process."

The proposals contained a thinly veiled threat that Inkatha's will could become law irrespective of decisions taken in national negotiations, relied on apartheid structures which enjoyed no legitimacy, and ignored the wishes of the majority of South Africans.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said Inkatha had initiated a process to test the will of the people of the region on a fundamental issue important to them.

He said the failure of the negotiating process and its degeneration into bilateral negotiations between the government and the ANC had made it imperative to consult "the people".

Buthelezi said the adoption of a constitution for Natal/KwaZulu would reflect an immediate and clear mandate from the people of the region.

Idasa programme director Paul Graham said the approval of the draft constitution would mean an enforcement of the federal option on the rest of the country or secession by the region, reports Sapa.

Our Political Correspondent reports from Cape town that government is likely to block any attempt to hold a referendum in Natal/KwaZulu, a well-placed government source said yesterday.

And NP information chief Johan Steenkamp said NP MPs in Natal were fully behind President F W de Klerk's criticism of Buthelezi's constitutional initiative.

NEGOTIATIONS (HH) (304A)

Setting the targets FM 4/12/92

Despite Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's autonomous regional initiative — apparently designed to pre-empt constitutional talks — the negotiations process looked set for a major boost at this week's summit between government and the ANC. Their three-day *bosberaad* was due to kick off at a secret venue as the *FM* went to press. Buthelezi's announcement seemed timed to steal its thunder.

A day earlier, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer had attacked Buthelezi for, in effect, preventing the very multiparty conference Buthelezi was so urgently demanding should be set up in January. (Government's target is February, the ANC would prefer later this month.) Inkatha had for weeks "avoided and refused" government's attempts to restart talks with it, said Meyer. An example was its unilateral cancellation of a meeting with government on September 28 and one set down for November 18 with the Concerned Citizens Group, headed by Inkatha.

Inkatha replied that it was government and its "friend" the ANC that were holding up talks and that it was the ANC that had walked out of Codesa. Buthelezi clearly remains riled at what he (wrongly) perceives to be his exclusion from decision-making. He is rapidly becoming the main obstacle to the formation of a new government.

The ANC, meanwhile, said rather implausibly on Tuesday that it was unaware of a preparatory meeting its task group was meant to have had with Inkatha on Monday, to prepare for the summit between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi. However, the meeting has now been scheduled for Wednesday in Durban. Whether Buthelezi's announcement pertaining to a Natal/KwaZulu referendum will affect this was not clear when the *FM* went to press.

In announcing a timetable for the setting up of a government of national unity, President F W de Klerk last week warned that failure to reach agreement about this would lead to "other ways and means" being found to bring one about. This would seem pertinent, not least in the light of Buthelezi's latest stance — though he could precipitate a crisis if he chooses to remain aloof from the process.

Buthelezi will, no doubt, have inserted himself on to the agenda of the ANC-government summit this week, which is a follow-up to agreements reached in their Record of Understanding in September. Among the issues to be tackled are the "modalities" leading to an elected interim government and the question of violence. Both sides are keen for new momentum to be injected into the process, which prior resolution of matters is bound to do.

For government, however, the question of disbanding private armies such as Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is a critical issue — compounded by the fact that the ANC recently sent 1 000 cadres for military training in Uganda. (The charitable interpretation of this move is that the ANC wants somewhat more numbers than the present ragbag in MK to integrate into a common defence force when the time comes). Ability to resolve this issue would mean progress indeed.

They are closer on preparatory and constitutional matters, such as the negotiating multiparty forum and regional government powers. And the ANC believes its interim government proposals to be most accommodating; it expects similar generosity of spirit from government.

While the ANC has slammed De Klerk's (realistic) election target date of April 1994 as too far away, this is only about six months longer than the ANC's and should be bridgeable, especially since government has said it was flexible on a date. In presenting his transition timetable last week, De Klerk said the main question in debating further constitutional reform centres on "the timing of the process which will lead to the installation of a government of national unity."

This "fully representative" government should be in place "no later" than the first half of 1994. It will function in terms of a transitional constitution, which would also provide for an elected parliament and executive.

Stepping stones

De Klerk outlined the steps that should precede the setting up of a national unity government:

☐ Before the end of February: Complete bilateral discussions across a broad spectrum of parties aimed at the resumption of negotiations, whether in a new forum or a restructured Codesa;

☐ Before end-March: Convene multilateral negotiating forum;

☐ By end-May: Conclude multilateral agreements on a transitional constitution (including constitution-making procedures and principles and regional governments), Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;

☐ May/June: Adopt legislation for the Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;

☐ June: Institute Transitional Executive Council and Election Commission;

☐ Before end-September: enact transitional constitution, which also provides for a constitution-making body;

☐ Before end-October 1993: Formulate and promulgate election rules and regulations; and

☐ By March/April 1994: Playing field to be levelled, free participation ensured, violence to be contained, party political campaigns to be organised and concluded, logistical preparations to be made and voter information campaigns conducted for the election.

Meeting these target dates, said De Klerk, would depend on the co-operation and commitment of the other major parties. Rapid progress could lead to a government of national unity being set up earlier. Failure and delay would exacerbate political, economic and social problems. "Should this happen, other ways and means will have to be found to bring about a government of national unity so that constitutional reform continues without delay," warned De Klerk. ■

POLITICS

Playing with fire

FM 4/12/92

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's announcement of plans for the adoption of regional constitution is the first tangible step in what he has been threatening for a long time — namely, to go it alone. In a hard-hitting address at an Ulundi press conference on Tuesday, Buthelezi (Chief Minister of KwaZulu and Inkatha Freedom Party leader) announced a special two-day sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly to "pass urgent legislation."

He claimed that a regional constitution would lead either to acceptance in its entirety of the region's federal position, or expose the "the game of government and the ANC/Communist alliance."

Buthelezi said he believed he would be taking the initiative by creating a KwaZulu/Natal negotiating base, which could formulate proposals for the kind of central government to which the region would be prepared to devolve some of its regional powers — powers which are there, he says, by dint of historic precedent and political reality.

He also reiterated his outright rejection of President F W de Klerk's and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's "unilateral agreement" to create an elected constituent assembly as a constitution-making body. He stressed that he'd cut all negotiating ties with government and the ANC, in terms of constitutional negotiations, until the whole matter of government dealing bilaterally with the ANC had been resolved and a multiparty conference is convened to deal with the constitution. "It is only in a multiparty conference that we can possibly now find a way forward."

Detailing his constitutional plans, Buthelezi said he was proposing picking up where the Buthelezi Commission and the Natal Indaba left off. "The time has arrived for us to establish a Natal/KwaZulu-proposed constitution and spell out the national requirements as we see them in order to make that constitution a reality," he said.

The first step would be the adoption of the constitution by the IFP, KwaZulu Government and the Joint Executive Authority of Natal — a consensus-based statutory body that was established to develop permanent co-operation between the Natal provincial and KwaZulu administrations.

The next stage in the process would be a referendum, possibly within 30 days of adoption. Once adopted provincially, the constitution would be canvassed nationally. The result, said Buthelezi, would be a document undersigned by "millions of people" and the national negotiating process would be forced to take account of this reality.

Early reaction to the proposal was less than starry-eyed. DP spokesman on local and regional government Jasper Walsh says the proposal smacks of Buthelezi attempting to go it alone, and this would be in contradiction to the national effort.

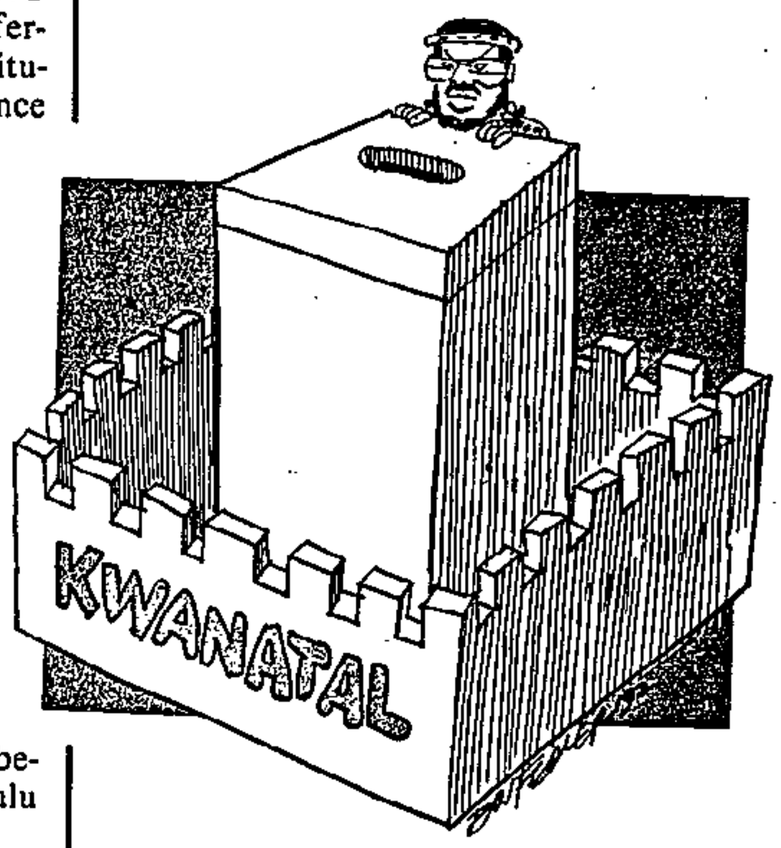
Says Walsh: "Our first priority must be to devise a national constitution. Thereafter regional negotiations will play an important part and the one need not wait for the other, but nor should it force the pace. We support local negotiations towards regional solutions. But clearly this must be within the framework of a nationally approved constitution.

"Clearly difficulties can arise where a strong regional proposal is in conflict with what is agreed upon at a national level. However, we would caution against attempting to reach a conclusion regionally at a time when we're about to re-open multiparty negotiations on a national constitution."

Walsh stressed his concern at what appeared to be an attempt to put pressure on national negotiations — but that is exactly what Buthelezi is trying to do and he's making no bones about it.

Walsh adds that it would be nice if he were just confirming that such a constitution was within a framework of anything agreed at a national level.

Wits University's Tom Lodge wonders why Buthelezi is being so confrontational



about the issue, when some form of regional government is already on the agenda of the (national) constitutional talks.

Buthelezi's plan to pick up from where the Natal Indaba left off assumes that nothing has changed, says Lodge. Would there be the same level of support that businessmen and others gave the plan in the mid-Eighties? Lodge also points out that blacks in Natal are bitterly divided (between the ANC and Inkatha) and that reactions to the plan might well be quite different now. Relaunching the KwaNatal Indaba therefore seems absurd.

Buthelezi is clearly thinking in terms of consociational federalism, in which the centre has virtually no control over regions — a notion that simply will not fly. Where, in any event, is the tax base for such a plan in Kwazulu/Natal?

Buthelezi does not head a fiscally self-sufficient administration, and could simply be cut off by Pretoria, which pays for the KwaZulu Police.

Yet there may well be an element of bluff and threat in Buthelezi's announcement. Miffed at being left out, as he sees it, from the government/ANC understandings, this may simply be a warning to them to sit up and take notice of him. ■

DEVELOPMENT

Beyond the feuding

Development Bank of Southern Africa chairman-designate Wiseman Nkuhlu says an independent panel to co-ordinate the efforts of development agencies and determine priorities is essential if an interim government is to have any chance of tackling demands.

In an interview with the *FM* this week he outlined, for the first time, proposals he will make to major political players and development agencies for the establishment of what will in effect be a national commission for economic restructuring and development.

It will be more than an advisory body and could put members in a position to influence government spending, economic restructuring and development strategies.

FM 4/12/92

Energy and resources

Nkuhlu, who is also CEO-designate of the Independent Development Trust and on several corporate boards, including Barlows, Old Mutual, Genbel and Standard Bank, believes the interim government — the first phase of which is expected in the first half of next year — will not be able to devote the necessary energy and resources to development.

There's a danger that it will face massive demands and high expectations but have no development programme to implement, no way of determining priorities and will be unable to make significant progress on development issues while also wrestling with the creation of a new constitution.

cont—p

'Optimism takes a dive' (304A)

STAR 4/12/92

By Michael Chester

New surveys show levels of optimism among both blacks and whites about the outlook for SA have been battered by outbreaks of violence, political stalemates and bad economic news.

Research Surveys revealed yesterday that the optimism which reached a peak about three years ago — encouraged by Government pledges of reform and the release of Nelson Mandela — had melted.

The gradual decline had been underscored by regular nationwide surveys to assess changes in the attitudes of white and black adults towards the outlook, compared with six months earlier.

In February 1990, 60 percent of black males said they were more optimistic. A new repeat survey showed the proportion had sunk to 27 percent.

The numbers voicing less optimism grew from 14 percent to 30 percent.

The number of white males showing more optimism about the outlook stood at 49 percent in November 1989, sank to 34 percent in February 1990 and climbed to 44 percent in April 1992 — but had now fallen to 20 percent.

The proportion made less optimistic by events over the past six months had grown from 28 percent to 51 percent.

Research Surveys executive Binky Kellas said: "Hopes for the future have plummeted.

Kellas said: "However, announcements of intentions to restart negotiations towards an interim government, lower interest rates and decreasing inflation, may lift the mood slightly."

ET's back on the warpath

W|Mail 4/12-10/12/92 (SAA)

By JAN TALJAARD

THE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader, Eugene Terre'Blanche, is on the roll again. Ever the survivor and opportunist, he is capitalising on recent events to establish a waning AWB once again as a force on the far, far right.

Clear-eyed and looking almost spruce for the first time since the Jani Allan court case, he embarked this week on a series of public meetings, taking in the recently embattled Nylstroom with a view to ending up in King William's Town next Wednesday.

With the fiery pre-Allan oratorical style seemingly in place again, peppered with racist insults, the message of the meetings is decidedly martial. Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, ("Judge Gabriel, De Klerk's little Jew, Goldstone"), the Pan Africanist Congress, the Broederbond, traditional Afrikaans churches and even the Conservative Party are all in the firing line.

Addressing a crowd of about 400 people at Nylstroom on Wednesday night, he told them that the AWB accepted the declaration of war issued by Azanian People's Liberation Army at King William's Town.

Referring to "the taunting little round Bushman, Benny Alexander", Terre'Blanche said: "You have declared war on my people. We accept this declaration of war. We will level you (*gelyk blaas*) with the stones."

Then, to the khaki-clad listeners: "You must clean your rifles, you must get your structures in order. They have declared war. They are definitely coming. The hour is close now.

"Peace is not coming to South Africa. Instead there will be a bloody war the likes of which Africa has never seen, not in the Belgian Congo or Katanga."

Pronouncing the *Boervolk* to be dead and in need of resurrection, Terre'Blanche also stated that a new Day of the Vow is needed as the one entered into by Sarel Cilliers before the Battle of Blood River is not relevant anymore.

"We cannot enter the war without a vow," he said. "(On December 16) I will ask the Lord himself to be the general and you and me the corporals."

According to him the new vow is in the process of being drawn up by far-right theologians such as AWB "chaplain," Reverend Coenie Snyman.

Claiming a membership of 34 000 for the AWB's commandos, Terre'Blanche said they are all being called up to attend the Day of the Vow at the Barnard stadium in Kempton Park.

How many of these "members" will eventually turn up, remains to be seen. Earlier this year Terre'Blanche issued similar "call-up instructions" to every member of the commandos to attend a two-day event at Klerksdorp billed as the "World Congress of the AWB".

In the end the event, which he dearly wanted to be a show of force, was attended by about 500 uniformed members and an added 300 or so hangers-on. For the upcoming show of force, he seems to be strategically more shrewd. Up to 70 percent of the AWB's membership may be seated in the large sub-economic class of whites on the East Rand.

Mandela and de Klerk see time running out

Guardian/W. su w/mail 4/12 - 10/12/92 (3044)

By Stanley Uys

The ANC and the government last Friday began a series of bilateral meetings to prepare the ground for a resumption of constitutional negotiations, *our correspondent writes from Johannesburg.*

The minister of constitutional development, Roelf Meyer, and the ANC general secretary, Cyril Ramaphosa, said afterwards that the two sides would be holding another three-day meeting this week and further talks in January.

The move follows canaliatory gestures from both sides. President de Klerk had reacted to the ANC's offer to enter a limited power-sharing agreement with the government and to offer employment guarantees to the security forces and civil service by calling for negotiations to be restarted by the end of March next year and South Africa's first non-racial general election by April 1994 at the latest.

MULTI-PARTY negotiations have been at a standstill in South Africa now for more than six months, and the country is immersed in deep gloom. But hope may be around the corner.

The private, bilateral talks between the government and the African National Congress were interrupted only briefly by the ANC's decision to withdraw from multi-party negotiations after the Boipatong and Bisho massacres. Now, after further bilaterals, the two sides are ready for multi-party talks again — not as Codesa 3, but under some other name. The rest of the 19 Codesa participants will probably rejoin, accompanied by one or two newcomers, such as the Pan Africanist Congress or the rightwing Afrikaner Volks Unie.

Both President F.W. de Klerk and the ANC's Thabo Mbeki have been saying that the new Multi-Party Forum (MPF) may assemble before Christmas or early in the new year. One of its first tasks will be to form a transitional executive council to function as a watchdog over select government departments, including the security forces. The council, likely to be established by mid-1993, will be composed of major MPF participants, with President de Klerk co-opting outsiders as well. The other major function of the MPF will be to prepare for one-man-one-vote elections for a Constitution-Making Body (CMB). The government, however, is saying that the elections cannot be held before late 1993 or early 1994, and some cynics think they might be postponed for the foreseeable future.

The CMB's deliberations could extend over several years, and meanwhile everyone will go through a learning experience in power sharing. By the time a new institution is put in place, the ANC's "sunset clauses" for South Africa's five million whites might well be little more than an extension of the status quo. So de Klerk could share the driver's seat with the ANC president Nelson Mandela, or his successor, at least for the rest of this century.

It will not matter much by then how power is distributed among the other players, like Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, because the deal will have been worked out in a series of parallel bilaterals between the government and the main parties on the one hand, and between the ANC and the main parties on the other. The ANC has already held bilaterals with the PAC, the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana homeland leaders, and the Afrikaner Volks Unie, although not yet with Buthelezi. The purpose of the MPF will be to rubber-stamp the more detailed decisions to be taken at the *bosberaad* (bush scrum) between the ANC and the government on December 1-5.

The ANC has five to 10 years of power sharing in mind, but it may well find that maintaining an economy viable enough to meet even some of the expectations of the black community will be beyond the capacity of an inexperienced liberation movement and that a swim-or-sink coalition with the National Party is required.

All this is very different from the demand for majority rule that has been official ANC policy. The deal struck with de Klerk is not cut and dried. The ANC, for example, wants the new post-apartheid constitution to be written by the elected CMB, in which it and other unitary state proponents will be the dominant grouping, whereas de Klerk wants the MPF, in which he and the federalists will be in the majority, to write the basic principles of a federal constitution. If de Klerk gets his way, the election of a CMB will not be the watershed event the ANC expects it to be: the new constitution will have been largely written by then.

Nor has agreement been reached yet between the ANC and NP on what power sharing means. The ANC wants to limit power sharing to specific governmental areas, such as the budget, whereas de Klerk wants it to be uncontained. There is still a lot of tough bargaining ahead, therefore, but the hard fact is that the ANC is making an historic concession to suspend its demand for majority rule. Mandela spelt out the essentials in his famous memorandum from prison in 1989, when he acknowledged that the demand by blacks for majority rule would have to be modified by structural guarantees for the white minority. It was left to Joe Slovo, chairman of the SA Communist Party, to spell it out unambiguously: "Compulsory power sharing for a fixed number of years in the period immediately following the adoption of the constitution."

Two days after Judge Goldstone issued his bombshell report on dirty tricks in military intelligence, the ANC's 25-member national working committee (cabinet) adopted a document, "Strategic Perspective". The document contains these frank words: "We also need to accept the fact that even after the adoption of a new constitution, the balance of forces, and the interests of the country as a whole, may still require us to consider the establishment of a government of national unity, provided that the parties that have lost the elections will not be able to paralyse the functioning of government."

This is a major philosophic shift. Instead of demanding majority rule as the climax of the negotiations process, the ANC is concerned now to protect the new democratic state that will arise under its leadership. It accepts that revolutionary overthrow of the government is not an option, that "mass action" is not an option either if it harbours this aim, and that the white bureaucracy and the security forces have the capacity to undermine the new democracy. So it has come to terms with these realities.

This is the new perspective in which the ANC is viewing not only the remorseless violence in the country, but also the involvement of the security forces. It knows that the Goldstone report touched the nerve centre of dirty tricks with its report on military intelligence, but it also knows that there is no way in which de Klerk can confront the military head-on and win. At best, he can try to winkle out the subversive generals one by one.

The ANC has looked beyond de Klerk and seen the abyss. It knows that if it forces de Klerk into a corner on the violence issue, either de Klerk will withdraw into the white laager, because he cannot deliver the white constituency to ANC demands, or else he will take on the generals collectively and most likely be broken by them. The ANC is not sure what to do. Its official statement on de Klerk's handling of the Goldstone report described the counter-measures as a sham, but Mandela himself said it was an encouraging step forward. If de Klerk is broken in the struggle, the ANC will face the generals head on, and some of them are just as ready as the black radicals to slug it out on the streets.

The ANC will be accused now by its radicals of selling out. Slovo's article in the African Communist and the Strategic Perspective document have gone down like a lump of lead with the activists. But Mandela and the moderates/pragmatists believe they have enough heavyweight opinion behind them, internally and internationally, to force the choice on the national executive committee.

They see time running out on them: the longer a settlement is delayed, the more the ANC will splinter into factions (already some of its returned military cadres are out of control, and some branch and regional structures are becoming rebellious), the more the economy will slide downhill, the more foreign investors will keep their distance, and the more ungovernable South Africa will become.

If Mandela can deliver the black constituency to the deal that has been cut, and if de Klerk can deliver the white constituency, the new constitutional arrangement with its concept of power sharing will be unique in Africa.

Much expected from 'Lekgotla'

■ Hopes for resumption of talks:

Sowetan 4/12/92.

THE ANC and Government emerge from a crucial three-day meeting today to great expectations from South Africans for the speedy resumption of multiparty negotiations.

The three-day *lekgotla* focussed on "outstanding issues" between the two parties and sources in both parties were confident earlier this week that at least a date for the resumption of talks can be secured in the meeting.

Whatever agreements the two parties reached, they will still have to wait for two meetings between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress and President FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

No meeting on talks - PAC

■ Movement's armed struggle continues, says Alexander:

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday refuted reports that it was holding an emergency meeting to discuss the Government's suspension of talks with the organisation.

Secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander said the movement had not received any letter from the Government informing it of the suspension.

"As far as we are concerned, our meeting with the regime on December 9 has not been officially cancelled. It is only when we receive an official notification from the regime that the meeting is cancelled, that we will discuss the matter in our normal monthly meetings," he said.

He said the PAC was committed to a democratic solution of the country's problems through a democratically elected constituent assembly.

He also reminded the Government that Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha had publicly admitted that the PAC had not agreed to ending its armed campaign, and had added that further talks would be held in this regard.

The organisation also said Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel's statement was ill-timed as he had not considered its consequences on the business community.

"Since the media played up the issue of King William's Town killings and forced the PAC into making public statements, the financial rand fell sharply against the US dollar.

"This was so mainly because as a result of financial rand selling by Swiss and German investors in response to the incident.

"If Apla leads investor trends through a single alleged incident, Mr Kriel should know that further Apla activities will easily spark a flight of capital."

Hope for talks in February

304A
CT 5/12/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC are hopeful that multi-party talks will be back on track by February after "good progress" was made at the government/ANC "bosberaad" which ended yesterday.

Negotiators were in an upbeat mood last night after three days of bargaining in the bush but said it would be premature to suggest that the two parties had "reached a deal" on a step-by-step transition to democratic elections.

The delegation leaders, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said after the day meeting that follow-up talks would be held during the second half of January, when the problem of political violence would be intensively addressed.

A date for the possible installation of an interim government of national unity was also discussed but no finality was reached on the sensitive issue, which will be discussed further before the January meeting.

President F W de Klerk is slated to meet Inkatha's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leadrs on Thursday next week — a meeting which the government hopes will pave the way for a return to full-blown negotiations by the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has been showing signs recently of opting for a go-it-alone option.

However, cabinet sources were adamant last night that the planned bilateral meeting next Wednesday between the government and the PAC was definitely off if the PAC did not come up with a satisfactory response to its stand on violence and its relationship with its military wing, Apla.

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa said the two sides had reached agreement on the need for a speedy movement to a democratic dispensation.

"To this end every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form. The two parties reaffirmed their commitment to the agreements already reached at Codesa," the statement said.

Meanwhile, Mr De Klerk yesterday said he was confident that the government would succeed in adhering to the transitional timetable he had set out earlier.

He said he was hopeful that multi-party talks would be back on track soon.

● A delegation of National Party MPs, led by Mr George Bartlett, leader of the NP in Natal, visited Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi yesterday.

It is believed that there is concern in the National Party camp because of the enthusiastic reaction Chief Buthelezi's proposals on federalism have received in NP circles in Natal.

It's Orania, or bust

304A
ARGS 1/12/92

■ As rumblings came this week about KwaZulu Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat to "go it alone" in a new South Africa, rightwing homelanders are preparing to assert their claim for going their own way in an Afrikaner *volkstaat* in the north-western Cape.

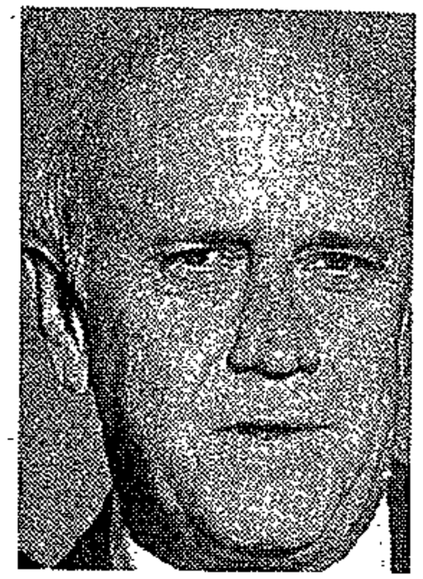
FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent



Chief Buthelezi



Dr Carel Boshoff



Mr F W de Kerk



Cyrus Vance

Afrikaner rightwingers vow to set up 'homeland'

PROFESSOR Carel Boshoff, pioneer of the ideal of an independent Afrikaner homeland, has set his sights on multiparty negotiations early next year to push ahead with his claims for self-determination.

He told Weekend Argus this week he hoped to be at the table when negotiations were resumed in terms of President De Klerk's proposed timetable for change.

In the meantime, he and members of his rightwing Afrikanervryheidstigting (Avstig) are pushing ahead with determined efforts to seek worldwide support for their plan.

They are making their proposals for an Afrikaner *volkstaat* in the arid north-western Cape, fast becoming known to political leaders, officials and ordinary people ranging from the African National Congress (ANC) to the United Nations and millions of Japanese television viewers.

Professor Boshoff said President De Klerk's proposed target dates for transition were important to his organisation which now had to get ready to play its role by making its viewpoints known as widely as possible and proving that its proposed plan was viable.

Earlier this year, Avstig formally entered South Africa's constitutional negotiations by submitting a report to Codesa's working group 2.

This week, Professor Boshoff had talks with United Nations' special representative Mr Tom Vraalsen, a Norwegian diplomat sent on a mission to South Africa as special representative of UN secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Before the meeting, arranged through the South African foreign affairs department, Professor Boshoff told Weekend Argus he intended to convey to Mr Vraalsen the idea that foreign representatives should recognise the different claims made by different peoples and groupings in South Africa.

In doing so, they would help to create a climate for peaceful negotiations.

The ANC also should be urged to recognise the claims of others.

Earlier this year, Professor Boshoff put the case for a *volkstaat* to UN special envoy Mr Cyrus Vance during his mission to South Africa.

Professor Boshoff told him the Afrikaner's claim to self-determination should be taken into account in decisions on South Africa.

Speaking this week from Orania — the proposed Afrikaner homeland's first permanent settlement on the banks of the Orange River — Professor Boshoff said much interest in his organisation's homeland proposals were being shown in South Africa and abroad.

This week, a Japanese television crew of three men and a woman arrived at Orania to film and to interview some of the modern-day voortrekkers who dream of opting out of the "new South Africa."

Professor Boshoff was among those interviewed. Others included his son, Mr Carel Boshoff jun, and Professor Andries Raath, Avstig's constitutional specialist.

Regarding his organisation's negotiations with the ANC, Professor Boshoff said Avstig had tried to explain its homeland proposals and emphasised its desire for peaceful settlement that also would satisfy the aspirations of Afrikaner homelanders. The talks with the ANC had taken place cordially.

Professor Boshoff said members with whom Avstig had talks in Cape Town included Professor Kader Asmal, an ANC national executive member and a UWC professor of human rights law.

In August this year, another ANC national executive member and negotiator, Mr Mohamed Valli Moosa, was among speakers at a symposium arranged by Avstig at Stellenbosch on the concept of an independent Afrikaner homeland.

Professor H W van der Merwe, of the Centre for Intergroup Studies at the University of Cape Town, played a key role as mediator and facilitator in getting negotiations between Avstig and the ANC off the ground.

He said a policy shift by Avstig, which made its Afrikaner *volkstaat* proposals negotiable, could be related partly to direct contact between its leaders and the ANC leadership.

An Avstig representative had approached the Centre for Intergroup Studies in September last year with a request to be introduced to black leaders. This was passed on to ANC leaders in the Western Cape, who responded "enthusiastically."

As a first step, Professor Van der Merwe met a delegation of six Western Cape members of Avstig, which included their regional chairman, Mr Pieter Grobbelaar, and Mr Hendrik Boshoff, a grandson of Dr H F Verwoerd.

This was followed by meetings at the centre in October and November last year, which were attended by regional and national leaders of Avstig and the ANC.

Among Avstig's viewpoints were:

■ It no longer insisted on complete political independence as a precondition to negotiation;

■ Avstig also abandoned the idea of a white homeland. It decided to state publicly that the concept of "Afrikaner" was not racist, and that there could also be brown and black Afrikaners;

■ An implication of this was that now there would be no forced removals of people of colour from the proposed *volkstaat*;

■ Avstig no longer demanded that the area be populated by Afrikaners only, but merely that there be a majority of Afrikaners, and,

■ In contrast to most other rightwing groups, Avstig decided to take part in the negotiation process, and submitted its proposals to Codesa 2.

ANC, Govt close after Indaba

Shared commitment to addressing problems

Star 5/12/92

DALE LAUTENBACH, ESTHER WAUGH and PETER FABRICIUS

A STRONG and shared commitment to addressing the problems facing South Africa was the message that emerged from the three-day "bosberaad" between the African National Congress and the Government.

Government sources stressed there had been no bilateral deals and no agreements. But they indicated that, despite differences, both sides had found common cause and a partner with whom they could once again work seriously.

The need to get back to a multilateral forum was stressed, however, and much of the time was apparently spent addressing this.

Interestingly, there seemed a rapprochement on the form of the new multilateral forum. ANC president Nelson Mandela said last week that Codesa was an adequate instrument and should not be changed.

But in a joint statement after the "bosberaad", the ANC and the Government said "every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form".

It was understood that this restructuring would involve making the alterations necessary to incorporate parties, such as the Pan Africanist Congress, which did not attend Codesa 2.

The Government had previously been inclined to support greater changes to the Codesa formula.

A second "bosberaad" will take place in the second half of January and the issue of violence will top the agenda. In the interim, contact will continue and subcommittees will work on specific areas.

Damaging events

Government sources were confident that despite the two potentially damaging events of the week — the unilateral KwaZulu-Natal constitutional proposals and the attacks for which the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, was suspected — South Africa was now closer to a multilateral forum than before.

The Government remains adamant that the PAC has to make its position on violence and its armed wing absolutely clear before meetings between the two can resume. As a result, the planned meeting between the Government and the PAC scheduled for Wednesday is still in the balance pending a PAC clarification.

As for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Government sources were confident that its KwaZulu-Natal proposals would embolden it to come to the negotiating table.

A meeting between President F W de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is set for Thursday. This follows De Klerk's reaction to the IFP proposals, in which he expressed concern that such unilateralism could spur violence.

Although the "bosberaad" — not attended by Mandela or De Klerk — did not complete the agenda, the outstanding issues are to be discussed by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The two sides did agree on an extensive agenda for ending the violence which would be comprehensively discussed at the joint meeting next month, the sources said.

A senior source close to the negotiations denied there was any political significance in the absence of Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee. This was due to pressure of work, they said.

Coetsee's absence raised eyebrows at the meeting, as he is known to be a conservative.

ANC, govt in 'warm' parley — but no deal

TRC 5/12/92

DALE LAUTENBACH, Political Staff

3044

PRETORIA. — A strong and shared commitment to address problems facing South Africa emerged from the three-day ANC-government bosberaad.

Government sources stressed there had been no bilateral deal but suggested that despite differences the two parties had found common cause. And each side had found a partner with whom it could again work seriously.

The sources described dialogue at the secret bushveld getaway as "adult" — and a "warm communication". But they said a need to get back to a multilateral forum was stressed. Apparently much time was spent addressing this problem.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said last week Codesa was an adequate instrument and should be used unchanged.

In a joint statement following the bosberaad, the ANC and the government said "every effort should be made to ensure the resumption of Codesa in a restructured and more representative form".

It was understood the need to bring in parties like the hitherto absent PAC was discussed.

A second bosberaad is scheduled for the second half of January. Highest on the agenda will be the issue of violence.

A meeting between President De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is scheduled for December 10. This follows Mr De Klerk's statement that KwaZulu-Natal proposals could spur violence rather than resolve the problem.

December 5 to December 9 1992

ANC eyes the elections

South 5/12-9/12/92 (#A) (304A)

By Quentin Wilson

THE ANC and NP meet this week in an attempt to get negotiations back on track — but whatever the outcome of the bosberaad the ANC in the Western Cape is pushing ahead with it biggest campaign yet.

The ANC Western Cape's preparations for a democratic, non-racial election were formulated last weekend — regardless of whether the "bosberaad" moves closer to such an election or not.

The organisation has pledged to train 25 000 people over the next 10 months in the art of capturing votes from the region's 2,25 million potential voters.

According to workshop participant and national executive member Mr Trevor Manuel, September 1993 is the date forecast by the ANC for South Africa's first democratic election.

"We have never been in a campaign of this nature. During tri-cameral elections, it has been fairly easy to appeal to people to stay at home and not to vote," he said.

"But this is not a passive campaign: people must get out their homes and exercise their democratic right.

"In Mitchells Plain only 2,5 percent of registered voters cast votes in the 1989 election. That was a big victory for us, but now in a non-racial election we are asking for a 100 percent poll from Mitchells Plain."

According to the ANC schedule, structures will be in place by the end of February to co-ordinate its election machinery.

"If democracy loses in this election, that is, if there is a low poll, then the struggles of the past decades would have been in vain. We owe it to ourselves to make this election a success. Everybody must vote."

Manuel said the ANC was expecting an upsurge in violence in the run-up to the election, even in the Western Cape, and that part of its campaign would be to prepare for this.

Inflexible charter doomed

TONY LEON says Inkatha's proposed constitution for Kwazulu/Natal is too dangerous to ignore and too problematic to implement

S/Times 6/12/92

BACK in 1973, when federalism barely registered on our political radar screens, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi saw it as an instrument for spanning the great divides of our society. He went further and began to mobilise black opinion in favour of a federal dispensation.

When the government opposed the granting of universal franchise in a context of regional and local autonomy, Buthelezi again pioneered consensus and consociational politics with his own commission in 1982 and the trail-blazing Kwazulu/Natal Indaba of 1986.

Thus Chief Buthelezi's pedigree as a federalist is impeccable.

Yet the "Constitution of the State of Kwazulu/Natal", published this week in Ulundi, has unleashed a firestorm of criticism. Timing is everything in politics. Perhaps it was no coincidence that the day of the bloody ANC march on Bisho in September was the same day President de Klerk summoned federalists to convene in Pretoria. Likewise, Chief Buthelezi's latest initiative coincided with the start of a government/ANC "bosberaad" attempting to restart negotiations. There is also a delicious irony in the fact that Buthelezi's latest salvo was launched from a toothless legislative assembly in Ulundi — designed by the mad scientists of apartheid to subjugate and divide black aspirations.

But if timing is the one guiding force of politics, then context is the other. Whereas Buthelezi's previous intitiatives were multilateral in design and consensual by nature, his latest charter is defiantly unilateral and vehemently final. The chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr FT Mdlalose, sounded an ominous warning when he introduced the document:

"With final ratification (through referendum) the constitution will become the supreme law of the land and will stand as such regardless, and in spite of, whatever course the negotiations at central level will take."

Yet it was the IFP, less than a year ago, which objected to Codesa's declaration of intent on the basis that it pre-empted negotiations by prescribing a unitary state. But Buthelezi now visits the very sin of prescriptiveness on his brand of federalism. It establishes a draft of rights and powers for the state of Kwazulu/Natal and forbids encroachment on them by the yet-to-be-created federal republic of South Africa. It admits of no negotiations or amendments or flexibility.

Although Alexander Hamilton is quoted with approval by the IFP on constitution-making, its drafters blithely ignore the great American's warning on the "evils of a central government too dependent on the states, too much governed by its humours ... till the union is dissolved and weakened".

In Buthelezi's new state, no tax or charge can be levied by the central government without local approval; no army or police force may enter the territory without the state governor's permission and no power may be exercised at the centre which is inconsistent with his constitution. Such rigidity and inflexibility seems doomed at the outset: It ignores the sage advice that constitititions which do not bend will untimately break.

Back in 1788, faced with state demands of a similar kind, Madison warned the fledgling United States of America that such a constitition "would make it impossibel for any government to defend itself and to preserve the union". Had Madison not prevailed, it would have been impossible for President Eisenhower in 1956 to have enforced the desegregation orders of the Supreme Court in the high school in Little Rock, Arkansas. Equally, President Roosevelt would never have financed the lend-lease lifeline which kept Britain alive in the dark, early days of World War 2.

All constitutions require balance. The American one, perhaps the most flexible and successful governmental structure in human history, displays the necessary compromise between the demand for state rights and the needs of the greater union. The Ulundi document fails this test by destroying this balance.

The squandered constitutional chances and missed opportunities of the past year have now reached a bizarre apotheosis in the Ulundi document. It is too dangerous to ignore — and too problematic to implement.

● *Tony Leon is the Democratic Party MP for Houghton.*

Push for earlier election

S/Times 6/12/92.

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators emerged from three days of talks at the D'Nyala game reserve in the Northern Transvaal committed to bringing forward the date for a democratic election.

While the government had pencilled in March or April 1994 as a potential date, the ANC's starting point had been September 21 next year.

Both parties agreed to impress upon their principals the need for accelerating the transition process, with a view to an election in December 1993 or early 1994.

Negotiators from both sides yesterday expressed satisfaction at the progress made during the talks, which they said had been characterised by a new sense of co-operation and pragmatism.

They said they had realised that they had a shared responsibility to ensure that a democracy was in place as soon as possible.

However, they were keen to stress that no "deals" had been done.

Any agreements reached between the two parties would be put forward as recommendations at multiparty talks and would not be binding on the other parties, negotiators said.

Crucial

However, it is unlikely that any position jointly endorsed by the two major players could be successfully challenged by the minor players at Codesa.

ANC and government negotiators will now meet continuously in smaller groups to thrash out the finer details for a transition.

The final package, which includes legislation, will be presented to a joint committee 10 days before a five-day *bosberaad* on January 20 next year.

This five-day meeting will be crucial in finalising the ANC/government agreement that will be taken to Codesa.

Progress was also made this week on the government's two major concerns — power sharing and regionalism. The government had wanted to include guarantees on these two issues in constitutional principles — which would guide the constitution-making body — but it was agreed that these concerns could be addressed in other ways and would not be included in the guiding principles.

Adamant

The two parties also agreed that a more representative and efficient Codesa should be established before the end of February. In order to speed up multiparty talks, the Codesa management committee would be able to endorse agreements without going the long route to a Codesa plenary.

While both sides recognised the importance of all political parties and relevant organisations being present at Codesa, they stressed that they would not allow the process to be derailed or slowed down.

President FW de Klerk will meet IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope on Thursday. The government hopes that, following this, bilateral talks could be held with Inkatha to resolve problems the party has with returning to multiparty negotiations.

However, the government is adamant that Inkatha's proposals for an autonomous Kwazulu/-Natal region would have to be presented for consideration at Codesa and could not be implemented unilaterally.

While the government is also keen to bring the Pan Africanist Congress on board, it will refuse to meet the PAC on Wednesday this week unless the organisation clarifies its position on violence.

'We will speed up the talks'

By THEMBA KHUMALO and SBU' MNGADI

A POSITIVE note was struck this week when the ANC emerged from "bush talks" with the government confident elections for democratic rule would be held in 1993.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday on the outcome of their secret meeting with senior government officials, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa said the two parties had found common ground on various issues over which they differed before.

"We agreed to work for the speedy resumption of multilateral negotiations. We have established sub-committees that will report to a joint committee on a number of issues 10 days before our second encounter in January next year," he said.

Tasks of these committees include setting up media and electoral commissions, and determining the structure and functions of the transitional executive committee and the constitution-making body.

Ramaphosa said it was also agreed to go back to Codesa and restructure it to accommodate the parties that stayed outside the convention. These include the PAC and Azapo.

Ramaphosa emphasised that bilateral decisions taken between them would not be imposed on other parties.

The question of time frames was discussed extensively and there was convergence of views on both parties that because the process had to be hastened it would be desirable that elections be held next year ... instead of running into 1994, he said.

Buthelezi pushes on with KwaZulu/Natal

By S'BU MNGADI

DEFIANT KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi is poised to push ahead with his UDI-style autonomy for the proposed state of KwaZulu/Natal, in spite of the negative reaction his plan has received from political opponents.

Buthelezi's constitution for the "state of KwaNatal", adopted by the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on Tuesday, is a constitution of a member state of an imaginary federal republic of SA.

Conservative constitutional experts from the United States, Prof Albert Blaustein and Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini, were instrumental in drawing up the constitution. Blaustein was ejected from the Inkatha delegation at Codesa earlier this year when other parties discoverd he was not a South African citizen.

Powers reserved for the federal government are listed in the constitution and the "state" is divided into autonomous regions. The constitution purports to create "a truly free, pluralistic and democratic society".

Pluralism within the state of KwaNatal is recognised by the entrenchment of territorial and personal autonomies and the constitution argues that most governmental functions are best exercised at regional level.

The constitution says the role of the state government shall be limited, and empowers the people as individuals and members of social and cultural formations to regulate their own interests.

The constitution recognises and guarantees the full list of internationally accepted human rights. It ensures real equality among all the citizens of the state who are free and equal before the law, irrespective of race, colour, creed, religions, sexual orientation and social and personal status.

"Democracy by itself is not sufficient without the blessing of pluralism. The constitution recognises and respects that civil society expresses itself in a plurality of forms," the constitution says.

The constitution recognises and protects the independence from the government and the autonomy of: schools, institutions of higher culture, religious activities, private charities, leisure and sports organisations, professional associations, trade union and labour organisations, chambers of commerce and mass communication media.

It creates a social state, not a socialistic state. "The state has the role to protect the less privileged and the most vulnerable segments of the population, as well as the fundamental needs of all citizens," it says.

"The role of the government shall be to regulate the private sector, not to operate it. The constitution mandates that all public enterprises which can be operated with comparable reliability and quality by the private sector shall be returned to the private sector.

"The constitution sets forth clear provisions structuring and promoting economic growth, common wealth and greater employment opportunities for all citizens. Private enterprise is fully guaranteed and assisted, and private property is fully protected."

The constitution mandates the role of democratic participation at all levels of political life. The people of the state shall be empowered to participate in all the decision-making processes which directly affect them.

"The state of KwaZulu/Natal is a relatively complex society in which different people express different political affiliations, cultures and social aspirations."

The role of political parties is kept within democratic parameters and the constitution discourages the formation of a political class of politicians who interpose themselves, with their own political agenda, between the people and the state.

The constitution recognises and protects the right of those who identify with traditional and customary law to live by their own set of rules, and respects the role of traditional leaders and court systems to create and administer such law.

SOWETAN Monday December 7 1992

NEWS Left and right expected to join a phoenix-like resurrected Codesa in the new year

Dramatic decision to resurrect Codesa

Soweten 7/12/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

304A

DUSTED OFF Salvage process of much-vaunted talks has begun:

CODESA WILL RESUME in February next year and will, in principle, include political parties such as the Pan Africanist Congress and Conservative Party.

Agreement has been reached between the Government and the ANC - the main protagonists in negotiations in the country - that Codesa must be salvaged, that agreements reached there had to be dusted off and implemented and that the forum must be made more inclusive, representative and effective.

The agreement, both parties emphasise, is not binding on any other parties involved in negotiations in the country and was part of a series of tenative accords which came out of last week's secret talks between Government and the ANC.

The talks, which ended on a high note last Friday, reached an understanding, too, on the crucial issue of elections to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly and a tentative agreement has been reached that such a poll should be held by the end of 1993.

While both parties accepted the principle that other parties in the country would have to make a contribution at a multi-party forum, there is also an overwhelming feeling that no single party should be allowed to slow down the process.

Last week's talks established smaller groups which will meet over the next month to temper other agreements, including possible legislation to facilitate the transition and which will be reviewed by another bi-lateral meeting late in January.

Agreements reached between the two will thereafter be put to a multi-party forum for ratification or amendment and endorsement by Codesa's management committee.

There are strong indications that the CP and its more liberal offshoot, the Afrikaner Volksunie, will attend Codesa.

Big 3 agree on a govt of unity

CT 7/12/92 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE country's first non-racial elections could be held before the end of next year following increased consensus between the government and the ANC.

South Africa's "big three" political parties last night gave their strongest backing to date for a government of national unity — at least for the first few years of transition.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Maputo yesterday that the government had agreed to hold elections before the end of next year. He was speaking after talks with Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano.

From page 1

Big 3 agree on unity

(304A)
CT 7/12/92

participants in the television programme "Slabbert on Sunday" shortly after the successful "bosberaad" between the government and the ANC and on the eve of this week's long-delayed meeting between Mr De Klerk and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

However, the parties continued to differ on whether it was desirable to have a power-sharing arrangement entrenched in the constitution and the length such a "political marriage" should last.

Mr De Klerk said that if a constitutionally entrenched government of national unity worked during the transitional period it might be adopted as a permanent feature in South Africa.

He said it was important for power-sharing between the major parties to be entrenched in the constitution because South Africa was emerging from a long period of conflict and distrust.

He believed a new multi-party power-sharing government would be more successful in exercising economic and fiscal discipline than a single party that had too much power.

Questioned by Dr Slabbert on what he meant by an earlier commitment that "special measures" would have to be implemented in a government of national unity if negotiating parties failed to reach agreement on how to proceed with the transition, Mr De Klerk said the overall responsibility for constitutional reform would rest with the government.

In a clear signal to parties unnecessarily delaying the transition, Mr De Klerk said that initiatives would still take place on a biliateral and smaller multi-lateral basis.

"We will ensure progress in another way but still on the basis of maximum possible consensus," he said.

Mr Ramaphosa said that despite the clear differences between the ANC and the government there was a clear need for these two parties — and others with wide popular support — to share power during the transitional phase.

A government of national unity was needed to "deal with the economic mess" the country found itself in, to consolidate democracy and dismantle the effects of apartheid.

"We are compelled to work together," Mr Ramaphosa said, but added that the ANC did not believe that power-sharing should be written into the constitution as political marriages should be voluntary.

Dr Mdlalose said Inkatha supported the idea of power-sharing but warned against "deals being struck" by parties before the results of popular elections were known.

"In these bilateral talks (between the government and ANC last week) there has been an agreement that the elections should take place before the end of 1993," he said.

President F W de Klerk said on television last night that his timetable was not rigid. "We hoped that by making good progress we would get to a government of national unity sooner.

"I think all the responsible leaders realise that we are playing into the hands of radicals who don't want an accord to be reached."

A government minister said last night that the two parties had agreed to speed up the transition to democracy as much as possible but that a date for an election had not been settled.

Last night Mr De Klerk, ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose came out in strong support of the need for a multi-party power-sharing government to build national unity, economic development and trust in the new South Africa.

The politicians were

Cabinet's bush meet underway

CT 7/12/92
304A

THE extended cabinet, which includes the four provincial administrators and deputy ministers, gathered at an undisclosed country venue yesterday for the last formal meeting of the executive in 1992.

The meeting will end on Tuesday when official statements may be expected regarding the status of negotiations and the threatened escalation of a terrorist onslaught by Apla (Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan-Africanist Congress).

The cabinet and the entire formal political system will go into the Christmas recess on Thursday.

Sources were confident the government's main concern, threatened strikes at civilian targets on and after December 16, will receive priority attention at the "bush cabinet" deliberations.

Another related issue which will be subjected to extensive analysis and forward planning will be this week's bilateral meeting with the African National Congress and its resumption in January.

The cabinet is also expected to concentrate on the stalled Codesa negotiations process.

The difficult situation regarding the PAC, with whom talks have been suspended pending clarification of its armed actions in attacking civilians, as it did in King William's Town and Queenstown recently, will be given special attention.

The meeting will work on ways of formulating a strategy to counter the threat of further attacks, particulalry on soft targets.

The PAC's absence or refusal to join Codesa and the Inkatha Freedom Party's continued resistance to return to multi-party talks remain the central dilemma for both the government and the ANC, both of which are eager for talks to resume as soon as possible in the new year.

Proposals to achieve this, along with ideas which may have emerged from the bilateral meeting with the ANC, may be developed further and translated into follow-up action for the recess.

The cabinet will resume its official weekly meetings in the week preceding the opening of parliament, but political circumstnces may demand a more "active" recess than the traditional Christmas break of past years.

—Sapa

De Klerk and Buthelezi to resume talks

(304A)
ARG 7/12/92

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet in Pretoria this week to discuss a wide range of issues, including national negotiations.

The meeting — the first between the two leaders since Chief Buthelezi angrily suspended contact with the government after Mr De Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26 — will also be attended by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Following the signing of the Record of Understanding, Chief Buthelezi and the other two homeland leaders met in Mmabatho to discuss the ANC-government agreement, and later invited a host of rightwing organisations and like-minded homelands to a meeting at the Indaba Hotel in Fourways, outside Johannesburg.

The meeting, dubbed a Conference for Concerned South Africans, called for a multi-party conference of review where the Record of Understanding would be subjected to scrutiny.

Chief Buthelezi has since refused to meet Mr De Klerk, whom he has often accused of giving in to the ANC-led tripartite alliance's demands and siding with it against the IFP and Zulus.

Although neither government spokesman Mr Dave Steward nor IFP central committee member Mr Walter Felgate would say what would be on the agenda of this week's meeting, tentatively scheduled to take place on Wednesday, it is expected that Mr De Klerk will use the opportunity to raise his concern about the "Kwazulu-Natal constitution" released by Dr Buthelezi last week.

Mr De Klerk, who warned last week that Chief Buthelezi's moves would lead to a serious confrontation between Kwazulu and his government, has repeatedly asked for a meeting with the IFP leader so that they could iron out their differences — all to no avail.

This week's meeting comes after a three-day "bosberaad" the government had with the ANC last week, where substantial progress was believed to have been made.

Reliable sources said the government and ANC delegations agreed on the need for elections for a government of national unity to be held at the earliest possible moment.

ANC negotiator and SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo later commented: "I got the feeling for the first time that the government is prepared to walk the last mile."

On this week's meeting, Mr Steward said Mr De Klerk and the three homeland leaders — all strong proponents of federalism — would discuss "matters of common interest".

● Sapa reports that yesterday Mr De Klerk said the government would ensure that constitutional reform progressed if a multiparty forum failed to emerge.

He was speaking in a pre-recorded interview on *Slabbert on Sunday*, hosted by political commentator Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, on SABC's TSS network.

Referring to his announced timetable to bring about an interim government of national unity by the middle of 1994, he said: "The overall responsibility continues to rest with government to ensure that there will still be progress with regard to constitutional reform."

Security man | Captour calls

Extended Cabinet meets for last time before holiday recess

CAPE TOWN — The extended Cabinet, which includes the four provincial Administrators and deputy Ministers, gathered at an undisclosed country venue yesterday for its last formal meeting of the year.

The meeting will end tomorrow when official statements may be expected regarding the status of negotiations and the threatened escalation of a terrorist onslaught by the Azanian People's Liberation Army, military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress.

The Cabinet and the entire formal political system will go into the Christmas recess on Thursday.

Sources are confident the Government's main concern — the threatened strikes at civilian targets on and after December 16 — will receive priority attention at the "bush Cabinet" deliberations.

Another related issue which will be subjected to extensive analysis and forward planning will be this week's bilateral meeting with the ANC and its resumption next month as well as the stalled Codesa negotiations process.

The difficult situation regarding the PAC, with which talks have been suspended pending clarification of its armed actions in attacking civilians, as it did in King William's Town and Queenstown last week, will be given special attention, specifically in formulating a strategy to counter the threat of further attacks. — Sapa.

FW, Buthelezi to hold talks this week

(EER) (304A) STAR 7/12/92

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

For the first time in almost three months, President de Klerk and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will come face-to-face this week when they meet in Pretoria to discuss a wide range of issues, including national negotiations, it was confirmed yesterday.

The meeting — the first between the two leaders since Buthelezi angrily suspended contact with the Government after De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding on September 26 — will also be attended by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Following the signing of the Record of Understanding, Buthelezi and the other two homeland leaders met in Mmabatho to discuss the ANC-Government agreement, and invited right-wing organisations and like-minded homelands to a meeting at the Indaba Hotel in Fourways, outside Johannesburg.

Buthelezi has since refused to meet De Klerk, whom he has often accused of giving in to the ANC-led tripartite alliance's demands and siding with it against the IFP and Zulus.

Although neither Government spokesman Dave Steward nor IFP central committee member Walter Felgate would say what would be on the agenda of this week's meeting, tentatively scheduled to take place on Wednesday, it is expected that De Klerk will use the opportunity to raise his concern about the "KwaZulu-Natal constitution" released by Buthelezi last week.

De Klerk, who warned last week that Buthelezi's moves would lead to a serious confrontation between KwaZulu and his Government, has repeatedly asked for a meeting with the IFP leader so that they could iron out their differences.

This week's meeting comes after a three-day Government-ANC bosberaad last week, where substantial progress was believed to have been made.

Steward said De Klerk and the three homeland leaders — all strong proponents of federalism — would discuss "matters of common interest".

The meeting's main purpose, Steward said, was "to get multiparty talks off the ground again".

● The IFP's draft constitutional document for the state of KwaZulu/Natal would be presented to a national multiparty negotiating forum, IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said last night during a panel discussion on "Slabbert on Sunday" on the SABC's TSS network.

'Elections by the end of 1993'

STAR 7/12/92 (EER) (304A)

MAPUTO — The South African Government has agreed that elections to end white rule should take place by the end of next year, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela held about six hours of talks with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano yesterday to brief him on last week's meeting between the ANC and the Government.

He told a news conference there was no dispute on the timing of elections, even though the ANC had earlier condemned President de Klerk for setting what it felt was a distant target date of April 1994.

"There has been consensus on this point," Mandela said. "In these bilateral talks there has been an agreement that the elections should take place before the end of 1993, so that matter has been resolved."

De Klerk said yesterday the Government would ensure that constitutional reform progressed if a multiparty forum failed to emerge.

He was speaking during a pre-recorded TV interview for "Slabbert on Sunday".

Referring to his timetable to bring about an interim government by the middle of 1994, he said: "The overall responsibility continues to rest with Government to ensure that there will still be progress with regard to constitutional reform."

In the event of a delay, the Government would continue with negotiations, either bilaterally or within a smaller multiparty forum, De Klerk said.

However, he felt such a hitch was unlikely because he had detected a sense of widespread urgency. "I think all the responsible leaders realise that we are playing into the hands of radicals who don't want an accord to be reached, who want to destabilise SA." — Sapa-AP.

Graham Linscott reports that SA cannot afford a stand-off with KwaZulu

Ominous line drawn in the dust

STAR 7/12/92

LAST week was the week of UDF — unilateral declaration of federation. The National Party and the Democratic Party have already published constitutional proposals embracing federalism but when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi does so, certain shock waves go out.

Not entirely without reason either. Once senses that, with his release of a constitution for an autonomous Natal/KwaZulu, a state within a federal South Africa, he has drawn a line in the dust.

While others debate the principles of regionalism, devolution, federalism, and the gradations between, Chief Buthelezi has produced the finished article — so there!

He had a jump on most of the others, of course, with the proposals six years ago of the Natal/KwaZulu Indaba, which were explicitly for the region to become the first unit in a future federal state and were devised by some of the country's keenest minds in the field of constitutional law.

The latest proposals are substantially the same, apart from the Indaba's provisions for enforced power-sharing and for separate representation of the different ethnic groups in an upper house. The Indaba's formula for protection of minority cultural and other interests appears also to have been dropped (though the proposed Bill of Rights would presumably take care of them). This time Natal reverts to the Zulus and anyone else who goes along with them.

And that could well be the $64 000 question. Anyone who has his ear to the ground in Natal these days knows that sections of the business community are becoming extremely restive about the prospect of being governed in perpetuity by a Pretoria which would have to satisfy not just the Nat constituency but the ANC one as well. That, they reason, would mean Natal continuing to be used as little more than a transport corridor between the PWV and the ports of Durban and Richards Bay — the people being left to rot.

Chief Buthelezi has always stayed close to his business community. It would be interesting to know how many of them he has on board in this latest venture, and of what calibre. One hazards a guess that this is more than just an IFP sortie.

However, it seems important to remember that this is UDF — not UDI. Chief Buthelezi (and his presumed business backers) are talking about federation, not independence for Natal. And federation is very much on the agenda for constitutional negotiations — ask the Nats and the DP.

But that line in the dust is ominous. The implication is that if a federal dispensation is not adopted from the outset, there could be all kinds of aggravation.

Anyone who recalls such things as the 1972 Durban dock strikes, which lasted a matter of weeks but crippled the PWV for months, will know that absolutely the last thing we need is a stand-off between KwaZulu and the rest of the country.

Chief Buthelezi's mode of expressing his federalist agenda is no doubt jarring, and not only to opponents of federalism. He implies that the issue has already been settled and there is nothing to be debated.

But if Buthelezi is a player in the power game — and both the Nats and the ANC seem to have accepted that — it is surely important that he be engaged in discussion, not simply slapped down and repudiated.

Otherwise the wild talkers, the confederalists, the unilateralists, could begin to hold sway. And then the country as a whole would be in a great deal of trouble. □

Bush meeting raises hopes for early vote

B/DAY 7/12/92

B/DAY 7/12/92

BILLY PADDOCK

THE new-found trust and co-operation between government and the ANC could see the negotiation process speeded up and nonracial elections taking place late next year rather than mid-1994.

Last week's meeting in the bush between the parties injected a sense of urgency and shared responsiblity into the process, with both sides accepting that they had to make more effort to resolve problems preventing the process going ahead.

They also saw a shared responsibility to end the violence and achieve a political settlement as soon as possible to form the foundation for economic growth.

However, both parties saw Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a major stumbling block to the process moving ahead quickly following his "federal" constitutional proposal last week and his objection to bilateral meetings between the ANC and government.

Government and ANC negotiators will spend the next month meeting in joint committees to try to iron out difficulties so that the initial stages of the transition process can be speeded up. The hope is that multiparty talks can resume by February.

The aim is to have nonracial elections as soon as possible, with a tentative target set at late 1993 or early 1994.

To achieve this, the parties will have to speed up the first two stages of transition: convening a multiparty forum and reaching agreement at this forum for the rest of the process. This would include negotiating the guiding principles to form the basis of the elected constitution-making body.

According to a senior government negotiator, these were the only two areas where the process could be speeded up. The rest of it was mostly mechanical, registering voters and piloting through agreed legislation for the establishment of transitional executive councils.

He said yesterday that the main gain of last week's bilateral meeting was that the parties were trying to re-establish trust and a constructive working relationship. "It is vital that the parties can trust one another during this process, otherwise we just get tied up in haggling over majorities as a guarantee and substitution for trust."

Last week's extended discussion and the second stage of that meeting, a five-day bilateral meeting scheduled for January 20, is designed to try to smooth out the disagreements between the two main negotiating partners. Once they have reached agreement, the belief is that there would be fewer hitches with the other parties and the process would be quicker.

Reaching agreement on the guiding principles and how the process should proceed has been described by President F W de Klerk and ANC negotiators as possibly the most difficult part of the process, especially in the light of Inkatha and Buthelezi objecting to the concept of an elected constitution-making body.

Added to this problem was the disagreement over regionalism/federalism being included in the guiding principles. The ANC claims that the structural form of

☐ To Page 2

Early vote

B/DAY 7/12/92

☐ From Page 1

government should be the preserve of the elected constitution-making body.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said yesterday the guiding principles were strictly to ensure democracy in the new constitution — centralism or devolution of power did not fall into this category.

A senior government negotiator, however, believes that the opposing parties will be able "to find each other — there is a substantial amount of convergence among the published policies of the groups that indicates that the whole issue of regionalism will be resolved between us".

The ANC/government joint committees will be trying to thrash out the finer details of the transition process including legislation and how the new Codesa forum should look. They hope to draft a proposal to be forwarded to a joint committee a few days before the second bilateral meeting. This meeting is expected to finalise the government/ANC agreement on the process, which will then be sent on to the multiparty forum for decision.

Maharaj said the thinking between the ANC and government at the meeting was that Codesa should be retained as a negotiating forum but that it needed to be streamlined in order to operate more efficiently.

It is seen that technical committees would replace the burdensome Codesa working groups, with agreements passed on to the management committee for a final decision.

Buthelezi is insisting that a multiparty forum convenes before the end of January to review agreements between government and the ANC; he is refusing to meet government on any constitutional issues before then. Government finds this position untenable as it cannot resolve Buthelezi's problems unless he is prepared to meet De Klerk and discuss his constitutional problems.

Buthelezi is due to meet De Klerk on Thursday with Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

FW squares up to the Left

Sowetan 7/12/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

South Africa enters a crucial week in its political transition today as the Government buckles up for meetings with the Left and Right on Wednesday and Thursday.

After a highly successful three-day meeting with the ANC last week, the Government is expected to meet the PAC on Wednesday and leaders of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana as well as the Conservative Party on Thursday.

A date for the recall of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is expected to be decided upon by the end of the week, and perhaps even ~~[illegible]~~ 304A announced. Informed sources believe the Government and the ANC have toyed with a date in February next year. The Government's meeting with the PAC and the contact with the CSAG - if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is there - are decisive in that the activities of Apla and the constitution for the envisaged "State of KwaZulu" adopted by the territory's legislature last week could be the focus of talks.

The meeting between Government and the PAC by late yesterday remained in doubt after a senior Cabinet Minister said last week that unless the PAC distanced themselves from "acts of terror" all talks between the two parties were off.

ANC: Election date a priority

WINDHOEK — The ANC's delegation had been ready to walk out of last week's talks with the government if an election date was not set, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at State House here yesterday.

"The meeting's top priority was to have elections in as short a time as possible," Mr Mandela told diplomats during a one-day visit to Namibia. "We said if there is no agreement they should pull out." 3044

However, that had not been necessary. Multiparty elections for a transitional government are due towards the end of 1993. CT 8/12/92

At State House, Mr Mandela received a warm welcome from President Sam Nujoma, whom he congratulated on Swapo's landslide election result before holding a private meeting with a Namibian delegation. — Sapa

Buthelezi, De Klerk set to clash

STAR 8/12/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

President de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are firmly on course for a direct collision when they meet on Thursday for the first time since the IFP broke off talks in September.

Last week De Klerk warned that Buthelezi was heading for direct confrontation with the Government over his announcement of a go-it-alone plan for a highly autonomous KwaZulu-Natal state.

Yesterday a defiant Buthelezi dismissed De Klerk's remarks as extremely arrogant and condescending, fully reaffirmed his plans to create a regional KwaZulu-Natal state — and firmly rejected Codesa and its agreements on transitional arrangements, especially a constituent assembly.

And at a meeting in Pretoria of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), other homeland leaders and the Conservative Party strengthened the separatist tendency by also committing themselves to a bottom-up negotiation process driven by autonomous states.

Speaking at the meeting, Buthelezi also slammed last week's bosberaad between the Government and the ANC, where transitional arrangements were discussed.

He said other parties had now been relegated to the function of rubber-stamping ANC and Government agreements to provide legitimation to their secretive dealings.

After yesterday's meeting, Cosag issued a statement rejecting Codesa and calling for a new negotiating forum to draft a new constitution for SA.

It also rejected the idea of a transitional government, transitional constitution and constituent assembly, calling instead for a new, non-exclusive multiparty forum to draft a new constitution.

This contrasts directly with the agreements reached at Codesa and frequently reaffirmed by the Government and the ANC since then.

Apart from the IFP, Cosag comprises the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments.

Canadian envoy has hope for SA

CT 8/12/92 (304A)

DURBAN. — Canadian ambassador to South Africa Mr Christopher Westdal yesterday told an Institute for a Multi-Party Democracy gathering here he was deeply optimistic about South Africa's political future.

"I sustain inextinguishable hope for South Africa ... "When the (National) Peace Committee agreed to fresh, inclusive talks, when the ANC formally recognised the need for honourable compromise in sharing power, when Nelson Mandela accepted the parallel Goldstone/Steyn investigation of recent revelations; all these positive developments together felt to me like the end of the worst of it," he said. — Sapa

Right-wing and homeland leaders discuss joint action

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Right-wingers and homeland leaders met yesterday to bolster and synchronise their plans for a federal dispensation, resolving to resume multilateral negotiations but not in a revived Codesa.

The Concerned South Africans Group gathered yesterday in preparation for the meeting between homeland leaders and President F W de Klerk on Thursday.

The discussions included Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, CP leader Andries Treurnicht, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo.

The group discussed Buthelezi's constitutional plans for Natal/KwaZulu but was apparently unable to agree on the relationship between central and regional government.

The group agreed only that states in various regions would have varying degrees of power and autonomy, reflecting differences in the approach being adopted by the CP and Inkatha. Residual powers should belong to the states and only a limited and listed number of powers would be reserved for central government.

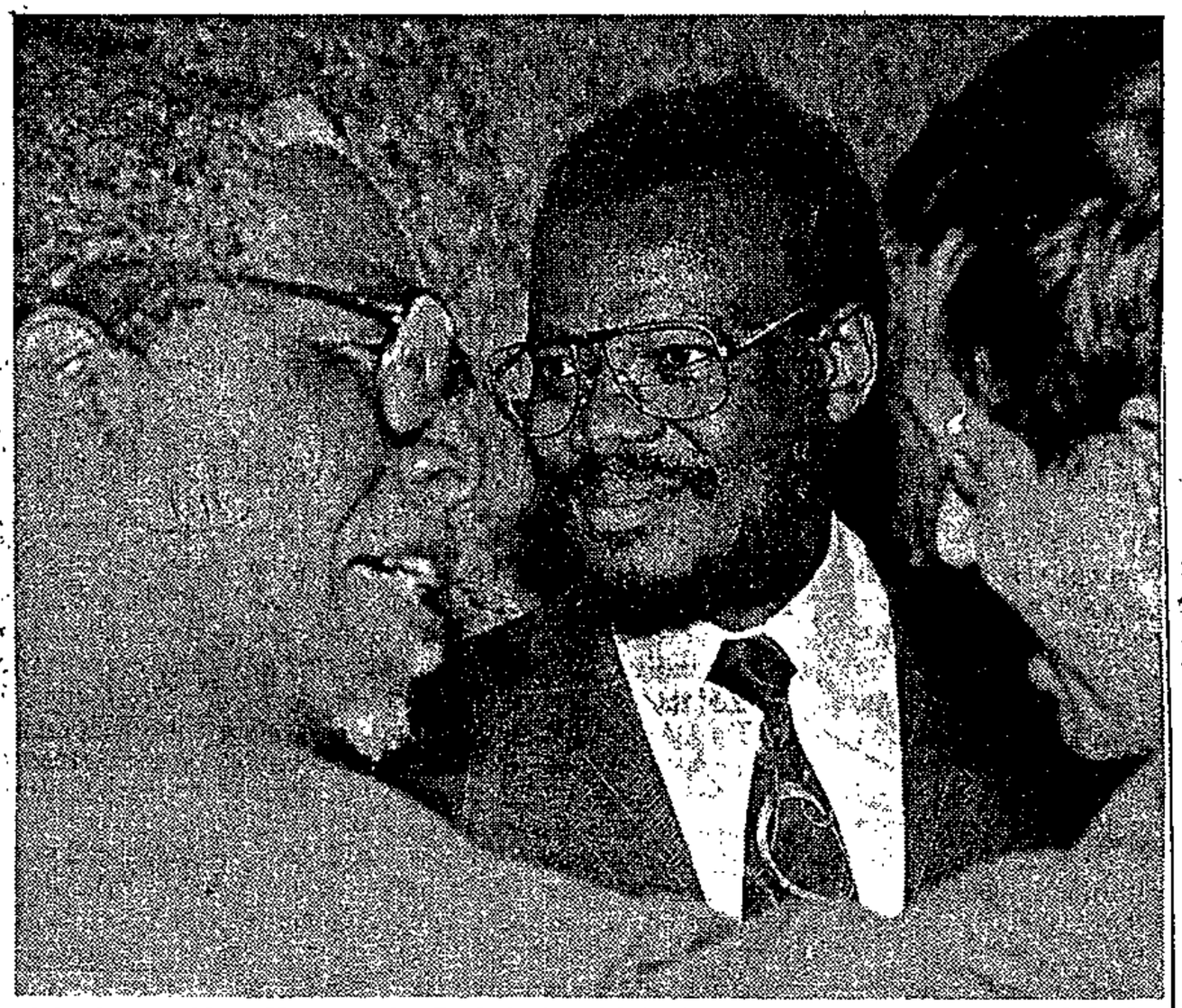
It agreed that transformation should originate from the regions and not from the centre. Codesa, described by Gqozo as a "centrist" organisation, was therefore not an appropriate forum for negotiations. But the group resolved it was imperative that multilateral negotiations should resume "without any exclusion or preclusion to determine a new forum for negotiating a new constitution".

It again rejected a transitional government, a transitional constitution and a constituent assembly, all key elements of government and ANC plans.

The group opted to prepare constitutional proposals, embark on a plan of action and organise a conference in early 1993. Details of the plan of action are still to be decided.

Buthelezi, referring to his federal plan, told the meeting the way forward was to begin institutional democracy from the bottom up.

He was "astonished" at De Klerk's reaction to his plan. "The message I received was extremely arrogant and condescending in its tone and betrayed the conviction of a man who thinks he has the exclusive right to determine the process and the pace of the transformation of our society."



Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, left, in conversation at yesterday's Concerned South Africans Group meeting. Picture: SUE KRAMER

Youth leaders hopeful on talks

CT 9/12/92 Page 3

DURBAN. — ANC and IFP youth leaders expressed the hope that the preparatory meeting between the two organisations will provide the catalyst for a breakthrough in peace efforts.

At a briefing organised by Diakonia here, the ANC's Southern Natal Youth League chairman Mr Cyril Xaba said they expected all obstacles in the way of an accord to be resolved ahead of the proposed meeting between their leaders early next year.

He also appealed to political leaders to temper their inflammatory rhetoric on violence.

Mr Musa Zondi, leader of the IFP Youth Brigade, said the youth were demanding progress in negotiations because they were frustrated by the stalemate in constitutional talks. — Sapa

(3049)

CP 'calls up' its supporters for duty

ARG 9/12/92

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party has "called up" its supporters for duty in its home guard system.

The "call-up" is to help counter the reported terror campaign against soft white civilian targets by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army (Apla).

This followed warnings by political commentators that Apla's alleged terror campaign against whites could provoke a white backlash.

On Monday the extremist rightwing group Order Boerevolk warned of "bloody vengeance" and of bomb attacks against black taxi ranks if Apla continued its campaign.

The CP's Pretoria head office said yesterday: "We call on students in particular, who are now on holiday, to make themselves available for security duties within the CPs Home Guard system."

Rightists reject Codesa

304A

CT 8/12/92

PRETORIA. — Rightwingers and homeland leaders met yesterday to bolster and synchronise their plans for an extreme federal dispensation, resolving to resume multi-lateral negotiations but not in a revived Codesa.

The meeting of the Concerned South African Group (Cosag) took place yesterday in preparation for the meeting between homeland leaders and President F W de Klerk on Thursday.

Those present included Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, CP leader Dr Andries Treurnicht, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Although the group discussed Chief Buthelezi's constitutional plans for KwaZulu-Natal, it was unable to agree on the relationship between central and regional government.

The group was only able to agree that states in various regions would have varying degrees of power and autonomy, reflecting differences in the approach being adopted by the CP and Inkatha.

The group has decided to prepare constitutional proposals and organise a conference for the beginning of next year.

Details of the plan of action are still to be decided.

● Meanwhile Chief Buthelezi will take the unusual step of addressing a meeting in Pretoria's City Hall this evening to explain his party's stance on the "transition crisis".

Chief Buthelezi said he would hold a series of public meetings because it was crucial all South Africans understood why the IFP had decided to refuse to negotiate with the government. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Govt confident about early poll — Meyer

STAR 9/12/92

Political Staff (304A)

In spite of negative political developments in recent weeks, the Government is still confident about quick progress toward democratic elections, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night.

Meyer said in a statement after a Government strategy conference in Natal that there had been broad consensus at the meeting that President de Klerk's transitional timetable should be followed.

But, he added: "If other parties co-operate and the steps can be completed more quickly, an election can be held earlier — even before the end of next year."

Addressing the opposition of the "Concerned South Africans Group" to agreements reached between Government and the ANC, Meyer said Cosag — which includes KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and the Afrikaner Volksunie — "made no provision for the macro-situation in South Africa.

"The country's leaders must agree on a national level, as quickly as possible, on how a regional dispensation, by means of a transitional constitution, can be brought into existence."

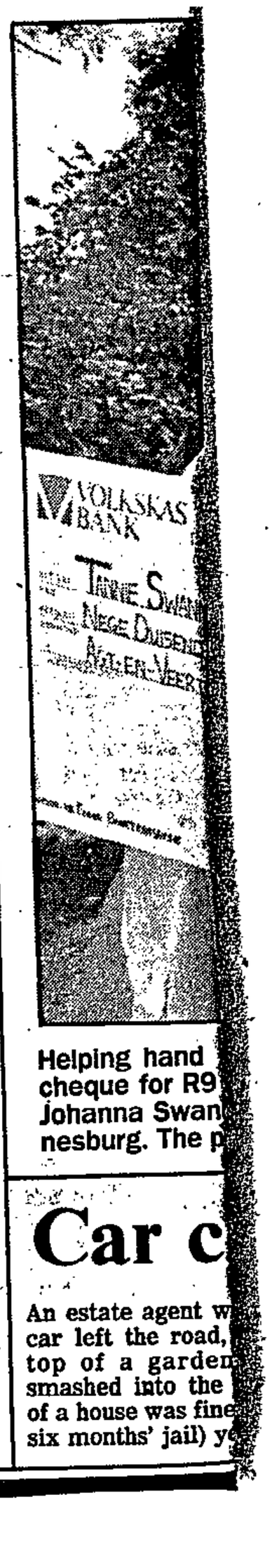
It was therefore essential that the Inkatha Freedom Party and other groups should return to the negotiation process.

●Sapa reports that the future of the much-awaited summit between Mandela and Buthelezi remained uncertain yesterday, with even a preparatory meeting scheduled for today running into problems.

Although ANC head office spokesman Carl Niehaus said preparations were going ahead for today's meeting with the IFP, ANC sources in Natal said they were still deciding whether this would be appropriate.

Their hesitation is reportedly due to the KwaZulu government's controversial constitutional proposals, which Buthelezi unveiled last week.

Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate said yesterday IFP delegates were ready for the scheduled meeting in Durban today to pave the way for a full meeting of the IFP central committee and ANC national executive committee.



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ARG 9/12/92

The door for talks still open — PAC

(304A)

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE door for negotiations between the government and the PAC remained open, Mr Clarence Makwetu, president of the movement said today, the first time he has spoken publicly since the Apla controversy erupted and the breakdown of talks with the government.

In an interview he said the PAC was not prepared to accept conditions for such talks.

"Our doors are open. The ball is in the government's court."

He rejected a statement by Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer that the PAC had committed itself to peace and in effect to the suspension of armed action at its talks with the government in Gaberone in October.

He also rejected Mr Meyer's assertion that the PAC had a dual attitude to negotiation and violence.

Mr Makwetu said the PAC had been talking to the government before the issue of violence had been raised.

The PAC was in fact a non-violent movement.

"The PAC is talking to everyone. We have not been involved in violence. We have been going up and down the country trying to stop violence. Apla has nothing to do with this violence.

"We are also the only truly non-racial movement in the country. That has always been our approach."

He did not think his view that the PAC was a non-violent movement was contradicted by the actions of its armed wing, Apla, nor was he prepared to query the fact that the PAC channelled money to Apla without being aware of how this money was used.

"Apla is fighting a legitimate war against white domination."

He did not think this was a racist attitude.

Asked whether the violence in King William's Town and Queenstown could be regarded as legitimate political actions Mr Makwetu said "this is for Apla to say".

He stressed again that the PAC would not distance itself from Apla.

● See page 7

Prospects dim for ANC-IFP meeting

CT 9/12/92 (304FT)

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The prospects for a meeting between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dimmed yesterday as both parties expressed doubts about the outcome of today's preparatory talks in Durban.

They expect today's meeting to be "confrontational and extremely difficult" after the developments of the past two weeks.

These include KwaZulu's acceptance of the "federal constitution"; Inkatha's rejection of Codesa and the Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC; and Mr Mandela's four conditions, the chief of these being that the Record of Understanding be accepted by Inkatha before a meeting between the leaders can take place.

An Inkatha source said it was "highly unlikely that the summit would happen this year".

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he was not entirely sure today's meeting would go ahead.

Meanwhile, President F W de Klerk is to meet today those homeland leaders who are spearheading opposition to a restructured Codesa.

He was expected to have tough discussions with Chief Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Mr Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, Inkatha spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said yesterday.

PRETORIA. — "You as the Boerevolk of South Africa and I as a black South African of Zulu extraction, are equal in our claim to South Africanism," Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP president, told a meeting here yesterday.

"Hand in hand we must overcome the racial divide" created by apartheid, he said.

At the meeting, in the Pretoria city hall, he explained Inkatha's withdrawal from talks with the government and his proposals for KwaZulu/Natal.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was among those who attended.

NEWS IN BRIEF

304A

Secret projects Bill

A BILL has been published forcing the President to consult opposition leaders on at least one appointment to the Secret Services Evaluation Committee, which assesses secret projects.

Herald 9/12/92

Secret services bill published

A BILL which will force the state president to consult opposition leaders on at least one appointment to the Secret Services Evaluation Committee has been published.

The committee's role is to evaluate secret projects. Sapa

Govt halts talks with PAC

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT has cancelled today's scheduled meeting with the PAC and all further talks until the PAC denounces the activities of its military wing Apla.

But the PAC remained defiant yesterday, declaring it would refuse to "abandon the armed struggle and isolate Apla". It would not elaborate on whether it was prepared to suspend the armed struggle.

PAC secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke said government had cancelled talks until "the PAC's attitude to Apla is clarified". Constitutional Development spokesman Isak Retief said this probably meant talks had been postponed pending clarification.

Government wanted the PAC to denounce terror activities carried out by Apla, to commit itself to peaceful negotiation for a political settlement in SA and to take responsibility for keeping Apla "under control".

Seroke, who said the PAC was informed by Constitutional Development adviser Fanie van der Merwe of government's decision, added: "The PAC cannot abandon the armed struggle until the objectives of the struggle have been realised."

Until there was mutual cessation of hostilities between the PAC and government, the organisation was "not duty-bound to condemn the element of armed struggle conducted by Apla against the settler enemy structures", Seroke said.

The PAC's position had been put frankly to government at two earlier meetings in Nigeria and Botswana, he said.

It was clear the PAC would not isolate the armed struggle for national liberation from the process for a negotiated settlement. "The regime's delegation in these exploratory talks expressed their appreciation of our position on this matter."

He rejected the implication that government wanted it to "clarify its attitude to Apla" through the media before a meeting could take place. However, Retief said government was waiting for the PAC to clarify its position to government directly.

□ Sapa-Reuter reports from Harare that Zimbabwe has warned the PAC to stop issuing statements on violence from its territory. "We do not want Zimbabwe soil to be used for hostile activities against SA or any other country," Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said.

Buthelezi addresses boerevolk in Pretoria

STAR 9/12/92

Political Staff

A "black South African of Zulu extraction" greeted "the boerevolk of South Africa" when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi spoke in the Pretoria City Hall last night — his first speech in the capital.

304A

There were only about 200 "boerevolk" in the gathering of about 400 and there was a strong smattering of English among them.

Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht was there. Not officially, he said, but because he was curious.

IFP recruitment papers lay on tables in the foyer and when Buthelezi entered, the audience rose and a small blond boy in khaki, festooned with the IFP colours, pinned a flower to his lapel.

Buthelezi used the occasion to attack the government-ANC Record of Understanding and to present KwaZulu-Natal constitutional proposals revealed in Ulundi last week.

He appealed, too, for reconciliation "between black and black and white and white".

"You as the boerevolk of South Africa and I as a black South African of Zulu extraction are equal in our claim to South Africanism."

He then proceeded to attack the exclusive bilateralism of the Government and the ANC-SACP alliance.

"Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer was quick to insinuate that I am the spoiler in negotiations. This is very far from the truth. There is very little the National Party can teach me about negotiations," he said.

Buthelezi reiterated his rejection of the Record of Understanding as the reason for breaking off talks with the Government.

NEWS Multiparty talks in balance ● All charges dropped against tribe's First Lady

Meeting with PAC postponed

Sowetan 9/12/92.

■ **Government wants clarity concerning Apla's activities:** (304A)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

TODAY's meeting between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress has been postponed indefinitely until the organisation "makes its position clear on Apla's violent activities".

Senior officials from the Department of Constitutional Development called the PAC's Mr Jacki Seroke on Monday to cancel the scheduled meeting.

"They said that they supported the statement made by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel," Seroke said.

The PAC negotiations team would consider the statement.

The meeting that has been cancelled was a culmination of weeks of exploratory talks and meetings.

Chieftainess freed

Sowetan 9/12/92

■ **Bop drops charges against Bafokeng's Mrs Semane Molotlegi:**

By Abbey Makoe

THE Bafokeng tribe's "First Lady," Mrs Semane Molotlegi, yesterday had all charges against her dropped in the Bophuthatswana Supreme Court.

The homeland's Attorney-General, Mr Johann Smit, said there was no prima facie evidence against Molotlegi who was arrested for trespassing in the homeland in July this year.

He called on all charges under the Aliens and Travellers Control Acts against Molotlegi to be dropped.

Mr Justice JAM Khumalo declared Molotlegi free.

Members of Molotlegi's tribe, who packed the Supreme Court near Rustenburg, ululated and danced after the charges were withdrawn.

On March 21 last year, the Bophuthatswana government declared Molotlegi a persona non grata in the homeland.

Defiantly, Molotlegi went back to the royal kraal (her residence) and was arrested in July.

She was later released on R100 bail.

In September, while appearing in the Tlhabane Regional Court, Molotlegi said she could not be tried by a magistrate.

She challenged the law under which she was charged, saying the homeland courts did not have a right to prosecute her.

She added if the Bophuthatswana government tried her under its Aliens Act it would have to arrest all the Bophuthatswana citizens entering the homeland and not apply the law selectively.

Speaking to *Sowetan* shortly after charges were dropped, Molotlegi said she was considering legal action against the government.



David Lapin argues that South Africans need greater cultural empathy

Here's to gaining a new perspective

STAR 9/12/92

ADAPTATION to the New South African environment means more than learning to share our resources and our power. It means learning to understand each other too.

The latter is the harder process, for we will fail if we persist in interpreting the actions of others only from the perspective of our own cultures. We need to enter into new worlds of perspective before we can formulate our response to actions initiated by people of other cultures. Our new understanding might not alter the way we respond, but will alter how we communicate our responses.

Take the National Taverners' Association/SA Breweries dispute. I have a hunch which I would like to share, but first here is a brief glance at some cultural differences among our peoples:

Imagine two extreme opposite cultural environments — Northern European and African. The former is highly mechanistic in the style of its human relations. Perfection and excellence are valued in the object. Perfect machines, perfect business systems, perfect laws and social regulations. In Africa, on the other hand, excellence is measured in the sensations created by the quality of relationships, not in the quality of objects and structures.

Of course I am oversimplifying, and of course most people contain something of each culture within themselves. But let us apply those two perspectives to a simple business deal:

I go into a shop to make a purchase. I ask for a discount. The shopkeeper tells me his prices are fixed and standard for everyone.

If I belong to the North European culture, I admire the equity of the shopkeeper's system. It appeals to a certain sense of fairness and justice within me. It is almost aesthetically pleasing to me. Even if he tells me that he has a sale on and everything is reduced by 10 percent for the month, I feel comfortable. I, in fact, do not feel comfortable when I find that all of his prices are always negotiable. I do not appreciate the haggling, it offends my sense of order.

If however, I come from an African culture, I find the shopkeeper's refusal to accommodate my request for a discount as cold, uncaring and impersonal. If he says there is a 20 percent sale on, I don't feel any better. But if he takes out a calculator and scratches his head for a few minutes, and then offers me "a special price just for you", I feel special even if the discount is less than the 20 percent! It is not the amount, it is the relationship. I feel singled out as a valuable customer.

This is my hunch: Is it possible that the NTA aren't only arguing about money? Is it possible that they want to feel recognised as human customers, important and valuable to the SAB giant? Aren't they asking for a "special" deal — just for them, different (although not necessarily substantially more favourable) than any other SAB customer? Might they not be looking for a uniqueness in their relationship with the beer giant?

Might the SAB not be responding: "We have standard pricing policies for everyone, anything else will offend the North European sense of balance and justice of many of our shareholders and other customers."

Perhaps if the deep cultural issues were better appreciated on both sides, better communication would result. The small cost of time and money invested in this learning process would in this case alone save SAB shareholders substantial amounts of money. It would also give the taverners their beer without leaving them feeling like the insignificant anonymous customers that we all feel like when we deal with large mechanised inhuman conglomerates.

Let's not compromise our North European efficiency. But at the same time, let's learn from Africa how to make the people we deal with feel like the important people they really are. □

● *The writer is director of the SA Institute of Business Ethics.*

Moscow's envoy to SA meets FW

PRETORIA — The Russian Federation's first ambassador to SA yesterday handed his credentials to President FW de Klerk. (304A1)

The new ambassadors from Japan and Israel also handed their letters of credence to De Klerk at the same ceremony at the Presidency in Pretoria.

De Klerk told the ambassadors he was confident multiparty negotiations would be resumed and an accord reached within a reasonable time.

He said in spite of setbacks in the past six months he was confident it was not a matter of if negotiations would succeed, but when. BIOA1 10/12/92

Russian Federation ambassador Eugeniy Petrovitch Gusarov said his country recognised the importance of international support for change and could play a role in SA, especially as it was a permanent member of the UN Security Council.

Israeli ambassador Alon Liel said his country supported and welcomed positive changes in SA.

Israel and the rest of the international community had "high expectations" for the peace talks. His country, Liel said, had close associations with the SA Jewish community whose contribution was a blessing to both countries.

De Klerk acknowledged the constructive role the Jewish community was playing in SA and said government was striving for a new SA where there was room to accommodate a diversity of cultures.

Japan's ambassador Katsumi Sezaki conveyed his country's support for change and a message of hope for a peaceful, negotiated settlement that would proceed "smoothly".

De Klerk expressed the hope that SA could become the "Japan" of the southern Africa. — Sapa.

Increase in

Shakeup in the SAP is set for January

RAY HARTLEY

A MAJOR police shakeup including the appointment of two new deputy commissioners of police and the launch of the community relations division will take effect from January next year.

Visible policing head Lt-Gen Louwrens Malan and criminal investigation chief Lt-Gen Basie Smit would both become deputy commissioners in January, a police spokesman said yesterday.

General Johan van der Merwe would continue as police commissioner.

Lt-Gen Simon Chetty, who will head the new community relations division, is expected to be appointed to the 22-man police board, which includes community representatives, but this could not be confirmed by police yesterday.

Wits policing research project spokesman Janine Rauch said both Malan and Smit had good reputations as leaders in the police, but the appointments failed to inject much-needed new blood into police leadership.

She questioned the fact that Smit, Malan and Van der Merwe all had backgrounds in security policing and would hold the three senior positions in the police.

Smit is a former head of the security branch.

The new community relations division would only succeed if it consulted directly with communities over its strategies, Rauch said.

She said a consultative committee, which included community representatives needed to be established to avoid unilateral decisions by police on community relations.

Malan headed up operations during the "Battle of Ventersdorp" last year when police and right-wing demonstrators clashed outside a meeting addressed by President F W de Klerk.

Both Malan and Smit currently serve on the police board.

SADF forced to cut back on personnel

STEPHANE BOTHMA

INTERNAL unrest in SA would continue for at least another 10 years and it would be necessary to maintain an effective defence force, SADF chief Gen Kat Liebenberg said yesterday.

More SADF troops were presently being deployed internally on a daily basis than during conventional war situations in Angola and Namibia, Liebenberg told a media briefing in Voortrekkerhoogte.

Despite this situation, reduction in government spending had forced the SADF to cut 6 110 army, navy and air force jobs in the 1992/93 fiscal year.

Liebenberg said that since 1989, the SADF's share of state expenditure had dropped from 15,7% to 9,6%. However, the defence budget was still too high and the SADF had been forced to introduce further cuts in terms of guidelines laid down for the next financial year.

Until tabled in Parliament, the new defence budget was secret, he said.

"Government had provided the SADF with new strategic guidelines as early as October 1989 and started implementing our Plan 2000. The financial cutbacks were more severe but, most importantly, more consistent each and every year than what we expected," Liebenberg said.

The SADF was now focusing on staff in its rationalisation because it could not afford to further cut its capital expenditure programmes for the updating and renewing of weapons systems.

"Further cuts on these programmes would have destroyed technology retention and paralysed the SADF and the arms industry's capability for technical renewal and replacement of weapons into the new century," he said.

SA Air Force chief Gen James Kriel told the briefing that 3 872 SAAF jobs would be terminated by the end of 1995.

Since last year, 2 789 jobs had been cut, including five brigadiers, 41 colonels, 44 commandants, two captains and 1 665 non commissioned officers.

The SA Army had to effect a cut of about R174,5m in full-time personnel strength by March 31 next year, SA army chief Gen Georg Meiring said. The army would have to reduce by 1 722 permanent force members, 530 civilians and about 860 general assistants, he said.

Since 1989, the SA Navy has retrenched 22% or 2 400 of its personnel, Navy chief Vice-Admiral R Simpson-Anderson said.

In addition, the marines were disbanded, the area commands were closed, six naval bases in commercial posts were closed and operational command and control was centralised at naval headquarters, he said.

Although the Navy this year suffered far less from rationalisation than the other services, an additional 450 personnel would be retrenched by closing down SAS Jalsena in Durban, rationalisating the SA Naval Dockyard, Simon's Town and SA Naval Works and the "fine tuning" of previous rationalisations.

SADF Medical Services escaped with no immediate staff cuts because an earlier rationalisation programme had been completed.

UN envoy urges SA to press ahead with talks

WILSON ZWANE

UN SPECIAL envoy to SA Tom Vraalsen said yesterday acts of terror should not be allowed to derail constitutional talks.

Speaking to journalists in Johannesburg before his departure to New York, Vraalsen said he was convinced the movement towards multiparty talks, which had gathered momentum in the past two weeks, indicated eagerness on the part of major political parties to "get down to business".

Alluding to the recent killings at King William's Town and Queenstown, he said these "developments" threatened to disrupt the multiparty talks.

"They should not be permitted to do so. I firmly believe that it is time for all parties in SA to renounce violence and come to the negotiating table."

Vraalsen appealed to all parties to co-operate with Judge Richard Goldstone during his investigations into the activities of security forces and liberation movements, including the PAC's armed wing Apla.

Vraalsen said he would present a report on his findings to UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali tomorrow. He would not be drawn on the contents of the report.

□ TIM COHEN reports from Pretoria that a 20-page briefing, in which the SA intelligence services were described as a "headless monster", was handed to UN monitors recently.

Military Research Group member Rocky Williams delivered the briefing before recent revelations by the Goldstone commission linking military intelligence to planned acts to discredit the ANC.

He said it was becoming increasingly clear that President F W de Klerk did not enjoy the confidence of the major actors within the security establishment.

Williams, formally both an SADF sergeant for eight years and an MK member for five years, told the monitors it was important to avoid conspiracy theories when dealing with the existence of current covert operations. The approval of these operations by executive levels had yet to be proved, he said.

Call to SA whites

WHITE South Africans must rediscover the ability to be angry, outraged and embarrassed about the deeds of the Government, says Professor Njabulo Ndebele, vice-rector of the University of the Western Cape. Sowetan 10/12/92

He made the call during a graduation address at the University of Cape Town yesterday. 30 4A

Progress as IFP, ANC meet

CT 10/12/92

3044

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The first official face-to-face meeting of the ANC and IFP in more than a year ended in smiles yesterday with what appeared to be considerable progress being made and the stage set for a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting.

And in another boost for peace in the province the KwaZulu/Natal Regional Dispute Resolution Committee's special meeting yesterday was described by its co-chairman Mr M C Pretorius as "very positive".

The ANC-IFP meeting, held at a Durban beachfront hotel and attended by high-ranking officials from both organisations, took place in a "positive and constructive atmosphere".

The meeting had been "basically a preparatory meeting to lay the groundwork for a meeting between leaders of the two organisations", said a joint statement read by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose.

The same delegations are due to meet again on December 29.

● The government yesterday appealed to conservatives to rejoin multi-party democracy talks, but vowed there could be no negotiation with radicals until they renounced violence. — Sapa-Reuter

DP and PAC will 'create climate for negotiations'

(3641) ARCG 1FP12/92

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party have committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the Eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and the DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned.

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown had been discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.

At least five people died and many others were injured in the attacks.

The two parties said they found "considerable common ground" on the need to urgently end the violence.

Asked if he would be prepared to condemn the attacks, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said: "Unfortunately we are not here to be tried by the media. Whether or not we condemn (the attacks) is our own indaba."

Government, homelands for 'bosberaad'

3044 ARG 11/12/92

Political Staff

THE government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "bosberaad" to try to thrash out major differences about negotiations and the future of South Africa.

In a joint statement after a six-hour meeting in Pretoria yesterday — the first between the government and the homelands since the latter broke off talks in September — they agreed on the need for inclusive multi-party negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by President De Klerk, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties — including other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — would be invited to the bosberaad on January 8 and 9.

Chief Buthelezi made it clear there had been blunt talking at the meeting and that he had not budged from his intention to launch a "bottom-up" negotiation process for an autonomous Kwazulu/Natal state.

An unrepentant Chief Buthelezi told Mr De Klerk he had "erred" in the way he was undertaking negotiations.

Mr De Klerk should not think that he and the ANC could "steamroller" other parties with private decisions affecting the whole negotiation process.

Chief Buthelezi vowed that he would not return to Codesa, which Mr De Klerk had "buried" when he followed a policy of appeasing the ANC. He insisted that Mr De Klerk lay all the government's bilateral agreements with the ANC before a multi-party conference of review.

He rejected the government/ANC agreement on a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution. It was unreasonable to negotiate about who should write a new constitution until there was agreement on how the constitution should look.

If a federal constitution was to be produced, it might be advisable that it should be written by individuals representing member states.

Homeland leaders and govt to meet

(3041) TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — The move back to the negotiating table was given impetus yesterday after government and three homeland leaders met and decided to hold a two-day bosberaad early next year. B/ORG

The leaders of SA, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and KwaZulu — citing the pressures of the stagnant economy — agreed on the need to move towards inclusive multiparty negotiations as soon as possible.

At a short media briefing at the Union Buildings yesterday, the leaders spoke of the "new hope" the meeting had engendered. Asked about the differences between them, President F W de Klerk said: "Judge us by our smiles." 11/12/92

The meeting will take place on January 8 and 9 and may include members of the Concerned South Africans Group, which includes other homeland groups, the CP and the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting. The governments' leaders will not attend.

Asked about the format for negotiations, which government and the ANC have agreed should be a streamlined Codesa, De Klerk said the delegations had discussed problems and possible scenarios. This and the ANC/government record of understanding would be taken further next year.

Asked if all his problems were resolved, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi compared the discussion yesterday with having an argument with his wife. "Once she has had her say, and I have had mine, I usually get it out of my system."

From the outside

Can SA resolve its crisis of violence without international assistance? The civil war developing in Natal, the spiral of random violence in many other parts and bickering among political leaders suggest not. Establishing a transitional government would go a long way towards helping the parties to reach acceptable solutions but it might not be enough to keep SA on the road to a peaceful transition to democracy.

So far, all the main parties have resisted any role for international monitors beyond observer groups and participation by observers or investigators in the activities of the National Peace Commission and the Goldstone Commission. However, growing acceptance — by government in particular — of the credentials of the UN, the OAU and the Commonwealth, could open the way for increased involvement.

Though SA cannot be compared directly with other southern African trouble spots of the past two decades, international intervention has had reasonable success, since Zimbabwean independence in 1980, in ending conflict in the region and overseeing free elections. Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia are good examples, with Angola and Mozambique now regarded as failures.

Douglas Anglin, political science professor at Ottawa's Carleton University, says in terms of the number, variety and scale of foreign intervention initiatives undertaken, southern Africa has been at the forefront "serving as something of a laboratory for the continent and the world."

Speaking at a conference in Tanzania earlier this year on peace and security in the region, Anglin said international monitoring of the peace and democratisation processes became essential in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique "once the parties reached the point where they were prepared to abandon a military solution in favour of a political settlement."

His paper was published recently by the Centre for Southern African Studies at the

University of the Western Cape. Though he spoke before the Angolan election and subsequent crisis, as well as the signing and subsequent collapse of the Mozambique peace accord, Anglin's comments on what are essentially the prerequisites for success give clear indications of why the two countries have reverted to conflict.

In Angola, as in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia, the major parties were committed to the electoral process because they believed they could win. But unlike the other three, the outcome of the Angolan presidential election was indecisive, which cast doubt on the fairness and freeness of the process, resulting in the resumption of hostilities.

In Mozambique, Anglin argued, a "major disruptive element" within the peace and monitoring process was the Renamo leadership's total lack of any sense of commitment or consistency.

The success of the transitions in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Zambia did not imply that international monitoring was unnecessary, but rather underscored the value of independent outside observers in ensuring free and fair elections.

Though Anglin did not discuss SA in detail, his general comments indicated the possible value of international mediation in ending SA's conflict — especially in Natal, where government appears powerless to play the role of honest broker.

There is little doubt that, to avoid an Angolan-type situation, intensive foreign monitoring of SA's electoral process will be essential to ensure acceptance of what is likely to be a close outcome. But ending the violence is obviously a far more pressing problem and one for which the international community has started to develop special skills. Anglin said the move beyond "conflict settlement" to "conflict resolution," especially in southern Africa, was "highly significant."

While similar in concept, the two functions differ. Conflict settlement seeks to modify the behaviour of parties by ensuring agreement with a set of agreed rules, whereas conflict resolution involves changes in attitudes, goals and values to eradicate the underlying causes of strife. "It goes beyond the preoccupation with the technical provisions of a treaty, to a concern for the spirit required to give it life."

Two issues are of particular significance: the integration and re-orientation of rival security forces and the broader question of national reconciliation. "Neither issue is the exclusive responsibility of international monitors, though monitors have been instrumental in promoting conflict resolution initiatives in each of the spheres."

Anglin says the world still faces formidable challenges in southern Africa, including possible roles in SA, Lesotho and Malawi. But "whether the international community is capable of demonstrating the imagination and commitment to seize these opportunities when they present themselves is by no means certain." ■

NEGOTIATIONS (60) (304A)

Minding own affairs

FM 11/12/92

On Monday, the so-called Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) rejected a transitional government, Codesa, and a constituent assembly. President F'W de Klerk was not expected to react until after his meeting on Thursday with the homeland contingent of the group.

Cosag, which was formed in reaction to the government/ANC Record of Understanding last September, includes KwaZulu and Inkatha Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht, Afrikaner Volksunie's Andries Beyers and Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Sketching their alternative path, they have decided to prepare their own constitutional proposals, embark on a "plan of action" and organise a conference including more parties early next year.

United by their rejection of a unitary State, they affirmed their belief in the principle that regional "states" should be established with varying degrees of power and

FM 11/12/92 (60) 304A

autonomy. Only a "limited and listed number of powers" would be reserved for central government in what effectively amounts to the CP's ideal of a consociational federation.

They again abjured negotiations of the kind they see as being "restricted to a process of bilateral meetings and understandings."

Cosag wants multi-party negotiations to resume "without any exclusion or preclusion to determine a new forum to guide the drafting of the new constitution."

The rejection of Codesa comes only days after the government and the ANC at their *bosberaad* "reaffirmed their commitment to the agreements already arrived at in Codesa." More important are indications that the two main players have reached compromise on an election date — late 1993. ■

DP and PAC resolve to help end violence

304A STAR 11/12/92

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party yesterday committed themselves to creating a climate conducive to negotiations, but failed to reach an agreement on last week's attacks on whites in the eastern Cape.

In a joint statement issued after a three-hour meeting in Johannesburg, the two parties said they recognised "the destructive effect which violence, and in particular the killing of innocent citizens", had on the creation of a climate in which negotiations for a new democratic constitution could take place.

"Both (the PAC and DP) will work towards achieving the ending of violence and a comprehensive cessation of hostilities as a matter of urgency. The PAC in particular reiterates its preparedness to discuss the cessation of hostilities with all concerned.

"Both agree that the matter of violence cannot be divorced from that of a political settlement," the statement said.

The DP and the PAC said they viewed the convening of a multilateral negotiations forum to decide on elections for a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution as an important step in resolving the problem of violence and achieving a political settlement.

Although last week's attacks on white civilians in King William's Town and Queenstown were discussed, no agreement was reached on this issue.

ANC prepared to press on to interim govt — Mandela

STAR 11/12/92 - 304A

By Carina le Grange

Even if other parties refuse to enter into new negotiations, the ANC is prepared — if the Government is willing — to press ahead towards interim government, ANC president Nelson Mandela said last night.

It would be preferable for all parties to be involved in the transition, he said, but the continuing violence, the struggling economy and high unemployment in the country demanded swift progress to an interim government.

Interviewed on TV1's "Agenda" programme by The Star's editor-in-chief Richard Steyn and Indicator editor Ameen Akhalwaya, Mandela stressed that Codesa remained the proper forum for multiparty negotiations, even if it had to be restructured.

He said it was "unthinkable" that Codesa should be dismantled, after two years of struggle to get it under way.

Warning against unilateral decisions by any one party, Mandela said "no force" could stop the establishment of a new government.

"The forces of peace are too strong to be derailed by any party," he said.

Mandela said he also believed that only an interim government could adequately address the problem of violence.

He said: "The Government, the ANC — all are involved in violence in one way or another. It is a question of where we put our shoulders to the wheel to stop it."

Mandela said the ANC was not opposed to the devolution of power to regions, but believed the issue should be settled by a representative constituent assembly.

He said the ANC would not abandon the option of mass action until South Africa had crossed the threshold into democracy.

Any decision to implement mass action would depend on the progress of negotiations. However, he added, it was unreasonable to expect negotiations to "proceed without hiccups".

NP/ANC COALITION

FM 11/12/92.

A time to merge

The political climate has been drastically altered in recent weeks by the behaviour of Apla — the so-called armed wing of the PAC. The "declaration of war" against whites at this stage removes the PAC and Apla from any serious entitlement to a place at the negotiating table and the cadres in the field will sooner or later be stopped.

It will be recalled that after the breakdown at Codesa the mood of the country slumped into exhaustion and depression — with all that this meant by way of economic stagnation. And that the breakdown sprang from government's intransigence over the percentage of votes in a national assembly required to overturn quasi-entrenched regional powers.

In essence, the Nationalists wanted power at the periphery to balance the central power it foresaw wielded by the ANC under virtually any acceptable electoral system. One calculation is that under the system of proportional representation chosen by the NP, the ANC would gain 49,5% of the vote; under an ANC system, that figure would be higher: 53%.

In this (notional) election, the Nats could gain 21,5% or 22,6% — also scoring higher under ANC rules than under their own.

There is certainly room for debate about the validity of such projections in a country which has never had a free parliamentary election before (see *Current Affairs*).

But the point is that the NP cannot rule by itself — nor yet muster a majority of partners which would have to include too radical a spectrum, from the AWB to the PAC, assorted homeland and ethnic parties. And that assumes that the NP's low vote threshold for election is allowed to pass through Codesa, or its successors, untouched.

For its part, the ANC could certainly attempt to rule with a 49,5% plurality, or scoop in the likes of the PAC with their 3,5% of the popular vote to attain a majority. But even if current differences between the ANC and the PAC can somehow be resolved — and that cannot happen as long as Apla continues its ugly little war — one is looking at an unstable coalition.

In such circumstances — as experience in Israel shows — two strong parties vie for the centre and woo the fringes which, in turn, put in outrageous demands in exchange for their support. The strongest coalition would be between the NP and the ANC. Is this feasible?

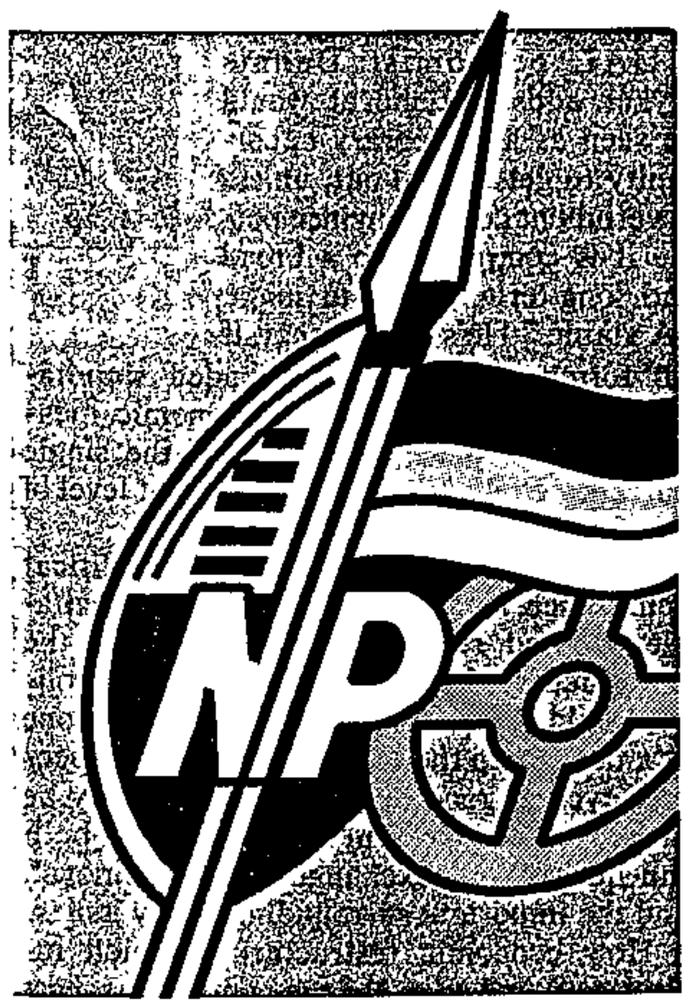
It might help if the independence of the Reserve Bank was constitutionally sanctioned before a government of national unity has to decide on spending priorities in forthcoming Budgets. It might also help if Derek Keys was retained as Minister of Finance. But underlying philosophical gulfs loom: on the issues of reparations for apartheid, land apportionment, affirmative action, the free enterprise system, health, welfare and schooling.

These gulfs are, perhaps, not so wide as even a year ago. There *has* been Codesa — a labyrinthine and wearisome exercise which did at least show that the ANC and NP could work together once out of the never-never land of ideological competition. Ideas which outlive their usefulness simply die out like unfavourable mutations in the animal kingdom — which is why the SACP repudiates Stalinism, a sort of eight-legged armadillo to which it has been chained for some decades.

The big parties, at any rate, agree that the economy must grow. Such a convergence — tentative as it may be — is far more rational and conciliatory than one may have feared listening to Nelson Mandela's Cape Town speech on his release from jail some 31 months ago. The ANC leader has evidently seen the economic writing on the wall.

Much dirty work has already been put in place to facilitate just such an ANC/NP coalition. The exchange of psychopaths; the cut-off date for indemnity for political crimes; the oddly muted sounds of disapproval which mutually emerge whenever the Nats or the ANC are yet again caught out in some deviant or brutal scheme.

It would be remarkable if we were morally strong enough as a nation to prosecute all wrongdoers who carried out government or liberation force actions in the belief that they were just obeying orders. But we are a morally weak country — and no occupying power is around to make us pay for our sins — so we have no choice but each to forgive the other's thugs' transgressions.



And now Apla comes along to show us the real alternative — that ghastly one which John Vorster refused to contemplate despite doing so much to bring it about: race war.

Apla, and the PAC, are positively mandating a coalition between the NP and the ANC on the simple basis that they wish to avoid this nightmare.

All of which might seem to amount to a low argument for a coalition. There is a higher one: it has to do with foreign confidence in SA's ability to keep the peace, create jobs and maintain a growing economy which will be attractive to foreign investors. And from which South Africans themselves will not flee, financially or in person.

If, one year from now, SA has a strong government of national unity which flows from free elections — and which is presided over by, say, Mandela — think of all the good things that will, deservedly, come our way. ■

BUTHELEZI AND HIS BASE

A spoke in the wheel

Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision to play the KwaNatal constitutional card has clearly caught everyone in the political arena off balance. But he may have committed a long-term strategic gaffe by going for short-term tactical gains.

His unilaterally devised constitution, as set out in the steamy atmosphere of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly on December 1 (*Current Affairs* December 4), is a significant departure from the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader's consistent stance on federalism in recent years. Suddenly he appears to have opted to lead a rightist, confederal charge.

Analysts say this is the implication of his policy document, which advocates strong regional authority and a virtually impotent central government — particularly with reference to the establishment of a State militia and taxation powers. Nevertheless, some feel Buthelezi's constitution, which is well prepared and thought out, stops short of calling for a unilateral declaration of independence.

Others, like Tony Minnaar of the Human Sciences Research Council, believe that in seeking such wide autonomy — with control of the purse strings, education and security forces — he is calling for independence. "There's no provision for negotiation on this constitution at all. That effectively means he's talking about a referendum and then declaring UDI."

But, though it may elicit a strong groundswell of support from many Natalians, including white businessmen, the IFP leader must realise there is little likelihood of his constitution ever being tested at the polls prior to a general election next year.

However, as Stellenbosch's Willie Breytenbach puts it, Buthelezi has alienated the Nats — formerly his natural allies — along with the DP. Instead, Breytenbach says, he's cosying up to the Conservatives — who are delighted with the latest tactical shift. However, this seems as much to be a protest against the ANC/Nat Record of Understanding, as seeking a binding alliance.

"He's been a lot quicker to opt for this fallback position than I expected," Breytenbach adds. "His first objective always seemed to be central troika power on a non-elected interim government basis lasting as long as possible. I thought he'd opt for securing regional autonomy only if that failed.

"Now early elections seem probable — possibly even before the end of next year. And perhaps he feels such an election, either for a constituent assembly or new parliament, might show him to be a significant power — but not one in the top three — and that would mean the end of the troika."

Breytenbach, however, doubts that Buthelezi has suddenly become a confederalist. That would snap the golden thread running from the Buthelezi and other commissions, where he and the Democratic Party emerged as SA's original federalists. Breaking off to the Right doesn't match ideals and visions



carried throughout the Seventies, Eighties and Nineties.

"Therefore, I think his constitution is a bargaining chip. I still expect Buthelezi to play a political role, more or less in the middle of the political spectrum and not to the right of centre. Politically, he belongs in bed with De Klerk and possibly Mangope; they share many common principles, such as federalism and belief in free-market economies."

However, based on the reactions of his "natural partners" to the constitutional proposals, Breytenbach feels Buthelezi has blundered tactically. "First prize was Nat and DP support, representing bureaucracy and business. Instead, the only approval came from the CP, Afrikaner Volksunie, Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's Mangope."

It looks as though Buthelezi will be left on a limb for some time. Though the ANC and Nats may be natural opponents, they will probably be forced to co-operate after an election because of "sunset" clauses and interim government principles. Only after this will partnerships be reformed to decide who governs SA. According to Breytenbach, those partnerships will be much along Codesa divisions with the IFP in the Nat-led "system" camp, pitted against the ANC-led "struggle" group.

Minnaar is less convinced that Buthelezi has blundered. He believes it was a good tactical move for the constitution to be launched on the eve of the *bosberaad* which brought together government and the ANC — it reasserted the need to consult Buthelezi at national level. "Ironically the PAC's Apla has to some extent thrown a spoke in the wheel because its actions have led to greater government/ANC consensus on political directions."

Unlike Breytenbach, he believes Buthelezi was shrewd to publish the constitution now. "He's showing other power players what he can do. He is saying 'this is what I'll do in my regional power base: I'll have total independence from SA if you don't take cognisance of me and as a national leader.' "

Minnaar adds that Buthelezi probably also feels that if he isn't given his regional autonomy he can make it difficult for a unitary central government to impose law and order. That will eventually lead to a handover of State control. Crucial to the success of the plan is the necessity for Buthelezi to show how much control he has over Natal — hence the heightened levels of violence in the region's "contested terrain."

Minnaar differs with Breytenbach over whether Buthelezi is genuine about confederalism. "Though Buthelezi may have fought homeland independence for KwaZulu from SA, his position had already shifted considerably by 1983, when he was looking at consociational politics and there has been a logical progression from the concept of equal states since then. That also explains the *toenadering* to the political Right ..."

Whether he has blundered or not remains to be seen, but the IFP leader has certainly stirred the pot and shown that he's far from impotent. ■

PAC/APLA

In the firing line

Unless it splits or reins in its universally condemned armed wing Apla, the PAC risks working itself out of the negotiations process and being sidelined altogether.

This week's scheduled meeting between it and government was, predictably, called off. Following the Apla-claimed atrocities at King William's Town and Queenstown last weekend in which five people were killed and 34 injuried, government demanded a clear and satisfactory explanation of the PAC's relationship with Apla as a condition for the meeting. This had not been received by Tuesday.

On the contrary, PAC information director Walters Toboti underlined the link with Apla. He said it was an "integral" part of the organisation, which would not be abandoned even if this meant scuttling Wednesday's

continued

Govt, Cosag to hold indaba

STAR 11/12/92.

30CA

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

After a straight-talking six-hour meeting, the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "bosberaad" to thrash out major differences about the way negotiations and the future South Africa should be structured.

In a joint statement issued after yesterday's meeting — the first encounter between the SA Government and the disaffected homelands members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) since the homelands broke off talks in September — they agreed to move toward inclusive negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by President de Klerk, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties — including the other Cosag members such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie — would be invited to attend the two-day bosberaad on January 8 and 9.

The statement said that at yesterday's meeting the four parties discussed agreements and disagreements on constitutional negotiations and on federalism, regionalism and confederalism.

De Klerk said at a press conference that no agreement had been reached but that differences would be discussed when they held the January meeting.

Buthelezi issued the text of a statement he had delivered at yesterday's meeting which made it clear there had been blunt talk and that he had not budged from his intention to launch a bottom-up negotiation process for an autonomous KwaZulu/Natal state, which would be at odds with the current negotiation process.

His announcement of his plans last week prompted De Klerk to warn him his bilateral initiatives were threatening negotiations.

Bomb attack puts more pressure on de Klerk

Guardian Win w/ mail

PRESIDENT F. W. de Klerk is under pressure to take action against the Pan Africanist Congress after a bomb attack on a restaurant in which 19 whites were injured, five seriously, *writes our Correspondent in Johannesburg.*

The second random attack on whites within one week turned attention from bilateral talks between the African National Congress and the government, in which progress appeared to have been made towards restarting multi-party constitutional negotiations in February.

The rightwing Conservative Party said the government's failure to take action made them responsible, and the ANC described the bombing as "the work of desperadoes who are not confident of pitting their strengths against other parties in a democratic election which they realise is imminent".

Police blamed the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army. It followed its reported threat to kill more whites after the gun and grenade attack two weeks ago on a winetasting dinner in nearby King William's Town, which left four whites dead.

The government and the ANC, meanwhile, were optimistic at the end of their three-day meeting at a secret rendezvous. In a statement, they said they had agreed on "the need for a speedy movement from the current situation to a democratic dispensation".

● Two British women, one a young mother on holiday, were found murdered last week on a remote beach in northern Natal. They are thought to have been raped and their bodies thrown into the sea before waves washed them back.

'Codesa, multiparty talks must fail'

(304A)

Sowetan & Radio Metro

*Talk*back



with Tim Modise

Sowetan 11/12/92.

By Sonti Maseko

THE Azanian Peoples Organisation will continue to call on black people to intensify their efforts to ensure that Codesa and multiparty talks fail in order to safeguard their interests.

This was said by the newly-elected president of Azapo, Dr Itumeleng Mosala, on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show last night.

Govt must resign

Mosala said Azapo would pursue the demand that the government must resign and be replaced by a Constituent Assembly.

"In our view, multiparty talks will only deliver a neo-colonial settlement which will do what it has done to countries on this continent," he said.

Mosala was speaking on the role and the programmes embarked on by Azapo.

Constituent assembly

Mosala said only a constituent assembly could reverse a political trend which excluded black people from participating in the process of their liberation.

"You cannot liberate from the top. You have to begin from the bottom and allow people to own their liberation," he said.

Asked by political reporter Kaiser Nyatsumba to comment officially on the killing of whites by the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army in the Eastern Cape recently, Mosala said although Apla was the PAC's military wing and therefore the PAC's business, State President FW De Klerk must take the blame for what happened because of his failure to show genuine intentions to transform the country.

He also said the issue was depressing as it reflected a deeper problem of intellectual and ideological bankruptcy within black political organisations.

"I find a lot of good in the ANC, PAC, Azapo, and the Unity Movement.

"What about a person like myself who believes in the unity of black people.

"Why can't the leaders unite and talk about the problems.

"We can defeat the Boers in 24 hours or less if you can get togethr and unite."

Anonymous, Cape Town

next *Talk*back topic

THE *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show opens the lines on Monday for you to raise any issue of topical interest or that is bothering you. You can phone Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm. You can tune in to the programme on FM 96.4 (and 92.4 in Pretoria).

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

NEWS Govt, IFP differences to be thrashed out in January ● Court convicts guerilla

Tough talking at FW, Buthelezi indaba

Sowetan 11/12/92

■ Government plans 'bosberaad' with homeland leaders and rightwing

AFTER a tough, straight-talking, six-hour meeting, the Government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the governments of Bophuthatswana and Ciskei have agreed to hold a January "*bosberaad*" to try to thrash out major differences about the way negotiations and the future South Africa should be structured.

In a joint statement after yesterday's meeting - the first encounter between the SA Government and the homelands since the homelands broke off talks in September - they agreed on the need to move toward inclusive multi-party negotiations as soon as possible.

The delegations were headed by De Klerk, Bophuthutswana President Lucas Mangope, Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Other parties - including the other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) such as the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie - would be invited to attend the two-day *bosberaad* on 8 and 9 January.

The statement said at yesterday's meeting, the four parties discussed agreements and disagreements on constitutional negotiations and on federalism, regionalism and confederalism. De Klerk said no agreement had been reached but differences would be discussed in January.



New SA is 'building fast'

ARG 12/12/92

304A

■ A Happy Christmas and a Peaceful New Year could be on the cards for South Africa if this week's political signs are right.

Weekend Argus Political Staff

FURTHER strong signals have emerged that the political clock has now been set for rapid progress towards building the New South Africa.

At the end of a highly-constructive week, the two main government and African National Congress negotiators yesterday delivered signals indicating that major developments were only months away.

In Pretoria, Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer told a media briefing that, if all parties co-operated, an election for a transitional government could be held before the end of next year.

And in Stockholm, African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a transitional government in South Africa within a few months and free elections before 1994 were distinct possibilities.

Mr Meyer said: "The government is convinced the time scales and objects it has proposed for 1993 are attainable. The government has come to this conclusion as a result of continuous contact with all political groups of the country, in spite of differences regarding the process and the content of constitutional development."

Mr Ramaphosa, who has been in Sweden on a private visit since Wednesday, told the newspaper Dagens Nyheter: "We are very close to agreeing on an election date with the South African government. It is an important victory for the ANC and we are very pleased with the progress we are making.

"We have different political ideas, and different histories, but we have a common goal: To make South Africa a democratic country."

■ On Thursday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said: "I think we have good reason to look at 1993 with hope.'

■ The same day, President De Klerk said he, IFP president Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders cleared up misunderstandings and achieved some hope for renewed multiparty talks.

In a television interview, however, Mr Mandela cautioned that talks next year would not be trouble-free.

And, at the Union Buildings, there was no mincing of words between Mr De Klerk, Dr Buthelezi, Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope and Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The homeland leaders were highly suspicious of government-ANC dealings, believing the government was being hoodwinked by a movement wanting power.

Dr Buthelezi told Mr De Klerk he believed the president had erred: "We believe your analysis of the South African situation is either lacking in important understandings or you are chartering a wrong course through a constitution obstacle race against time to do the best you can in the face of everything that is descending upon you."

ANC-Govt deal triggers IFP fury

'Tryst' could lead to elections next year

PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

THE Government and the African National Congress have moved closer to a negotiations deal which could lead to elections in less than a year. But the deal has enraged the Inkatha Freedom Party — and is driving a deep wedge into the National Party.

It is becoming clearer now that in the torrid political love triangle between the Government, the ANC and IFP, the Government and ANC appear to be getting into bed together — and the IFP is feeling jilted.

This has important implications for the likely course of negotiations next year. It now seems that the Government and ANC will push through a negotiations package leading to elections for an interim government before the end of 1993.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after an attempted reconciliation between the Government and the IFP this week that it was like having an argument with his wife. "Once she has had her say and I have had mine, I usually get it out of my system."

But although he — and other disaffected homeland leaders — agreed to get together again in January with the Government, it is becoming increasingly apparent that the political marriage between the NP and the IFP is heading for the rocks. And the divorce papers will probably cite the NP's "dirty weekend" with the ANC at an Ellisras game reserve last week.

Romantic atmosphere

It was there — in the romantic atmosphere of the campfire and the bushveld moonlight — that the two sides seem to have secretly agreed to drive the negotiation process in tandem and to run the interim government and beyond in a power-sharing deal.

Both sides have been extremely coy about exactly what was decided on. But ANC leader Nelson Mandela said the Government had agreed to elections before the end of next year — after President de Klerk forecast elections only in March/April 1994.

Although the Government denied that any firm agreements had been reached, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said at a news conference yesterday that elections could be held before the end of 1993 if all parties co-operated.

Both sides agreed after the bosberaad that they had to accept "joint responsibility" for negotiations — which sounded very like the ANC view that negotiations should essentially amount to an agreement between the Government and the ANC.

The IFP flounced off in a huff and announced its go-it-alone option of launching an anti-Codesa negotiation at which regional powers — not national leaders — would get together to decide how the new South Africa should look.

De Klerk warned Buthelezi that his "unilateral" initiative was jeopardising negotiations and leading to direct confrontation with the Government. His tough response alarmed the National Party's conservative wing, especially the Natal Nats, whose leader George Bartlett is a fervent IFP fan.

It was Bartlett and other Natal Nats who brought Buthelezi and De Klerk together in Pretoria this week to discuss their differences.

Although the meeting ended on an ostensibly optimistic note, with an agreement to meet again in a bosberaad on January 8 and 9, sources inside the meeting said no rapprochement was achieved.

Buthelezi delivered a hostile speech to De Klerk, berating him for acting in an unpatriotic way by doing secret deals with the ANC.

Constitutional differences

De Klerk calmly dismissed the personal attack on himself and focused on constitutional differences, prompting some concern in the NP's anti-IFP faction that the president might be wavering.

But the general consensus was that De Klerk and the Cabinet had decided that the only way to pull off a negotiations deal to save the economy and rescue the country from violence was to join forces with the ANC — dumping the IFP if necessary.

It is understood that at the ANC-Government bosberaad last week, Bartlett was severely chastised by De Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha for his over-enthusiastic response to Buthelezi's go-it-alone plan.

One of the important "fault lines" in the party was between those who wanted to do a deal with the ANC and those who saw the NP's salvation in a conservative alliance with the likes of the IFP.

The pro-ANC faction seems to have seized the initiative. And the issue that might have tipped the balance was the Joe Slovo-inspired strategy of offering the NP a power-sharing deal with a life beyond that of an interim government.

Could Apla be shoving South Africa towards a settlement?

STAR 12/12/92

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN Johnson



IT IS extraordinary that one can now talk realistically of the Government and the ANC — in the very same breath — as occupying the political centre.

IF YOU insist on remaining an optimist in this hard, dry land, as I do, you have to grow intellectual calluses. You have also to harden your heart, and you must devise a form of logic which devalues the immediate in favour of the eventual. What on earth am I talking about? Apla, that's what. And I am attempting to motivate a somewhat contrary political view on the awful re-emergence in South Africa of soft-target bombings.

Perversely enough the Apla attacks — if indeed they were Apla attacks — have had a salutary effect on the diseased negotiations process.

This is not to underplay the unspeakable tragedy which befell the victims in King William's Town and Queenstown; several lives were cruelly taken and many more ruined. Neither is it to dignify PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander's hollow sophistry about such attacks "mobilising white opinion against violence".

It is to argue that the more outrageous the behaviour from the peripheries, the more the centre will cohere. And the more the centre coheres, the more pressure there will be on the peripheries to play the game to the new rules, or relegate themselves to the sidelines.

In this crucial moment of transition I think we are seeing the concentric circles contracting, and the new South Africa appearing ever clearer in the middle.

In their equal anger against the sudden addition of old-style terror tactics to the already-untenable morass of violence, the Government and the ANC have made powerful common cause. Both immediately condemned and rejected the targeting of civilians in pursuit of political ends, and both displayed a remarkable degree of agreement about the parameters of acceptable transition politics.

Apla has strayed beyond those parameters, just as the AWB did before it.

It is extraordinary that one can now talk realistically of the Government and the ANC — in the very same breath — as occupying the political centre. It is a sign of great maturity in the negotiations process that these erstwhile sworn enemies, whose political programmes are and will remain so different, are agreed on the fundamentals that are necessary conditions for a settlement.

And the effects of the "Apla campaign" go even further: instead of dashing recently revived optimism about a resumption of multiparty talks and the early installation of interim government, the eastern Cape atrocities have hardened the resolve of the two principal actors. In the past two years it has taken very small things to "derail" negotiations; now, a very big thing has happened and the peace train has simply speeded up.

Both President de Klerk and Mr Mandela have insisted in recent days that nothing — including soft-target attacks and secessionist hints — will stop them from marching onwards to settlement. Both have recognised that the atrophy of the economy and the incremental breakdown of social order are of such seriousness that the transition can no longer be held hostage by some of its participants.

This recognition is at least a year overdue, but it is welcome nevertheless. This is the kind of visionary statesmanship that South Africa has been crying out for since February 1990, when the current path was first trod.

There is now a widespread realisation that the two central negotiating powers must, believing as they do that they represent a majority of South Africans, ride roughshod if necessary to a preliminary settlement. The spectre of Codesa in its initial form (where participants having little or no support-bases could hold up proceedings on a whim) looms large — and the experiment is unlikely to be repeated. All is being staked on making progress with or without the peripheries in the earnest hope that they will in the process be drawn to the centre. Codesa 3 — or whatever it is eventually called — will be different from its predecessors, a more empowered political animal.

It is not just the Apla threat, of course, that has injected this potent dose of realism into our country's political bloodstream. The sense of controlled panic at the prospect of an unending negotiating hiatus has been a long time coming, helped along by massacres, bankruptcies, the drought, crime, growing international indifference, and much more. But Apla has provided a special spur, and I do not think the major politicians will easily lapse back into the arrogant and myopic inertia which has characterised the past six months.

So are we, in spite of each week's fresh disaster, going to achieve the little miracle that is multiracial, multiparty government for the first time in our country's history? I like to answer that question in the local idiom: "Is Mangosuthu Buthelezi a Zulu?"

NINE MONTHS LATER...

A President with hop(

(BUT WITHOUT STARS IN HIS EYES

5|Times 13/12/92.



President FW de Klerk, a tumultuous year behind him, contemplates the future w a subdued confidence. BRIAN POTTINGER and MIKE ROBERTSON report

NINE months after South Africa's whites overwhelmingly supported his reforms in a national referendum, President FW De Klerk no longer speaks with the ready enthusiasm of happier times.

He is still confident about the country's future, but it is a confidence peppered with qualifications like "reasonably", "relatively" and "as far as possible".

After a hard year — which included stalled talks, violence, economic hardship and falling public confidence — Mr de Klerk says he is still looking forward to real progress in 1993, "but not with stars in my eyes".

He cites his reasons for hope. "After the discussions with the ANC recently and Inkatha this week, I am relatively confident the few problems remaining can be breached."

He admits concern about delays in negotiations which could have been avoided, but says that there is a convergence of views and a growth in thinking among participants that gives him hope that the country is nearer an accord than at the break-up of Codesa. Time, he says, has not been fully wasted.

The president also expects the economy to improve during 1993, "but not spectacularly".

And the violence, the malignancy lying at the root of much of the country's problems?

"I think we can look forward to an improved situation with the violence. I perceive among political leaders a new realisation that all of us must accept responsibility and stop pointing fingers.

"If that permeates to the ground, then one can reasonably predict the violence will calm down and we will have a breakthrough to the sort of stability we require for fair elections."

He admits his relations with his main negotiating partners, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Nelson Mandela, have taken a dip at times this year, "but I think wisdom is prevailing and a personal rapport exists which is constructive".

THE president is clearly sensitive to suggestions that he and the ANC are considering a carve-up which would exclude the rumbustious Chief Buthelezi.

"We think inclusively, and I would like that to be put on the record," he insists.

Chief Buthelezi's refusal to participate personally in Codesa is described as "a pity". The president says he has never tried to marginalise Chief Buthelezi and expresses regret that a better understanding between the ANC and Inkatha has not materialised, although there are now promising signs that it might.

He dismisses suggestions that Chief Buthelezi was considering a secessionist move in Natal: "I am convinced that is not his intention."

But what if even his cautious optimism is dashed? What if negotiations irretricvably falter and internal anarchy and violence rise even further?

"There is no turning back (on reform) and there is a primary responsibility on the government to ensure that delays do not favour those radical groups that do not want reform to succeed.

"If necessary, we will take steps to keep the wheels of reform rolling. I do not say that in a threatening sense. The initiatives will still be orientated towards negotiations as much as possible."

Could the initiative be, as some in his cabinet are suggesting, in the form of a new constitution unilaterally adopted by Parliament and opening the way for a constituent assembly election? Perhaps even a De Gaulle Option — extraordinary powers for the president.

President de Klerk is not saying. "I am not prepared to comment on what it would be, but it would be constructive and aimed at taking along as many people as possible."

Amid reports of cabinet and caucus unhappiness with "limp-wristed" negotiations, the president remains sensitive to suggestions that there are divisions in his cabinet.

"That is just hopeful thinking among our opposition. I have always had the support of my cabinet and caucus."

Yet, admits the president, there may well be a feeling of "loneliness" among caucus members who are not closely involved in negotiations. It was a problem caused by the fact that caucus members were apart from each other for long periods of the year.

But the unhappiness is wider than that — there is a general sense of unease in the country that Mr de Klerk has lost control, that his government has lost the will to govern.

His response is immediate and sharp: "Do we have will? Yes, we do have the will. We are not a lame-duck government. I don't think there is a factual basis for that perception.

"We showed that will when we brought VAT in against tremendous opposition, and we will show that will presenting the next Budget, which will be aimed at fundamentally addressing the economic problems which we continue to face.

"We showed the will by going through with the indemnity legislation. We showed the will by doubling the number of troops in Natal. And in each and every sphere, I can give you examples of firm government decisions which have been taken in the best interests of the country."

HE is unrepentant about the government's record in his tenure, particularly when the ANC claims that since his significant victory in the white referendum nine months ago, he has become arrogant in negotiations.

"I don't think the setbacks since the breakdown at Codesa 2 were caused by us. And without being conceited, we have succeeded in managing the difficulties created by the breakdown at Codesa relatively well — to such an extent that we can truthfully say there is now every reason to be hopeful for resumption of multi-party negotiations early next year."

Of course, the success of constitutional negotiations is in many ways dependent on the economy recovering.

Despite a promise earlier this year by Mr de Klerk to cut government spending to the bone, the deficit before borrowing has risen sharply to about eight percent of gross domestic product.

Mr de Klerk says the reason for this worrying state of affairs is not the result of a lack of effort on the part of his government, but of the extraordinary circumstances in which the country found itself this year — a crippling drought and a fall in tax receipts because of the recession.

In next year's Budget, he promises, further steps will be taken to reduce government spending.

Such as?

"Well, the possibility has been raised that we must look at the main item (the salary bill) ... we must bring in more discipline and make sure it doesn't grow too much." Cutting the salary bill will necessitate a reduction in jobs — an unpopular move, and Mr de Klerk is aware of this.

Unemployment, he says, is "the biggest single problem that South Africa has at the moment. The government is not approaching this in an unfeeling and haphazard manner."

FINANCE Minister Derek Keys has identified the lack of investment, which in turn reflects a lack of confidence, as South Africa's chief economic problem. Is Mr de Klerk disappointed at the private sector's reluctance to invest in South Africa?

"In my discussions with them, it became clear that there are quite a number of important projects on the drawing table ... I am satisfied that almost every major corporation has plans on the drawing board and has taken decisions which will resu vast investment. They showing confidence 1993, this will become more apparent."

Two issues have par larly raised public ire last year — revelations corruption in gover departments and ind cation for atrocities com ted in the past by forces or guerrillas.

On these topics, the pr dent is defensive. Much of corruption occurred y ago, he says, and the rot revealed in commiss appointed by the gove itself. Where there was pri facie evidence of crimi activity in the public ser or security services, had been prosecution — some people had even their jobs.

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NE MONTHS LATER . . .

President with hope

UT WITHOUT STARS IN HIS EYES)

S/Times 13/12/92.



dent FW de Klerk, a tumultuous year behind him, contemplates the future with lued confidence. BRIAN POTTINGER and MIKE ROBERTSON report

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Two issues have particularly raised public ire in the last year — revelations of corruption in government departments and indemnification for atrocities committed in the past by security forces or guerrillas.

On these topics, the president is defensive. Much of the corruption occurred years ago, he says, and the rot was revealed in commissions appointed by the government itself. Where there was prima facie evidence of criminal activity in the public service or security services, there had been prosecution — and some people had even lost their jobs.

"It shows the will to root out corruption. Where there is prima facie evidence that there might be corruption, we have not shrunk back from the responsibility of having it properly investigated, with the results publicised," he says.

Yes, but how does he account for the fact that despite evidence of widespread corruption and maladministration, not a single minister has been dismissed or even reprimanded?

He says: "I think that in some countries, political accountability is taken too far — in the sense that just because something is wrong in a department, the minister must resign. It is almost chopping somebody's head off even if he is totally innocent. I think there must be fairness.

"But if a minister did not take necessary precautions when it became apparent that steps were necessary, then yes, he must be held accountable. And in each of these cases, the ministers involved definitely took steps immediately when they were advised. It is for that reason that they were not requested to resign or did not offer their resignations."

Mr de Klerk also defends his highly controversial indemnity bill, which he railroaded through the discredited President's Council after stiff opposition from many quarters. The bill allows for people guilty of politically-motivated crimes to confess their sins in private to a board of judges and be given absolution.

Mr de Klerk justifies the legislation on the basis that the release of such prisoners is a political action and he, as a politician, does not want to have to exercise that power without impartial advice.

The president rejects suggestions that the main purpose of the new legislation is to "cover for government people who have perpetrated crimes".

"I was not under pressure from the security forces and the perception that we are giving a blank, faceless indemnity is not true."

Why, then, the secrecy provisions in the new law?

"That would only apply in the case of a man applying voluntarily without having been brought to court. I think the number of those cases will be minimal, but the names will be published. It will pose a challenge to investigative journalists to follow up and find out why the name was published.

"If you don't insert (the secrecy provisions), nobody will come to the fore. It has the advantage that it might help us to solve unsolved crimes."

AFTER A TOUGH YEAR, PRESIDENT DENIES HE LACKS WILL TO GOVERN

I'm no lame duck — FW

By MIKE ROBERTSON and BRIAN POTTINGER

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, surveying a year of disappointments, this week dismissed suggestions that he lacked the will to govern South Africa and declared: "We are not a lame-duck government."

The 56-year-old president, tired but still determined, reflected a sombre and qualified confidence in the new year in a wide-ranging interview with the Sunday Times.

Despite a year of stalled talks, deepening recession and reports of unhappiness in his own Cabinet, he was still optimistic that constitutional settlement, economic recovery and a sharp reduction in violence were all attainable in 1993.

If talks did not yield progress soon, he said, he would be prepared to push ahead with his own initiatives.

Defensive

He would not comment on, but did not rule out, a possibility — favoured by some in his Cabinet — of Parliament adopting a new constitution next year, even if talks with the ANC and others break down.

He was particularly defensive about charges that he had lost the will or capacity to govern.

"We will show that will in the next Budget, which is aimed at fundamentally addressing the economic problems which we continue to face," he said.

His message for a buffeted and increasingly disillusioned public was: despite a tough year, there are hopeful economic and political signs that things are on the mend.

The points of hope are:

● After a year of needless delays, he believed violence will calm down and we will have a breakthrough to the sort of stability for fair elections.

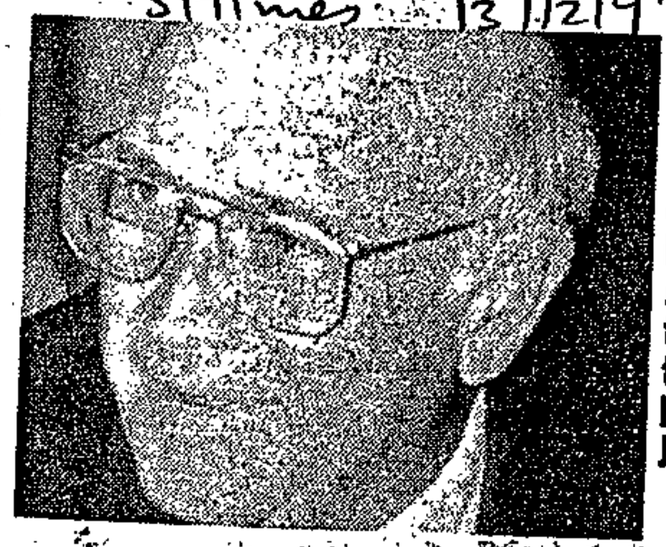
During the interview, Mr de Klerk was always considered, occasionally defensive and sometimes tetchy.

He responded forcefully when it was put to him that high levels of corruption, the failure to bring to book rogue elements in his security forces and the spiralling deficit before borrowing had raised questions about whether he had lost the will to govern.

"We do have the will. We are not a lame-duck government."

The introduction of VAT, a tough Budget next year, doubling the number of troops in Natal and pushing through with the indemnity bill were all cited as examples of that will.

Despite evidence to the contrary, Mr de Klerk also forcefully rejected suggestions that his Cabinet and caucus were divided on negotiations strategy.



HIGH HOPES: President FW de Klerk, who believes South Africa is on the recovery trail
Picture: JOHN HOGG

S Times 13/12/92

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A PRESIDENT WITH HOPE



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The points of hope are:

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A PRESIDENT WITH HOPE (but without stars in his eyes): Page 21

that as a result of the recent rounds of talks with the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party, the country was nearer an accord now than at the break-up of Codesa six months ago.

The "few remaining problems" could be swiftly resolved and multiparty negotiations resumed early next year.

● The economy could show an improvement next year — "but not spectacular" — as the country began to reap the benefit of the tough policies applied over the past few years.

After discussions with just about every major corporation in South Africa, he said he was satisfied they all either had plans or had already taken decisions that would result in vast new investment.

● On violence, the president said he perceived a new realisation among political leaders that "all of us must accept responsibility and stop pointing fingers".

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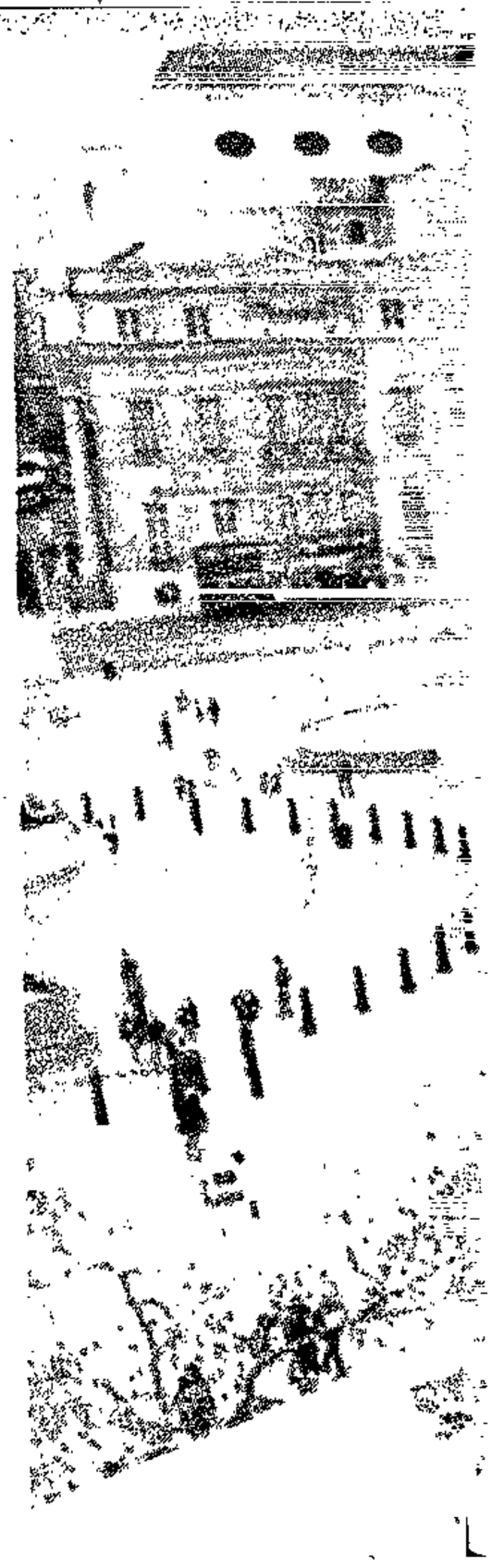
WRITING SA BACK INTO THE HISTORY BOOKS

S/Times 13/12/92 304A



THE view from South Africa House is of a bleak and wintry Trafalgar Square, dwarfed by the towering column of Nelson. Rain is lightly drifting down as little groups of children in wellies and coats chase the square's street-wise pigeons.

On the pavements, the commuters stream along steadfastly, eyes to the ground and faces hidden behind upturned collars and hats. Life in London goes on.

But up in the impressive stone building that will forever remain part of South Africa the mood is distinctly upbeat. Ambassador Kent Durr is preparing to return home for Christmas, his first holiday since he took up his posting in April last year.

From his first floor office he overlooks the stretch where anti-apartheid demonstrators maintained their unrelenting campaign throughout the 70s and 80s. Their absence now is the most visible sign that the country is being rehabilitated in the eyes of the world.

Few people will dispute that South Africa is regaining its place on the world stage, but since the release of Nelson Mandela there has been no blaze of glory. It's happening in a series of small steps.

A particular milestone was South Africa's rugby return to Twickenham last month, but seen as just as important is the establishment of banking operations in London, air links with the Middle East (facilitated by the embassy) and the impending visit to Cape Town by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Seemingly small things like the country's high-profile presence alongside former Commonwealth compatriots at services to commemorate the battle of El Alamein show that the country is regaining favour.

As Durr puts it: "South Africa was, in a subtle way, written out of history, but it is now quietly being written back."

The ambassador is, predictably, most keen to discuss the progress being made, but an urgent message from Pretoria on the Apla attacks necessitates a quick phone call to the Foreign Office.

It brings home the point that a major political upheaval in South Africa has the ability to derail all diplomatic breakthroughs. Three incidents this year have come perilously close to blowing the gains that have been made — the Boipatong killings, the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa and the Ciskei massacre. But the forward impetus has continued.

The demonstrations outside the embassy after the Boipatong deaths in May were a brief reminder of the bad old days when staff and visitors had to run a permanent demo gauntlet outside the embassy.

Last month's revelations of state involvement in violence by Judge Goldstone could easily have become a major issue in Britain, but reassurances given by President de Klerk during a visit to Britain a few days earlier seemed to have blocked the political fall-out.

Indeed, diplomatic relations with British politicians have seldom been better. South Africa has always had close ties with the Conservatives, and the sanctions-blocking Margaret Thatcher in particular. The difference today is the improved relationship with the Labour Party which has adopted a more pragmatic, less judgmental, approach to the South African situation.

During his visit to London last month, Mr de Klerk made a point of calling on new Labour leader John Smith before meeting the Prime Minister. Durr has had discussions with both Smith and former leader Neil Kinnock.

Relations with the media have also improved and Durr describes coverage as "less partisan and more understanding and supportive of the political process towards democratisation".

WHILE newspapers increasingly reflect the complexity of the situation, the embassy has also worked hard to reposition itself.

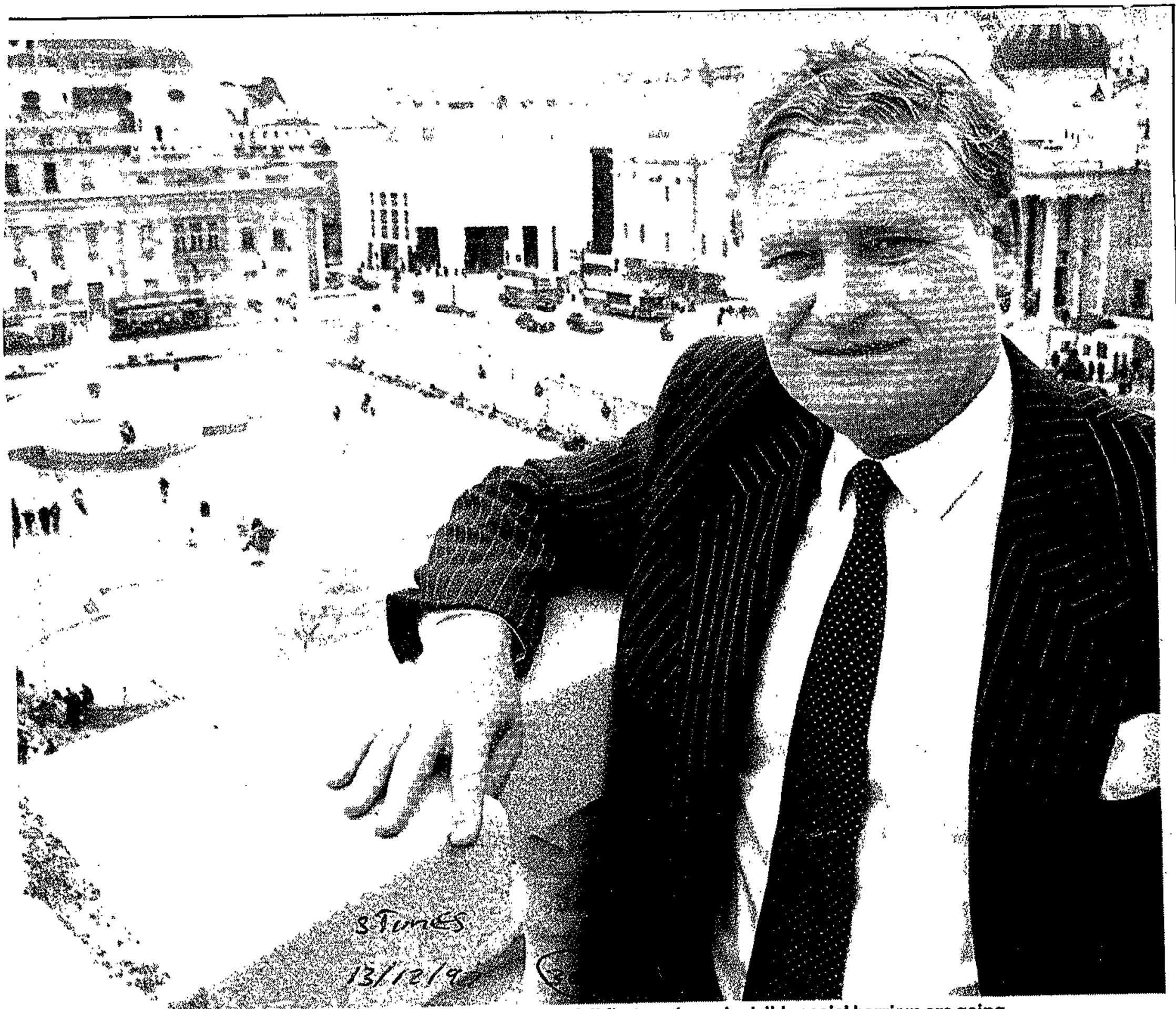
Socially, too, Durr has a distinct advantage over his predecesors who were treated as diplomatic lepers. Political reforms in South Africa have



RIGHT ROYAL MEETING . . . Kent Durr with Princess Margaret

ON THE SOUTH

Ambassador Kent D attitudes have come



AFRICAN EMBASSY BALCONY: Kent Durr who says visible barriers fell first, and now invisible social barriers are going

ırr tells PETER MALHERBE how changes in in a series of small steps rather than a blaze of glory

opened doors to him that remained firmly closed during the apartheid years.

He acknowledges as much: "The visible barriers are gone. Now many of the invisible social barriers are going."

A gregarious figure, he has lost no time in throwing himself into the social whirl and is a regular in the highest social and business circles in the city.

During the week of the rugby Test, when hordes of South Africans converged on London, the Durrs hosted up to three functions a day for up to 500 people a time.

Durr and his wife, Suzy, have have met both the Princess of Wales and Princess Margaret at gala functions. Weekends at royal residences with lesser royals are discreetly alluded to.

Durr, a former cabinet minister, is particularly keen to rebuff the image that the embassy serves only the National Party and says relations with the ANC and IFP offices in London are good.

"We are civil servants and serve all South Africans and all political parties," he maintains.

BLACK South Africans may not yet feel entirely at home with the Pierneef-adorned banquet halls, but over the past year steps have been taken to make the embassy more accessible to interested Britons and the estimated 40 000 South Africans in London at any one time.

The ground-floor reading room and library, closed to the public since 1974, has been reopened and refurbished with African art in places of prominence.

Centres have also been created where visiting businessmen have access to telephones, faxes and secretarial assistance and the embassy handles an average of 70 trade inquiries every day.

South Africa's diplomatic presence is small in a city of 160 embassies and 20 000 diplomats, but there are strong historical and business ties between the two countries.

The embrace being accorded by the business community is slowly being echoed in other sectors. For the first time in three decades, the South African aeronautics industry was represented at Farnborough this year.

On a cultural level, there have been strong moves towards the reintegration of the countries' entertainment industries.

THE involvement of the British Academy of Film and Television Arts (Bafta) in a South Africa Week film festival earlier this year is seen as a hopeful sign that Equity, a Bafta affiliate, is likely to vote to end the cultural boycott at its general meeting next year. Significantly, the festival was opened by **Cry Freedom** producer and arch anti-apartheid activist Richard Attenborough.

Links with the influential Church of England are growing and Dr George Carey's visit to South Africa for the International Anglican Conference in Cape Town next month is likely to boost relations further.



The coming year can only be for the better

(304A)

ST Times 13/12/92

AS the year draws wearily to its end, the only energy that South Africa can muster, it seems, is for violence. The killing and maiming continue unabated but, for the rest, the country is exhausted, emotionally and intellectually.

Even the government looks dispirited. One of the country's most prominent businessmen remarked as he left a meeting: "They should hand over to Cyril Ramaphosa. After all, the first requirement of government is the will to govern."

That may be unfair — and the charge is hotly denied by President de Klerk — but public perceptions have their own momentum, and since the referendum the momentum has been downward: Codesa II, the appallingly bungled release of prisoners that put criminals by the thousands back on the streets, the revelations of the extent of Nationalist corruption, the one-sided Record of Understanding which led to the forced passage of a calamitous indemnity law, the collapse of key cabinet ministers, the dogged refusal of anybody in government to be accountable for mistakes, neglect or misdeeds . . . it is a depressing record. As the lady said, *annus horribilis*.

The coming year must be better, if only because it could hardly be worse, but it is plain to everybody that 1993 will be a hinge of history: 350 years of white hegemony is coming to an end. The only analogy that comes to mind is the ending, after nearly four centuries, of Roman rule over Britain.

This is not, I hasten to say, an apocalyptic comment, or not necessarily so. It all depends on how the transition is handled, and how well we lay the foundations for a stable and prosperous democracy. Only if the transition slips into violence, or if the constitution of the new state is deeply flawed, will we face the apocalypse.

So far, despite the dreadful record of the past year, the omens are not all bad. The ANC talks of an election late next year, but, if I read between the lines of President de Klerk's timetable, that election is more likely to come early in 1994. Either way, we have about a year to get used to the idea of majority rule.

South Africans — whites in particular — have so far come through the process of change with commendable courage and (for a volatile people) steadiness. In 1964 I worked briefly for an American civil rights organisation in Mississippi, and on the strength of that experience I believe that Americans made much heavier weather of much lesser changes.

But lately it has seemed to me that people were reaching the limits of adaptability. The instinct of most people, and of all bureaucracies, is to do today what they did yesterday; our entire world is being refashioned, and we worry about the Banana Board! Or Peter Kirsten's run-out. Or the ingredients for the Christmas cake.

Perhaps it's courage; more likely it's escapism. People are happy to berate Nelson Mandela for buying a house in Houghton — it's quite a modest house, actually, as northern Johannesburg houses go — because they cannot imagine him moving into the State President's official residence in a year or so.

The Conservatives demand weapons and money for the SADF, never imagining that the SADF will soon be under the control of an ANC government, or that Chris Hani will be Minister of Defence. Right-wingers, including some judicial officers, fight against human rights legislation and practice because they do not see that they, not the black majority, will soon be calling for the protection of a culture of rights.

AT cabinet level the realisation is beginning to penetrate that the shift of power, when it comes, will be total. The time to fashion a good, democratic constitution is running awfully short, and the pressure on the people who must do the negotiating is beginning to show.

Not only have key reformists — Barend du Plessis, Gerrit Viljoen, Stoffel van der Merwe — broken under the strain, but the remaining cabinet ministers are, despite official denials, quite deeply divided. Some take the view that only a government of national unity can bring stability, and they are willing to make sacrifices to reach that goal quickly.

Others argue that anxiety to please the ANC led President de Klerk to sign an ill-considered Record of Understanding and that this error compelled him to introduce the Further Indemnity Bill and to stain his own reputation by ramming it through the President's Council. Yet others are losing faith in the National Party itself, and retreating from the field of battle.

Over all this hangs the question that nobody dares to ask: what happens if, in next year's negotiations, it turns out that the National Party's differences with the ANC are insurmountable, or simply insurmountable within the time-frame envisaged by both parties? Does the anarchy continue? The economic decay? The crime in the streets, the murder of 10 policemen a month, the looting of the treasury by the civil service, the draining of hope?

PRESIDENT de Klerk does not show his hand, or draw a bottom line, and the ANC simply waits, confident that spreading anarchy, economic decay, ungovernability will generate pressure for compromise. A long-suffering black population languishes in misery and violence, and a bewildered white population subsides into apathy. Thus 1992, *annus horribilis*, draws to an end.

What, then, of 1993? Watch the Budget, which is the only true guide to the priorities of government, and see whether it continues to serve the appetites of the mandarins, or the needs of the people.

The Budget cannot predict success or failure, but it can tell us, with reasonable certainty, whether the Nationalists still have the will to govern, and the patience to negotiate, and the resolve to create a democracy, or whether they might as well hand the whole thing over to Cyril Ramaphosa.

KEN OWEN

Buthelezi sticks to plan

ST Times 13/12/92

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday that federalism was the only form of government strong enough to secure lasting democracy in South Africa. (304A)

He said he was confident that the IFP's plan for a federal Kwazulu-Natal would be supported by all people in Natal and Kwazulu.

Strains show in Cabinet

S/Times 13/12/92 (304A)

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE Cabinet is divided over its strategy for constitutional negotiations.

Ministers are split over the role of Inkatha, how to achieve effective power-sharing and regional government, and perceived limp-wristed negotiations with the ANC, which has cost the National Party dearly in terms of support.

Prominent among the conservative faction in the Cabinet are Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Local Government Minister Tertius Delport and Natal leader George Bartlett.

The more democratically inclined faction in the Cabinet includes Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer, Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, Cape leader Dawie de Villiers and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

Resignations

Discord between the two factions is evidenced by ministers sniping behind their colleagues' backs, openly contradicting each other in bilateral negotiations and the holding of secret talks with Inkatha (not by ministers but by MPs who back the conservative faction).

Dissatisfaction with the performance of the NP in negotiations has led to widespread talk of the resignation of three conservative Cabinet members.

While this has been denied, party members say the exit of Correctional Services Minister Adriaan Vlok, Water and Forestry Affairs Minister Magnus Malan and Environment Affairs Minister Louis Pienaar is only a question of time.

In this regard, NP members say it is significant that Mr Vlok did not make himself available for re-election as chairman of the Pretoria region of the NP last month.

Concern at the manner in which Inkatha was being treated by NP negotiators, led by Mr Meyer, surfaced first in the form of an intervention at an NP caucus meeting during the second sitting of Parliament by Vryheid MP Jurie Mentz.

Slap

He and other "Japies" (a self-deprecating term adopted by conservatives to distinguish them from Mr Meyer's "Yuppies") objected to the Record of Understanding with the ANC, which they saw as a slap in the face for Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Later three conservative MPs held talks with Inkatha behind the negotiators' backs.

Last week Natal NP leader George Bartlett expressed enthusiasm for Mr Buthelezi's "go it alone" option for KwaZulu/Natal at the ANC/government "bosberaad".

His public statement in support of a referendum was slapped down firmly by President de Klerk.

But the Natal NP leader is said to have the support of the majority of Natal's 10 NP MPs on this matter.

The "Yuppies", on the other hand, privately express the view that Mr Buthelezi's proposals, as they stand now, are unacceptable.

When it comes to the question of how to achieve effective power-sharing, the conservatives are insistent that the idea of an enforced coalition be included in a final constitution.

Opposed

The more democratically inclined ministers believe that this is the weakest part of the NP constitutional proposals. They are prepared to accept that *realpolitik* dictates the formation of coalitions in South Africa as it does in other countries where proportional-representation voting systems are in place.

Conservative ministers also believe that, should negotiations break down again next year, the NP should press on and get Parliament to approve a new constitution based on its proposals. The "Yuppies" oppose this idea.

The way negotiations have been conducted has also become a source of discontent. Mr Meyer has been blamed for the Record of Understanding, which led to the release of political prisoners but which got negotiations with the ANC back on track. Mr Wessels has been attacked for the deal on the extension of labour rights to farmworkers he negotiated with Cosatu.

The division within the NP has now become an issue of concern among ANC negotiators who say it is difficult to deal with a party lacking certainty.

Interim govt not a cure for all ills

By DR GOMOLEMO MOKAE, publicity secretary, Azapo

AN oppressive regime is like a many-headed hydra. Cut off one head and another grows in its place.

That, in a nutshell, is Azapo's attitude to the much spoken about "interim government".

The interim government has come to be viewed by one quarter too many as the cure for all the ills and woes of this country.

However, we realise that an interim government is the elixir of life for the spent regime of this country which is teetering on the verge of demise. It sees such a measure as a way of ensuring that it stays in power.

Indeed, those who wish to enter into a relationship with the regime will soon understand the truth in Woody Allen's witticism when he says: "The lion shall lie side by side with the calf, but the calf won't get much sleep."

Once the regime is conveniently co-governing with a section of the liberation movement, its dirty tricks to turn the tables will make those of the CCB seem saintly.

Already within the very movement which seeks to ride into the frightening darkness with the regime there are murmurings of dissent.

These rumblings are from activists who, like Azapo, are long-sighted enough to realise that it is foolish to consider co-government without transforming the predominantly "Afrikaner" civil service.

Can such a partisan civil service, for instance, be trusted to oversee the acquisition of identity documents by a previously voteless black majority for voting? Would they not be tempted to use underhand tactics to engineer a National Party triumph in such an election?

The mind boggles at the prospect of this civil service administering the election process – or being part of the machinery of a black majority government intent on redressing the imbalances of yesteryear.

This does not gel with Azapo. Nothing short of a complete overhaul of the civil service would reassure us that the elections would be free and fair and that a new, popularly elected government would not be undermined by a disloyal civil service.

As if that was not enough, there is talk of "joint control" of the SADF and SAP by partners within an interim government.

That, in our view, is absolute wishful thinking.

To allow the regime into an interim government without insisting that the SAP and SADF be quarantined by a neutral, international force, is to welcome the regime into our domain riding on a Trojan horse, packed with enough explosives to blast its way back to power.

If Gen Walls in Zimbabwe could publicly proclaim a commitment to reconciliation, while covertly plotting the downfall of the democratically elected Zimbabwean government from the vantage position of leadership of its armed forces, what guarantee do we have that those controlling the SADF and SAP would not do the same?

For these and other reasons, Azapo does not find the much-vaunted interim government alluring.

Rather, we are attracted to a neutral transitional authority, composed of international forces with enough clout to neutralise the "security forces".

What is good for the goose, is good for the gander. In as much as the regime insists on liberation movements neutralising their "private armies", Azapo insists that the regime submit the SADF and SAP to quarantine by neutral forces.

"No group, however benevolent, ever hands over power to the oppressed on a silver platter," wrote Bantu Steve Biko. Azapo is not convinced that the regime is such an exception to the rule that it would willingly enter into an interim government to hand over power.

Therefore, Azapo shall not contest any elections for an interim government, for in our view, it is a glorified bantustan; with the regime retaining all the power that matters.

Finally, we can only hope that those oganisations which find an interim government enticing do so for some strategic motives – which are unknown to us.

Inkatha move threatens to block general election

Citizen 13/12/92

3044

WITH South Africa's first free elections likely to take place around the end of next year, the constitutional debate has opened up on two new and unexpected fronts.

Both issues could scuttle the elections before they happen.

One was the announcement last week of chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's proposed constitution for KwaZulu/Natal. The other was the implied proposal that the new SA becomes a confederation of more-or-less independent, regional states bound together, only loosely, by a central government.

Buthelezi's bombshell, plus his proposal that his suggested federal constitutional be put to a referendum in Natal/KwaZulu, was a sidestepping of all negotiation forums established so far.

This week Buthelezi, speaking at the Pretoria City Hall, took his plan a step further when he formally rejected agreement reached at Codesa to leave drawing up of the new constitution for a unitary state to a popularly elected constituent assembly.

Arguing strongly for regional self-determination, Buthelezi went on to call on all South Africans to consider his regionalist proposal as a possible blueprint for the new SA.

Buthelezi also rejected the Record of Understanding concluded in late September between the government which paved the way for an ANC/government working alliance and a government of national unity which would play the major role in the transition phase.

Also this week Buthelezi and his allies in the Concerned South Africans group (CSAG) – white rightwingers along with homeland leaders including Bophuthatswana's Lucas Mangope and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo – met in Pretoria.

While disagreeing on the theoretical relationship between regional and central government, they joined Buthelezi in his rejection of the new ANC/Government power sharing prospects and his dismissal of Codesa as a negotiating forum.

The new dispensation, they said, would have to be negotiated by multi-party talks, but they were adamant that these would not take place under the auspices of Codesa.

Apart from the dominance of the ANC and the government in Codesa, what particularly concerns the CSAG members, many of whom were Codesa participants, is the agreement, contained in Codesa's founding Declaration of Intent, that all participants commit themselves to seeking solutions within a unitary SA.

Bop refused to endorse this clause asserting that its wanted to see a "constellation of states".

Buthelezi's proposals revive intitiatives launched during the later 1980s under KwaNatal Indaba where the idea was first explored of merging Natal and KwaZulu.

Such intitiatives – which were rejected out of hand by the PW Botha government – represented a joint drive by the KwaZulu government and wealthy Natal businessmen towards the same kind of federal system Buthelezi proposes today.

That informal alliance still exists with much of Inkatha's funding still coming from many of the same businessmen.

The Indaba backers continue to play key – and usually pro-Inkatha – roles in the National Peace Accord structures.

Similar alliances between white conservatives and black homeland leaders have been emerging in both Bop and Ciskei.

Even before Codesa emerged representatives of the Bop government and white farmers, the Conservative Party and later the Afrikaner Volksunie have been engaged in discussions aimed at creating a single regional political power.

Such a region would, in their view, function as a largely independent and self-determining member of a confederation of SA states. It is known that Bop has been working on its own constitutional proposals – which are likely also to reject the idea of a central election constituent assembly.

Though such moves have not yet been taken up in the Ciskei/Border region, it is believed that secret agents of the SADF, who until this month were basically running the show in Ciskei, have developed a similar regional and federal arrangement based on the government's allocated development regions. Gqozo and the AWB have also explored the possibility of forming an alliance.

The big picture then is the one in which a number of federal initiatives have been launched partly in order to challenge Codesa as the main negotiating forum, and to propose a strongly federal alternative to the unitary state which the ANC wants to create.

Ironically, it was the De Klerk government which first became the driving force behind the federal moves, moves which are now threatening De Klerk's new power sharing arrangement with the ANC.

On the same day that Gqozo's troops, under the command of De Klerk's soldiers, mowed down tens of ANC protesters at Bisho killing many, De Klerk was hosting a conference of political groupings committed to federal options and exploring the possibility of constituting them as a formal alliance.

Though the Record of Understanding, which De Klerk was pressured into signing in the aftermath of the Bisho massacre, resulted in rifts between his own party and his federal allies, the option is far from rejected.

Even before Bisho, and with Buthelezi still working closely with De Klerk, it was evident that Inkatha had altered its strategy and that it had ceased trying to project itself as a national power player.

Retreating to its power base in Natal (with the Transvaal violence dropping dramatically too), the party set about consolidating its regional influence in Natal. Part of this process has involved the handing over of SAP police stations in the major townships outside Natal cities to the KwaZulu cops, a process which is now reaching completion.

This has led to increased repression of ANC political activity and can be expected to impact significantly on any popular poll which may be held in the territory – despite Inkatha's relatively small support base even in Natal.

Which of the two – the federal or the power sharing options – the government will finally pursue, remains to be seen.

While for the Nats the idea of a power sharing alliance with the ANC remains more attractive, the ANC may well return to some version of the federal option!

US's first black woman senator on visit to SA

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — The first black woman to be elected to the US senate, Carol Moseley Braun, arrived in SA yesterday with her SA-born campaign manager Kgosie Matthews.

Although she is on vacation, the Illinois senator will call on a variety of SA political players. She met Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday and will meet ANC leaders today.

She is expected to visit a variety of SA cities including Durban, where Matthews' father Joe practises law. Matthews' father is a former Sechaba editor and his grandfather, Z K Matthews, is reputed to have assisted in writing the Freedom Charter.

Braun was active in pressing for sanctions against SA firms while a local politician in Chicago and is expected to take a special interest in US-Africa policy. She arrived in SA via Nigeria and other African countries.

Braun left a small storm behind her in the US following newspaper reports that Matthews made improper sexual advances to campaign staff, although lawyers she retained to investigate the charges found no evidence that the law had been violated.

Despite the reports, there are also rumours Braun intends to marry the 35-year-old Matthews.

Partial secession even with economic aid is the road to penury, argues **A J Ardington**

KwaNatal cannot go it alone

STAR 15/12/92

THE strategy of the KwaZulu government in calling for a federal structure at this stage of the negotiation process in South Africa is to be questioned. Unless Natal/KwaZulu gets its share of the proposed federation's fiscal resources, a federation will not serve the best interests of the people living in this region.

More than 23 percent of the people of South Africa live in Natal/KwaZulu and yet it generates only 14 percent of the gross domestic product.

Without fiscal transfers from central government to Natal/KwaZulu, there will not be the resources to meet the needs of its people.

They would be condemned to inferior education, health care and welfare services, no matter how well intentioned and competent the regional government.

Despite the relative weakness of the Natal economy there has been a long history of Natal politicians and businessmen flirting with the concept of a federal structure with a measure of autonomy for individual regions.

Originally, this was a response to a feeling of isolation from the mainstream of SA politics, but the more recent initiative arose from a desire to start building a democratic SA by chipping away at the NP's apartheid edifice.

An example of the latter was the response of Natal business interests to Government's proposals for the further consolidation of KwaZulu in 1980 in commissioning the Lombard Report.

The report of the Buthelezi Commission and the initiative of establishing the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba are other examples.

While the thrust of all these proposals was enfranchisement of all people of the region and creation of the first element of a new democratic federal state, they were all fatally flawed for two reasons.

First, the proposals were not developed with the participation of all significant political groupings and, second, they had major economic shortcomings. The initiators did not consider the former fatal as the thrust was essentially democratic.

The economic flaws proved crucial. The KwaZulu/Natal Indaba was quite specific on this issue, producing an economic report which stated that only in the event of the negotiation of satisfactory fiscal transfers from the central fiscus to the individual regions could the constitutional proposals be considered.

Likewise, the Buthelezi Commission drew attention to the economic difficulties of negotiating a federation with specific proposals coming from one region.

While appreciating these difficulties, the prime movers of these various initiatives were hopeful that the Government would see them as a constructive contribution to the political debate, and that the economic difficulties of poorer regions would be fully met by the negotiation of a formula of fiscal transfers between the central Government and the regions that related to the needs of each.

In the event the government of the day was totally unimpressed with the proposals of the Lombard report, the Buthelezi Commission and the KwaZulu/Natal Indaba. They were all rejected and the region found itself powerless to do anything about it.

Likewise, the current proposals could be rejected both by the Government and the various parties committed to a negotiated constitutional process and the KwaZulu government would be powerless to do anything about it.

Given the tensions that exist in our society, and given the relatively poor grasp of the economic realities, it is possible that a majority of the people living in Natal/KwaZulu would vote for the region to become part of a loose federation.

The example of the former Soviet Union and the east European countries splitting up into independent republics gives encouragement to secessionist ideas. Further, there is a view that the free enterprise stance of the IFP would encourage relocation of industry to the region and the poor economic position of Natal/KwaZulu would be transformed by rapid economic growth.

The stark reality is different. Even if this region were to experience growth 70 percent greater than that of the rest of the country, it would only improve its relative position by one percent over a period of five years.

The population growth rate in the region is greater than in the rest of the country and so relatively rapid economic growth will be partly offset by the increasing needs of a burgeoning population.

Natal/KwaZulu has a realistic option to remain part of a union or negotiate to become part of a federation with firmly embedded principles of regional redistribution. It does not have a sensible option to initiate federal structures unilaterally and any moves towards partial secession are the steps down a road to penury. □

● *A J Ardington is chairman of the South African Sugar Association and was chairman of the KwaZulu-Natal Indaba Economic Committee.*



Buthelezi . . . federal state could not survive without aid

Star 15/12/92

SA to aid Mozambique

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

South Africa is to participate in the United Nations-spon-spored peace process in Mozambique and will offer technical aid in reconstructing its war-ravaged economy.

South Africa's ambassador to Italy, Glenn Babb, is to announce details of the aid offer at an international donors' conference in Rome, which starts today.

The World Bank announced on Friday that international donors had promised Mozambique US$760 million (about R2,3 billion).

Department of Foreign Affairs sources said South Africa would also serve on the multi-national commission which will re-integrate the demobilised military forces of the Frelimo government and Renamo.

However, the sources said South Africa would not contribute troops to the UN peace-keeping force of between 7 000 and 8 000, to be sent to Mozambique to monitor the transition to a multiparty democracy.

The Foreign Affairs sources would not disclose the amount the SA Government would spend in aid to Mozambique, but emphasised it would be largely technical rather than financial.

The offer would include drilling for and purifying of water, providing agricultural know-how, manpower training and technical expertise in holding elections.

Natal Nats 'back FW'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The National Party in Natal is firmly behind President F W de Klerk, said provincial leader Mr George Bartlett.

Mr Bartlett, the Mineral and Energy Affairs, was reacting to reports that some NP members in Natal were concerned at the rift between the NP and IFP and were dissatisfied with how Mr De Klerk handled it.

He also said the government's relationship with the IFP was "much better" after a meeting between Mr De Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi last week.

Mr Bartlett said the NP in Natal would meet the IFP next month for thorough discussions on Chief Buthelezi's regional constitutional proposals and "try to reach some consensus on this".

He admitted that the signing of the Record of Understanding had created problems in the NP's relationship with Chief Buthelezi.

But he said Friday's meeting between Mr De Klerk and the IFP leader — who attended as a member of the Concerned South Africans Group — "went a long way to eliminate these problems" CT 15/12/92 3044

'ANC put end to DP meeting

(304A)

CT 15/12/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

ANC supporters broke up a Democratic Party meeting in Khayelitsha last night, the DP said.

Two DP MPs, Mr Jasper Walsh (Pinelands) and Mr Robin Carlisle (Wynberg), received minor injuries and other DP members were assaulted.

The police arrived at the end of the meeting but their offer of assistance was declined, Mr Walsh said.

Mr Walsh, the DP's Western Cape chairman, said in a statement last night that a member of the ANC's regional executive, Ms Nomatyala Hangana, the chairman of the Khayelitsha Civic Association, who he could not name, and members of the South African National Civics Assocation broke up the meeting, attended by about 100 people.

He and Mr Carlisle were hit by flying chairs.

● ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmyer said the ANC had been aware of plans to disrupt the meeting and had sent Ms Hangana, with other ANC members, to try to control proceedings.

He condemned the behaviour of some people in not allowing others to speak.

Voting — know your rights!

South 12/12 - 16/12/92. (304A)

MAJOR political parties have moved closer to an agreement on a time-frame for elections. It now seems South Africa's first democratic elections may take place next year.

Surprisingly, some people are intimidated at the prospect of casting their votes for the first time.

There are millions who have no idea what voting entails and their crucial votes would be lost unless some effort is made to reach them.

Ideally, all citizens should cast their votes if South Africa is to attain a legitimate government whose rule is accepted by as many people as possible.

Another priority for political parties is to ensure that the outcome of the elections is accepted as having been free and fair.

In Angola, Unita was defeated at the ballot box two months ago. Rather than accept the victory of another party, Unita claimed the elections had not been free and fair.

South Africa should learn from this and find ways of ensuring that a high percentage poll is achieved to eliminate any chance of the elections being perceived as fraudulent.

A high percentage poll could only be achieved by trying to reach as many voters as possible long before election day.

The only way to assuage fears about elections is to ensure that people learn legally accepted voting procedures well in advance of election day.

There are specific legal regulations governing not only the voting procedure inside a polling station, but also the conduct of parties during the campaigns prior to voting.

As soon as the new Electoral Act is passed, people will have to be familiarised with its contents so that on election day they know what to do and are aware of their rights.

While it will be relatively easy to reach literate, urban dwellers in a short space of time, the real challenge is going to lie in reaching the illiterate, rural and poverty-stricken people who have no access to the print and electronic media.

All South Africans have a stake in achieving a high percentage poll of reasonably informed voters on election day.

With the level of political division in our country, the best guarantee for general acceptance of an election result is going to depend on as many people as possible making the effort to cast their ballot on that crucial day.

If people participate and see for themselves what elections entail, it would certainly go a long way towards settling any future disputes over election results.

Another problem which may occur is that those sections of the population which has been the most oppressed and poverty-stricken seem to have unrealistic expectations of elections.

Some believe that democracy is going to bring them a big house in an elite suburb, private schools and a Mercedes Benz.

However, apartheid was a grand racist economic design which sought the economic advancement of one sector of the population at the expense of the others.

In the process, the economy was mismanaged and unevenly developed. It will take time for South Africa to regain its former economic strength.

The new government will be under extreme pressure to simultaneously correct the economic imbalances of the past while trying to secure a better deal for all citizens, irrespective of race.

Not many people understand this. On the contrary, the majority are eagerly awaiting rapid improvements in their standard of living.

The meaning of the vote and its purpose should be explained to the electorate and parties should attempt to find out what their fears and expectations are.

The fear of intimidation is a common one. People fear they would be told who to vote for or even that they would not be allowed to vote.

The people who are at risk of intimidation are those who live under the authority of others, like the subjects of a chief, labourers on farms or people living in areas where there is a constant threat of violence between rival political organisations.

Voters need to be told that no-one would know for whom they voted, unless they decide to tell.

When people enter a voting booth and make their crosses for the party of their choice, no-one else would be allowed into the booth.

They could accept transport from farmers, for instance, agree that they would vote the way he tells them to, and still go into the voting booth and vote the way they wish. The farmer would not be able to check to see how they voted.

Some people are concerned their ID numbers would be recorded on the counterfoil of their ballot paper.

They must be made aware that the counterfoils are kept separately from the ballot papers and stored under tight security, and are usually never referred to.

Counterfoils could only be referred to when there are allegations, after election results are known, that fraud involving ballot papers occurred during the election.

Even then, this is only done with the authority of the Supreme Court and only by officials who are sworn to secrecy.

Hopes for elections for transitional govt

STAR 16/12/92

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter (304A)

Codesa participants in the Patriotic Front (PF) yesterday reiterated the ANC's viewpoint that elections for a transitional government were attainable before the end of next year.

The PF meeting hosted in Johannesburg by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said such a timescale for elections would give direction and certainty to the negotiations process.

President de Klerk announced earlier that the Government envisaged elections to be held in March or April 1994.

It agreed that multiparty discussions should resume speedily and that Codesa should be restructured to include groups who boycotted the negotiating forum this year.

The group committed themselves to agreements reached at Codesa reiterating a decision taken at the recent Government/ANC "bosberaad".

Yesterday's talks were attended by the Inyandza National Movement, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the SACP, the United People's Front, the Labour Party, the Intando Yesizwe Party, and the Transkei and Venda governments.

A statement issued after the meeting said it received a briefing on the Government/ANC "bosberaad" and last Friday's meeting of the Front Line states in Harare.

The PF meeting resolved that multilateral talks should proceed as soon as possible, even if those groups which have been boycotting Codesa refused to join the negotiating forum.

White public servants fear political change – survey

STAR 16/12/92

Pretoria Bureau

Only half of white public servants have confidence in the present government, and the majority deeply fear political change, according to a new survey by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

More than half believe their work could become intolerable because of political pressure, the survey, commissioned by the mainly-white Public Servants' Association (PSA), found.

The survey was conducted among 10 percent of the PSA's 80 000 members, described as "predominantly Afrikaans-speaking men" with matric or post-matric qualifications.

Almost two-thirds (63 percent) of respondents believed the present reform process would lead to a black majority government, and 61,6 percent felt a black majority government would have negative implications for their work.

The main cause for concern was job security, with more than two-thirds (68,9 percent) worried about the possible replacement of staff through political appointments.

Almost all the respondents (96,7 percent) insisted special attention should be given to the security of tenure of presently-employed public servants.

Only 36,6 percent would place their trust in a Bill of Rights, while the majority had no confidence in other legal measures such as labour legislation or the Public Service Act to ensure their fair treatment by a future employer.

Of the respondents, 58 percent supported the National Party, 25 percent the Conservative Party and other rightwing parties, 6 percent the Democratic Party and 2 percent the ANC.

A striking feature of the findings is the great uncertainty and lack of confidence on virtually all aspects of benefits.

The majority (57,7 percent) thought merit would disappear as a basis for apointments and promotions, while only 44,5 percent believed their abilities, competence, qualifications or experience would entrench their positions in a future political dispensation.

A Bill of Rights in SA must have the authority of people, says **Kader Asmal**

Freedom from 'passion of men'

Star 16/12/92. (3041)

FOR THE first time since 1948, we in South Africa can look forward to a debate about the kind of human rights we should have. When the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted in 1948 by the United Nations, with the abstention of the apartheid state, it soon became a standard of achievement by which our country could be judged.

For 44 years we have invoked this standard when the light of freedom was extinguished. Now, our country has begun a transition towards democracy where human rights and the basic values inscribed in the Universal Declaration will play a vital part. We shall not be inventing these rights — although there are those who are trying — but applying to our national and domestic situation rules which have near-universal approval.

A people without a vision of itself and for the society in which it exists is a movement without a moral foundation. Such a vision has been provided by the various drafts for a Bill of Rights in our country by the African National Congress in November 1990. They are reflected in some of the agreed principles of democracy adopted by the parties at Codesa since last year.

These documents give concrete expression to the firm commitment of democrats to a moral and legal order which is the antithesis of discrimination and racial exploitation. Our adherence to an alternative perspective of government based on democratic, non-racial and non-sexist values has generated an alternative ideological vision for the future South Africa. More importantly, it has provided a basis for the negotiations for a democratic South Africa inaugurated in December 1991 at Codesa whose work we hope will be completed soon so we can finally exorcise the ghost of apartheid by establishing a free society in South Africa.

The law will provide equal protection for all. It will be an order where the government will be bound by a higher body or rules — an empire of laws — and will not govern us by discretion. We reject an empire of man; we shall have the rule of law, as opposed to what Aristotle called the "passion of men".

Democracy and human rights cannot, therefore, be separated. We cannot have the one without the other. It will not be an easy road to travel. The end of apartheid does not guarantee the beginning of democracy. But until apartheid is no more, there can be no democracy.

Why do we need a Bill of Rights? What may be axiomatic has to be spelt out for our country.

Firstly, the provision of a Bill of Rights provides an important statement about the nature of power relations in our country. Unlimited executive and legislative power — which has pervaded our society under racism and apartheid — cannot co-exist comfortably with a commitment to individual political and civil rights.

It is therefore an historic irony that the oppressed and rightless have made a categorical statement of our future intentions: that a future government of a free South Africa must operate for the first time in our history under a constitution which will not only limit its powers in relation to individual rights but which will be enforced by a constitutional court which enjoys the confidence of the people.

A democratic political order cannot simply be based only on the accepted principle of one-person-one-vote. It must be in addition to this, and must recognise the constitutional rights of dissent and increase our trust in society by ensuring that the majority is constrained by constitutional means. Conversely we must reject any suggestion to insert eccentric and racially motivated proposals, which would impede a future government from embarking on the enormous tasks of reconstruction of our country. There is a need to understand that a Bill of Rights cannot be an instrument for the maintenance of the *status quo*.

Secondly, apart from political rights, the challenge to the new human rights order in South Africa is respect for the cultural distinctiveness of our people, and for cultural and political pluralism that add to the richness of the experience of being human. Language, culture, and religion are important indicators of identity. To recognise this is not to create division in our society but to produce a legal order which is responsive to the needs of people.

The key, therefore, to the protection of any minority is to put core civil and political rights, as well as some cultural and economic rights, beyond the reach of temporary majorities, and to guarantee them as fundamental individual rights.

Also, we must address the issues of poverty, want, deprivation and inequality in accordance with international standards which recognise the indivisibility of human rights. A simple vote, without food, shelter, and health care is to use first generation rights as a smokescreen to obscure the deep underlying forces which dehumanise people. It is to create an appearance of equality and justice, while by implication socio-economic inequality is entrenched.

We do not want freedom without bread, nor do we want bread without freedom. We must provide for all the fundamental rights and freedom associated with a democratic society.

We want the values behind a Bill of Rights to become part of the culture of our people. It is therefore important to recognise that the authority of these values is not ultimately vested in the constitution as such or in the power of the State, but rather in the people, who at a certain time in history committed themselves to a process under the rule of law and according to a certain set of principles.

Finally, we must ensure that a democratic South Africa not only provides for the constitutional protection of the right to associate but is actively committed to encouraging the organs of civil society towards a lively, assertive presence. □

● *Kadar Asmal is Professor of Human Rights Law at the UWC and a member of the National Executive Committee and the Constitutional Committee of the ANC. This is an edited version of a talk at the Human Rights Day conference of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers to commemorate International Human Rights Day.*

Into 1993 – with a new realism

STmm 16/12/92

304A



Allister Sparks

AS THIS column signs out for the holiday season, it does so with the bracing awareness that 1993 is going to be the big one for South Africa.

It is the year in which the great transition from apartheid to democracy has to take place, otherwise it may never take place at all.

The time frame has become clear: another *bosberaad* between the Government and the African National Congress late in January; Codesa 3 in February to reach broad agreement among all parties; the installation of a multi-party Transitional Executive Council by May to run the country and level the ground for our first one-person-one-vote election; then the election itself before the end of the year.

That will provide a Constituent Assembly to draft the new constitution. The assembly will also serve as an Interim Parliament, from which an Interim Executive will be drawn to rule until this work is done.

Then, some time in 1994, we will have a new constitution, a new government and a new future. A future which will be another country.

But 1993 will be the critical year of transition. If the vital agreements are not reached then, the moment will be lost and the transition may never take place.

Another year of delay, of slim politiekery like we had in 1992, and this country will be doomed, a victim of runaway destabilisation that started out as clever political gamesmanship but slipped out of control and ended up as another Angola.

But I don't think it will go that way. The saving grace of South Africa is that none of us can leave in large numbers like the Portuguese did, particularly in a time of global recession when there are no jobs going anywhere. Like being hanged in the morning, that concentrates the mind, for we are all stuck with the fate of this land.

This is why our transition is crisis-driven. Everyone plays politics until it brings us to the brink, then as our leaders stare into the abyss they step back and face reality again. So we stagger forward, step by crisis-driven step, towards the new South Africa.

The year now closing has brought us to that brink, which is why we have a new sense of realism. One can count the positive signs. First among them is a recognition by the Government that instead of trying to discredit and defeat the ANC it must work with it.

A transition like this can succeed only if the major constituencies are jointly committed to it. Since the National Party controls more than 65 percent of the white constituency and the ANC more than 65 percent of the black constituency, no deal can work that excludes either.

Most of the setbacks of 1992 stemmed from the Government's failure to recognise this truth. Carried away by the big "yes" vote in the March referendum, National Party strategists became intoxicated with the idea that perhaps the transition to democracy wouldn't mean having to give up power after all.

A whiff of destabilisation for the ANC and the building of an ethnic alliance like Dirk Mudge's DTA in Namibia, and they might win the election.

So began the delaying tactics that led to the breakdown of Codesa 2. Gain time to build the alliance, while letting the ANC twist in the wind and Nelson Mandela's hero image fade as life in the townships continued to deteriorate rather than improve. Cash in on the disillusionment. That was the strategic thinking.

But it has backfired. While the delay has harmed the ANC it has hurt the Government more. It has wrecked confidence and set back the economy, which has destabilised the white constituency as well as the black. Disillusionment has been with the process itself, not just with the ANC.

The appalling massacres, and the Government's failure to bring the perpetrators to justice, have damaged President de Klerk's image abroad, while the exposure of wholesale corruption has damaged it at home.



Back in 1961 . . . former Congolese leader Moise Tshombe, who initially had white conservative support, with his mercenary Katanga forces in a rebellion to form a breakaway state.

Over the year, De Klerk's opinion poll ratings have fallen across the board while Mandela's have continued to rise in the black community. The Nat-led alliance has failed to materialise and some of the prospective allies have proved an embarrassment.

Now the stalling has given way to a sense of urgency. The Government has woken up to the fact that the country is falling apart, taking its own interests down with it, and that the only way to stop the rot is to drive the centre forward fast. That means getting together with the other major partner.

Meanwhile, the national crisis has brought the ANC leadership to a realisation that it, too, cannot govern alone — at least not initially. Power resides not only in the political kingdom as Kwame Nkrumah imagined but in several other sectors as well: in the civil service, in the armed forces, and with the engine drivers of the economy.

There must be a relationship between these nodes of power. The politicians cannot rule regardless of the others. Deals must be struck, understandings reached. The ANC, thanks largely to an understanding of the negotiating process acquired during 13 years of shop-floor bargaining by the black union movement, has recognised this and accepted the need to make concessions.

And so, out of the ruins of a disastrous 1992, we find ourselves awaiting a hopeful 1993.

There are still dangers ahead. A secessionist-minded Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is trying to set himself up with conservative white support as the Moise Tshombe of South Africa. There is the frightening spectre of our military-security underworld operating beyond the fringes of Government control, of Apla and renegade members of Umkhonto we Sizwe operating beyond the control of their respective political leaderships.

But as these crises loom they will hopefully spur the major players to move even faster down the road to agreement, until an election finally sorts out the dangerous pretenders from those with genuine support.

So hope outshines the darker forebodings. I therefore take my holiday in a spirit of optimism and wish you all a peaceful Christmas and a truly historic New Year. □

● *Sparks's column will resume in mid-January.*

Parties in row over DP meeting

304A
CT 16/12/92

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE violent break-up of the Democratic Party's public meeting in Khayelitsha yesterday developed into a row about the lack of political tolerance and who should bear the blame.

ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak withdrew his earlier statement that the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, had claimed responsibility.

The PAC denied any involvement.

PAC regional secretary Mr Butembu Lugulwana accused the ANC of trying to shift the blame and added: "We don't have problems with political organisations organising meetings in the townships.

"If the DP had a constituency in that area, it would have protected the meeting itself."

Dr Boesak condemned the disruption of the meeting and said political organisations had a right to propagate their own policies and programmes and "should be allowed to do so — without interference — when and where they please".

ANC assistant secretary in the Western Cape Mr Willie Hofmeyr said the people who came to disrupt the meeting were not from the ANC and "we don't know who they were".

DP youth chairman Mr Ryan Coetzee said the party had been organising in the Western Cape townships for five months with increasing success but it had to operate underground at the request of its members and the events on Monday night justified their fears.

PAC calls on UN to take active role

ST 16/12/92
304A

JOHANNESBURG — The PAC yesterday called on United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send a high-powered delegation to South Africa to convene and chair a new negotiations forum.

Meanwhile, senior PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo has admitted the organisation's military wing carried out two recent attacks in the Eastern Cape in which five whites were killed.

In an interview Mr Mlambo said attacks by the Azanian People's Liberation Army were carried out in furtherance of the political objectives of the PAC.

PAC secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said Dr Boutros-Ghali should also increase the UN Observer Mission's mandate in South Africa to enable monitors to take measures to prevent violence.

Mr Seroke was reacting to the head of the UN mission in South Africa Ms Angela King's statement that they could not accept the PACs invitation to visit areas in the Transkei where Apla bases are alleged to exist because they are in South Africa to observe and not investigate. — Sapa

ET promises a fight to the death

JOHANNESBURG. — AWB leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday said the time was right to renew the Day of the Vow and called on supporters to recommit themselves to "fight to death in the coming war".

Meanwhile Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht told a rally of about 250 in Vereeniging that Afrikaners had no choice but to prepare themselves against threats made by the Azanian People's Liberation Army and uMkhonto weSizwe.

Addressing a Day of the Vow rally in Kempton Park on the East Rand, Mr Terre'Blanche accused President F W de Klerk of treason and added if the AWB won the "imminent revolution" it would put Mr De Klerk on trial.

Mr De Klerk was committing treason by dealing with the ANC and its armed wing and the Pan-Africanist Congress and its military wing, Apla.

Mr Terre'Blanche led a parade of about 700 uniformed AWB members, many of them armed, into Kempton Park's Barnard Stadium.

Dr Treurnicht, meanwhile, said the Afrikaners were a threatened people, surrounded by revolutionaries, agents of communism and forces of evil. — Sapa

304A CT 17/12/92

ANC hypocritical and racist, says DP

STAR 17/1/92

CAPE TOWN — Democratic Party (DP) reaction to the disruption of a meeting in Khayelitsha outside Cape Town on Monday night continued yesterday, with an MP accusing the ANC of hypocrisy and racism.

The DP's Ken Andrew was reacting to ANC statements, first blaming the Pan Africanist Congress for the disruption, then apologising to the PAC and saying political organisations had the right to propagate their own policies.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the DP had been "outrageous in its insensitivity" when it claimed not to have been involved in violence.

Andrew yesterday alleged that ANC office-bearers and supporters had broken up the meeting, during which chairs were reportedly hurled at two DP MPs.

Although Boesak had said the DP had the right to speak, he "immediately gave reasons why the DP should not hold meetings in Khayelitsha".



Ken Andrew . . . alleges that ANC broke up meeting.

Andrew said a Nomatyala Hangana, who had been at the meeting, "has the gall to make the racist suggestion that the DP should 'first settle the white areas'".

"Perhaps she is sorry the Improper Political Interference Act was repealed so that political parties are not required by law to be racially exclusive."

Boesak said Hangana attended the meeting to try to ensure order after hearing rumours that the gathering would be disrupted.

Andrew said Boesak was hypocritical in warning the DP "of the deep hostility towards political parties operating within the tricameral Parliamentary system while the ANC itself is happy to have tricameral MPs, including two who are on Boesak's own ANC regional executive".

The MP said the ANC would be judged in the end by "the actions of its members and supporters — and by the disciplinary steps taken by its office-bearers against those who violate democratic principles as happened in Khayelitsha on Monday night". — Sapa.

PF says elections possible in 1993

Sowetan 17/12/92

304A

■ TIME SCALE Would give direction and impetus to negotiations says Codesa PF:

CODESA PARTICIPANTS in the Patriotic Front (PF) on Tuesday reiterated the ANC viewpoint that elections for a transitional government were attainable before the end of next year.

The PF meeting, hosted in Johannesburg by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, said such a time scale for elections would give direction and certainty to the negotiations process.

President FW de Klerk announced earlier that the Government envisaged elections to be held in March or April 1994.

It agreed that multiparty discussions should resume speedily and that Codesa should be restructured to include groups who boycotted the negotiating forum earlier this year.

The group committed themselves to agreements reached at Codesa, reiterating a decision taken at the recent Government-ANC "*bosberaad*".

Yesterday's talks were attended by the Inyandza National Movement, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the SACP, the United People's Front, the Labour Party, the Intando Yesizwe Party, and the Transkei and Venda governments.

A statement issued after the meeting said it received a briefing on the Government-ANC "*bosberaad*" and last Friday's meeting of the Front Line states in Harare.

The PF meeting resolved that multilateral talks should proceed as soon as possible even if those groups, who have been boycotting Codesa, refuse to join the negotiating forum.

The PF meeting discussed an earlier meeting between the Government and representatives of KaNgwane, Venda, Lebowa and Bophuthatswana. It is understood that the meeting was called by the Government to brief these groups on the Government-ANC "*bosberaad*".

Govt under pressure as NP rifts begin to surface

B/DAY 17/12/92 304A

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT was coming under increased pressure from all sides as the ANC pressed ahead with plans to ensure nonracial elections took place in the last quarter of 1993, government and ANC sources said yesterday.

As government struggled to repair divisions within the NP over negotiations strategy, and tried to align itself with new allies and make peace with its erstwhile major partner Inkatha, the ANC appeared to be bolstering its support base, the sources said.

An ANC source involved in the recent government/ANC bilateral talks said the three-day discussion was an "ice-breaker" and had set the stage for the "real battle" between the parties starting on January 20.

"That is when we are going to really deal with the issues. In the first meeting we were identifying these and defining the major areas of disagreement and objections each party had," he said.

One of the major stumbling blocks to agreement on the way forward was the question of reincorporation of the homelands, said the ANC source. Government was stalling on taking definite action, even though it clearly was committed to reincorporation, he said.

At the January meeting, government would have to define and demonstrate proof of administrative problems that needed to be resolved before reincorporation could take place. The two parties would then discuss these and reach agreement on the timetable and procedures to be followed, he said.

Another area of serious disagreement was government's insistence on a detailed agreement on regionalism being forwarded to the elected constitution-making body. The ANC believed this would not be democratic.

At the same time, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and others in the Concerned South Africans' Group are pushing government to insist on federalism up front.

But President F W de Klerk and his negotiating team led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer are holding out against Inkatha because of the absolute necessity to keep the ANC "on-side".

Sources said Meyer's team appeared to have decided that agreement with the ANC was more vital than with Inkatha. This had caused further tensions in the NP, with the more conservative members of the Cabinet wanting to rekindle the close relationship with Inkatha.

A senior government source confirmed reports that government was concerned about rumblings in the NP about strategy and how this could affect the negotiations process. At the same time, the ANC was getting firm support for its timetable and negotiating position from its Codesa patriotic front allies, he said.

A patriotic front meeting this week endorsed the position that multilateral talks be resumed urgently in a restructured Codesa. The parties also committed themselves to the agreements reached at Codesa, a contrary position to Buthelezi who insists these are dead.

Meanwhile, another ANC source confirmed a meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi would go ahead. Preparations had to be finalised and "a firm foundation laid for its success", he said.

ANC and Inkatha representatives meet again on December 29 in the hope of setting up a date for the leaders' meeting.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said the talks were making good progress but neither party wanted to go into details.

TPA rejects 'lick of paint' allegations

RAY HARTLEY

THE TPA has rejected claims it has raised rents at Thokoza hostel but failed to meet undertakings on upgrading of accommodation.

The Transvaal Hostel Residents' Association made the charges this week, saying improvements to the hostel had been superficial.

TPA spokesman Gert de Jager said substantial upgrading had taken place and hostel residents had agreed to a rent increase before the renovation process. B/DAY

"When agreement was reached with the hostel committee on needs and priorities, which took several months, tenders were called for in March 1992. 17/12/92

"Throughout all discussions with the hostel residents committee, the increased monthly rent was discussed and agreed to," he said.

Hostel residents' association general secretary Leonard Mweli accused the TPA this week of "just giving the hostel a coat of paint" and then unilaterally increasing the rent.

Mweli accused the TPA of ignoring recommendations made by hostel residents about upgrading.

De Jager said upgrading of Thokoza hostel had included:

- ☐ Replacement of all roofs, broken window panes and external door frames;
- ☐ Improvedelectrical supply for five light points, 10 wall plugs and hot water boilers; and
- ☐ Improvement of ablution facilities and "general upgrading" of all plumbing and drainage.

Claims that hostel dwellers had been ignored were false as "the chairman of the hostel representatives, who also happens to be the chairman of the East Rand Hostel Association, was employed by the contractor as a mediator/-overseer at the hostel for the duration of the contract", De Jager said.

The ANC has criticised the TPA for consulting individual members of hostel residents' associations and not their formal structures.

DP calls for urgent talks with ANC

RAY HARTLEY

RELATIONS between the ANC and DP have hit rock bottom following the ANC's alleged disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town on Tuesday.

DP regional secretary Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote a letter to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting, and called for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Ken Andrew said relations between the two parties would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to DP demands and the "undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption".

He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the townships.

Our Political Staff reports that ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak yesterday withdrew his accusation that Apla had been responsible for the disruption at the meeting, saying it was based on "a genuine misunderstanding".

However, Boesak added that the anger at the meeting seemed to have flared when DP MP for Wynberg Robin Carlisle said the DP had never been involved in violence. "Such a statement from people who are seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the tricameral parliament is outrageous in its insensitivity," Boesak said.

The PAC had earlier rejected Boesak's efforts to shift the blame for the disruption to Apla, saying it did not "have a problem with political organisations organising meetings in the townships".

Carlisle said ANC claims not to have been behind the demonstration were questionable because prominent ANC member Nomatjala Hangana was involved "continuously and vocally" in the disruption.

The ANC has claimed Hangana was sent to the meeting to try to keep events under control, but Carlisle said she had been involved continuously and vocally in the violent disruption of the meeting and had not exerted any authority to prevent the violence.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would investigate the disruption and take "the necessary action" against ANC members found to have participated in the disruption.

Andrew said the disruption resulted from ANC concern at the DP's rapidly growing coloured and black membership.

"There is an awareness that down the track, the DP will be a serious contender for a significant chunk of black support. There are very many black people who do not favour a militant, hostile approach to politics," he said.

Unlike most SA political parties, the DP did not carry the baggage of apartheid, violence, intimidation and socialism, he added.

The DP was experiencing "very rapid and very significant" growth in the coloured areas of the western Cape where it now had about 40 branches.

Membership in the black areas was "trickling in" but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said. "In some townships, the DP youth has to function as an underground organisation."

DP membership in the Free State was overwhelmingly black and the party was beginning to establish itself in the northern Transvaal, he said.

A third of the delegates attending a recent DP national congress in Johannesburg were black, he added.

"The ANC will be judged, in the final analysis, not so much by its fine utterances or its lofty ideals but by the actions of its members and supporters," he said.



Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa makes a point during his news conference in Johannesburg. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

SA judge may head Transkei's Apla inquiry

RAY HARTLEY

TRANSKEI would probably appoint an SA judge to investigate claims that Apla had launched attacks on civilians from bases in his territory, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

In an interview, he said he agreed with a statement by UN observer mission leader Angela King that it was not the role of the mission to investigate Apla bases in Transkei.

He said he wanted the mission simply to monitor the Transkei inquiry into the bases to ensure impartiality.

The UN could send observers to Transkei whenever it wished, but the Goldstone commission would not be welcome because it was an SA government-appointed institution.

An SA judge would probably be appointed to head the investigation, but it was too early to speculate on who this would be, Holomisa said.

Transkeians would defend themselves against the SADF if it raided their territory on the pretext of attacking Apla bases, but this would be a last resort, he said.

"It is the right of Transkeians — not just the Transkei Defence Force — to defend themselves. Our public has been conscientised, they know what to do," he said.

Contingency plans had been drawn up to cope with SADF incursions into the homeland, he said.

However, Holomisa expressed the hope that government would not contemplate going ahead with the raids, which have been condemned by the UN and the patriotic front.

He said the police commissioners of SA and Transkei were in contact and he had advised government it could reach him at his office if it wished to discuss anything with him.

The recent war of words between himself and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over Inkatha's threat to secede if a federal constitution was not adopted, had not resulted in any "bad blood", Holomisa said.

He said there was nothing to justify a meeting with Buthelezi over the issue, because it was "just politics".

● Comment: Page 6

Don't forget Afrikaners - CP

(304A)

ANY future constitutional dispensation in South Africa that ignored the rights and freedoms of the Afrikaner people was doomed to failure, Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said yesterday.

Addressing a Day of the Vow rally at Vereeniging the CP leader said he rejected any foreign domination and the CP had to be prepared to guarantee its own safety and survival. "What we are saying today is not really new. We are simply repeating the words of our forefathers from the time of the Great Trek," Treurnicht said. - *Sapa.*

Sowetan 17/12/92

PAC warns of use of arms

JANE FURSE (Lebowa) — The Pan Africanist Congress took a hardline stand yesterday against Government/ANC plans to install an interim government, and said it did not rule out the use of arms against such plans.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mogale Mphahlele, addressing a 300-strong PAC rally, said the PAC would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year and that the organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the Government to agree on the installation such a government".

Mphahlele said the Government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced the Azanian People's Liberation Army's armed activities against whites.

"They (the Government) have sent a message to us saying they want talks with us before Christmas. We want a constituent assembly and we shall fight the regime while on the other hand talking to them.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up," he said.

Mphahlele lashed out at ANC president Nelson Mandela and South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani, saying they had joined white liberals in condemning Apla's King William's Town attack.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano had declared his support for the PAC while other countries were supporting the PAC privately because they feared reprisals from the US, which had established a military base in Botswana to monitor PAC activities, Mphahlele claimed. — Sapa.

● Moseneke resigns — Page 3

PAC may take up arms to thwart interim government

JANE FURSE (Lebowa). — The Pan Africanist Congress has taken a hardline stand against government-ANC plans to instal an interim government.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mr Mogale Mphahlele, addressing a 300-strong PAC rally here, said the PAC would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year.

He said the PAC "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the government to agree on the installation of such a government".

According to Mr Mphahlele the government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced Apla's armed activities against whites.

"They (the government) have sent a message to us saying they want talks with us before Christmas. We want a constituent assembly and we shall fight the regime while on the other hand talking to them.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up," he said.

Mr Mphahlele lashed out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani, saying they had joined white liberals in condemning the Apla attack in King William's Town.

Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano had declared his support for the PAC while other countries were supporting the PAC privately because they feared reprisals from the United States "which had established a military base in Botswana to monitor PAC activities", Mr Mphahlele claimed. — Sapa.

● **More political reports, page 5.**

They did not know whether this wa

ANC disrupts DP meeting

SD wefan 17/12/92

THE Western Cape branch of the African National Congress yesterday condemned the disruption of the Democratic Party meeting in Khayelitsha on Monday.

ANC regional chairman the Reverend Allan Boesak said political organisations had a right "to propagate their own policies and programmes and should be allowed to do so - without interference - when and where they please".

Some DP officials, including Mr Robin Carlisle, were slightly injured when a group of ANC people broke up their meeting.

■ Allan Boesak offers to meet DP to plan chaos-free meetings:

The DP said senior ANC regional officials, including Ms Nomatyala Hlangana, were part of the group.

But Boesak denied this, saying Hlangana and her friends "had worked actively to keep the meeting under control".

He said his organisation was willing to meet with the DP and discuss ways of ensuring that political parties could hold meetings without disruptions.

3041A

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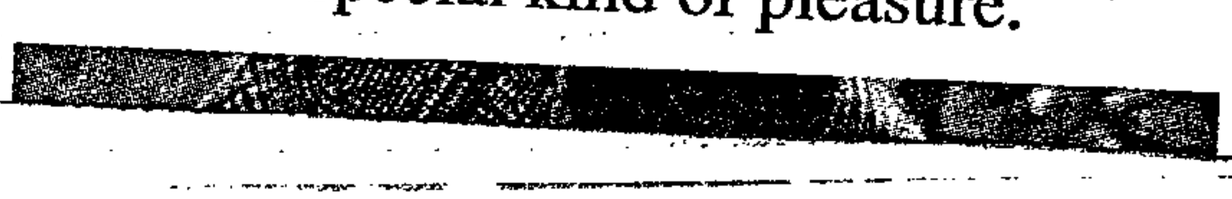

ı with South Africa closed down

Mandela and De Klerk invited to the United States

Sowetan 17/12/92

Sowetan Foreign News Service 304A

WASHINGTON - President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela are both expected to attend the inauguration next month of Mr Bill Clinton as President of the United States.

Members of the new Congressional Black Caucus and other influential blacks in the Democratic Party have especially asked that Mandela be included in the official guest list and sources in the Clinton team say the tricky protocol of doing so is now being discussed.

Normally invitations are directed to the heads of state of countries with which the US has diplomatic relations, but black members of the Congress - supported, they say, by prominent Democrats close to Clinton - have argued that because of "special and unique circumstances" both South African leaders should be in Washington on January 20.

■ SA leaders are invited to Clinton's inauguration:

It is not known what the South African Cabinet's response would be to the two invitations but black members of Congress say they have reason to believe that De Klerk will not be offended.

They add that their wish to have Mandela present is not intended as a slight and that they stand ready to give De Klerk a friendly welcome.

PAC slams ANC/NP plans

Sowetan 17/12/92.

■ Official threatens force if interim government is installed:

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday took a hardline stand against Government/African National Congress plans to install an interim government, and the PAC did not rule out the use of arms against such plans.

PAC national executive member and education secretary Mr Mogale Mphahlele, addressing a crowd of 300 at a PAC rally at Jane Furse in Lebowa, said his organisation would ensure that an interim government did not succeed next year and the organisation "does not rule out the use of arms against plans by the ANC, its allies and the Government to agree on the installation such a government", Mphahlele said.

According to Mphahlele the Government was lying when it said it would not talk to the PAC unless the organisation denounced the Azanian People's Liberation Army's armed activities against whites.

"They (the Government) have sent a message to us saying they want talks with us before Christmas. We want a constituent assembly and we shall fight the regime while on the other hand talking to them.

"The interim government will not succeed. The PAC will disrupt it and Apla will stand up," he said.

Mphahlele lashed out at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and SA Communist Party general-secretary Mr Chris Hani, saying they had joined white liberals in condemning the Apla attack in King William's Town.

Meanwhile, Apla's Transkei "field political commissar" Vuma Ntikinca warned yesterday that a hot pursuit raid into Transkei by the South Africa would trigger widespread retaliation by Apla forces. He also warned Transkeians to be on the alert and to prepare themselves to ward off blows from the "enemy" when it struck. - *Sapa.*

OPINION *Only oppressed black can turn things around*

Solidarity the only way to gain real freedom

304A

Sowetan 17/12/92.

The chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), **Mr Mosibudi Mangena,** *analyses the state of the struggle for liberation:*

THE situation in Azania at present bears all the hallmarks of a struggle gone seriously wrong. It is the hope of many of us that this is a temporary low point from which we will soon escape.

Of course, only the oppressed black people, who suffer most from the ravages of the present morass and who would be the main beneficiaries of a successful liberation struggle, can turn things around.

The genocidal aspect of the violence, perpetrated by the regime and its organs against black people, might not be acceptable but it is politically understandable.

The white racist establishment has always been completely dedicated to the promotion and protection of white privilege at any cost.

Black people have died by the thousand and throughout the history of settler-colonialism as and when whites deemed it necessary to kill.

There is no basis to suppose that this phenomenon has changed. So, there is nothing particularly startling when whites and their security forces kill blacks.

Of concern is the perpetration of large-scale violence by blacks against other blacks in recent years. Some of it is actually planned by components of the liberation movement against those who are not affiliated to them.

> **"While federalism as a concept is fairly neutral, in the context of our country it can only bring more problems, complications and conflict"**

This creates suitable conditions for the regime to unleash its killer squads among the black community.

Black people now live in fear of one another. Community spirit and black solidarity, which served the people well in the past, are all but dead.

In some places, such as the Vaal, criminals, killer squads of the regime and misguided cadres of some political organisations combine into a deadly web which terrorises the black community day and night.

Weapons abound and are used randomly, including the killing of whole families, the extortion of money from business people and the robbery of people in their homes and at street barricades in the dead of night.



Mosibudi Mangena ... Black people live in fear of one another.

Headless chickens

Meanwhile, like headless chickens, much of the black political leadership is running around in circles in the hope of colliding with a De Klerk-created job. Regrettably, this is the level to which the situation has deteriorated.

The inability of the liberation movement to unite for the purpose of struggling or negotiations and the endless bilateral meetings with the regime that lead nowhere, all point to a liberation movement that has lost its way.

It is almost certain that most of the leadership of the liberation movement is aware of the gravity of the situation. But its response is a hopeless one.

It seeks compromise that leaves De Klerk and his machinery intact and negates all that our people have fought for. The army, the police and the civil service are the very essence of State power.

Nobody can rule without complete control of these, unless one remains a mere puppet of whoever controls the security and civil services.

In our country, these services have existed for the protection of white minority interests and the suppression of black people. That is why the suggested compromise amounts to nothing more than an application to De Klerk for jobs.



FW de Klerk

Aware of this desperation for jobs on the part of a section of the liberation movement, the regime is stalling as long as possible.

After all, the greater the desperation, the stronger will be its continued control and oppression of black people.

Similarly aware are the bantustans' quislings who have profited a lot from the racist arrangements of the regime. They see the present mess as an opportunity for them to push for modification of the system that will ensure their continued existence.

Proposals for a federal solution to our country are a manifestation of this. In fact, some are so bold as to threaten civil war and secession if their demands for federalism are not met.

While federalism as a concept is fairly neutral, in the context of our country it can only bring more problems, complications and conflict. The occupation and ownership of land has always been at the centre of our political, economic and social problems.

Who owns what part of our country? The demarcation of borders for the proposed federal states will most certainly generate several disputes and controversies that will be very difficult to resolve.

It will be emotionally, politically and historically difficult for the majority of people in our country to accept that whites can claim any part of the country as their own.

If a federal arrangement is opted for, some whites, especially the arch-racist lot, would certainly demand their own state.

The division of our country into different states, based mainly on ethnic considerations, will be an insult to many of us, including many heroic freedom fighters from every language group and every part of the country who dedicated their energies and lives to the cause of liberation, justice, democracy and peace in this land.

Those who imposed backward racist ideas on our society and inflicted much pain on us must be defeated and their obnoxious racial bigotry killed and buried. Our future should consist of an open and anti-racist society that gives equal political rights to all individuals, regardless of race, language, religion, origin, sex and region.

Yes, the present situation is grave. The leadership of the liberation movement must seek solution in unity and struggle. It is solidarity and struggle that have served us well in the past and shook the oppressor into realising that he cannot continue to oppress us in the old fashion.

Sowetan
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CU Growth	111,73	104,31	4,55
Guardbank Growth	2432,19	2265,05	4,71
IGI	128,94	120,81	3,55
Momentum	226,62	212,16	4,67
Metfund	177,42	164,82	4,84
Metlife	114,41	106,91	7,39
NBS Hallmark	906,65	846,65	5,89
Norwich	334,29	312,15	4,29
Old Mutual Investors	2569,66	2395,80	3,73
Sage	2325,91	2171,74	4,17
Sanlam	1575,58	1475,97	3,51
Sanlam Index	1198,52	1122,46	4,19
Sanlam Dividend	440,71	413,44	4,86
Southern Equity	199,55	188,82	4,30
Standard	1156,31	1088,77	7,36
Syfrets Growth	280,43	262,56	4,56
Syfrets Trustee	116,30	108,92	4,66
UAL	1993,81	1883,06	5,18
Specialist equity Funds:			
ABSA Industrial	128,94	120,81	4,38
Guardbank Resources	129,49	120,77	8,20
Guardbank Industrial	122,34	114,64	5,80
Sage Resources	94,54	88,35	6,45
Sanlam Industrial	1032,88	967,34	3,08
Sanlam Mining	239,41	224,15	8,11
Southern Mining	113,90	106,68	6,81
Southern Pure	115,28	107,96	n/a
Standard Gold	133,28	124,99	9,43
Standard Industrial	112,21	105,88	n/a
Standard International	100,05	93,82	n/a
UAL Mining and Resources	322,24	301,83	4,94
UAL Selected Opportunities	1779,99	1684,75	4,09
Old Mutual Mining	205,93	191,84	5,78
Old Mutual Industrial	342,78	319,35	4,28
Old Mutual Gold Fund	82,38	76,76	7,29
Old Mutual Top Companies	237,18	221,12	4,11
Income/Gilt Funds:			
Metboard Income	109,45	108,30	13,91
Guardbank Income	124,47	121,92	14,85
Old Mutual Income	111,60	110,47	13,00
Standard Income	94,55	93,58	14,00
Syfrets Income	110,41	109,30	14,50
Syfrets Gilt	1099,62	1088,63	n/a
UAL Gilt	1187,12	1175,24	13,19

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DP shuns ANC march after row

304A
CT 17/12/92

THE Democratic Party yesterday declined to take part in an ANC-led peace march from Guguletu to Athlone stadium where "Heroes Day" celebrations were held.

The DP and the ANC are embroiled in a row over Monday night's disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha.

Mayor Mr Frank van der Velde was also invited to the peace march, but did not attend due to illness.

Yesterday's march, which was followed by a soccer match and cultural events, was attended by about 1 000 people.

DP regional secretary Mr Jasper Walsh yesterday wrote a letter to the ANC demanding an urgent meeting and calling for strong disciplinary action against ANC members who disrupted the meeting.

DP spokesman Mr Ken Andrew said relations between the two organisations would sour unless satisfactory answers were given to the DP demands and the "undoubted involvement of ANC members in the disruption", he said.

He said the meeting between the DP and ANC, if it went ahead, would discuss the incident in detail and try to establish an understanding regarding future DP meetings in the townships.

ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said the DP had been "outrageous in its insensitivity" when it claimed not to have been involved in violence.

Mr Andrew said the DP was experiencing "very rapid and very significant" growth in the coloured areas of the Western Cape, where it now had 40 odd branches.

Membership in the black areas was "trickling in" but this would be boosted by an end to intimidation, he said.

Meanwhile the Western Cape region of the ANC expressed the hope that democracy would heal the wounds and unite all South Africans in 1993.

In a statement, the ANC thanked the people of Cape Town for their support and sacrifices during 1992 and expressed the hope that 1993 would yield a true and lasting democracy.

The ANC said those who died in the struggle against apartheid must be honoured, "but while we salute our fallen heroes, we do so in a spirit of reconcilliation — in the hope that democracy will heal the wounds and unite all South Africans in 1993". — Staff Reporter, Sapa

The Day of the Vow 'must be scrapped'

304A

CT 17/12/92

THERE is speculation in political circles that the Day of the Vow, which South Africans marked as a public holiday yesterday, may disappear in a new political dispensation.

The public holiday has been criticised for being "sectional" and not in the spirit of the "new South Africa".

Formerly known as Dingaan's Day, it has been observed on December 16 every year as a national day of dedication to honour the vow made by the Voortrekkers during the week before the decisive battle at Blood River in Natalon December 16, 1838.

The covenant sworn was that if the Almighty granted a victory to the Voortrekkers, they would every year thereafter observe the day as a Sabbath and a day of thanksgiving, and would build a church to the glory of God as a memorial.

At first the covenant was observed only in family circles.

In the days of "granite apartheid", National Party politicians used Day of the Covenant commemorations to whip up racial feelings.

But in recent years these services have become much more conciliatory.

A spokesman for the ANC, Mr Sakkie Macozoma, said yesterday that the vow was taken in 1838 so that the Afrikaners could "annihilate" their fellow countrymen.

Insofar as the holiday represented the wish of one group to conquer another, it should be scrapped.

Mr Macozoma said he did not believe the Day of the Vow should be replaced by any other public holiday. "We have too many public holidays in this country", he remarked.

Nonetheless the ANC celebrated "Heroes' Day" yesterday to honour the founding of uMkhonto weSizwe and those killed in the struggle against apartheid.

Dr Dennis Madide, a member of the central committee of the IFP said there was no justification for the retention of the Day of the Vow. The day was marred by "too may bad feelings", he said.

Dr Madide suggested the establishment instead of Heroes' Day on which different groups could have their own commemorations.

National Party information officer Mr Piet Coetzer said the day would always be a special day for Afrikaans-speaking people or at least for those "with a historical link to it".

But he said it might become a national peace day with a "wider meaning" for the South African community. — Staff Reporter and Own Correspondent

Mandela's 'dawn of hope'

EXCLUSIVE

3049 ARG 18/12/92

ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Staff

THIS has been the most difficult of the three years of South Africa's democratisation, African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela said today.

But 1993 dawned with hope for a period when the political vacillating and uncertainty, the violence and economic woes could become controllable, he said in an exclusive interview.

He said "a great deal of progress" had been made through negotiations in the past three years. "It would be going too far if one presented the picture as one of gloom only" because of one bad year, he said.

"I think that we are closing the year with a great deal of hope for next year."

Mr Mandela said the search for peace would triumph over efforts by the far-right and far-left to incite war.

"I can assure you there is no political force in this country that can stop the peace process," he said.

"Elections will be held towards the end of next year. We have no doubts about this."

Three central issues had faced South Africa in 1992: politically motivated violence; crime, such as robbery and theft; and the economic recession.

Unless those issues were addressed immediately, any political settlement would remain fragile, he said.

But a great deal of progress had been made through negotiations generally and, in particular, in bilateral talks.

"The achievements of negotiations are there for everybody to see," he said.

Mr Mandela added: "If we are going to stop violence, we will have to stop finger-pointing and look at what we are doing ourselves.

"If we are able to convey this perception to all opinion makers, we will have made progress in addressing the question of violence.

"But it is not a simple matter, because violence is not just a clash between two blah ganisations."

The ANC leader condemned the killing of unarmed and defenceless civilians in Apla attacks in the Eastern Cape.

"But we must not lose proper focus; the responsibility for what happened in King William's Town and Queenstown must be placed squarely on the shoulders of the government," he said.

"The PAC is a liberation movement. It is entitled to have a liberation army."

He was highly critical of the fact there did not appear to be political control over Apla.

● See Page 14

Keep talking, King urges SA

CT 18/12/92

Observers welcome talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — SA politicaL leaders and businessmen were unaware of the extent of the negative effects of violence and instability on foreign investment, a top UN offivial said here yesterday.

UN observer mission leader Ms Angela King said yesterday political rivalry, electioneering and the tendency for leaders to abandon forums where there was disagreement were obstacles to negotiations.

Ms King said recent efforts by Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys to explain the poor state of the economy to political parties were going some way to addressing the problem, but South Africa remained unattractive to foreign investors.

"I don't think that with the degrees and levels of violence and instability South Africa would be a good investment option.

"It would be difficult for us as a community to invest in the country or fully lift sanctions. It was feared (earlier this year) that the country was out of control and violence was escalating."

No party or group of parties should try to stall the negotiation process or hold it hostage.

"In KwaZulu and the Witwatersrand there is a tendency for certain parties, if they can't come to agreement, to leave forums rather than sit down.

"Our job is to be of nuisance value. We just have to make sure that everybody keeps talking."

There appeared to be an organised force behind much of South Africa's violence, but there was insufficient evidence to label this a third force, she said.

"It does seem that there is an element of engineering in what happens. The train violence in the Witwatersrand area, for example, is not the ANC and Inkatha, it is random killings.

"I am convinced that everybody wants peace and that if they talk about armed conflict or the use of force, this is the very last resort. But they don't always have mechanisms, or want to accept mechanisms that lead to a meeting of the minds or a greater understanding," she said.

"We have been pressuring government to put out a proclamation (prohibiting the carrying of weapons). They have to do something very quickly about it, because the guns keep on coming in across the border and they are very cheap."

JOHANNESBURG. — Commonwealth observers are pleased South Africans accept that the political process in the country has to proceed irrespective of whether violence has subsided.

To expect the resumption of multiparty negotiations to depend on a reduction in violence is unrealistic, however desirable, Mr Austin Amissah of Ghana told a press conference here yesterday.

"A government accepted by all the peoples of South Africa may be in a better position to deal effectively with the violence than a government which is not," he said.

Mr Amissah, the chairman of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, was reporting on behalf of the 12-member Comsa delegation which has been in the country for the past two months. — Sapa

distinction between political violence and other types is not always clear. The figures are probably better indicators of trends than of absolute levels of conflict.

As the Legal Resources Centre's Howard Varney says, the sad irony is that more people are dying now than in the dark days of the State of Emergency.

His pessimism at the outlook for next year should perhaps be counterbalanced by the renewed optimism on the negotiations front. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

New year wishes

Despite complications tossed into the negotiations brew by the strong federal push of Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his group of "concerned South Africans" (Cosag), as well as the PAC's ambivalence about violence, government is "convinced the timescales and objectives it has proposed for 1993 are attainable." That's according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The timetable for elections is not hard and fast, though there is agreement, notably with the ANC, on the steps to be followed towards:

- ☐ A multilateral negotiating forum;
- ☐ The contents of the transitional constitution;
- ☐ The principles of a constitution; and
- ☐ Implementation of the transitional executive council.

This programme follows the outline given by President F W de Klerk last month, when he spoke of an election not later than March or April 1994. The date could be brought forward depending on how fast the process moves.

In his last media briefing for the year ("unless something dramatic happens over the next weeks, which we are not predicting"), Meyer told journalists that government had reached this optimistic conclusion as a result of continuous contact with all significant political groups in the country.

"In spite of differences regarding the process and the contents of constitutional development, notable common factors can be identified across the political spectrum."

While the process had been delayed, Meyer said, the interaction among parties and the influence on them of external factors such as the economy and violence "has led to a more pragmatic attitude in most parties."

He gave as examples the "necessity" for strong regional government, a growing economy, power-sharing and constitutional continuity.

He added that the "nature and style" of discussions had changed during the year. This applied especially to the depth of discussions and their seriousness and intensity.

In the new year, government intends doing everything in its power to get all parties together as soon as possible in one conference. Resumption of multilateral negotiations — in whatever form — had to be the next step. He appealed for the process not to be delayed by arguing over whether to change the name of Codesa. The matter is, however, somewhat more complex given Cosag's insistence on a new forum and Buthelezi's demand for a conference to review decisions reached in Codesa.

Pressed on the question, Meyer pointed to the agreement reached with the ANC that Codesa should be restructured — to bring in other parties — "but it might also be necessary to restructure it from other angles, especially as far as decision-making or at least the structure of its operation is concerned." He thought it was too large and needed to be streamlined.

It was significant that the Minister had "no certainty" about whether Inkatha would accept the Codesa agreements. This would be clarified at next month's meeting.

However, all parties are agreed, Meyer added, that change can be effected only through "a forum of a multiparty nature." A concerted effort to this end would be made over the next two months in bilateral and multilateral talks.

Meetings already arranged with government for next month include: Cosag; representatives of the self-governing states; the Afrikaner Volksunie; the ANC; and "maybe" others as well.

It was important to note that multilateral talks should not necessarily replace the one-on-one contact between parties and groups. This presumably includes the critical government-ANC talks, which so rile Buthelezi.

In the coming year, government would encourage talks at regional level on the subject of local authorities. It is here, presumably, that greater clarity will emerge on the status of Buthelezi's regional constitution and its implications. ■

BUTHELEZI'S PROPOSALS

FM 18/12/92

On the road to UDI?

304A

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has warned that his controversial confederalist draft constitution will be tested at the polls one way or another — with or without government blessing.

Though he says he is confident that President F W de Klerk will accede to a request to hold a regional referendum on the proposals, he adds: "However, should government fail to fulfil this responsibility, the referendum will be organised by a committee established in terms of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly resolution which approved the constitution."

His assertion came from his office in response to an *FM* suggestion that there is speculation that the popularity of the constitution may never be tested because the referendum must be sanctioned by the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Natal. Such blessing seems improbable since government has already voiced its displeasure at the constitution and the timing of its publication.

But even this is disputed by Buthelezi: "We are under the impression that the decision to organise and hold a referendum is an activity which requires no approval from any legislative or administrative entity."

In promulgating the proposals (on December 1), Buthelezi said the intention, following its ratification in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, would be to seek approval of a referendum through the KwaZulu/Natal Joint Executive Authority (JEA), a consensus-based, regional power-sharing, administrative body.

However, NPA executive member and JEA vice-chairman Val Volker claims that even if the poll is endorsed by the JEA, it must also be ratified by central government.

Meanwhile, the political hornet's nest stirred by the publication of the document continues buzzing.

The latest agitator is General Bantu Holomisa who launched a vitriolic attack on Buthelezi and Inkatha at the weekend, claiming that the IFP was trying to force its hand in the constitutional arrangements now being mooted. Buthelezi understandably claims that Holomisa, as the head of an unelected military government, is on shaky ground when it comes to pointing democratic fingers.

But the controversy over the timing of the constitution's publication and whether it has a chance of being tested at the polls all but eclipses the proposals.

The constitution outlines a three-tier governing structure comprising a state governor, a senate elected through proportional representation and a legislature elected from small constituencies which respects existing cultural divisions. It also envisages considerable devolution of powers to the regional authorities within the State.



Buthelezi . . . *determined to hold a regional referendum*

The most controversial aspects of the document centre on the clauses which create a virtually independent State and an impotent central government — and have led to it being labelled a confederal constitution — and on the proposal to establish KwaZulu/Natal state militia and tax systems.

Less controversial are the establishment of a bill of rights, pluralism, universal franchise, minority protection mechanisms, entrenched employment, housing rights, an independent judiciary and a free press. There are safeguards against a burgeoning public sector and sex discrimination.

The document also protects the role of traditional leaders in terms of law and communal property.

On the economic side, there is a commitment to private property ownership, free enterprise and the establishment of structures to promote economic growth. Safeguards against government abuses will be provided through a civil service commission, the appointment of an ombudsman and a constitutional court.

On the face of it, this is a liberal and broadminded document with a lot going for it — hence the apparently growing level of support for it among Natalians.

Wits University's professor Alf Stadler agrees that the constitution is "probably very expertly drafted" and that though theoretically federal systems are terrific and some even work, he has always taken an anti-federal line in the SA context because systems cannot be judged purely on merit.

"It must be considered in the SA context based on structures established by Verwoerd. Unless a way can be devised of establishing a federal system that does not coincide largely with homeland borders, the concept has an inescapable major weakness.

"However, I have never seen a plausible case, so we're probably stuck with homeland-type structures or a unitary state — and even then, as the ANC is discovering, compromises must be made with some of the leaders."

Natal University's law professor George Devenish points out that while the Buthelezi constitution carries similar clauses to other proposals in terms of civil liberties and checks and balances, his main concern centres on the *de facto* confederal connotations of the constitution. "SA needs a balanced regional system which will probably effectively be federal, though I prefer the term regionalism because it is less contentious.

"However, a strong central government is also needed. It must be capable of dealing with national crises as well as the process of national reconstruction."

Devenish maintains that strong regional and central governments are not incompatible, as demonstrated by the US. He points out that the ANC has increasingly indicated its willingness to accept entrenched regional power, though it initially strongly opposed the principles of federalism. Based on this, he believes the Buthelezi constitution may simply be an "opening" in the constitutional debate.

"Obviously there are good aspects to it," he says. "These proposals build on what the pioneering Natal/KwaZulu Indaba built; so the baby shouldn't be thrown out of the basket. However, so much of it revolves around Buthelezi's negative, arrogant and undiplomatic public image."

If the pragmatists can gain the upper hand, it should be possible for government, the ANC and the IFP to throw their proposals into a melting pot and cook up a workable regional government — balanced against a strong central structure. ■

APLA FM 18/12/92

Small but rabid

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and its "operationally independent" armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), have received more publicity following the attacks on white civilians in the eastern Cape recently, than at any time since the PAC was banned and forced into exile 30 years ago. Is this perhaps a measure of its effectiveness?

Until recently, the PAC was to most blacks a half-forgotten, rather colourful

→ CONTINUED

Buthelezi defends proposal for KwaZulu/Natal state

INKATHA president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has rejected claims that he was trying to go it alone in adopting the KwaZulu/Natal "federal constitution".

He also said the region had proved that in "terms of income produced and revenues collected in the state of KwaZulu/-Natal it is currently subsidising the other regions of SA".

However, SA Sugar Association chairman Tony Ardington, who was also KwaZulu-Natal Indaba economic committee chairman, disputed this, saying unless the region got a share of the proposed federation's fiscal resources it would not serve the best interests of the people living in that region.

The Indaba was one of the key bodies involved in the formulation of the proposed constitution.

Ardington said more than 23% of the people in SA lived in KwaZulu/Natal "yet it generates only 14% of the GDP".

Without substantial fiscal transfers from central government there would not be the resources to meet the needs of the

BILLY PADDOCK

people living in the region.

"They would be condemned to inferior education, health care and welfare services, no matter how well intentioned and competent the regional government," he wrote in a newspaper article this week.

Buthelezi said that by no stretch of the imagination did his proposed constitution suggest KwaZulu/Natal could be self-sufficient but it would be viable as a federal state within a federation.

"This is consistent with the reality of the state of KwaZulu/Natal whose economy is surely not self-sufficient in terms that it does not provide for the full range of required services and industries . . ." he said.

He said the proposed constitution required that a federal republic for SA be adopted by the population of the country before his idea could succeed.

However, he did not explain why he threatened to take his constitution to a referendum of the people in the region before there was a federal republic.

'DP membership gains sparked ANC attack'

THE significant inroads the DP was making into the black and coloured areas was the prime reason for the ANC's attack on two of its senior MPs in Khayelitsha last week, DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday.

He said one of the MPs involved, Jasper Walsh, had written to the regional dispute resolution committee to record the DP's protest, but asked the body to take no action. The DP and the ANC regional offices would try to resolve the issue bilaterally.

He said the party's recruitment drive since mid-year had borne startling results, with the region

BILLY PADDOCK

recording the highest number of new membership applications in one day in the history of the party.

"About two weeks ago in one day we received 220 application forms in the post. It is the biggest number in one day in the history of the party," Andrew said.

He said the party had made good inroads into coloured and black areas in the western Cape, and especially in the Boland region.

At the beginning of the year the DP had 14 branches in the Western Cape, mainly composed of white members. Since then, the membership drive had increased the branches to more than 40.

"These are mostly due to coloured and black members increasingly joining the party, and in this region the DP is by far the strongest and has the best chance of success in an election," he said. Other areas — especially the far Northern Transvaal — were showing strong growth.

The branches consisted of between 50 and 400 members. Some older ones had more than 900 members.

He said in some of the more remote places with too few members to form a branch, support groups were formed to carry the recruitment drive.

While there was not significant Indian membership of the party, there had been interest shown from certain sectors of the community in Natal, Andrew said.

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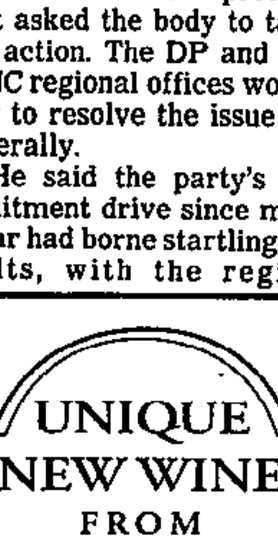

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Staunch NP man Joubert joins the DP

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

304A
ARG 18/12/92

MR Chris Joubert, the Sea Point city councillor who has been a staunch Nationalist for many years, has joined the Democratic Party.

Mr Joubert said the DP had a clean bill of health in politics, no apartheid baggage from the past and the credibility to reach out to people.

It was therefore the vehicle to bring parties together in a new, non-racial South Africa.

Mr Joubert was the NP candidate in Sea Point in the 1982 provincial council elections.

He said today he was a great admirer of the initiatives President De Klerk had taken in 1990 but had waited in vain for rapid progress with reform.

Mr Eglin, MP for Sea Point, welcomed Mr Joubert's decision and said it would strengthen the party's efforts in the Peninsula.

FW, IFP clash expected

Sowetan 8/12/92

(B) (304A)

PRESIDENT de Klerk is set to clash with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi when they meet on Thursday.

This follows the organisation's firm rejection yesterday of the basic transitional arrangements agreed to at Codesa.

Relations between the two leaders are already at their lowest because of Buthelezi's announcement last week of a virtual go-it-alone plan for a KwaZulu/Natal federal state.

■ Buthelezi on confrontation course after rejection of transitional arrangements:

De Klerk warned Buthelezi this unilateral action was leading him into direct confrontation with the Government.

Yesterday Buthelezi and other members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) met in Pretoria and afterwards called for a new negotiating forum to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

They rejected the idea of a transitional government, transitional constitution and constituent assembly, calling instead for a new, non-exclusive multi-party forum to draft a new constitution.

This contrasts directly with the agreements reached at Codesa and frequently re-affirmed by the Government and the ANC since then.



White might ... Show of force on the Day of the Vow Photos: SARAH PRALL

Sore thumb among the iron fists

By JACQUIE GOLDING, a black journalist who braved the white right

THEY came in all their regalia — the Ystergarde in militant black with Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) insignias, their leader Eugene Terre'Blanche astride a horse, followed by other men on horseback, bikers, skinheads and those on foot — a total of about 700 AWB troopers, white to the last man and woman, filing eagerly into the Kempton Park Stadium for a Day of the Vow show of force.

And there was I, standing out like a sore thumb with my notebook in hand and heart thumping.

From his podium, Terre'Blanche began to speak. Blacks were not part of this celebration, he intoned, as if reading a *gedig* (poem). As he highlighted the Afrikaner volk's exclusivity, I felt a shiver down my spine. Eyes bore into the back of my head and slanted coals peered at me through the black balaclavas of the Ystergarde, who stood in a stiff line directly in front of me.

I was the only black journalist present, besides *Star* photographer Alf Khumalo. *"Dis nou nie nodig dat die kaffers die dag van ons moet lees nie* (Kaffirs shouldn't follow what we are doing)," said a woman with a baby on her hip and a gun in her holster. Khumalo soon left, asking another photographer to escort him.

Before the procession started, I timidly approached a group of four men and a woman, dressed in khaki and army boots, firearms clearly visible. "Excuse me, when will the speakers begin their speeches?" I asked them in Afrikaans.

"We're waiting for our great leader, Mr Terre'Blanche. We hope to salute (racist mass murderer) Barend Strydom, if he comes," replied a man called Gawie gruffly. About 60 years old with a long grey beard, he gestured with one hand while holding a brandy and Coke in the other.

"We don't want to be robbed of our culture, which is different to the blacks'," he added, urging his friends to support him in his bid to educate me. *"Skryf a mooi storie* (Write a good story)," he said.

Guns, guns, guns! There were firearms wherever you turned, some brandished by youngsters. As the procession passed by to shouts of *"links! regs!"*, a skinhead with a swastika tattooed on the side of his skull and a Nazi T-shirt threatened me with a direct stare, and then pointed at me.

Looks came from all quarters, some hostile and others curious. There were exceptions: a woman approached me, smiling, to ask for a pen and paper, while her friend urged the toddler on her arm to greet me.

Two teenagers strolled past selling copies of *Sweepslag*, an AWB publication. They were uneasy about my presence, and apparently confounded by my conversation with the two women.

At one point after the parade, the riders seemed to encircle me and, looking up at them, I heard the comment: *"Jy hoort nie hier nie* (You don't belong here)." Trying to stay calm as a train of large dogs and their owners followed, I broke into a sweat.

"Veg en sterf vir wat jy glo en wat jy het (Fight and die for what you believe in and what you have)," was Terre'Blanche's central message.

Being neither part of his present nor his envisaged future, I decided to get out while the going was good.

Rightwing Romeo undone by lefty love

LOVE, even if doesn't conquer all, at least seems to be able to cross traditional political divides. It has caused a modern-day Romeo to lose his membership of perhaps the most prestigious secret organisation in rightwing circles, Toekomsgesprek (TG).

Carel Boshoff (29), son of Volkstater Professor Carel Boshoff and grandson of former premier Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, was kicked out of the 3 000-member TG after his dalliance with a prominent young Pretoria leftwinger became known.

Juliet in this case is Hedwig Barry, a member of the African National Congress. She was head of the National Union of South African Students branch at the University of Pretoria when Nusas organised the ill-fated appearance of ANC leader Nelson Mandela at the university. The meeting ended in a virtual free-for-all when rightwinger Hendrik Claassen tried to attack Mandela and was in turn physically opposed by Barry.

Love doesn't conquer all — especially if you're a rightwinger and your Juliet is a prominent liberal.
By **JAN TALJAARD**

Boshoff junior is himself a Volkstater, presently holidaying in Orania, the proposed nucleus of a Volkstaat in the northern Cape.

While Codesa II faltered on differences between unitarians and regionalists, Barry and Boshoff have been able to overcome their differences to the extent that she has been accepted inside the larger Boshoff family, regularly attending cosy family get-togethers, according to friends.

Boshoff's expulsion from TG, however, again casts a spotlight on the organisation established in the mid-1980s to serve as a counter to the National Party's Broederbond.

Based on virtually the same structures as the Broederbond, using the same procedures for the recruitment and screening of new members, TG nevertheless hasn't attained the influential hold on the conservatives that the Broederbond had on the NP.

According to disillusioned TG sources, it was established as part of a rightwing strategy to set up counter-forces to all the organisations that had served the government in the past: the Verkenners (Pioneers) became the rightwing's Rapportryers, the Afrikaner Volkswag became the FAK's cultural counterpart, and TG became the rightwing Broederbond.

"Membership is by invitation only and, as with the Broederbond, a potential member is only invited after his name has been circulated among all other members.

After a prospective member has been cleared, he is invited to attend a meeting of a "cell" (a *"gesprek"* in TG parlance). The candidate steps into a darkened room, where the light of a few candles does not allow him to see the faces of the other members of the *gesprek*. The constitution, aims and secret nature of the organisation are read to him, and only after agreeing to these principles is the light switched on and the other members introduced to him.

Apart from being racist, TG is also as sexist as the Broederbond: women members are not permitted. A female counterpart, called Die Vrou, has been established with Lucia van den Bergh, wife of Pretoria firebrand the Rev Mossie van den Bergh, occupying the chair.

But the real political heavyweights of the right, including former Broederbond chairman Andries Treurnicht, have not joined TG — and insiders see this as being crucial to its failure to attain the think-tank status of the Broederbond.

TG has other problems at the moment, manifest in strife between its leaders. Once again it seems that love, that waylayer of the best-laid plans of rightwing men, is a culprit.

According to informed sources, advocate Alex Danzfuss, deputy chairman of TG, lost the Free State leadership of the Conservative Party as a result of his friendship with a 23-year-old beautician. Danzfuss recently separated from his wife. The sources say that TG chairman Professor Kobus Lombard was the chief lobbyist against Danzfuss.

Rhoodie in costly row of 'untruths'

WJMail 18/12-22/12/92 (304A)

Eschel Rhoodie, of info scandal fame, is at the centre of yet another dispute of 'untruths' — this time involving R1,9-million and an organisation aimed at protecting 'European culture' in Africa. **GRAHAM HOPWOOD** *reports*

FORMER South African information secretary Dr Eschel Rhoodie has surfaced at the centre of an angry dispute over an organisation founded to protect "European culture" in Africa.

Rhoodie, best known for his role in the 1978 info scandal, has fallen out with former ally Dr Mario Oriani-Ambrosini — one of the American lawyers who drafted the proposed kwaZulu constitution announced a fortnight ago by chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

At issue is R1,9-million which, Oriani says, Rhoodie controls. Rhoodie counters that the amount is not hard cash, but merely an estimate of the money it would take to run the organisation for three years.

After working closely together in the organisation they founded in May, Oriani and Rhoodie now run separate groups promoting minority rights and federalism in Africa. Both say their groups promote "cultural diversity and human rights".

The organisation they founded jointly in May was originally called the International Centre for the Protection of European Cultures in Africa Inc (Icpeca).

Rhoodie was a trustee of Icpeca at its launch in May and in June he was elected chairman and president. The organisation became involved in several contentious issues in Namibia. Among them: the claim of the Reheboth Baster community to land owned either by the community or by private individuals before Namibian independence. The issue is contentious because many people fear it could lead to a demand for a degree of autonomy.

In June Oriani, as Icpeca spokesman, also accused the Namibian government of "cultural genocide" for seeking the return of R9-million granted by the former Administration for Whites to an organisation called Cultura 2000, set up to advance the cause of "western European cultures" in Namibia. He said he was reporting the Namibian government to the United Nations Human Rights Commission and Unesco for "violating cultural and minority rights".

The organisation ran into further controversy when nearly all the Namibian trustees listed on Icpeca's letterhead said they had never heard of the group.

By the end of the month, Icpeca had changed its name and its acronym — to Icpoda, International Centre for the Protection of Cultural Diversity and Human Rights in Africa. Days later, a power struggle erupted for control of the organisation.

According to Oriani, speaking this week from the office of Inkatha Freedom Party executive member Suzanne Vos, Rhoodie had access to R1,9-million for funding Icpoda and wanted to use it to install himself as sole director, sidelining the others. Oriani said Rhoodie refused to reveal the source of the money, which Oriani believed came from a private party in South Africa, either to him or to other "leading figures" in the movement.

Rhoodie denied this week that he had R1,9-million available; it was, he said, only a notional figure based on a rough estimate made in June for the running costs of Ipcoda over three years.

From his office in Atlanta, Georgia, he launched an attack on Oriani, calling him "untruthful, immature and irresponsible". He said Oriani had not registered the organisation as a non-profit making corporation, so legally it never existed, and that Oriani had told "a string of untruths" about Icpoda to prospective donors.

Rhoodie said he had fired Oriani because documentation he prepared for funds from the National Endowment for Democracy "lacked proper scholarship, was riddled with inaccuracies and contained untruths".

Meanwhile, Rhoodie has set up his own organisation, called the International Centre for the Protection of Minority Rights and Cultural Diversity, which he is planning to launch next year. He said it is not concerned with the Reheboth Baster controversy; its major work in Namibia will involve the promotion of mother-tongue education.

Rhoodie also said his group will not work in South Africa and has no South African trustees or funding. It is "not interested in a particular race, group or country but in minority rights and cultural diversity all over Africa". It is planning 14 research projects, including one dealing with Namibia, Switzerland, Nigeria and Ethiopia, to prove the thesis that a federal structure provides better protection to minorities and a better safeguard for cultural diversity than a centralised governmental system does.

At the same time, Oriani is pressing on with another organisation, which he still calls Icpoda and which is funded, he said, by a private American group called the International Strategic Concepts Foundation. His organisation is dealing with the Reheboth Baster issue and is advising the lawyers representing the Baster community.

ANC, DP to kiss and make up

w\mail 18/12 - 22/12/92

By GAYE DAVIS: **Cape Town**

A FENCE-MENDING exercise to heal relations between the Democratic Party and the African National Congress in the western Cape is on the cards for early January following the violent disruption of a DP meeting in Khayelitsha this week.

At issue is the alleged involvement of senior ANC and civic organisation members in the fracas.

The ANC claims the regional secretary of its Women's League, Nomatyala Hangana, was there to intervene in case of trouble — but the DP insists she was part of the chanting mob which hurled chairs and invective at MPs Jasper Walsh and Robin Carlisle, bringing the meeting to a chaotic end.

Tensions were fuelled further by ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak, who claimed tempers flared when Carlisle told the meeting the DP had never been involved in violence — a statement "outrageous in its sensitivity" coming from people "seen as armchair politicians who chose the soft option of the tricameral parliament" while Khayelitsha's people had been "in the direct firing line of state violence".

Boesak denied ANC involvement in the disruption, saying the Pan Africanist Congress' military wing, the Azanian Liberation People's Army (Apla) had claimed responsibility.

He later withdrew this statement as "an error made in good faith" and the ANC has now formally apologised to the PAC for the "misunderstanding".

Hangana, meanwhile, justified her actions by saying she told people before the meeting that the DP had the right to speak, but that they should "also ask questions which would show the DP it was not welcome in Khayelitsha".

She said the DP should "first settle the white areas where the National Party and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging were growing in strength before trying to enter black townships".

This prompted a stinging attack from DP national chairman Ken Andrew: while Boesak and Hangana conceded the DP's right to speak both "immediately gave reasons why the DP should not organise in black townships" — making "a mockery of the ANC's professed commitment to democracy and non-racialism".

Hangana's suggestion was "racist" and Boesak saw fit to "hypocritically warn the DP of the deep hostility towards political parties operating within the tricameral system while the ANC itself is happy to have tricameral MPs, including two who are on Dr Boesak's own regional executive", Andrew said.

DP MP Jasper Walsh, who has called on the ANC to investigate and publicly discipline members involved, said the disruption was "clearly planned" and involved ANC as well as civic organisation members. The PAC, however, has said it also had members at the meeting — although it denies they were involved in disrupting it.

ANC organising secretary in the western Cape Willie Hofmeyr said yesterday a meeting would be held with the DP "to see what can be done". The ANC would also inquire into the matter to see whether disciplinary steps should be taken against any of its members.

However, he was adamant the ANC had not planned to break up the meeting — the DP's first public event in a black township — "because we knew that if anything happened it would be used in a massive propaganda campaign against us.

"The only way the DP can win support in black and coloured areas is to portray the ANC and National Party as at two extremes, both tainted by violence."

It was "outrageous" to suggest the ANC intended to disrupt the meeting as this would only reinforce that perception, he said.

Just visiting this planet

WIM and 18/12-22/12/92 3049

The 1 400 rightwingers who turned up to hear Eugene Terre'Blanche's war talk are a sign that economic woes are helping the AWB..

By **JAN TALJAARD**
18/12-22/12/92

BOASTING more than 700 men, women and children in uniform, and roughly an equal number of hangers-on, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging this week staged its biggest show of force since its heyday in 1988.

At what was billed as "the last Day of the Vow before the war", AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche reaffirmed the vow taken by the Voortrekker leaders before the battle of Blood River on the same date in 1838.

Held at the Barnard stadium in Kempton Park on Wednesday, the AWB event included a march through the city of Kempton Park.

The march was led by 59 horsemen, followed by 30 masked members of the elite Ystergarde (Iron Guard), 18 generals, various other officers, 534 uniformed members of the AWB rank and file, a white Alsatian led by his masked master, six black dogs tied to their respective handlers and 66 children belonging to the AWB's own Youth Brigade.

Making up the rearguard were the Stormvalke (Storm Falcons), the revitalised motorbike squad of the AWB. Led by the silver-helmeted "captain", Freddie Harmse from Roodepoort, and his wife, Alta, on an ageing Yamaha 1100, the contingent consisted of another six motorcycles and a trike that carried a message on its rear end: "Only visiting this planet".

In the end these touches of light relief were precious few. The overbearing impression on Wednesday was one of martial manoeuvring and of black-clad heavies with pump-action shotguns, and cocked pistols.

The ugliest moment of the day came when Alf Khumalo, photographer from the *Star*, walked into the arena taking pictures of Terre'Blanche as he strode towards the podium.

Shouts of *"Vat daai kaffer weg!* (Take that kaffir away)", *"Wat maak die swart hond hier?* (What is that black dog doing here)" were heard from the stands, while the imperturbable Khumalo carried on with his job.

Earlier, just before the procession entered the arena, Iron Guard members on horseback also tried to bar him from entering. After a whispered conversation between them and Terre'Blanche he was allowed to enter.



Taking the vow ... AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche reaffirms the vow taken by Voortrekker leaders before the battle of Blood River

But while there was not much sign of the 34 000 commando members Terre'Blanche keeps alluding to, the 1 400 dedicated faithful he managed to attract served as an indication that political and economical circumstances may be helping the recruitment programme of the AWB.

Having had to contend with waning numbers and a few minor purges since Jani Allan and the Paardekraal incident in December 1988, Terre'Blanche has since then rarely been able to mobilise more than 500 members at a single meeting.

In May this year he managed to attract fewer than 500 uniformed members to a two-day "World Congress" held at Klerksdorp after serving "call-up instructions" to each and every member of the AWB.

It seems that this time Terre'Blanche had decided that more drastic measures were needed to up attendance. According to reliable sources, officers of the AWB were threatened with demotion if they failed to attend without written notification.

In contrast with the relatively good attendance, the speech of a tired-looking Terre'Blanche was rather docile compared to his usual fire-breathing oratorical performances.

Stating as a fact that war would break out in 1993, he offered AWB members victory and an own Volkstaat at the end of the war. Not saying exactly where the Volkstaat would be, he told the crowd that its borders would be drawn by the outcome of the conflict.

Refering to the Azanian People's Liberation Army and the "war declared by Apla", he threatened Pan Africanist Congress secretary general Benny Alexander: "Carry on, then I am coming to get you, Benny — as certainly as I am standing here."

Terre'Blanche also stated that he had notified Apla about the meeting in Kempton Park after Apla had threatened to break up Afrikaner festivities on December 16. "And where is Apla now?" he triumphantly asked.

Earlier he had suddenly switched to English in front of an almost exclusively Afrikaans audience: "I am saying this in English so that the uneducated Aplas can also understand: We are going to knock the hell out of you."

Symbolic Govt vital - Amissah

Sowetan 18/12/92

■ Political killings amaze Commonwealth observers:

3044

By Mokgadi Pela

A MORE representative government might be better able to defuse the violence than the present regime, Commonwealth observers said in Johannesburg yesterday.

Chairman of the observer mission to South Africa, Mr Austin Amissah, told a media briefing that South Africans felt the political process had to continue despite the violence.

He said the Commonwealth observers were happy to learn that multiparty talks would continue.

He said the observers were amazed at the level of "indiscriminate political killings" in the country. "The sooner the cause of the violence is identified and rooted out, the quicker will the source of instability be removed," Amissah said.

'Different powers for regions'

PRETORIA. — Different regions should have different powers in a future dispensation, depending on needs, infrastructure and economic ability.

This is one of the main recommendations in a report by the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) Centre for Constitutional Analysis on regional powers in a new constitution.

According to the head of the centre, Dr Bertus de Villiers, a new constitution would probably have a federal character and the powers of future regions had now become one of the most important issues.

In the report Dr De Villiers proposes a system of "asymmetrical autonomy" in terms of which the powers of the various regions can differ.

Depending on the economic ability, infrastructure and needs of a specific region, it could receive more or fewer powers than other regions.

"Varying levels of autonomy are internationally regarded as one of the best ways of defusing conflict, bringing diversity into account and ensuring effective government.

"This will enable the different regions in South Africa to develop according to their own needs and abilities."

Each region still had to act within the framework of the current constitution.

Dr De Villiers suggested that the constitution contain a comprehensive list of potential minimum regional powers.

"Each region can negotiate with the central government for additional functions under the constitution."

The duration of asymmetrical autonomy could be linked to a specific time-scale — thus replacing unequal powers by equal powers after a certain period — or to an unspecified time-scale or for as long as the need existed. — Sapa.

Read the fine print then make your cross

South 19/12/92 - 13/1/93 · (304A)

WITH South Africa's first democratic elections drawing near, it is important for first-time voters to realise that the power of the vote can be extremely limited.

Voters can achieve an objective – such as a free public health service — by voting for the party which includes such an issue in the policies it aims to implement when it comes to power.

But whether the parties actually implement these policies or not depends on how realistic their ambitions were to begin with.

It also depends on how soon a new government is able to implement its policies. This in turn depends on how well organised it is, and what economic and other resources it has at its disposal.

All parties contesting an election outline their future plans for the country in policy statements during their election campaigns. By doing so, they hope to win as many votes for their party as possible.

This is where the catch lies. Voters must be able to distinguish between realistic statements of intent and unrealistic promises aimed merely at the lowers of a party.

The campaign is an important way to influence apathetic people who do not keep abreast of political developments. This group can easily be swayed by persuasive publicity campaigns.

The extent to which voters will achieve what they want from the party of their choice depends on how closely the party's policies and plans correspond with the voters' needs.

This applies to general rather than specific plans. For example, people concerned about being able to educate their children at a reasonable cost, would do well to choose a party upholding the principle of government-subsidised education.

'Voters need to be as well informed as possible about all the parties contesting the election'

But they cannot determine before the party assumes power how that principle will be implemented.

Unfortunately, there are many unrealistic expectations doing the rounds among South Africa's first-time voters. People think that the vote is going to automatically improve their standard of living.

There is no way any government, whatever principles it upholds, will be able to deliver free housing or build enough schools and hospitals for everyone



FROM BROWN'S FARM TO BISHOPSCOURT: Voters must not expect too many changes in their lives after an election

The best yardstick a voter can use to assess how likely it is that a party will deliver on its promises is by examining the party's past record.

For their own sakes, voters need to be as well informed as possible about all the parties contesting the election.

In an election campaign parties try to highlight their "positive" track record, while exposing any "negative" aspects of the opposing parties.

If voters do not have a clear picture of what each party stands for, they are likely to become very confused and have difficulty in making a well-considered choice.

An election campaign seldom has a great effect on the committed following. They think the vote, or democracy, is going to deliver luxury cars, elite homes and private schools.

These are unrealistic expectations. No government in the world has been able to deliver such things.

The process of transforming living standards is a slow and laborious one which will have to be measured in years rather than months.

Most people might not experience any improvement in their lives, while others may find that their living standards have deteriorated.

People who have enjoyed unrealistic standards of living which were made possible because of apartheid policies such as cheap labour, state subsidies and preferential treatment may experience a decline in living standards. These people are aware that they stand to lose some of their privileges under a new government.

Of concern are the unrealistic expectations of the mass of impoverished victims of apartheid.

Great efforts must be made to explain to them what the vote can influence and what it cannot.

This should not be left to political parties alone. For them the temptation will be great to minimise the long-term uncertainties in the hope of getting as many votes as possible.

On the other hand, it is in the interests of all South Africans that the country remain as stable as possible during the transition period.

Post-Codesa guide out soon

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STAT 19/12/92

PETER DAVIES

FOR those baffled by the ever-shifting sands of South Africa's post-apartheid political set-up, a detailed account of the negotiation process since Codesa will soon be on the bookshelves.

The 200-page book "South Africa After Codesa: The Search for a Negotiated Settlement" is being written by a group of researchers assembled by the Centre for Policy Studies.

CPS director Steven Friedman will edit the book, which is targeted at the political and business community as well as the public. The focus is on South Africa's prospects for a negotiated settlement and the process needed to reach such an agreement.



SA ready to set sail — again?

AT THE end of 1991, there were tentative murmurings of hope. Flagship Codesa looked set for smooth sailing; confident election-date predictions were made for the coming year and the National Peace Committee revved up its cylinders for a nationwide peace drive.

But 1992 flopped — Codesa capsized and all but sank, a record number of South Africans were killed in politically-related warfare and the prospect of a democratic election did not even come close.

Despite all this, however, the same tentative twinklings of hope have reappeared.

The bosberaad/legotla pact between the ANC and the NP to rebuild a modified Codesa has revived the possibility of a speedily negotiated settlement.

Prospects of elections in the coming year are once more in the air as these two political kingpins haggle over a date.

So what happened during 1992 in which events seemed to have swung full circle? Is South Africa simply back to where it was a year ago or has there been political progress to speak of? Why did 1992 flop in its expectations?

The rot started with the referendum fiasco in March. Although white South Africa stamped their approval on President FW de Klerk's call to push ahead with negotiations, it had the opposite effect.

Ironically, Codesa was more on line before white South Africa gave it the go-ahead than after. Just two months after De Klerk's landslide showing, Codesa 2 jammed.

Predictably, it was not the CP which ruined negotiation efforts but the Codesa participants, and particularly the government.

With hindsight, all the time and money spent on referendum campaigning could have been saved — the bulk of government efforts should have been directed at thrashing out joint proposals with the ANC to make Codesa workable.

Meanwhile, the ANC experienced considerable strain.

For the first half of the year, all their efforts were Codesa-orientated and the lack of progress increased despondency within the organisation's ranks.

The ANC continued to talk while a part of their membership were still in prison or falling victim to massacres like that at Swanieville.

1993 is in with a chance — maybe our last, suggests **Quentin Wilson**:

South
19/12/92 - 13/1/93

'The rot started with the referendum fiasco in March'

304A

They allowed De Klerk the luxury of consolidating his support base through the referendum without so much as a whisper of protest.

Then came Boipatong in June which proved to be the hinge of the year's history.

No longer could the ANC talk in the face of such complete disregard for the loss of black lives and their tactical emphasis switched accordingly.

Immediately, the ANC ditched its short-term negotiation efforts and found itself on more familiar terrain — issuing a bundle of demands for the government to address while linking a mass action onslaught to meet these objectives.

A consolidation of its own support base followed as millions took to the streets in a campaign that piled pressure on De Klerk to accept an elected constituent assembly, while marshalling his security forces to deal more effectively with the ongoing violence.

Almost every week, the "rolling mass action" could capitalise on a fresh unveiling of NP skeletons.

Government knowledge of activist Matthew Goniwe's assassination in 1985 surfaced; pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman spoke publically about detention deaths; toilet towns and other hopeless tales of wasted government spending heaped more dirt on De Klerk's public image.

Momentum for the mass action grew and peaked in early August when Cosatu pulled off a general strike that succeeded in grinding the economy to a two-day halt.

In September, it was De Klerk's bantustan allies who were targeted by the ANC alliance. The Bisho bloodbath focussed global attention once more on apartheid. De Klerk found himself in a corner as his other bantustan buddies, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Mr Lucas Mangope threatened to follow in Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's bloodied footprints.

What was De Klerk to do? Should he ditch his carefully cultivated allies in a bid to regain NP credibility or were they essential teammates in the contests to come?

These questions continue to split the cabinet, a cabinet already weakened by the exit of a steady stream of "burnt out" ministers through the year.

But after Bisho, De Klerk had nowhere to turn — except to the ANC's agenda.

The Record of Understanding reached between these two in September was a helpful pointer to the new power relations that had developed since Codesa's breakdown in May.

Although tactfully played down by the ANC leadership, this bi-lateral episode largely produced what the ANC had been calling for since the Boipatong massacre.

The release of the remaining political prisoners and a commitment by the NP to fence off volatile hostels showed that the ANC had finally got their way, much to the annoyance of Inkatha and chunks of the NP membership.

After De Klerk's special sitting of parliament fizzled and with his alliance still split, the NP went it alone again, meeting the ANC in a secret bosberaad to jointly plot common ground for multi-lateral talks later on.

So, although fat pension schemes for present government officials have been secured, and security force members of the Ferdi Barnard variety have been promised safety through indemnity legislation, the transition project seems back on track.

So much so, that even the PAC seemed ready to step aboard after their two exploratory meetings with the government in Nigeria and Botswana. In the end though, this trend was reversed by their military wing, Apla, who continue to give white South Africa a shrill wake-up call to the reality of violence.

The year, through all its trauma, has nevertheless thrown up conditions conducive to a small glimmer of hope for the future. Except for the haunting spectre of violence, 1993 is in with a chance — and it may be the country's last.

17 million face crucial choice

South 19/12/92 - 13/1/93

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THE government and the ANC are inching closer to an agreement on a date for a democratic election.

Following their bosberaad two weeks ago, negotiators from both sides agreed that they had to press forward and set a date soon.

The government wants elections to be held in March or April 1994 while the ANC believes they could be held as early as September next year.

Both parties hope that they can convince the other participants at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) to accept their proposals.

The ANC and the government have one more round of talks to complete — hopefully on January 20 next year — before taking their proposals to Codesa.

Their optimism means that South Africans who have never participated in an election before should begin to learn what an election means and to prepare themselves to make that crucial choice which will shape the future of the country.

More than 17 million South Africans are expected to vote in the election, according to the Department of Home Affairs.

This excludes the 3,1 million Africans in the nominally independent homelands of the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC states).

A racial breakdown of the potential voters shows that there are 12 million Africans, 3,3 million whites, 1,8 million coloureds and 600 000 Asians.

These figures make up 77,5 per cent of the population — all the people over the age of 18.

However, less than 15 million would be able to cast their votes if an election were called today because 2,7 million potential black voters are without identity books.

The position of the TBVC states, their participation in an election and the position of their citizens living in South Africa are being negotiated.

Parties will also negotiate the qualifications for voters and the method of identification in the elections.

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Separation of powers proposed for regions

ET 19/12/92 (304A)

Political Staff

THE different regions of South Africa should have different powers in future, depending on the region's needs, infrastructure and economic ability, the Human Sciences Research Council constitutional expert, Dr Bertus de Villiers, said yesterday.

Dr De Villiers, who is the head of the HSRC's Centre for Constitutional Analysis, said the centre had produced a report on regional powers.

He said that although the word "federation" still caused suspicion, a new constitution would probably have to have a federal character to protect the powers of the regions.

He proposed a system in which the powers of the regions could differ.

This would enable different regions to develop according to their needs and abilities.

"However varying regional autonomy does not mean that the country deteriorates into uncertainty and that the regions follow their own heads.

"Each region would still have to act within the framework of the current constitution," he said.

Spotlight on SA's future diplomats

South 19/12/92
13/1/93

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By Rehana Rossouw

SOUTH Africa's anti-apartheid and establishment diplomatic corps will have to be merged if the country's diplomatic effort is to be successful in the future.

This will be the central theme of a two-day workshop, "The changing world and the professional diplomat", to be held in Cape Town from January 12. It is organised by the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

South Africa has not had a thoroughly professional diplomatic service. Although the state's foreign service attempted to develop a professional ethos, their efforts were thwarted by the political fray created by apartheid.

The ANC and other groups interacted extensively with the international community over the years. In the West, this was most evident in the anti-apartheid movement which has been described as the most successful mobilisation of public opinion since the Second World War.

But it served specific political objectives, aimed at the isolation of the apartheid government and could not be considered professional diplomatic work.

Driven partly by politics and economic considerations and partly by wider international changes, South Africa is set to integrate its two experiences of the world into a single foreign policy culture.

The central challenge facing the Centre for Southern African Studies workshop is how to achieve this goal.

One of the issues to be explored is the fear among establishment diplomats that a merger with their colleagues in the liberation movement will ruin the reputation of the foreign service.

On the other hand, the liberation movements may argue that the Department of Foreign Affairs is inherently discriminatory and that their prospects may be limited.

Participants at the workshop will try to identify the characteristics of a professional diplomatic corps.

Renowned foreign experts have been invited to share their experience with ten representatives each of the Department of Foreign Affairs, the ANC and the PAC.

Sir Brian Urquhart, former deputy secretary-general of the UN, has been invited to chair the workshop, which will include ambassadors or foreign ministers from Norway, Sweden, India, the Netherlands, France, Namibia, Egypt, Ghana and Botswana.

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Talks: Govt warns IFP

(304A) CT 19/12/92

From SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON. — IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi must re-enter negotiations or face the risk of being excluded, the government's chief negotiator said here yesterday.

Speaking at a meeting hosted by Aspen Institute's Dr Pauline Baker, a possible Clinton administration appointee, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Rolf Meyer stressed that "time is of the essence" in getting back to multi-party talks.

If the timescales for a transitional government — which he said had been broadly agreed by government and the ANC — could not be met, he warned "we might proceed . . . without the participation of all parties".

Government wanted the IFP in the process, and was urging the ANC to help, but, in the end "the only basis is that we must get the majority of support of all South Africans".

Mr Meyer described the National

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From page 1

Negotiations

(304A) CT 19/12/92

Party's relations with the IFP as "worse now" that those between the IFP and ANC or between the ANC and government.

Of Chief Buthelezi's concerns that the government and the ANC were cutting their own deal, Mr Meyer stressed that the IFP must understand the dynamics of a situation in which parties had to co-operate to reach agreement on a constitutional outcome while at the same time competing for votes.

Furthermore "we are looking for powersharing where the ANC and NP co-operate in a government of national unity . . . We have to be nice to each other and compete at the same time. It is important for all parties to read this correctly."

A transitional authority with responsibility over elections, security, finance, regional affairs and the media had to be in place by mid-1993 if the government's March 1994 deadline for transitional government elections was to be met.

Failure to meet these deadlines would prevent resumption of growth in the economy and would lead to South Africa being written off by the international community, Mr Meyer said, suggesting that Chief Buthelezi might take much of the blame for such an eventuality.

The IFP's unilateral demands for quasi-autonomy were not feasible, he argued, because the structure of regionalism had to be decided from the top down, rather from the bottom up.

He also made clear the government was losing patience with the Pan-Africanist Congress' refusal to condemn Azanian People's Liberation Army "terrorist attacks", and called the resignation of the organisation's deputy leader, Mr Dikgang Moseneke "a great pity — it will have a negative effect".

Mr Meyer, in the United States on an official and private visit, had talks with United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Thursday and was seeing state department officials yesterday.



☐ POLITICS

Hold thumbs as '92 slides away

By SEKOLA SELLO

As the year draws to an end, expectations are once more high that the much talked about, but elusive, animal – a new SA – is around the corner.

But will next year usher in a new deal?

Apart from the endemic violence, one topic dominated the SA political landscape – the constitutional negotiations between the government and ANC.

The year started with these two parties poles apart after the NP unveiled its complex set of constitutional proposals.

The DP was sceptical about the Nats' proposals, saying they were likely to bog down the fragile negotiations process.

Predictably, the ANC shot the NP down and offered theirs as the best solution to break the political logjam.

They proposed that an interim government should have a short lifespan; that its principal function was to organise an election for a constituent assembly.

Codesa finally agreed on the need to appoint – rather than elect – a new interim government for the country.

The ANC said they would reject co-option and instead spoke of an interim government council to oversee the running of the country.

Inkatha entered the fray by rejecting the ANC's proposals and calling for a transitional government of reconciliation – broader based than Codesa.

Radical forces on either side of the spectrum threatened to wreck this forum. The CP accused Codesa of selling out whites, particularly the Afrikaner.

On the left the PAC and Azapo said Codesa would shortchange blacks.

The reality of the gulf separating the various participants soon dawned and the forum continued to be dogged by controversy.

Although Inkatha participated in the talks, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi refused to take his seat in Codesa until the participation of Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, was clarified.

Allegations of a secret deal between the government and the ANC surfaced. Buthelezi threatened to tear to pieces any agreement reached behind his back.

While Codesa was being battered from all sides, it was the Boipatong massacre on June 17, in which 39 people died, which posed a more serious threat to the negotiations process.

The ANC suspended all talks with the government. These were only resumed almost six months later.

Cosatu emerged as a force to be reckoned with following their call for a crippling three-day work stayaway.

A report by Amnesty International found that the ANC, high on talk about democracy, tortured and even killed some of its cadres in camps in Angola and Tanzania. Rogue elements of ANC self defence units continue to run wild in the Vaal triangle.

Dirty tricks by some members of the security forces, it seems, are still continuing under De Klerk's rule while massive corruption in KwaNdebele and Lebowa were recently exposed.

The Record of Understanding between the government and the ANC, which some analysts believe holds the key to the country's future, has already been rejected by Inkatha. Instead, Buthelezi has come up with a federal proposal for KwaZulu.

Amidst all this, Apla, the military wing of the PAC, has increased its attacks against white civilians. To counter Apla, the government threatened cross-border raids into Transkei and Zimbabwe.

Given the fluidity of the latest developments, next year may be the last mile to a democratic SA. It may be the beginning of the worst of times ...



MASSACRE ... This youth stood little chance as Ciskei soldiers opened fire on unarmed marchers at Bisho on September 7 in a rehearsed operation by homeland forces.



☐EDUCATION

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MASSACRE ... This youth stood little chance as Ciskei soldiers opened fire on unarmed ANC marchers at Bisho on September 7 in a well-rehearsed operation by homeland forces.

Non-racial poll: ANC gears up

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC has hit the election trail — not with speeches, but by ensuring its supporters will be ready and able to vote come the first non-racial poll.

The risk of a low turnout if voters fear intimidation, and the possibility that blacks who have never voted will inadvertently spoil their ballots, are the two major concerns, ANC electoral official Mr Khotso Gordhan said.

Some 21 million voters will be voting, and around 18m will be doing so for the first time. Of those some 63% are illiterate.

"People have difficulty understanding what an election is," said Mr Gordhan.

ANC has set up "election workshops", procedures are explained and po- encouraged to carry out mock

21/12/92

Bring them to book - DP

■ FW's sincerity will be proved by prosecutions:

THE efficiency with which senior SA Defence Force members involved in dirty tricks were prosecuted, and the severity of their sentences, would be a test of President FW De Klerk's sincerity. Sowetan 21/12/92.

This was said by Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer, reacting to the State President's announcement that 23 senior members of the SADF had been retired or suspended after revelations of illegal activities. - *Sapa.*

Justice slams Comsa allegations

THE Justice Department has denied allegations that SA's criminal justice system had broken down and lost the confidence of the majority of the people. BIDAY 21/12/92

The allegations, made by the Commonwealth Observer Group to SA (Comsa), also said that SA courts were not interested in the protection of human life.

The Department described the findings as a generalised, ill-informed and superficial evaluation of the country's criminal justice system.

"SA is justifiably proud of its legal system, which ranks amongst the foremost in the world," it said.

"The SA legal system is continuously involved in a process of dynamic change and the Minister of Justice and Department of Justice have not and will not hesitate to take the lead in this regard."

An invitation was isssued to Comsa to meet officals and present any proposals which could help improve the administration of justice. — Sapa.

Department spokesman Bosman Olivier admitted that the planting was a "mistake" and that a new policy of environmental assessment had been drawn up.

Planting would continue in the area, but in such a way as not to obscure the view. Trees would be planted only behind hillocks along the road and along the natural contour lines of the pass, instead of in uniform rows.

The cost of uprooting the trees, estimated at R20 000, came off the department's trading budget and not from government, he said.

Parties are 'less dogmatic now'

PRETORIA — Greater flexibility and pragmatism in the constitutional debate have been noted by the Human Sciences Research Council. BIDAY 21/12/92 304A

An HSRC report released at the weekend said there had been a shift away from dogmatic ideological approaches by all parties.

Compiled by the HSRC's centre for constitutional analysis, the report recommends that regions should have different powers depending on regional needs, infra-structure and economic ability in a federal-type constitution.

Head of the centre Bertus de Villiers said the new style of problem-solving had been most noticeable in the approach of the parties to regional government.

GERALD REILLY

The word federation was still viewed with suspicion and hostility, but it was becoming increasingly clear that a new constitution would be federal in nature, providing constitutional guarantees for regional autonomy.

It would leave room for central institutions to lay down guidelines and for initiatives on socio-economic upliftment.

De Villiers proposed a system of "asymmetrical autonomy" in which powers of the various regions could differ.

Varying levels of autonomy were internationally recognised as one of the best ways of defusing conflict, taking diversity into account and ensuring effective government, he said.

Varying regional autonomy did not mean the country would deteriorate into uncertaintly and that regions would go their own way. Each would still have to act within the framework of the constitution.

De Villiers said the constitution should contain a list of potential minimal regional powers.

The constitutions of 12 countries, including the US, Canada, Nigeria and India, were analysed to determine what level of government was responsible for various powers. The comparisons could be the basis for further discussions and negotiations in SA, he said.

Gous threatens to revenge

FREE State Agricultural Union president Dr Pieter Gous has warned that farmers could take the law into their own hands in rooting out those who attack them. Sowetan 21/12/92

He was reacting to an attack on a Free State farm on Saturday night in which a teenage girl was killed.

New executive for the Vaal

THE VAAL Civic Association has announced its new executive following elections last week.

Mr Mlungisi Hlongwane was elected president, Mr Joe Williams vice-president, Ms Linda Mngomezulu general secretary, Mr Ntsane Lehoko assistant general secretary, Mr Jeffrey Rademeyer publicity secretary, Ms Suzi Tshabalala treasurer, Mr Doctor Raboroko treasurer and Mr Sello Morake organiser. Sowetan 21/12/92

Party still rejects Codesa

BOERESTAAT Party leader Robert van Tonder yesterday reiterated that his organisation would not take part in multiparty negotiations at Codesa.

Van Tonder was speaking at a wreath-laying ceremony at Pretoria's heroes'acre in commemoration of the death 78 years ago of Boer rebel Jopie Fourie. The ceremony was attended by other right-wing organisations, including the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and the Wit Wolwe.

Sowetan 21/12/92

NEWS ANC wants full disclosures

Revelations could create crisis in talks

Sowetan 21/12/92

■ Proof that third force was real:

PRESIDENT De Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SA Defence force were involved in serious malpractice and illegal activities had created a crisis in the negotiation process, the ANC has said.

While commending De Klerk on his revelations, senior African National Congress NEC member, Mr Mac Maharaj, said attempts at cover-ups would be an unforgivable betrayal of all South Africans and would have serious implications.

Although reticent on what the serious implications would be, Maharaj sounded a clear warning to De Klerk to be open about the matter.

Maharaj said De Klerk's announcement on Saturday morning was a step in the right direction but "not nearly enough".

"There should be full public disclosure of all criminal activities and attempts at destabilisation. The names of those members involved, the acts committed together with the units involved, must be made public immediately."

De Klerk had also acknowledged that some of the activities included attempts to undermine negotiations.

Maharaj demanded that disciplinary steps be taken against security force members involved.

● The Pan Africanist Congress has said the axing of top SADF members by De Klerk was an acceptance by the Government of the existence of a Third Force within its ranks, reports **Sonti Maseko.**

The organisation's National Executive Committee member, Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya, said the measures against the top military men on suspicions of involvement in dirty tricks, aimed at derailing the negotiations process, was also a demonstration that the Government had the capacity to stop and start the violence in the black townships.

"The fact that there are now generals implicated in the violence puts a big question mark on the SADF and the police.

"We cannot rely on them, we cannot have a stable political environment where free and fair elections can take place," said Madzunya.

'AN Monday December 21 1992

on army crimes

FW faces acid test

Sowetan 21/12/92

304A

■ **BCMA recalls Tiro's murder:**

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania yesterday said the announcement by President FW de Klerk that 16 Defence Force officers would be retired was accompanied by hypocrisy and double-talk.

Mr Vuyisa Qunta, publicity and information secretary, said De Klerk was party to the so-called total strategy employed to quell the efforts of black people to attain justice, liberation and peace.

"He was party to the declarations of the state of emergency which gave the white security forces licence to terrorise the black community without fear of any discipline.

"The acid test of whether De Klerk is serious will be whether the crimes which have been committed by his henchmen will be revealed and the criminals taken to court, including those he refers to as civilian collaborators."

The BCMA is not convinced that the regime is trying to put a stop to the slaughter of black people which it ordered its security forces to carry out. Rather the regime appears to be polishing its image and pruning those whose activities have been exposed to the public.

Qunta said former Saso president Mr Onkgopotse Tiro was certainly assassinated by the South African forces in Gaborone in February 1974.

News briefs

CP attacks FW de Klerk

THE CONSERVATIVE Party has accused the Government of conducting a witch-hunt against senior members of the SA Defence Force.

This follows State President FW de Klerk's announcement that 16 senior members of the force would be forcibly retired.

CP Defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman told *Sapa* that the party rejected the "witch-hunt" against SADF officers if it was based on hearsay and unfounded allegations.

The CP would close ranks with SADF senior officers whose feelings coincided with the right-wing party on matters related to land affairs in the present system, he said.

An ANC in power may fail — Tutu

CT 22/12/92

(204A)

LONDON. — Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu says he would not be surprised if an ANC government turned out to be a failure.

The 61-year-old cleric said that although it was entirely possible the country could flourish if the politicians got it right, there were no guarantees.

"We have so much going for us. We have a tremendous country, richly endowed. We have wonderful people, and once we know how to use our human resources we are going to take off.

"But there is no absolute guarantee, and that is the point about the importance of theology. Theology tells us that human nature has got a thing called original sin and there is no guarantee that even a popularly elected democratic government will not jettison its very high ideals."

He said it meant the church had to be vigilant and as critical of the ANC as it had been of other political players in the past.

"I would only say that it (an ANC government's fall from grace) would be a very sad day and fill us with very considerable chagrin."

Dampen expectations

"But I would not be surprised. Humans tend to be tempted by power and succumb to those temptations, and we need to be truly vigilant to affirm: Thus saith the Lord, what you are doing or intending to do is wrong, and the fact that you are black does not give you an excuse."

He said the priorities for an interim government would be to achieve reconciliation, contain violence — and dampen expectations.

"Most people presently believe that under a post-apartheid dispensation heaven is virtually going to happen on earth — that there will be housing, there will be schooling, health care and so on."

The archbishop said his sense of the ridiculous helped him to maintain his sanity. "If we didn't take ourselves so seriously in South Africa, maybe we would have been down the road of a (constitutional) solution ages ago.

"People take themselves so seriously that they behave like prima donnas, grandstanding, getting upset over piffling little things. Sometimes you wish you could take these guys and lock them up in a room and say: You don't get out of there until you've got a solution." — Telegraph

NEWS Father and daughter killed in OFS farm ● Conservatives vow to revenge attacks

CP gives the Government an ultimatum

Sowetan 22/12/92.

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ Right-wingers demand Apla be destroyed:

RIGHT-WING political parties are beating their war drums and threatening revenge attacks on Apla cadres who are reportedly inside South Africa and in "neighbouring states".

The Conservative Party has given the Government a seven-day ultimatum to "neutralise and destroy" alleged Azanian People's Liberation Army bases in Lesotho or the party will mobilise its own para-military attacks.

Mr Robert van Tonder of the Boerestaat Party has said that "revenge attacks" on Apla will "not necessarily" be directed at neighbouring countries only but will also be launched at urban and rural enclaves within South Africa.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging's para-military Wenkommando has also entered into discussions with local police about "retaliatory, revenge attacks".

The threats from the far-right come in the wake of the weekend attack on a homestead in Ficksburg in which a 15-year-old child, Leone Pretorius, was killed and for which Apla has been blamed.

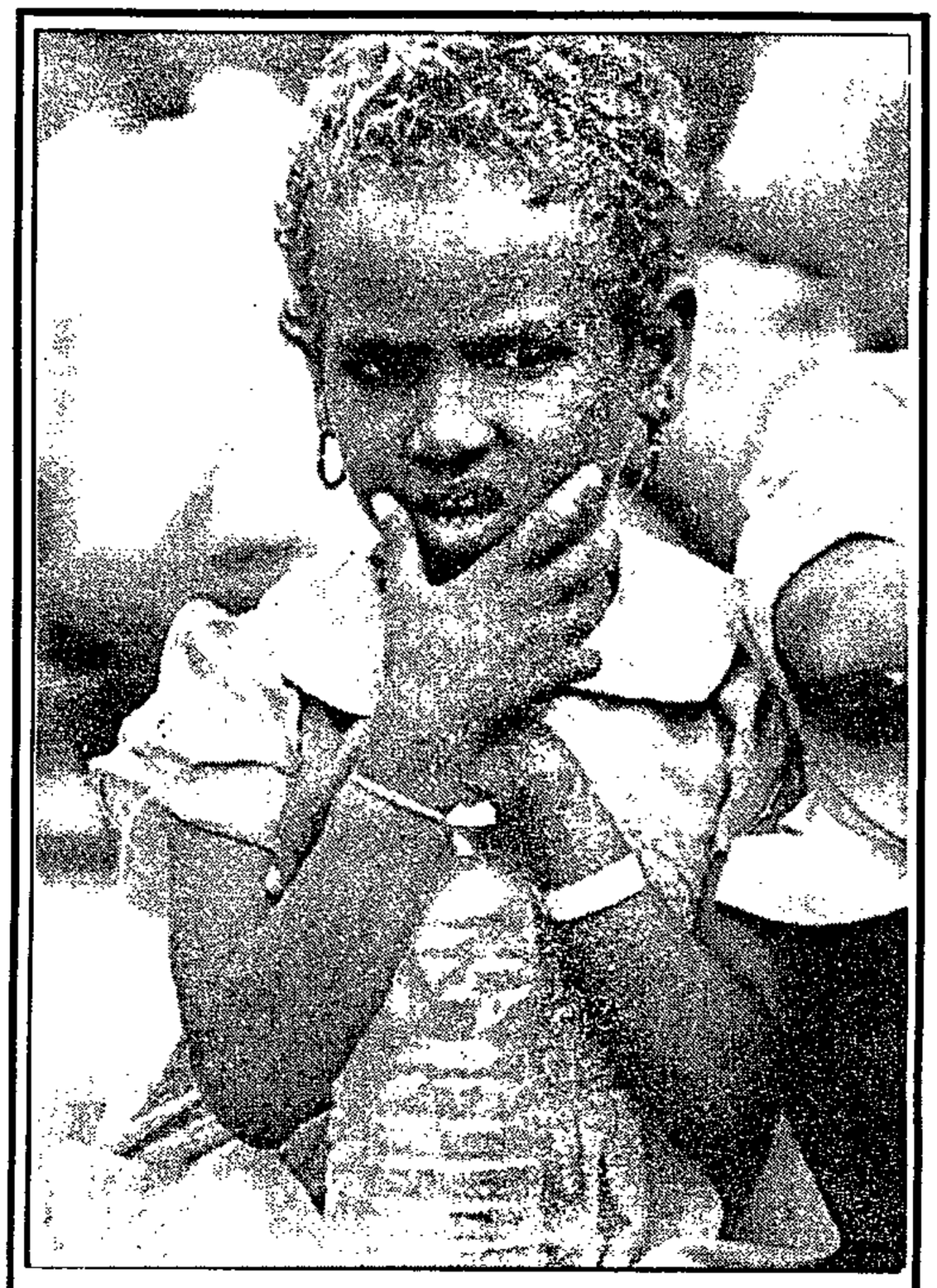
While a Ministry of Law and Order spokesman has warned civilians not to take the law into their own hands, farmers in the Ficksburg area plan to confront Government Ministers and the Free State Administrator today because of the attack.

Their message, according to Free State agricultural union boss Dr Piet Gous, will be: "No more talk, we want action. If you can't restore law and order in our area, we will do it ourselves."

"Tomorrow will be the last day of talk, talk, talk," Gous, who is also CP MP for Parys, said yesterday in describing the tense atmosphere of the farming community in the Eastern Free State, "I think the days of talking are unfortunately over."

Police yesterday rushed to the Lesotho border to protect white farmers as Major-General Tertius Calitz, Commissioner of Police in the Free State, had promised after the weekend incident.

The PAC refused to comment on the issue.



WAITING FOR BREAKFAST ... A Somali child waits patiently at a Mogadishu feeding centre for her breakfast. Relief agencies in Mogadishu are now receiving a steady supply of food due to the presence of American and other foreign troops. The next step will be helping to repair roads and irrigation systems so that the economy can be restarted and the country will not be dependent on food from foreign donors.



2 whites die in attack

■ One of the attackers killed:

A WHITE farmer and his daughter were killed and an elderly woman injured in another attack in rural Orange Free State yesterday.

Free State police said a man had knocked on the door of a farmhouse in the Theunissen district.

The 70-year-old farmer was then shot dead and although his 32-year-old daughter managed to return fire, she was also hit and killed and her 68-year-old mother was seriously injured.

Police found the body of a man, apparently one of the attackers, outside the house with a .22 pistol lying next to him.

Roelf Meyer too big for his boots, says Inkatha official

INKATHA chairman Frank Mdlalose accused Constitutional Development Minister and key government negotiator Roelf Meyer yesterday of "getting a little too big for his boots".

Mdlalose was responding to recent statements by Meyer in the US that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi would be left out of negotiations if he did not agree to join multiparty talks soon.

"I fear Meyer is getting a little too big for his boots. It is a bit rich for him to pontificate abroad about the need for multiparty talks when he himself has just emerged from bilateral talks with a party that unilaterally withdrew from Codesa to scupper the process."

Fortunately, Inkatha did not have to take too much note of what Meyer said, since his own party did not take him all that seriously, Mdlalose said.

Sapa reports from Ulundi that Buthelezi said Meyer's threat to leave Inkatha out of talks was "the clearest rejection of a federal formula by government" and smacked of baasskap.

LLOYD COUTTS

"It is old baasskap for a mere Minister to threaten me with being left out merely because I do not fall in with his line of trotting behind the ANC/SACP alliance as he has been doing for quite some time."

Addressing KwaZulu government officials at a Christmas dinner, Buthelezi said: "(The decision), taken by government in cahoots with the ANC/SACP alliance to exclude the Zulu nation from Codesa ... remains the position and as long as that is the position, I consider myself to be already excluded."

Referring to the proposed state of KwaZulu/Natal, Buthelezi said the constitution would have to be negotiated with political parties at central level.

"No one should interpret this constitution as an act of secession. We are not suggesting that the state of KwaZulu/Natal should be independent or even self-sufficient," he said.

● See Page 4

Forum delayed by Cabinet shuffle

PLANS to launch a national forum on the future of local government by the end of this year had been delayed following recent changes in the Cabinet, a SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco) spokesman said.

Sanco publicity secretary Max Mabase said the appointment of Tertius Delport as Local Government Minister on December 1 had "disrupted the whole process".

Manpower Minister Leon Wessels dropped the post in favour of a greater role in national negotiations.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Mabase suggested the portfolio change was a deliberate action by the Cabinet to delay the establishment of the national forum.

Mabase said civic leaders were suspicious of Delport's role in the collapse of Codesa and were wary of his intentions regarding strengthening NP influence at local government level.

A Local Government Department spokesman said establishing a national negotiating structure was one of Delport's highest priorities and that he envisaged a far broader forum than negotiations between government and the civics.

Mabase said a local government steering committee comprising representatives of Sanco, the four provincial administrations and local authorities, would be meeting in January to continue discussions about a new national forum for local government.

Inkatha's absence will not derail govt's reform train

Bldy 22/12/92. 304A

SIMON BARBER in Washington

RELATIONS between government and Inkatha were now worse than those between Inkatha and the ANC, government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said last Friday. Strong stuff, seeing as how supporters of the ANC and Inkatha are still killing each other.

The Constitutional Development Minister was speaking at one of the SA "breakfasts" hosted by the Aspen Institute's Pauline Baker in Washington. He probably would have said the same thing to US President-elect Bill Clinton's transitional advisers had they agreed to see him. They would not (although no slight was implied by this) so he did the next best thing. Baker is still in the running for a Clinton Africa policy slot.

Some in the audience thought he was being insincere and that government was only faking estrangement from Inkatha to show that Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not the "surrogate" ANC president Nelson Mandela claimed he was in his address to the UN Security Council in July. These critics believe Pretoria is in cahoots with Inkatha to derail negotiations and impose a settlement without the ANC.

Clearly, they were not listening very hard to what Meyer was saying. Either that, or they have a very low opinion of the political heft of the ANC and see the poor dears in its leadership being tricked at every turn. As so often, behind admiration lurks condescension. Truth is, the Minister could scarcely have been clearer.

He left no room for doubt that the dominant players in government and the ANC, the latter after a somewhat prolonged informal referendum, have reached broad agreement on the sequence of events and decisions that will lead to an elected nonracial government over the next 12-15 months. Others, principally Buthelezi and the PAC, were still free to come aboard, of course. Indeed, that would be preferable. However, their participation was not indispensable. Fixes could and would be found.

The sequence, as outlined by Meyer to his American listeners, looks like this. Government will hold a second retreat with the ANC on January 20, lasting four to five days, to review progress on the seven basic steps to an election they have already agreed upon. The first of these is that a reformulated Codesa should meet by the end of February.

The new multiparty forum will then set about drawing up the rules for a transitional election commission to take charge of the security forces (including the integration of the SADF, MK and other elements), finance, local government, the SABC and preparations for elections for a transitional government/constituent assembly. Agreement should also be reached on an interim constitution and bill of rights, principles for a final constitution and a court to ensure adherence to those principles when the document is being drafted in the assembly.

Authorised by Act of Parliament, the transitional election commission will effectively become the government, ideally by June, by which time independent homelands wishing to participate will have had the opportunity to rejoin the republic. Among other things, it is hoped that the commission will formally invite in the World Bank and call for the removal of remaining economic sanctions, including the de facto US ban on IMF lending (but not the UN arms embargo). The re-engagement of both the bank and IMF at this stage is specifically referred to in resolutions adopted by the General Assembly last week, as is the possibility of UN support for elections.



☐ MEYER

Depending on how swiftly the revised Codesa and the commission can get their work done, elections could be held by year's end, but not later than March 1994. Representation would be on a proportional basis.

As for how power sharing would be achieved at the executive level, Meyer suggested two options: separate direct election of a president who would then pick his cabinet to meet the power-sharing objective, or using the outcome of the general election to assign cabinet seats on the basis of votes cast for each party. As for how long the interim/transitional/constituent assembly would sit, Meyer guessed the NP would split its current difference with the ANC and settle for two years.

In the light of its unwillingness to disavow Apla's terrorism, the Minister did not sound particularly confident that the PAC would be at the table when multiparty talks resumed in the new year. The resignation of deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke was "a great pity — it will have a negative effect".

As for Buthelezi, he had to get a grip on reality and stop seeing a conspiracy between the two major players. To begin with, he must understand the dynamics of a situation in which parties had to work together to reach agreement on a constitutional playing field while at the same time contesting for support. "We are looking at power sharing where the ANC and NP co-operate in a government of national unity. We have to be nice to each other and compete at the same time — it is important for parties to read this correctly."

The Inkatha leader also needed to revise his notions of federalism. "We" did not use that word any more, said the Minister, but rather preferred to talk of regionalism and "maximum devolution", and to make the boundaries of future regions subject to negotiation at the national level. "Inkatha wants a bottom up approach. We say no, we have to ... work from the top down."

Meyer calmly observed that if Inkatha chose not "to be part of the solution", there would probably be "ongoing conflict" in Natal. It was to be hoped, therefore, that the ANC would help bring Buthelezi back to the table. If not, "we" would proceed "through other ways and means without the participation of all parties". SA's future, he suggested, would not be sacrificed on the altar of consensus. It was necessary only to achieve "the majority of support of all South Africans" — something the NP and ANC evidently feel is within their reach.

The Minister would undoubtedly be unhappy to hear this called tyranny. The only tyrant, as he repeatedly stressed, was time. At the simplest level, the clock runs out on the present constitution in September 1994, when President F W de Klerk would have to call another white election. That could not be allowed to happen.

Even more pressing, however, was the economy and the fact that there could be no growth without "stability" and "certainty". Thirdly, there was the question of international patience. It was about to run out, and when it did SA would be abandoned.

That being the case, it would, of course, be totally unfair to describe present developments as a compact between the mayor of Chicago and Al Capone to manage the city jointly and make recalcitrants offers they cannot refuse. Obviously, what we have here are two groups of highly committed democrats exercising their prerogatives for the common good. The next US administration is hardly likely to get in their way — or complain if they have to get a bit rough with dissidents.

Patrick Laurence looks at 1992, the year in which blinkered politicians ruled

Dancing too close to the abyss

STAR 22/12/92. (30kA)

NOT even the most incorrigible optimist could describe 1992 as a good year for South Africa.

To rephrase Charles Dickens, 992 was — for the most part — he worst of times unleavened by ope from the best of times, a ear when South Africa's foolish oliticians refused to recognise he need for wise statesmanship.

The year began on a buoyant ote. Codesa, launched shortly be- ore Christmas last year, kindled opes that South Africa's political eaders would resolve their differ- nces amicably and jointly launch new, democratic and non-racial outh Africa.

But within weeks Codesa began o be a synonym for confusion, a outh African Tower of Babel, un- ntelligible to the layman. At- empts by political analysts to ex- lain the issues recalled Mark 'wain's aphorism: "The more you xplain it, the less I understand ."

By the end of May, however, it as clear that the two main ctors, the De Klerk administra- ion and the ANC, could or would ot agree.

The differences appeared to be narginal: a question of whether egional issues — the borders and owers of regions in a future South Africa — would be decided by a 70 or 75 percent majority in the envisaged constituent assembly. Beneath the seemingly negligible difference was deep mutual distrust.

South Africa's Winter of Discontent began shortly after. The Boipatong massacre, in which more than 40 men, women and children were massacred by nocturnal marauders on the night of June 17.

The ANC lost no time in accusing De Klerk of being party to a conspiracy to murder and maim innocent people. When De Klerk, perhaps responding to calls in the media for him to show solidarity with the bereaved families, visited the township, he was accused of opportunism and, confronted by angry youths, forced to leave.

Churchmen and politicians, who had been conspicuously silent in April when black people sympathetic to Inkatha had been hacked and burnt to death by unidentified attackers, chorused their protest and pointed fingers at De Klerk. The ANC broke off talks and formally withdrew from Codesa.

South Africa then braced itself for an ANC campaign of mass action — protest marches, strikes and sit-ins — in support of its demands for popular elections for a constituent assembly and an interim government of national unity.

The ANC's mass action campaign was seen by observers as fulfilling another objective: re-establishing contact between the ANC leaders and their rank-and-file supporters, many of whom were suspicious of Codesa.

Then came another dreadful massacre, when at least 28 ANC marchers were shot dead by Ciskei soldiers while attempting to march on and — according to some accounts — to occupy the Ciskei's capital of Bisho.

The Ciskei soldiers were sharply condemned by Judge Richard Goldstone in his report of the killings. The ANC — and more especially one of the march leaders, Ronnie Kasrils — was also condemned for attempting to lead the marchers out of a sports stadium in contravention of the conditions under which permission for the march to take place had been granted.

Fortunately, however, the Bisho massacre — which earned the Ciskei military leader Oupa Gqozo the sobriquet "Butcher of Bisho" — brought home to the De Klerk administration and the ANC just how close South Africa was to the abyss. They pulled back and gradually relations between them began to improve.

The process led to the Record of Understanding of September 26. De Klerk and the ANC president, Nelson Mandela, once more exchanged smiles and handshakes in public; more important, they agreed to work together to resolve outstanding problems.

Their pact included a threefold agreement: first, to fence selected migrant worker hostels which the ANC saw as barracks used by IFP vigilantes to attack township folk; second, to outlaw the carrying of "traditional weapons" by IFP members in public places; and, third, to facilitate the installation of an interim government of national unity and the holding of national elections for a constituent assembly as soon as practically possible.

The agreement was later consolidated when the two sides met for three days at a secluded venue for intense discussions. The "bosberaad" led Joe Slovo, the astute national chairman of the SACP, to observe that he thought the De Klerk government had finally resolved to "walk the last mile" in the quest for a just settlement.

But the rekindled hope had to be balanced against a countervailing development. The rapprochement between the De Klerk administration and the ANC aroused intense opposition from Mangosuthu Buthelezi; he saw it as collusion by the two parties to impose a settlement on the rest of South Africa.

As early as April, Buthelezi and his two closest allies, Lucas Mangope and Gqozo, sensing that De Klerk might conclude a deal with the ANC, had warned him not to mistake his enemies for friends and his friends for enemies.

After the Record of Understanding, Buthelezi and his allies joined forces with Afrikaners in the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie to oppose the Mandela-De Klerk accord and to raise the vision of an alternative South Africa to the one they believed Mandela and De Klerk were trying to foist on them.

The politicians conducted their manoeuvres to a cacophony generated by the violent conflict in the black townships and even in the white-controlled towns. The border between political and criminal violence continued to blur as the death toll increased by nearly 20 percent of the 1991 total.

The year ended on an ominous note after units of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, filled with a spirit of revanchism, launched two attacks on white civilians; the attacks evoked threats of revenge from the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and precipitated fears of race wars.

Suspicions that De Klerk was unable or unwilling to control his generals grew during the year, especially after Judge Goldstone unveiled the existence of the Directorate of Covert Collections, a military department which uncannily resembled the supposedly disbanded and dreaded Civilian Cooperation Bureau. De Klerk, however, went some way to recouping his position when he dismissed or suspended 23 military officers for involvement in illegal or unauthorised activities.

The ANC's security force department was shown to contain men who could not be trusted with power; two investigations, one, a hopeful development, by the ANC itself and another by Amnesty International, showed that top security men, with the connivance of unnamed ANC leaders, had abused power and tortured prisoners in ANC detention camps.

To sum up: 1992 was, or should have been, a year in which illusions were destroyed, naive hopes abandoned and South Africans toughened for the arduous task of negotiating a settlement, grit by gritty bit. □

Group to work against election

T 23/2/92 3014

Staff Reporter

THE New Unity Movement (NUM) is to start an anti-election campaign based on the promotion of non-participation.

'Change in behaviour patterns is needed'

LINDA ENSOR

CAPE TOWN — The political left had not confronted with sufficient seriousness the need to challenge South Africans to change their behaviour patterns, UCT deputy vice-chancellor Dr Mampele Ramphele said yesterday.

Speaking at the launch of a book and video based on the Old Mutual-Nedcor scenarios, Ramphele said the left mistakenly believed political transition would automatically bring with it socially responsible citizens. This was not the case.

Ramphele believed the Old Mutual-Nedcor scenarios, which had played an important role in helping South Africans to face the future, remained valid.

The scariest future would be a "business as usual" one in which people did not change but continued with old behaviour patterns.

The "business as usual" situation outlined by the scenario planners was one in which the solution to economic and social problems was postponed pending the election of a new government.

Change would be confined to the political arena. Its effect would be to derail the political transition in as little as 12 to 18 months and ensure continued economic decline, social disintegration of black communities and an increase in violence.

Ramphele said SA lacked leaders with vision. People needed to be able to define social roles for themselves.

However, she said that as change took place, South Africans had to be grateful — considering the history of the society — that things were not worse than they were.

Federalism will fail and fuel conflict, says analyst

B|Day 23/12/92

(304A)

GAVIN DU VENAGE

FEDERALISM will not only fail to solve SA's development problems, it could also lead to new areas of conflict, a political analyst says in the Institute for Multiparty Democracy's latest quarterly bulletin.

Senior political science lecturer at Natal University's Maritzburg campus, Ralph Lawrence says federalism would hinder development and probably undermine democracy at the same time.

Lawrence subjects the federal option to two tests. The first deals with nation-building. He says a fractured political establishment does not foster national unity, and hinders the country's development.

Federal structures are created to put distance between the national government and the regional state, leading to a "frontier ethic", he says.

This frontier ethic causes central government to be seen as a holding device, allowing individuals or regions to disregard what happens elsewhere. This will frustrate development.

The second test which federalism fails involves human development.

"My broad conclusion is that federalism would create additional lines of conflict," says Lawrence. He compares SA with Third World countries with similar socio-economic positions rather than with developed federal states in Europe and the US.

The Third World experience has shown that "regional fiefdoms" occur where politics becomes subject to patronage, often leading to corruption and nepotism.

The other aspect is that regional grievances become trapped in federal structures, and may not be expressed at national level.

Lawrence points to the continuing breakup of the former Soviet Union, and the war in Yugoslavia.

"In both, federalism proved to be little more than a constitutional holding operation for societies which never achieved a sense of commonality after their respective boundaries were set in the '40s.

"My fear is that the same sort of thing could occur in SA," he says.

A federal government may also be tempted to provide itself with emergency powers to justify intervention.

As India and Nigeria have shown, federalism is no guarantee of protection against a determined central government.

Another problem concerns money. While a federal authority is at pains to demarcate constitutional authority between itself and the regions, it hangs tenaciously onto the purse strings.

This is especially true in the Third World context, where the central authority's survival, and its success in keeping the social fabric intact, depends on macroeconomic planning and development.

As a result, most of the central authority's revenue goes to the exchequer.

The wealth disparity between the regions will also cause unhappiness.

However, the argument for a unitary solution will not be won through hammering at the federal system, says Lawrence. Any new democratic government will have to act quickly to meet the burden of its electorate's expectations.

Without a strong capacity to deliver, SA could be party to a society that will wither away and never realise its democratic credentials, Lawrence says.

Bystanders hurt as gunmen fire on taxis

Federalism will fail and fuel conflict, says analyst

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that is driving SA crazy

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these years — as necessary evil partners and, on the other, those who retained the image of the government as the ultimate enemy and who opposed any deal on anything near the NP's terms.

The victory for compromise at the ANC's national working committee and the national executive committee — even if fiercely opposed in some of the regions — lobbed the ball back into the government's court.

The question, as one moves into 1993, is: who will the NP forge a political marriage with?

Suitor number one is the ANC which, for all its tactical and ideological confusion, does represent the major black political party. After the *bosberaad* in early December, there was some cause for optimism that the two parties were headed for a deal, that they could then sell at a broader multiparty venue.

An NP alliance with the ANC, however, creates the risk of a backlash by elements of the security forces who, no matter how damaged by the past year's revelations, have become increasingly outspoken; the breakaway of a section of the NP, including its Natal region; and the renewed wrath of suitor number two, Wrecker Buthelezi, the third force in South African politics.

On the eve of the government-ANC *bosberaad*, Buthelezi unveiled a radical document which, taken literally, would lead to the breakaway of Natal and create an armed militia at his disposal to cleanse his opponents ideologically. He thundered against every other political force except his friends on the far right, retaining his most scathing comments for De Klerk.

The next week he and the president were purring together on the steps of the Union Buildings. Buthelezi said it was just like a quarrel between a husband and wife. What he didn't say is that it was the worst kind of quarrel, the kind where he had just found his wife sleeping with his enemy.

Buthelezi's chief attraction lies in the fact that he is only proposing what the NP itself wants to do with South Africa — carve it up into regions or federal states. He quite effectively put the issue of federalism on the map.

Perhaps we should know federalism by the company it keeps: Andries Treurnicht, Andries Beyers, Buthelezi, Gqozo, Lucas Mangope. Federalists bemoan the smearing of their plan as the f-word. A better term would be neo-apartheid.

The question remains to be answered: to what extent are the forces of neo-apartheid a stalking horse for the NP's own federal plan? To what extent is De Klerk committed to an ideological agenda that at the end of the day could rule out an alliance with the ANC?

We will know the answer to that question in February or March next year. Simply getting agreement on a date for an election and restarting multiparty negotiations won't be good enough. There must be a reasonable expectation of a political settlement that enshrines democracy, if the new talks are to succeed where Codesa II failed.

But that will only be a beginning. A major obstacle to an election, it became clear during 1992, is whether it will be free and fair. The ANC, with justice, has pointed out that there is little or no political freedom in Bophuthatswana, in Ciskei, in kwaZulu, and in many of the townships living under a siege of violence.

Yet suspicions over the ANC's own commitment to tolerance have been deepened first by the ANC's own report into torture and murder in its detention camps, and reinforced by Amnesty International's even more damning indictment.

Even more to the point, the ANC has to explain how easy it is for the NP to hold a political meeting in Transkei. Or for the Inkatha Freedom Party to hold one in Sebokeng. Or, for that matter, for the Democratic Party to campaign in Khayelitsha, or the Pan Africanist Congress to operate in Munsieville.

Let's hope the international monitors can do what South Africans themselves appear incapable of doing: providing a climate in which political forces can respect their opponents' right to campaign in an open political marketplace.

But, despite the abuse hurled on the ANC by the government, even the most ardent diehard blood Nats must prefer the ANC devil they know to the PAC one they don't.

The PAC's ambivalent response to Apla's eastern Cape attacks on whites was a statement of political failure by the organisation which only two years ago claimed it had 750 000 members and was growing.

Yet, three years after being unbanned and moving into above-board organisation, with the newspapers and airwaves open to them. three years of attempting to woo support from the ANC by claiming that it is too moderate and selling out to the government, they have achieved little except dead policemen. Even then, one doesn't know who were killed by criminals and who by Apla guerrillas.

After all these opportunities to set up an organisational base, Apla resorted to armed propaganda, to announce itself to a new generation that had not yet seen Benny Alexander on television.

In so doing, they might have initiated a culture of murdering whites. Like the necklace method which became a spontaneous form of behaviour in the townships in the 1980s, the PAC don't know what kind of fuse they have lit.

They should study the history of Algeria where racial attacks, retaliations and counter-attacks cost an estimated million lives and made any hope of racial reconciliation impossible.

The one thing Apla did succeed in doing was breathing life back into the khaki right. For most of the year the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and its allies, marginalised by the referendum and led by a buffoon with holes in his underpants who fell off his horse, looked overblown and passé.

Now they have a fresh cause, and thousands of new converts. In the new year we shall see if the Apla and AWB crazies can succeed in reducing South Africa into a racial bloodbath.

That fear is one of the best reasons why De Klerk and Mandela should make a pact early in 1993 and proceed as soon as possible to an election. The best bet remains that the ANC and the NP, in their own confusion and blindness, be entrusted to lead South Africa out of the darkness.

Let's hope De Klerk does not repeat Dominee Welthagen's mistake when, waking up to the sound of amen at the end of eight hours of non-stop singing by the Bekkersdal congregation, and seeing the darkness through the window, assumed it was the beginning of the evening service.

Before drifting off into a trance again, he announced: "We will now sing from Psalm 118."

I don't think the country can take it.

Will we ever bury the past?



The old defenders of apartheid now fight the stalwarts ... Rightwingers and police clashed at the by-election at Potchefstroom — long a stronghold of the National Party. The Conservative Party won the election

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

The year old ghosts refused to stay silent

W|Mail 23|12 - 29|12|92

Did the year just seem tough because the dead were new in their graves and fresh in our memories — or will the spectres of the past disturb our sleep for year after year after year?

By **ANTON HARBER**

THIS was the year in which the past came back to haunt us. As we were hoping to build on the changes of the past few years, the ghosts we thought we had buried in the rubble of the Berlin Wall or in the graveyard of apartheid returned to stalk the land.

In 1992, the New World Order's promise of stability and peace was shattered by age-old ethnic conflicts before we even began enjoying it. The hopes of a mega-Europe, where the collapse of socialism would end the divisions of the past and spread the prosperity of the West into the hungry countries of the East, did not last long into the year. The second half was dominated by bitter wars, the spectre of neo-fascism and disillusionment with the promise of unbridled capitalism. And the European Community — for which 1992 was scheduled to be the great year of unity — stood by helplessly, its future thrown into doubt by the rejection of the Maastricht Treaty.

Take Germany. It was believed that unity would be difficult and costly but as one of the world's strongest economics, it would soon bring new prosperity and growth to the former Communist bloc. All that is now overshadowed by the threats of Nazi recidivism, as youths who gained little from the formation of the new Germany turned on immigrants and other minorities in the same way as their post-Weimar ancestors.

The promise of a world order without superpower rivalry, in which the "peace dividend" could contribute to an end to global recession, gave way to one in which the great powers dithered over new ways to deal with racial conflicts in Europe and famine in Africa.

Back home, the seeds of the new South Africa were just germinating after Codesa I in December last year and seemed to be taking root during the referendum of March. But they were quickly strangled by the faster-growing weeds of apartheid: corruption, maladministration, ethnic passions, disdain for human life, unemployment, poor education ...

Codesa II collapsed and instead we got Boipatong and Bisho. Even when FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela got together again and shook hands over a Record of Understanding in October, our hopes were soiled by an angry and threatening Mangosuthu Buthelezi who was unhappy at being excluded from all this peacemaking.

For years everyone had said white minority rule could not last because it was repressive, corrupt, inefficient and power-hungry; now these became the reasons we could not get rid of it. It was just too fond of power, too used to corruption, too habituated to repression, too inefficient to get on with the job.

But it was no longer a simple split between those who represented the past and those who stood for the future. The National Party was certainly haunted by the ghosts of corruption and violence, but the African National Congress also found a few old bones in its cupboard. After four inquiries into what happened in ANC camps in exile, and with a fifth one on track, the organisation still had not dismissed or even disciplined anyone.

And the Pan Africanist Congress, having railed against negotiations for years, found itself stymied by its own supporters, wielding its own slogans, when the organisation tried to take its place at the table.



FW de Klerk ... First serious look into his skeleton cupboard Photo: GUY ADAMS

The government also found that the military men who had done such a good job keeping it in power for 40 years were now a terrible burden because they were still holding on to their power and privilege and the methods that kept them secure.

The police, long accused of taking sides in the political battle, faced a much more serious allegation from British expert Peter Waddington: gross incompetence. Even if they had the will to stop violence and crime, they probably didn't have the skills, he told us. The men in blue who had kept "terrorists" at bay for years and were the scourge of the anti-apartheid movement couldn't even identify the men with traditional weapons who were terrorising train commuters.

The great hope of the divide-and-rule school of white minority power, Buthelezi, turned on those who had helped create, fund and empower him over the years. He became a source of division in the NP itself as its leaders tried to decide whether he was a potential ally or a dangerous foe.

1992 will turn out to have been a critical year for Inkatha. Just when it was hoping to recover from the disclosures of security police funding, the year began with *The Weekly Mail's* disclosures of extensive military intelligence covert support and training for what the South African Defence Force saw as the "third force" in South African politics. As the year closes, the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into these allegations is drawing to an end and seems certain to add weight to them, particularly those that point to MI-trained Inkatha hit men fuelling the violence in Natal. The Goldstone report will also contain devastating information about the kwaZulu Police and some of Buthelezi's key generals, accused of lying and hiding information from the commission.

Judge Richard Goldstone, in fact, was the official apartheid ghostbuster who was meant to rid us of all these spectres that refused to stay in the grave dug for them in February 1990. But there were so many spooks which needed so many inquiries that his rapidly growing empire of commission became the country's fastest-growing industry.

The effect was that what should have been a year when we started rebuilding and redeveloping, when we could have tackled all the difficulties we inherited from apartheid, was spent trying to keep the lid on old problems. But we couldn't: we were enveloped by the corruption, the incompetence and the narrow-mindedness of the past.

And instead of the New South Africa rising shining and clean and strong, it staggered forward with its armour already tarnished by the old.

Whereas we started the year with hopes of

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REVIEW '92: *Twelve grim months when high hopes were laid low ...*

● From PAGE 5

peace and revitalisation in southern Africa, with our country the driving force for renewal and democratisation of the subcontinent, we ended it with another war in Angola, scant hopes of peace in Mozambique and, once again, a pariah status for the South African foreign minister in neighbouring states.

At the beginning of the year, the state president was welcome in Red Square and Nigeria. By mid-year, he couldn't even go safely to Boipatong, where he was unceremoniously chased out by an angry crowd.

As usual, the mood was best captured by our sportsmen. At the forefront of attention was a rugby squad so out of touch with a changed world that its bad performance on the field was matched only by its boorish behaviour off it. It was led by that arch-symbol of the old arrogance of white power, Naas Botha. He retired at the end of the year.

On the other hand, what should be the game of the future, soccer, seemed to have even more trouble ridding itself of the after-effects of the years of neglect and isolation: petty squabbling over trainers, poor organisation and humiliating defeats.

The good people did not make the news this year. We heard little from those of courage and conviction who provided the torchlights of hope and strength during the dark years, the Archbishop Desmond Tutus, or the Beyers Naudés, or the Helen Suzmans. The headlines were dominated by the killers and the crooked, the Ferdi Barnards, the Joffel van der Westhuizens, the cabinet ministers caught up in corruption scandals.

There were really only two men who stood above the quagmire. The negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, represented those who — despite all the problems outlined above — pushed resolutely forward to take us closer to a democratic election.

Will we ever be able to bury the past? Was this just a tough year when the dead were new in their graves and fresh in our memories, or will the ghosts of apartheid disturb our sleep for year after year after year?

The ANC should certainly be able to clear out its cupboard. Its two most important leaders, Ramaphosa and Mandela, are untarnished by the misdeeds of exile.

And De Klerk ended the year with the first serious look into his skeleton cupboard when he purged the military of some top men. But he is less fortunate than his opposite parties: fewer and fewer people believe that he and his cabinet were untarnished by the activities of those they commanded.

And whereas the ANC has slowly built up its first team, De Klerk's has slowly collapsed this year, with minister after minister falling like skittles as the corruption and the repression of the past caught up with them.

The crucial issue of 1993 may be amnesty — not whether it happens, which seems inevitable, but whether it is used in a desperate and unilateral bid to bury the past by those who fear the future, or as an agreed and well-considered attempt to reconcile ourselves with history.

There are many who think that the year is ending on the worst possible note, with racial killings in the eastern Cape raising the fear of South Africa copying the "ethnic cleansing" of eastern Europe. In fact, the horror of terrible events may speed up change, driving home — more than any media opinion or expert advice — the dangers of delay and the need for the major political parties to accept that they are each other's best options for the future.

And in the international sphere, the election of Bill and Hillary Clinton brings a fresh breath into the White House that may come to represent the emergence of a new left-leaning option, a younger, more optimistic alternative to the era of Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. New people — and even some good people — are going to Washington again in a mood that resembles nothing so much as the elation when the election of John Kennedy ushered in the Sixties. (But then, of course, Somalia could become Clinton's Vietnam.)

In South Africa, we end the year with something close to consensus on the timetable for an interim government and a democratic election. There are still important and difficult differences over what these institutions will look like, but there is a growing feeling — on all sides — that the speed of transition is more important than the details of who will wield what power.

We also have a growing consensus on policy for economic reconstruction, and how to balance the need for growth against demands for the redistribution of resources.

If we can convince the powers that be and the powers that want to be to get on with the job at hand and call a democratic election as soon as possible, then 1993 may be a year when the new can start fighting back against the old, when we can stop debating reconstruction and get started on it.

It's back to the past

W/Mail 23/12-29/12/92 (304A)

And now for the good news ...

IT was a year of violence, stalled negotiations, dirty tricks, corruption scams and economic decline; of misgovernment, missed opportunities, crisis and dismay. But life in South Africa, surprisingly, goes on — and continues to have its lighter moments, its respites and small mercies. Here is some of 1992's good news:

- **Whites vote for Jonty Rhodes in the referendum.**
- **Taxpayers no longer have to fund Barend Strydom's meals.**
- **FW de Klerk is not nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize.**
- **De Klerk purges "not the third force", including two generals and four brigadiers, from the South African Defence Force.**
- **The IMF and World Bank defer the opening of offices here and advance us no loans.**
- **The Currie Cup eludes Louis Luyt.**
- **Times Media MD Steve Mulholland emigrates to Australia.**
- **Jani Allan.**
- **Abdul Bhamjee.**
- **A share offer to *Sowetan* staff makes newspapers safe for the Argus group.**
- **Former PAC luminary Dikgang Moseneke is saved for the supreme court.**
- **Stoffel van der Merwe quits politics.**
- **The mighty Springboks lose their balls at Twickenham.**
- **Nelson Mandela loses a wife, and the country a headache.**
- **The *New Nation* nominates the NP's Roelf Meyer joint "Man of the Year".**
- **"Mr Regional Fixit" Sean Cleary is unceremoniously ejected from Angola.**
- **John Bishop covers his stiff upper lip.**
- **Condom ads finally appear on SABC-TV.**
- **Spike Lee refuses further interviews with white journalists.**
- **Labour Party parliamentarians inject their skills and probity into the NP.**
- **Mangosuthu Buthelezi promises to spill his last drop of blood defending Ulundi against the ANC.**
- **Eugene Terre'Blanche promises to spill his last drop of blood defending whites against Apla.**
- **Naas Botha hangs up the dreaded boots.**
- **"Streaker of Bisho" Ronnie Kasrils reverts to jogging in Parkhurst.**
- **Two Azapo stalwarts and a placard disrupt the Paul Simon tour.**
- ***Playboy* magazine gears up for publication in South Africa.**
- **Zola Budd watches Barcelona on screen from Bloemfontein.**

The old year is dead — long live the new!

DREW FORREST

An endless tune

W/mail 23/12-29/12/92

The year started on a high note, but the scales soon slipped to the bass end. The only hope for South Africa is for the African National Congress and the government to change the tune



By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE opera's not over, they say, until the fat lady sings. After a frustrating year of political stalemate and conflict, and socio-economic degeneration, South Africa is still in suspense, waiting for the National Party to commit itself to the transfer of power to the democratic will.

Perhaps a more appropriate musical for South Africa's negotiation process is the *Bekkersdal Marathon*, the Herman Charles Bosman classic in which the dominee, after announcing that his congregation will sing Psalm 119, goes into a trance without specifying which of its 176 verses.

The long-suffering congregation sings itself hoarse for eight hours as the organist trills on, inspired by "medicine" in a black bottle fetched by several elders and a deacon in ever-lengthening trips out to the *konsistorie*.

It has been one hell of a year, an ultra-marathon in which South Africa thirsted for leadership.

Yet it began on a high. The all-white referendum produced an overwhelming majority for negotiations. For a brief moment in time most blacks and whites seemed at one with themselves and the future. Even *The Weekly Mail* was infected by the mood and proclaimed: "Let the good times roll".

But then came the blows. The deadlock at Codesa II; Boipatong; mass action; Bisho; the stream of scandals implicating the state in corruption, incompetence and murder; the Azanian People's Liberation Army's bombings; and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's veiled threats to drag Natal out of the republic. All of this to the backdrop of negative economic growth, capital fright and flight and the steadily corrosive township violence.

Even the record of understanding between the African National Congress and the government, a fresh flash of hope in October, was marred by Buthelezi, who stormed out of negotiations, miffed at his evident exclusion from what he perceived to be important deliberations.

Among the biggest casualties of the roller-coaster ride from post-referendum euphoria to post-Boipatong catatonia were the National Party and President FW de Klerk. For him, it has been a long downhill journey since the release of ANC president Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political parties, when he was regarded, even in the townships, as something of a saint.

By the time of the funeral of Boipatong victims in July, if the posters were to be believed, De Klerk was wanted in the townships for murder. It was a precipitous slide.

A convincing two-thirds majority "yes" in the referendum, cutting the rightwing challenge down to size, enabled De Klerk to snatch victory from the jaws of defeat. For the rest of the year, he assiduously set about snatching defeat from the jaws of victory.

De Klerk overplayed his hand at Codesa II. He held out for the constitution of the new South Africa to be front-loaded by the largely unrepresentative, apartheid-tainted Codesa parties, rather than drawn up by an elected body.

This he sought through the slippery device of leaving the time frame for a final constitution open-ended. The high majorities that the NP demanded for "amendments" to the interim constitution — 75 percent — would have ensured that temporary mechanisms such as power-sharing would be locked into the constitution forever.

The NP miscalculated and overestimated the ANC's desire to cut an early deal at all costs. The failure of the government to accept the ANC's generous terms at Codesa II was taken as objective proof to many thousands of suspicious ANC supporters that the party of apartheid could not change its spots.

De Klerk's folly was not simply a tactical miscalculation. A large pile of dirty laundry has tumbled out in public this year to support claims that elements of the state are complicit in the violence. To have thought he could play for time while the townships were burning underlines the central question mark against the De Klerk presidency.

Either he knew what was going on, and was seeking to undermine the ANC as an electoral opponent, or he didn't know, and therefore one could only conclude that he had no adequate control of his intelligence-gathering agencies, who were too busy stoking violence in black communities to gather intelligence for him.

As the constitutional deadlock began to stretch out, the volatile climate in the townships was like a bomb waiting to explode. When it did, at Boipatong on June 17, the already fragile multiparty negotiations were blasted into a thousand little pieces.

Whatever electoral advantage De Klerk might have presupposed from a delay, his party, far from moving confidently into the head of an alliance that could electorally challenge the ANC, was dealt a glancing blow.

De Klerk's image of reform gave way to one of weakness, his homeland and tricameral allies deserted him, his top lieutenants collapsed from the "burden of work", and Mr Consensus resorted to railroading the Further Indemnity Bill through the President's Council because he could not even persuade the House of Delegates to support him.

On the other side of the table, the ANC also took a battering as it battled to establish a direction during the year. The movement's negotiators, emasculated by Codesa II, were pushed to the sidelines as the ANC returned to a new militancy at its May policy conference. Just as the movement's leadership were preparing for the run-up to elections and political power, they were forced to revive the struggle. The megaphones were dusted off, the United Nations security council was summoned, and Ronnie Kasrils was sent out to marshall the troops.

There was a lot of talk about permanent mass action and there were a lot of assurances about not turning the taps on and off again. But then Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's troops opened fire on an ANC march on Bisho, and the taps of mass action dried up once more.

All of this exposed a deeper fault-line running through the ANC — one that was heightened by the debate that raged over the "sunset clauses", the proposal that sought to postpone democracy and lengthen the transition from minority rule.

On the one side were those who saw the NP — pejoratively known as the "regime" for all

Scorecard '92: Who's in, who's out, who's hot

w/Mail 23/12-29/12/92. 30(A)

In a volatile year, last year's heroes often became this year's villains.

By GAVIN EVANS

EVEN by South Africa's weird standards, 1992 was a particularly strange and volatile political year. It began with negotiations in full flight and ended with negotiations about to begin. It started with a peace accord and finished with violence reaching new heights. It opened with South Africa helping to end the war in Angola, and ended with South Africa accused by its neighbours of trying to resume the war in Angola.

It was a year of massacres and mass action, of corruption and bureaucratic collapse, of torture revelations and death squad exposés and of an overwhelming sense of a country rolling downhill. In short, it was a bad year for politics. Which, of course, is not the same thing as being a bad year for politicians.

As far as the parties go, the National Party started well with its referendum triumph, then got silly by trying to play tough, and in the process started to fall apart with rampant corruption and security force scandals being exposed. The Nats ended looking mean, weak, divided and more than a little desperate.

The African National Congress started slower, rode some rough moments (like the detention camp torture revelations and the staggered departure of Winnie Mandela), won ground (if not kudos) with mass action, and ended a little stronger and more coherent than a year before, with their leader firmly in control, even though power remains elusive.

Inkatha (and its chief) started in bad shape with a series of scandals. Its officials behaved like spoilt children, more isolated and desperate than ever, with only rightwingers and homeland generalissimos as allies.

The Pan Africanist Congress picked up support from erstwhile ANC young lions, gained wider respect by talking about talking, and then let its military wing blow it with a series of racist terror attacks. This lost the PAC international support, put its negotiators in an impossible position and exposed the depth of divisions within it.

The rightwing (parliamentary and extra) had its bubble well and truly burst, and is now lacking in policy and leadership. It has been reduced to noisy fringe players, though not quite so fringe as Azapo, Wosa and the rest of the far left.

The Democratic Party had a good year with men like Zach de Beer, Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew emerging as genuine honest brokers, but the DP has yet to translate the goodwill into anything approaching a viable, non-racial electoral base.

As for the rest, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei stayed in the news by being recalcitrant, violent and petty, but their plug is waiting to be pulled. And the Labour Party is over.

Within all this, the fortunes of the men (for there were very few women) within the parties rocked and rolled according to their own disparate criteria. Some had it very good, others not so hot.

Below is a scorecard of how we see them:

SOME PULLED UP THEIR SOCKS, OTHERS HAD HOLEY UNDERPANTS ...

FW DE KLERK (down): As the referendum triumph turned sour, FW's fortunes dwindled. A year ago he looked like a long-term player. Now he's a poor man's Gorbachev — vacillating, scared of his security forces and even more scared of the future.

NELSON MANDELA (up): Sprightlier without Winnie, he has reined in most of his wild men, ridden the torture storm well and has emerged as more trustworthy, more in control and perhaps even more sensible than his opposite number. Like it or not, he's the president-in-waiting.

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI (down): With friends like he's chosen, who needs enemies? Cornermen include a weeping brigadier, a Rhodie Boer from Bop, and a jackboot brigade. Dreams of UDI likely to turn into nightmares for him and everyone else.

CLARENCE MAKWETU (sideways): Reasonable (relatively) and articulate, he was doing well until his soldiers revolted. It's tough to negotiate when your members don't want to.

ZACH DE BEER (up): Integrity and honesty, both rare political commodities most often found in politicians without power (or the prospect thereof). Possesses a certain gravitas which commands respect. Can he turn these into vote-winning assets?

ANDRIES TREURNICHT (down): With the white referendum, he and his party went down the toilet. At 71 he's a sad figure, presiding over a crumbling empire, totally lacking in vision and doomed to obscurity.

EUGENE TERRE'BLANCHE (down): The man in the holey green undies has become a pathetic, quixotic figure. In the land of the blind, the one eyed pig-in-a-safari-suit is king (while the world enjoys the joke).

JERRY MOSALA (down): A not very big fish in a shrinking Azapo pond.

NEVILLE ALEXANDER (down): Who?

HERNUS KRIEL (sideways): On the one hand he's succeeded Magnus Malan as the reigning cabinet nasty. On the other, his nasty brand of politics is temporarily out of favour now that the government is back in bed with the ANC.

GENERAL GEORG MEIRING (down): The hands of the army chief are a little grubby, and he keeps on putting his jackboots in his mouth.

GENERAL PIERRE STEYN (up): Look for this fly boy to take over from Bad "Kat" Liebenberg as army chief in a year or so.

CHRIS HANI (sideways): No longer the big Umkhonto weSizwe chief, and the South African Communist Party is less sexy than it used to be. But he still commands plenty of support, and is close enough to the ANC mainstream to remain a big player.

PIK BOTHA (down): Still full of Christmas cheer (and other spirits?), and a born survivor, but the big fella is losing it — just ask the Angolans.

THABO MBEKI (down): Occasionally seen but seldom heard. He's still a shoo-in for Pik's post, but crown prince? Forget it. The job is taken.

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA (up): He's withstood the Winnie storm, survived being called a sell-out by the party hardliners, ridden the "cabalite" whispers, and has kept on rising. And remember he's only just turned 40.

ROELF MEYER (up): Despite a wobbly response to the Ferdie Barnard thing, the "canary" remains a key player. With talks about to resume, his stakes will rise in 1993.

BENNIE ALEXANDER (down): If looks could kill ... The most appealing person in South African politics has been wriggling his way through the year, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing.

PETER MOKABA (sideways): From anti-capitalist to anti-cabalist. His ANC Youth League is now more paper tiger than young lion, and the ear of the boss's wife ain't what it used to be. But he's found himself a good wicket with this talk of cliques and conspiracies.

HARRY GWALA (sideways): Arms and the Man ... More and more out of favour with his national leadership — but in the Natal Midlands that counts less and less.

WINNIE MANDELA (down): Down and out, and about time too (though expect a last,frail,comeback attempt).

VAN ZYL SLABBERT (sideways): Lost in the Johannesburg Metropolitan Chamber, and then found as a talk-show host. He's back, but forget this nonsense about him heading a new party.

MAC MAHARAJ (up): The one-time chief party insurrectionist has been born again as a non-party chief negotiator.

RONNIE KASRILS (down): The fastest man in Parkhurst has run his last race. After Bisho it's downhill all the way.

JACOB ZUMA (down): A tainted past, and a too-moderate present, has sealed it for yesterday's Mr Intelligence.

PATRICK "TERROR" LEKOTA (up): Released from the security and intelligence graveyard into the real world of elections, this former United Democratic Front fireball is on a slow upward curve.

DEREK KEYS (up): When last did a cabinet minister get Mandela and Trevor Manuel to take serious note of his economic advice?

LEON WESSELS (up): One of the few honest men in the cabinet — and still the only one to apologise for past sins.

RICHARD GOLDSTONE (up): First judge to force politicians to listen. He's managed to rile everyone, a good sign.

MALCOLM X (up): When the local and living ain't *lekker*, find a foreign martyr.

FM 25/12/92 (304A)

ELECTIONEERING

Questions of tolerance

FM 25/12/92

The ANC wants elections next year. Government says early 1994 is a more realistic date. But both may be way off the mark.

The violent disruption of a Democratic Party public meeting in Khayelitsha near Cape Town last week has again raised doubts that elections are possible in the foreseeable future without plunging the country into an orgy of unprecedented conflict.

Though DP meetings in "black" areas have been disrupted before — notably in the OFS and northern Transvaal — what happened last week underscored an important point. If a party as innocuous as the DP can't have a meeting in an area as peaceful as Khayelitsha, is it possible to have pre-election activity anywhere else without risking massive bloodshed?

Leaders across the political spectrum argue that elections can't be held hostage to continuing violence. They say constitutional certainty and a democratically elected government will be the most effective counter to the current conflict.

That may be so, but an "elections-at-any-cost" attitude certainly won't solve SA's problems. Unless the poll is seen to be free and fair and all the main parties accept the outcome, violence and instability will increase and the country will face a similar fate to that of Angola.

Human Sciences Research Council election specialist Lawrie Schlemmer says it would be foolish of parties to try to resolve issues through the polls only. Elections must be the result of settlements rather than an attempt to impose them. "I don't believe we should risk an election unless we have a contract between parties about some form of joint action after the election," he says.

He adds that there's no doubt SA needs an election — and should not try to avoid it. But if too much hinges on the poll, it could "blow us apart" and threaten all the progress so far made. There is also a need for pre-election agreements between the parties on how to campaign and how the poll itself will be conducted.

Public rallies serve more to "rabble rouse" than disseminate information and should be avoided to lower the risk of conflict. Communication with voters would be more effective through negotiated time and space allotments on TV, radio and in the printed media.

The election itself should be spread over a few days and people should be allowed to vote where it suits them rather than at high profile polling booths.

Schlemmer believes an election should be preceded by a much more elaborate process of "pacting" right down to local level. Cooperation between parties at top level is generally good, but not at lower levels, which is where many of the problems occur.

In countries with successful democracies, success is usually based on a lower intensity of political motivation. Elections are part of a broad, unwritten agreement which SA still needs to develop. Schlemmer is also concerned about the influence on voters of the "ruling consensus" in an area. He describes it as a "village politics" phenomenon not uncommon in the Third World. In terms of the "consensus" people are simply expected to vote for a particular party even if they don't want to.

Schlemmer is not in favour of large-scale international involvement in SA's election process. Though international assistance in conflict resolution followed by monitoring of elections has achieved moderate success in southern Africa (*Current Affairs* December 11), usually only two main players have been involved.

Considering the potential for nationwide conflict between supporters of just the four major political groups — the National Party, ANC, PAC and Inkatha — the task facing international peacekeepers would be impossible. Schlemmer says a peacekeeping force for SA would have to be massive and the international community would not be prepared to finance it.

The efficacy of international monitors is also questionable. In southern Lebanon, for instance, the UN observer force is powerless to stop cross-border conflict. A local monitoring force agreed to by all parties and representing all of them would be more effective.

Schlemmer agrees that the current timetable for elections seems optimistic. While it's not impossible to prepare for an election within the next year or two, schedules in the reform process so far have generally taken two to three times longer than planned — and the same may happen again.

The implications of delaying an election are important. President F W de Klerk is constitutionally bound to another tricameral poll late in 1994. But, if necessary, the constitution can be changed — if it hasn't been replaced by a transitional agreement by then. A transitional government could be established through negotiation — representing all major parties and ruling until the climate is more conducive to free elections.

A drawn-out transitional period and poll delay won't be ideal, but unless the level of violence drops and that of tolerance rises, political leaders may have no choice. The crucial element at every stage will be negotiated agreement. ■

Financial Mail

DECEMBER • 25 • 1992

THE CLIMATE FOR NEGOTIATION

The rag and bone shop

FM 25|12|92 (304A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela a year ago promised SA a "Christmas present" — which turned out to be Codesa, rather like one of those awful ties, spotty and unacceptable, that relatives give but one is too polite to refuse.

This is not to suggest that Codesa had no value: merely that, in retrospect, it was a badly designed vehicle for constitutional change. It brought within one hall too great a diversity of opinions, parties and expectations. In the event, a quick-fix solution to our problems proved impossible and Codesa disintegrated as rancour and greed overtook its participants.

A great deal of practical work was done in committee — and will be available to whatever body succeeds Codesa — but, politically, the initial euphoria was unwarranted.

The major failing of the convention was that violence was imperfectly addressed. The National Peace Accord, various concerned observers and, most effectively, the Goldstone Commission, with foreign assistance and goodwill, faced up to the reality.

Not that Goldstone, or anyone, can bring the violence to a swift end. What can be done is to expose, ruthlessly — "to the bone," as President F W de Klerk once put it — the agents of violence whose aims are to abort a constitutional settlement.

A year on from the first plenary session of Codesa 1, we have only the bare outline of what a democratic constitution could look like. But we do have a far greater understanding of the roots of violence.

In particular, we can see the cogency of ANC criticisms of government's credibility in the area of covert operations. De Klerk's weekend axing of two SADF generals and 14 other officers — and the suspension of seven more — proves that the *prima facie* evidence for a third force within the security establishment has been true all along. Various commissions and brave figures have contributed to this understanding — and De Klerk must be commended for acting with boldness.

It has been pointed out that the purge does not go far enough — or not yet. In terms of the Further Indemnity Act — which De Klerk rammed through the President's Council — the disgraced military figures and their CCB operatives may qualify for blanket forgiveness, which would be a pity. This has been a year of miserable political deals — most notably the exchange of psychopaths involving Barend Strydom and Robert McBride — but there is no need to enter 1993 on such a dubious note.

We should at the very least know what the sacked and suspended officers have done, with whom they did it and with whose authorisation — if any. Only then should even the possibility of indemnity be raised.

Meanwhile, the Goldstone Commission — which sparked De Klerk's actions — is to investigate the military wings of the ANC and the PAC. The PAC's Apla, whatever its degrec of complicity in the attacks in and around Transkei, seems a particularly murky and reprehensible outfit; but the question of incorporating Umkhonto we Sizwe into the SADF, whatever MK's misdeeds in foreign camps, must be resolved.

In terms of having identified at least one third force and given Apla's brutal revelation of itself, the broad peace process has becn relatively successful. The point about Apla is that, however nasty, it is small; and there can be no political motive in holding back from crushing it. MK as such is no longer part of the problem.

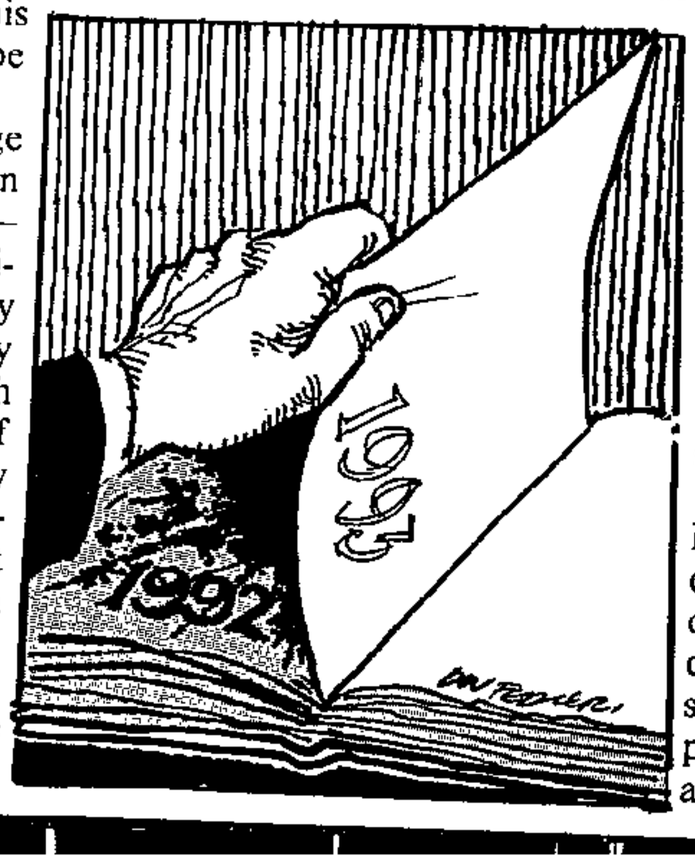
All of which, of course, does not address a fundamental cause of violence isolated by Goldstone: ethnic conflict along Zulu (or Inkatha) vs ANC lines. Since Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi refuses to accept the Record of Understanding between government and the ANC, the potential for an escalation of this conflict is very real.

A further problem lies in the white right wing, which is armed and dangerous. The threat of reprisals — which would almost certainly be indiscriminate — against Apla, or those perceived as staging attacks on whites, must be taken seriously. We already have one too many *Wit Wolf* at large.

Nevertheless, there is room for optimism on violence. The principle established by De Klerk — that those who have broken the law must be punished — should never have been vitiated by the Indemnity Act. But at least the President *has* acted; and this should serve warning on would-be vigilantes on the Right, or pockets of Zulu chauvinists, that behaviour which contributes to public fear and unrest will be dealt with appropriately.

One's optimism must, however, remain guarded. In the past, whenever a step forward on the path of settlement has been taken, some incident of horrible violence has occurred to wreck it. So curious has been the coincidence of massacre and hope, that many have suspected the former was designed to smash the latter. There is no need to list the candidates — they would all share a desire not to have a settlement.

As long as any of these people are at large, sudden outbreaks of killing can be expected, until the security forces get a grip on the situation. Clearly, they could never do so while harbouring men with evil designs. Bearing this in mind, De Klerk's purge is probably the best news of a bitter and, in many ways, wasted year. ■



FW pledges a year of progress

ARG 26/12/92 304A

PRETORIA — The government is determined to make 1993 a year of fundamental progress and breakthrough, President De Klerk said in his Christmas and New Year's message.

President De Klerk said greater clarity on how this would be achieved would emerge early next year.

Acknowledging the prevalence of crime, violent death and social and political uncertainty, he vowed that the government would not capitulate to radicalism, and that it would "continue to govern the country with all the means at its disposal" until its reform objectives had been achieved.

The government would be taking the lead to achieve a rapid movement, through multiparty negotiations, towards a government of national unity.

He announced that the government would be approaching the churches of South Africa to call for a day of contrition and prayer.

"There is nothing wrong in South Africa which, with divine grace, cannot be rectified. That is the challenge of 1993 and that is the Christmas message of reconciliation.

"I appeal to you all to join me in accepting this challenge."

He urged the public not to yield to despondency. The land and people had much potential.

"Compared with the rest of our continent, we are a beacon of hope," President De Klerk said.

"Let us build on that hope and strengthen that beacon."

All South Africans should reconcile themselves with the irreversibility of the reform process.

"The unchangeable realitities of our country placed us on this road. There is no alternative."

The country now had the possibility of emerging from years of bitterness and division.

President De Klerk said: "Each South African also has to make his and her contribution to make 1993 a year of great progress.

"For that, there are many opportunities — on a person-to-person level, in the work-place and by enthusiastically participating in the activities of your church, your party, a charity organisation or other community organisation."

The dangers of radicalism and the existing threats to the value system of all believing, moderate and peace-loving South Africans demanded that all should act constructively.

He concluded: "We should be such a nation in 1993: an inspired and purposeful nation; a hard-working nation which stays on its knees before God who holds the destiny of all of us in his hands.

"Let's work together to build a better South Africa. — Sapa.

This isn't a soap, FW. It's for real

The government is discredited and divided, the military may mutiny, Buthelezi wants secession and Apla threatens a race war. Still FW de Klerk prevaricates.



By PHILLIP VAN NIEKERK

THE Nero award for fiddling while Rome burns should surely go to President FW de Klerk for attending the opening of the Lost City in the company of the likes of Joan Collins on the eve of the crucial *bosberaad* with the African National Congress.

One wonders if he was alive to the unintended symbolism of the simulated earthquake that turned the civilisation of the Lost City into a ruin. Or whether he saw the grand illusionist, Jean Michel Jarre, as a kindred soul. Or whether, when he woke up on Wednesday morning, he was able to remember which soap opera he was in.

The chief executive has some momentous decisions to make in the next few weeks. More than anything, he needs to get a grip on reality.

In recent weeks De Klerk has appeared paralysed by the fear that if he moves decisively towards a deal with the ANC, he could precipitate a mutiny in his own ranks. His cabinet is divided, the security forces are restive, the white constituency is wavering. The Azanian People's Liberation Army's sick threat to spread racial war and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's transparent attempts to set up a political fiefdom in kwaZulu/Natal do not help.

There is no more time to mess around and prevaricate. The seemingly endless scandals have taken their toll. The government has all but lost legitimacy. De Klerk can remain ensconsed in power, like Mobutu Sese Seko in Zaire, moored on his yacht up the Congo River, but there is little leadership, and ever-diminishing governance. South Africa is crumbling.

ANC negotiators and some commentators are bullish about this week's *bosberaad*. They believe they can whiff the brew of a settlement from the favourable chemistry of the Cyril Ramaphosa-Roelf Meyer relationship.

De Klerk's sharp rebuke of Buthelezi's unilateralism over a federal constitution has furthered that impression.

This optimism has sustained the ANC through De Klerk's dry spell of the past two months. The release of Barend Strydom, the resort to the President's Council to bulldoze through the grossly unjust Indemnity Act, the prevarication over security force perfidy bordering on treason, the countless cheap shots at the ANC, all amount to a presidency in deep trouble.

Yet, as De Klerk trashes the ANC at every turn, the insiders smile knowingly. Smoke and mirrors, they say. Popular consumption politics.

The ANC hardly look much better right now. A movement that strung up people in trees for smoking dagga can hardly pretend to act as a guarantor of human rights.

Yet, even at its most optimistic, De Klerk's timetable for elections by early 1994 is scary. Does he imagine that this discredited government can continue to govern for 18 months, even with the cumbersome life-support machinery of the transitional executive councils?

The ANC complained that De Klerk's disclosure last week of a transition timetable pre-empted the *bosberaad*, but when the outline is taken stage by stage, he is not far off the mark. In fact, early 1994 could be optimistic. Just to keep on track, there needs to be a multiparty conference by February next year, a dubious prospect.

At least part of the fault lies with the ANC for accepting the structure of the transition.

By mixing the explosive cocktail of the constitution-making body, the legislature and the executive, the National Party and the ANC have made constitution-making hostage to politics while strong, legitimate government has to wait for a constitutional settlement. On this point, at least, they should have listened to the warnings of the Democratic Party.

Instead, the government and ANC's concoction delays both an election for a constituent assembly and the formation of a fully-fledged interim government of national unity.

The DP has pointed out that if the constituent assembly were not tied to an elected interim government, an election could be held within months. Those elected to the constituent assembly could then excuse themselves from the dirty day to day politicking and get on with the job of drawing up the best constitution for South Africa.

On the other hand, those charged with the day to day politics could form a coalition government of national unity this afternoon if they wanted to. Other countries do it in times of emergency, without having to plod through the elaborate procedures of transitional executive councils.

To reinforce the legitimacy of a collapsing state, a precious symbol of national unity like Nelson Mandela needs to be given real authority as soon as possible. An alliance of all those who constructively want to lead South Africa away from the abyss should govern the country.

What is needed, urgently, is effective joint control over the security forces, and an iron determination by a multiparty government to wipe out violence and thuggery from all sides, including the third force, criminals and the perpetrators of racial war, and to restore legitimacy to the security forces so they can uphold the law.

Nor can economic recovery or a crash development programme for the unemployed and the homeless wait for the still distant constitutional settlement.

Even accepting that a transitional arrangement that takes us to 1994 is irreversible at this stage, the ANC is in a stronger position than De Klerk to move quickly. It has a mandate to compromise by postponing real democracy to meet the fears of the NP, the security forces, the civil service and whites in general.

On the other hand, a weakened De Klerk appears to be hardly in a position to cross the raging Rubicon. Yet, when he stood at the political pinnacle after the March referendum, a birthday to remember if ever there was one, De Klerk had the world in his hands. He chose to use his advantage to attempt to secure a constitution that would have fallen well short of democracy — a position that eventually scuppered Codesa 2.

A major cause of despondency is Inkatha's federal constitution, carefully timed to impact on the agenda at the *bosberaad*. For the past year, the Inkatha Freedom Party has played a spoiler role. Buthelezi's carefully timed move is still a spoiling one, but — with the aid of American "experts" — he has acted proactively this time rather than reactively.

Having shored up his position as the Zulu populist\nationalist, Buthelezi is playing his other card — that of spokesman for the Natal region. The "regional" option is attractive to the white industrialists and farmers of Natal, but what the country needs most of all right now is a strong central government of national unity to restore governance and end the violence.

Natal is the last place on earth that needs regional autonomy at this time. There would be a staggering conflagration if either the IFP or the ANC won a local election and took power with their own police force and army.

Furthermore, whatever the locals might think, the international community will not allow secession. The Organisation of African Unity has strict policy against the breakaway of new states that create bad precedents on a tribal continent.

Those whites who might be attracted to the Buthelezi option need to get a grip on reality. To go the route of secession or UDI could turn Durban into Sarajevo.

De Klerk is in an unenviable position. He has to stand up to those voices in his cabinet who are ideologically wedded to an alliance with the IFP which, like them, is proposing something short of democracy. Yet to remain willingly tethered in such a way to a small provincial force would be a bad mistake and the *bosberaads* of now and January will yield very little.

The risky alternative — of moving bravely into the future as a centrist party, of scrapping the notion of permanent power sharing, of calling Buthelezi's bluff, of making a deal with the ANC — could give the NP oxygen and a real chance of doing well in an election.

And who would then begrudge De Klerk his evening with Joan Collins?

When the pace got too much

ST Times 27/12/92.

(304A

THE WIMPS

OPPONENTS of the government cruelly referred to it as the "Wimp Factor".

While the indefatigable, chain-smoking President de Klerk rolled through crises and triumphs, his lesser colleagues fell by the way. The year saw the exit of Minister of State Affairs and key negotiator Gerrit Viljoen, finance minister Barend du Plessis and secretary-general of the National Party Stoffel van der Merwe.

Dr Viljoen cited ill-health, Mr du Plessis exhaustion and Dr van der Merwe said it was personal.

In May, shortly after the release of the Pickard report, which detailed wide-scale corruption and mismanagement by the Department of Development Aid, Dr Viljoen was appointed minister of State Affairs while Dr van der Merwe was given the post of the first secretary-general of the National Party.

Dr Viljoen held the Development Aid portfolio for four years from 1984 and was succeeded by Dr van der Merwe when he was appointed Minister of Constitutional Development.

Dr van der Merwe announced his resignation from political life a day before the release of the Parsons and De Meyer reports which detailed further abuses in the Gazankulu and Lebowa homelands.

While Dr van der Merwe had not been at the helm during the period when the abuses took place, he had become tired and disillusioned with his new job of trying to sell the NP to potential black voters.

Mr du Plessis resigned after eight years as finance minister, having come within eight votes of succeeding President PW Botha in 1989.

He had come under enormous criticism for his handling of VAT, his role at Codesa and his unimaginative handling of the economy.

A search for justice

ST Times 27/12/92.

THE JUDGE

JUDGE RICHARD GOLDSTONE has just emerged from an Appeal Court hearing, a visitor waits, he disrobes while talking on the phone. Before the hearing, the American ambassador met with him.

He grabs a quick sandwich at the snack bar at the Bloemfontein theatre, where he ponders on the ramifications of his commission's raid on the offices of Military Intelligence's Directorate of Covert Collection in Pretoria.

The head of the commission into "Public Violence and Intimidation" is a man almost unique in senior SA legal circles in his lack of pomposity and sincere desire to hear the opinions of others.

The Goldstone commission began as an adjunct of a Peace Accord that has become a battered dove on crutches.

However, while local dispute resolution committees literally battle to get off the ground in conflict zones, the Goldstone commission has shown an unerring impartiality and a willingness to tiptoe where others have previously feared to tread.

Ground-breaking commissions into violence in a number of townships, allegations of state covert activity and taxi warfare have pinned the root of conflict on apartheid, poor policing, and political rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC that generates the intolerance necessary to fuel conflict.



JUDGE GOLDSTONE

The international credibility the commission enjoys is less important though, than the slow return to respect for the law.

Legislation, which if accepted in the form the commission drafted on public protest, should come into effect early next year and will be a model of democratic government. However, a proclamation on dangerous weapons drafted by the commission two months ago for the State President is gathering dust in Pretoria.

The commission has two more years of its brief to fulfil. If SA is a more violent place, it will be less because we lack an understanding of what is fuelling violence, than that we lack the will to curb it.

Greatest show in town

ST Times 27/12/92

DUELLING DUO

CYRIL RAMAPHOSA, the ANC's secretary-general, had scarcely announced that the ANC was pulling out of negotiations because of the Boipatong massacre when his telephone rang.

It was Roelf Meyer, Constitution Minister, and he was angry: "What the hell do you think you are doing?" Mr Ramaphosa chuckled: "Well, the good news is we're still talking."

For the next three months the only show in town was the "R and R show",as it became known.

While negotiations were theoretically suspended, it was this sanctioned channel of communication that finally sealed the return to talks with the Record of Understanding on September 26.

The success had much to do with the rapport between the two men, who at face value could not be more different.

Both cut their molars on student politics while studying law, but Mr Ramaphosa later became the first general secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, and Mr Meyer the MP for Johannesburg West.

Many politicians hold their breaths in the hope that the R and R show will continue.

Bobby Godsell

ON BOOKS



Sharp reminders

ST Times 27/12/92.

THIS collection will end up, I have no doubt, with old copies of Punch in the most private place in the house, to be read at random for no purpose whatever.

So comments Ken Owen on the publication of a selection of his weekly columns. The comment is not only unduly self-deprecatory — I also passionately hope that it will prove to be quite wrong. For the book that Owen has produced ranks far above old copies of Punch.

These Times is, first, a succinct and significant chronicle of a little more than a decade — June 1 1980-October 18 1992 — and what a decade plus this has been.

Owen takes us from one referendum (1983) to the next (1992), through the Rubicon, two states of emergency, liberation before education, necklacing, Stoffel Botha's emergency regulations, PW's Winter Palace, the Sharpeville Six debate, Mandela's release, Codesa and the DP's Gang of Five.

Even the memories exhaust and so often dismay. They also, however, provide a timely context for today's dilemmas.

To paraphrase Martin Luther King: We ain't where we want to be, we ain't where we're going to be — but thank God we ain't where we were.

But **These Times** is more than a mere chronicle of turbulent times. It is a compendium of some of the finest journalism you could come across: anywhere, any time.

THESE TIMES: A DECADE OF SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS by Ken Owen (Jonathan Ball)



The cover of Ken Owen's new book, which is a compilation of his columns over the past decade

Pawns

Owen the journalist describes the human story of apartheid as he sets out the story of the people of Bloedfontein, who become pawns in Bantustan boundary games. He writes both passionately and poignantly about the efforts of black war veterans to claim their military pensions.

In the tradition of Voltaire he pricks the balloons of the powerful, pompous and precious personalities of our day:-

"The mind of the chief censor, Home Affairs Minister Stoffel Botha, continues to fascinate and perplex the newspapermen who live under his regime of truth and beauty. His decrees have a subtle complexity, a quality both bewildering and astonishing, that can be described poetically as licence."

He also wrote:- "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 principle or democracy or public debate. 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."

Yet this book is more than good writing.

It is a credo of liberal values.

For example, the sovereignty and sanctity of individual human life that evokes a common outrage at the cruel death at police hands of Steve Biko, and the public execution by necklacing of Miss Maki Skhosana.

"The difficulty is to persuade a nation bred on violence, and indoctrinated with hate, to beat its swords into ploughshares. That task is made more difficult by the moral abdication of leaders who lacked courage to stand, when Alan Paton was alone in doing so, against both the atrocities of apartheid and the atrocities committed in the name of fighting apartheid."

For example, that democracy's necessary pre-condition of economic freedom is general and private property in particular:

"The notion of selling off the government's stock of houses was among the brightest ideas to come from the Nationalists in 40 years ... the homes — at R1 750 upwards — were a bargain, a hedge against inflation, an investment in property, an estate to bequeath to one's heirs, an opportunity for weekend endeavour and an education in the benefits of personal independence."

For example, Owen's definition of "old-fashioned liberalism":-

"The maximum individual liberty compatible with the equal liberty of others, the rule of law, constitutionality, the right to privacy and property, freedom of speech, freedom of association and tolerance for diversity."

These Times does more than merely expound these values. It argues them in the context of the harsh realities of our society and our times. Press freedom and section 205 of the Criminal Procedures Act; guilt by common purpose and the Sharpeville Six; television coverage of township violence; campus tolerance. These are not just values asserted by values applied.

Listen

And therein lies Owen's challenge ... In a column written in September 1985 he offers advice to English South Africa:-

"It's time we got off our sanctimony and got down to the hard nuts-and-bolts of building a constituency to real reform ... it requires organisation, and stamp-licking, and special publications, and amateur writers, and study groups, and lobbying, and even a willingness to listen to black people, which may be the hardest thing for white South Africans to do."

White South Africans did just this in this year's referendum ; their hundreds of thousands.

The challenge is now shared by millions of black South Africans. Whether a new tyranny replaces the old is as much in our hands as in those of our leaders.

Thank God that we have the Ken Owens of this world to keep reminding us of that.

● *Bobby Godsell is a director of the Anglo American Corporation.*

Don't moan — FW

Sunday Times Reporter

PRESIDENT de Klerk has warned that a complaining and protesting nation will play into the hands of radicals. (30A)

In a sombre Christmas message he said the dangers of radicalism and threats to the value system of all believing, moderate and peace-loving South Africans demanded that everybody should act constructively. ST Times

"A complaining, protesting, despondent and dissatisfied nation is a nation heading for disaster and will play into the hands of the radicals. An active, hard-working, God-fearing, cheerful and solution orientated nation overcomes its difficulties and is a prospering nation.

27/12/92

Destiny

"We should be such a nation in 1993 — an inspired and purposeful nation, a hard-working nation which stays on its knees before God, who holds the destiny of all of us in His hands," he said.

He said unemployment, drought, corruption, crime and violence had led to great social and political uncertainty in the past year, but that there "is nothing wrong which, with Divine Grace, cannot be rectified".

He said the government would approach the churches with a "serious request" to jointly call for a day of contrition and prayer "on which all believers can thank the Lord for so many blessings, among which are the widespread rains, and, in all humility, confess their sins".

President de Klerk said all South Africans would have to reconcile themselves with the irreversibility of the reform process.

"The unchangeable realities of our country placed us on this road. There is no alternative. The process of renewal is unstoppable," he said.

SA a beacon of hope on continent, says FW

STAR 28/12/92 (3041)

The Government is determined to make 1993 a year of fundamental progress and breakthrough, President de Klerk said in his Christmas and New Year's message.

De Klerk said greater clarity on how this would be achieved would emerge early next year.

Acknowledging the prevalence in South Africa of crime, violent deaths and social and political uncertainty, De Klerk vowed that the Government would not capitulate to radicalism, and that it would "continue to govern the country with all the means at its disposal" until its reform objectives had been achieved.

The Government would be taking the lead to achieve a rapid movement, through multiparty negotiations, towards a government of national unity.

He announced that the Government would be approaching the churches of South Africa to call for a day of contrition and prayer.

"There is nothing wrong in South Africa which, with divine grace, cannot be rectified. That is the challenge of 1993, and that is the Christmas message of reconciliation.

"I appeal to you all to join me in accepting this challenge."

He urged the public not to yield to despondency. The land and people had much potential.

"Compared with the rest of our continent, we are a beacon of hope," De Klerk said. "Let us build on that hope and strengthen that beacon."

All South Africans should reconcile themselves with the irreversibility of the reform process, he said.

"The unchangeable realities of our country placed us on this road. There is no alternative."

The country now had the possibility of emerging from years of bitterness and division.

De Klerk said: "Each South African also has to make his and her contribution to make 1993 a year of great progress.

"For that, there are many opportunities — on a person-to-person level, in the workplace, and by enthusiastically participating in the activities of your church, your party, a charity organisation or other community organisation."

The dangers of radicalism and the existing threats to the value system of all believing, moderate and peace-loving South Africans demanded all to act constructively.

"A complaining, protesting, despondent and dissatisfied nation is a nation heading for disaster and will play into the hands of the radicals.

"An active, hard-working, God-fearing, cheerful and solution-orientated nation overcomes its difficulties and is a prospering nation," De Klerk said. — Sapa.

Pragmatism first for Russian ambassador

STAR 28/12/92. 304A

Peace, co-operation and departure from ideological constraint are the cornerstones of the thinking of the Russian Federation's ambassador to South Africa. Eugenly Petrovitch Gusarov spoke to HELEN GRANGE about his role in South Africa.



Cordial relations . . . new Russian ambassador Eugenly Petrovitch Gusarov with President de Klerk.

THE Russian Federation's first ambassador to South Africa Eugeniy Petrovitch Gusarov is intent on exorcising the ghosts of the former Soviet Union's history in South Africa, even if it means leaving some former Soviet allies here disappointed.

His message is simple: Communism and the Cold War are over. We are here to forge as much co-operation with South Africa on all fronts as possible, and we wish South Africa the best of luck in its transition to democracy.

Impeccably diplomatic, Gusarov is undoubtedly qualified to face the challenge of visibly redefining Moscow's profile in South Africa as peace broker.

He is accessible, speaks razor sharp English with plans to learn Afrikaans, and has a mind which clearly leans toward the pragmatic.

Confident, he nevertheless becomes self-effacing when asked if there are any lessons to be learnt from the Soviet's epic tragedy.

In a response filled with poignant irony, Gusarov says only: "We know better from the difficulties and pain of our past that violence is not a solution.

"We are no longer giving advice, only to say that both our countries are in the process of transformation and that it's irrevocable. We must make sure it goes on peacefully."

After 100 years without Soviet diplomatic representation in South Africa, Gusarov's arrival on November 1 to set up an embassy signalled a new dawn for South Africa's relations with Asia's biggest and most developed region.

It was, however, a blow to the SA Communist Party, which has stated that the move was premature and counterproductive, and should have only been considered once interim transitional arrangements were in place.

Gusarov is quite stern on this score: "We have no relationship with the SACP. The Communist Party at home has been banned, so there are no links at all. How this (the establishment of the embassy) will be resolved here is not for me to say."

The Russian Federation's efforts to purge its past and be incorporated as an active member of the democratic world forms its strongest bond with South Africa, also attempting to legitimise itself in the global community.

This mutual struggle is what Gusarov sees as the key to co-operation between the two nations.

Cautiously, he says: "As I understand it, your economy is not at its best. Ours, as you know, not at its best either. We need to be inventive as to what we can do together ... as we are both exporting nations, we have a choice of whether to compete or work together. I would rather see us working together. We have to be taken seriously in the world market."

The most obvious line of economic co-operation, and one that has already been widely explored by businessmen from both countries, is that of mining technology and aviation.

The Russian Federation is impressed with South Africa's advancement in mineral extraction techniques, while South Africa is very interested in what Moscow has to offer in the line of aircraft and aircraft parts.

A joint project in the world marketing of gold extraction technology has already been agreed in August between the Mineral and Energy Affairs department and the Russian Federation's Ministry of Atomic Energy.

During State President F W de Klerk's visit to Moscow last year, a trade agreement was also set up whereby South Africa would export consumer goods at bargain prices, and Pretoria would extend to Moscow a R100 million revolving credit line.

Gusarov will be facilitating further trade contact, but his immediate plans are to meet and develop good relations with "the leaders of parties participating in the peace process".

He emphasises these words, clearly to reiterate the Russian Federation's new non-idcological role in South Africa and the continent at large.

Much of the ground work of diplomatic contact has already taken place through an exchange of trade missions established at the end of 1991.

Gusarov is indebted to the two men who ran it, and both will be staying on to share their experience with the staff of the new embassy.

Residential accommodation is still being organised, but already there's a sense of settlement in the embassy's modest offices in Hatfield, Pretoria.

Gusarov is anxious to see how his 11-year-old son is going to cope with his new school, but is pleased that he already has a friend in the 11-year-old son of another embassy staffer.

As to the length of his stay in South Africa, Gusarov has no idea. "There's a lot of catching up to do considering the fact that we last attempted diplomatic relations with South Africa in 1892," he enthuses. □

Hopes high for crucial summit between Mandela and Buthelezi

ANC and Inkatha delegations scheduled to meet tomorrow are hoping to set a date for the important summit between their leaders Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Sources in both parties said they were "very confident" about how preparations were proceeding, with an ANC negotiator saying the summit "would definitely happen" and it was just a matter of time.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose was hopeful a date could be set tomorrow, but cautioned that the problems were not superficial. He said only two meetings were scheduled, but the delegations could decide to hold further talks to prepare the ground.

A summit between the two leaders could move multiparty negotiations ahead more quickly.

The ANC source said it was "vital that the summit of delegations headed by the respective leaders succeed".

"We have to ensure success. If we do not prepare a strong foundation for the summit, there will be problems and we do not believe the country wants to see it fail at this stage," he said.

He said the negotiations were extremely tough with both sides looking for a way through the two major problem areas — Mandela's demand that Buthelezi accept the record of understanding between himself and President F W de Klerk concluded in September; and Inkatha's adoption of the "go-it-alone" federal option.

Mdlalose said the first meeting last month was "very encouraging" and progress was made with "a great deal of goodwill".

Neither the ANC nor Inkatha was prepared to divulge details of the talks.

Relations between the parties, especially in Natal, have been bad for most of the year with both leaders blaming each other for the escalating violence.

One of the events most damaging to an already tense relationship was Mandela's address to the UN where he labelled Inkatha a puppet of Pretoria.

Buthelezi insisted that the peace committee censure the ANC leader for provocation and intensifying the violence. He refused to attend crucial peace accord meetings until Mandela apologised.

Shuttle diplomacy by peace accord chairman John Hall, led to former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda being brought in to mediate. But the issue remained unresolved with Kaunda saying there were good arguments on both sides.

Mandela complained a few months ago that he had phoned Buthelezi on at least 12 occasions, but the latter had refused to take his calls and the "ball was now in his court".

Buthelezi has consistently objected to ANC/government "collusion" and bilateral decisions.

But the ANC source said if there was no hope for the summit coming off then he would not be involved in the preparatory negotiations.

"There would be no purpose of negotiating for something that is not going to take place," he said.

28/12/92.

BILLY PADDOCK

Time overdue for firm leadership, says HSRC

B/DAY 28/12/92

B/DAY 28/12/92

(304 words)

RAY HARTLEY

THE time was long overdue for SA's political leaders to begin exercising firm leadership on the basis of achievable strategies, HSRC social dynamics GM Lawrence Schlemmer said in the December edition of the organisation's magazine Prospects.

"The process of political negotiation in SA is almost sublimely ambiguous and confusing. One week we appear to have deep and irreconcilable conflict; the next we appear to have political understanding," he said.

Many NP members had the impression that the ANC created crises and then won "more than its fair share of concessions", with government appearing to bend over backwards, he said.

Schlemmer said the ANC's sudden shift back to bilateral talks with government was unexpected.

"In some ways it is a positive feature of the current process. Both the NP and the ANC alliance have come from very different parts of the political spectrum.

"They carry with them fears, sensitivities and commitments which were firmly established in their party structures in the previous period of armed struggle and naked ideological and strategic antagonism."

Also writing in Prospects, Stellenbosch University international law professor Gerhard Erasmus said SA might need more international involvement to achieve a peaceful negotiated settlement.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Erasmus said mutual trust was lacking among the main political players in SA, and the resulting inability to reach agreement coupled with escalating violence had threatened both negotiations and regional peace.

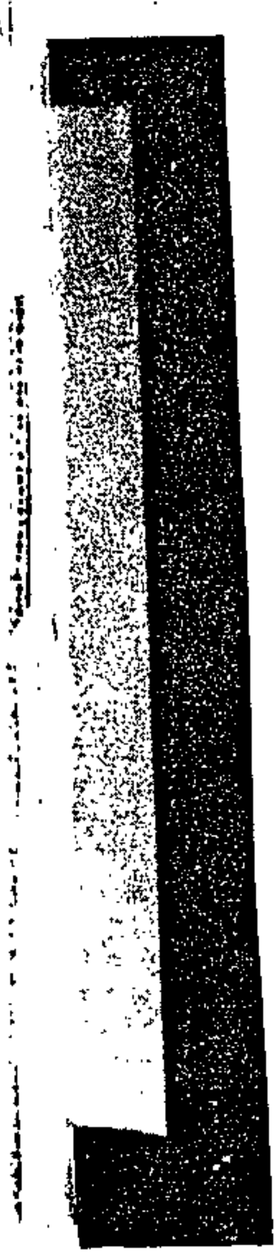
"This is the basis for international involvement. We need the international community to help us with our own efforts."

Monitoring could restore trust in the machinery of state which had been used to enforce apartheid in the past.

The escalating violence, however, could require a greater role by the international community.

The first elections would require extensive monitoring, and the registration of voters, campaigning, media access, polling and counting, would have to be free and without intimidation.

"Untag's success in Namibia has established a reputation of objectivity."



Work for Life starts job creation project

B/DAY 28/12/92

(135 words)

ROBERT WICKS

MORE than 7-million economically active South Africans have no recorded employment and about 450 000 new job seekers are entering the market each year, according to figures released by Work for Life Entrepreneurial Developments.

Work for Life has been launched by engineering firm Rutec to assist retrenched staff by creating community self-reliance.

Blue chip corporations, governments, international development aid agencies, banks, entrepreneurs and community organisations were being targeted in an ambitious job creation project which could see the establishment of half a million micro-enterprises in the next five years.

Rutec director Andre van Heerden said a successful programme had been implemented with Anglo Alpha, and a similar project was in the pipeline with Foskor for the new year.

Productivity centres in disadvantaged communities were established and then run by candidates with a genuine desire to work for community upliftment.

Extensive training in technical, business and marketing aspects was undertaken. Revenue was derived from technical and business training services, the marketing and distribution of appropriate technology and the supply of raw materials.

"Each centre operates as a franchise of Work for Life, training 100 people a month at a fee of R50 a course. From this it obtains 30 micro-enterprises at a set-up cost of around R4 000 each," said Van Heerden.

Rutec guaranteed an equipment buyback and ceded its shares in the centre to the investor for its exposure in the first year, Van Heerden said.

ANC condemns hot pursuit threats by govt

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC yesterday vehemently condemned government sources threatening hot pursuit raids into Transkei, claiming these would be used to harass the local community and disrupt the organisation's activities in the region.

And Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa yesterday warned President F W de Klerk against cross-border raids.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus was reacting to a report in the Sunday Star that an unnamed government source had threatened that SA security personnel would not honour any border protocols in tracking down alleged Apla members attacking whites in the eastern Cape.

He said the ANC "absolutely and in no uncertain terms" opposed any suggestions of cross-border raids.

Holomisa said yesterday an inquiry would investigate all claims that came before it.

He called on Newsweek magazine to provide such an inquiry with the agreement it reported between the Transkei Defence Force and Apla, in which the latter was allegedly given permission to use Transkei as a launching pad for attacks on whites in SA.

"I do not know about any agreement and until it has been investigated, and there is either proof or otherwise, I'm not prepared to discuss it," Holomisa said.

He said the SA government was welcome to go ahead with cross-border raids and he would "cross that bridge" when he came to it.

Holomisa said it was up to De Klerk to state clearly where he, as head of government, stood on the issue of cross-border raids.

"I want to warn De Klerk that we have many agreements that we have signed and if there is a violation of our border he will have to answer to that."

SUSAN RUSSELL reports that the NUM has accused SA security forces deployed on the Lesotho and Transkei borders of harassing and intimidating black miners.

NUM president James Motlatsi said in a statement that mineworkers were being subjected to searches, intimidation and harassment at roadblocks under the pretext of maintaining law and order in areas affected by the violence.

"While we understand the need to maintain law and order, we are however concerned when this is used in a manner which suggests that all blacks are criminals or offenders simply because of the colour of their skins," he said.

"The silence of the Lesotho government on this critical issue affecting people who are mainly responsible for the contribution to their economy is deafening."

Motlatsi added that the deployment of white mineworkers as police reservists to harass fellow black employees would damage relations between the two groups.

Zimbabweans lose cars in sales scam

implemented this yea

Ivor Sarakinsky examines De Klerk's purge in the context of similar activities in Algeria

Blocking road to democracy

STAR 28/12/92

PRESIDENT de Klerk's acknowledgement that members of the SADF have engaged in illegal activities designed to hinder the transition to democracy confirms what many have for some time suspected.

Subterranean networks within the security services, set up during the reign of P W Botha and his inner-circle of Total Strategists, pursued a private agenda in a changed national and international political environment.

The Algerian experience sheds some light on these revelations. Its path to independence was the subject of intense analysis in South African military academies and strategic studies institutes. Also, the formulation of the Total Strategy doctrine owes much to the French military and the events surrounding the struggle for independence.

Coincidentally, in the late 1950s, Magnus Malan and Nelson Mandela were in Algeria — the former training with the French forces under General Beaufre while the latter was canvassing the Algerian National Liberational Front for support.

More importantly, the similarities between the path to Algeria's independence and South Africa's passage to democracy are startling. In both cases, a white elite with European settler origins attempted to maintain its political dominance and economic privilege over the indigenous population, resulting in protracted wars.

Furthermore, negotiated settlements unexpectedly emerged as the means for the resolution of these bitter conflicts.

The Goldstone Commission's uncovering of the Directorate of Covert Collection as well as the exposure of Project Echoes, authorised by the Chief of the Army, General Meiring, to compromise the ANC, marked the opening of a Pandora's box of dirty tricks.

After swift investigations, De Klerk announced that a number of high-ranking SADF officers as well as associated civilians were engaged in illegal activities aimed at "delaying a new dispensation" while "promoting conflict".

In Algeria, when it became clear that the French authorities had begun negotiating with representatives from the FLN, the military mounted a major rear-guard action. As it had increasingly been drawn into the governing of Algeria during the conflict, it resented being sidelined. Coups were plotted to seize control from the politicians and when they failed, numerous underground movements emerged. The first meeting between the French authorities and the FLN was overshadowed by a concerted campaign of reactionary urban sabotage.

The most infamous of these groups was the Organisation Armèe Secreête. It comprised former paratroop commanders and high-ranking officers all trained in covert warfare. In the words of Alistair Horne, author of "A Savage War of Peace" — a definitive account of Algeria's struggle for independence — the OAS used their collective skills to "render peace talks impossible by killing off the remaining men of good will, the moderates of both sides, and by random outrages against the Muslim population which would create an atmosphere in which neither negotiation nor compromise could exist".

As the politicians moved closer to granting Algeria independence, the OAS began to attack civilians and elements within the French Army in Algeria and France. It was only through decisive action that the authorities were able to decapitate the movement.

Ironically, the activities of the OAS accelerated the pace of change as both parties soon realised that the costs of delaying a settlement were too high. Many OAS members were never captured and sporadic acts of violence in Algeria and France continued for some time after Algeria became independent.

The covert tentacles of the SADF units and their civilian accomplices were set in place in 1988 (CCB) and (DCC). At the peak of the state of emergency, these units had carte blanche to act against those that they defined as enemies of the state.

The institutions associated with the National Security Management System were engaged primarily in co-ordinating security and resources for township upgrading to win the hearts and minds of residents. This same strategy influenced military thinking in Algeria after the armed wing of the FLN was destroyed.

In South Africa, the political changes that came during and after 1990 did not penetrate the covert forces. Brought up on Total Strategy, they could not accept an accord with their enemies, and identified with the right wing.

Whereas the OAS raised its funds through official channels and bank heists, the covert networks in South Africa, according to former managing director of the CCB, Colonel Joe Verster, had access to R100 million from secret defence accounts to destabilise a future government.

Covert action over a two-year period had already strained the negotiation process. Mandela's attack on De Klerk at Codesa for not controlling the security forces shattered their personal relationship and almost caused the collapse of the first phase of negotiations. Continuing allegations have partially bedevilled talks since then and now, finally, it appears as if a major stumbling block in the way of negotiations has been removed.

Violence, fomented by covert action, has exacerbated the economic recession and reduced South Africa's appeal as a centre for international investment. With unemployment and crime at record highs, a sense of realism has permeated the minds of the politicians and there is consensus on the need for a speedy settlement.

In revealing the existence of, and acting against, illegal activities within the SADF, De Klerk has, at one level, been able to nip in the bud plots to abort democracy in South Africa.

Whether the covert forces have been able to establish viable and self-supporting front companies so that they can continue their destabilisation campaigns remains to be seen. □



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FW pledges a '93 of progress

ST 28/12/92 (3049)

PRETORIA. — The government is determined to make 1993 a year of fundamental progress and breakthrough, President F W de Klerk said in his Christmas and New Year's message.

He said greater clarity on how this would be achieved would emerge early next year.

Acknowledging the prevalence of crime, violent deaths and social and political uncertainty, Mr De Klerk vowed that the government would not capitulate to radicalism and that it would "continue to govern the country with all the means at its disposal" until its reform objectives had been achieved.

The government would be taking the lead to achieve a rapid movement, through multi-party negotiations, towards a government of national unity.

He urged the public not to yield to despondency. The land and people had much potential.

South Africans should reconcile themselves to the irreversibility of the reform process.

The country now had the opportunity of emerging from years of bitterness and division. — Sapa

ARCHBISHOP Desmond Tutu is optimistic about peace in South Africa in the new year.

In his Christmas and New Year's message, he called for an end to violence and condemned the threat of further Apla attacks.

He said the country's future remained bright in spite of violence and an ailing economy. — Sapa

ANC/IFP summit to go ahead

HE 304A CT 28/12/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The important summit between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi is to go ahead. Delegations preparing for the meeting are hoping to set a date tomorrow when they meet for the second time.

Sources in both parties confirmed that they were "very confident" about how preparations were proceeding, with the ANC negotiator saying the summit "would definitely happen" and that it was just a matter of time.

Inkatha national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said he was hopeful that a date could be set tomorrow. But he cautioned that the problems were not superficial and while only two meetings were scheduled, the delegations could decide to hold further talks to prepare the ground.

The ANC source said it was "vital that the summit of delegations headed by the respective leaders succeeds.

"We have to ensure success. If we do not prepare a strong foundation for the summit to succeed, there will be problems and we do not believe the country needs to see it fail at this stage," he said.

He said the negotiations were extremely tough with the two delegations looking for a way through the two major problem areas: Mr Mandela's demand that Chief Buthelezi accept the record of understanding between himself and President F W de Klerk concluded in September; and Inkatha's adoption of the "go-it-alone" federal option.

Dr Mdlalose said the first meeting last month was "very encouraging" and progress was made with "a great deal of goodwill".

Neither side was prepared to divulge details of the talks.

Relations between the parties, especially in Natal, have been bad for most of the year with both leaders blaming each other for the escalating violence and communicating with one another through media statements.

One of the events most damaging to the already tense relationship was Mr Mandela's address to the UN where he labelled Inkatha as a puppet of Pretoria.

Mr Mandela complained a few months ago that he had phoned Chief Buthelezi on at least 12 occasions but the latter had refused to take his calls and the "ball was now in his court".

But Chief Buthelezi has objected consistently to ANC/government collusion and making bilateral decisions affecting parties which were not included in talks.

ARG 29/12/92

Cautious Inkatha, ANC go on with talks

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC and IFP were cautiously optimistic that today's meeting between the two parties would set a date and agenda for a summit between their leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC was aiming for tangible conclusions on a Mandela/Buthelezi summit to secure peace between the two parties and get constitutional negotiations back on track.

The ANC did not want the talks to be purely "ceremonial". There would be no point in continuing a series of preparatory summit talks if they did not produce concrete results, Mr Niehaus said.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said in a radio interview that he expected the preparatory meeting to continue clearing whatever obstacles remained in the way of the summit.

He cautioned, however, that the obstacles were not superficial.

Dr Mdlalose is to lead the IFP delegation and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma will front the ANC team.

Neither the ANC nor the IFP would divulge the agenda for today's talks or the venue, but it is believed the teams will meet at a hotel in Durban.

Today's meeting follows an earlier "seven-a-side" meeting between the two organisations.

Gold, red, green for new flag?

PRETORIA. — South Africa's new national flag is unlikely to be a pink and circular — but that is just about where consensus ends. Writing in the Human Sciences Research Council journal Prospects, HSRC cultural studies unit researcher Mr Charles Malan has made some suggestions.

He said few leaders seemed to be in favour of retaining the present flag, and said a new flag containing yellow/gold, red and green should prove the most popular.

"It is logical that communalities should primarily be sought as regards colour preferences."

The most popular heraldic colours and colour combinations were green and yellow/-gold (ANC, PAC, IFP, Springboks, Zion Christian Church). Then came black and yellow/-gold (PAC, ANC, IFP, Azapo) and orange (national flag, NP).

In addition, an indigenous African tradition of heraldry had developed and features such as the hide-bound shield, spear and knobkerrie, and animals such as the leopard and elephant might be incorporated in a flag design.

Mr Malan said there were strong arguments for adopting Nkosi Sikelel i'Afrika as the new national anthem. It was widely accepted in Southern Africa because it was a prayer without political references. — Sapa

304A CT 29/12/92

'NP's indecent haste to blame'

JOHANNESBURG. — The NP government's "indecent haste" to hand over power to the ANC/SACP alliance was the main reason for the country's economic decline, the CP said yesterday.

"Nobody in their right mind would invest in a country which registers a 'growth' rate of minus four percent," CP spokesman on economic affairs Mr Daan Nolte said.

He said the coming budget would reflect the failure of the government's bankrupt "welfare state" and its revenue shortfall. — Sapa

Govt reneging on Codesa — LP

304A
GT 29/12/92

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Labour Party leader Mr Allan Hendrickse yesterday accused the government of reneging on the Declaration of Intent adopted at Codesa, and of bringing the country to the brink of total disaster.

Opening the LP's 27th annual congress, Mr Hendrickse said government intransigence had brought the negotiation process to a standstill.

Viewing the future of the party Mr Hendrickse said it was ironic that with legislated apartheid now generally a thing of the past, "we should be debating whether a largely ethnic party should continue to exist".

At a time when "we should be celebrating victory, we are worrying about who will represent the coloured people in a future government".

Mr Hendrickse said this illustrated just how difficult it would be to break down all ethnic barriers and "see that we are all South Africans".

"We need a government of national salvation if we are to have any hope of dragging our country back from the abyss of civil war."

Calling for a government of national salvation made up of a broad spectrum of political parties, he said this was necessary to create the kind of stability needed to attract substantial foreign investment.

He said it was "nonsense to talk of a government of national unity".

The ravages of apartheid over the past 40 years "have ensured we will not be able to speak of a unified nation for generations to come", he said.

Mr Hendrickse warned that the NP might be planning a new form of co-option, adding that no minority regime had ever willingly handed over power to the majority.

"Do you really believe that a party which has so persistently denied us our rights, done everything in its power to advantage whites at the expense of others, is now prepared to hand over power?"

Labour Party Durban Suburbs MP Mr Luwellyn Landers yesterday warned that any new government would have no option but to institute "Nuremberg-style trials", if President F W de Klerk did not disclose the truth about all covert activities.

Mr Landers said a future government would be honour-bound to establish the truth about projects which had been aimed at the liberation movement.

Labour Party rejects NP alliance

PORT ELIZABETH — Labour Party leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse has called for the formation of a "government of national salvation" to save SA from political and economic ruin.

Opening the party's 27th annual conference yesterday, he said it was "nonsense" to speak of a government of national unity because the legacy of division caused by apartheid would remain for generations to come.

A government made up of a broad spectrum of political parties would create the kind of stability needed to attract foreign investment.

Hendrickse warned that the NP would not willingly hand over power.

Pointing the way to the Labour Party's future, Hendrickse urged the party to reject any alliance with the NP because of its history of apartheid and racism.

"Don't make the mistake that so-called coloureds and Indians made in Zimbabwe and Namibia. Your future lies with your brothers and sisters in the struggle," he said to applause.

Hendrickse sharply attacked the media, particularly the SABC, for subjecting his party to "the most pernicious misinformation and disinformation".

He called for an international commission to supervise the media during the run-up to a nonracial election.

Cosatu president John Gomomo warned of renewed mass action in the new year if government increased taxes.

"We are not going to accept government manipulating and misusing our taxes," Gomomo said.

During a debate on the future of the party yesterday Labour appeared set to continue as a separate entity — at least for the immediate future — but in a closer alliance with other members of the patriotic front, reports our Political Staff.

But the decision is unlikely to be unanimous, and there are signs of further defections.

Speaking in support of an alliance with the ANC, Northern Cape MP Desmond Lockey said the LP should form joint structures with other members of the patriotic front at local and regional level to pool resources and "fight the NP".

Earlier, Riversdal MP Dougie Josephs called for the retention of the status quo, stating that people should not be "ashamed" to be coloured.

The coloured people were a reality, he said.

ANC Eastern Cape chairman Linda Mti and Raymond Mhlaba of the SACP called for unity of "the oppressed" and pledged their organisations' support for the Labour Party. — Sapa.

Mandela, Buthelezi talks closer

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The long-awaited face-to-face peace talks between ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a bid to stop the on-going carnage was taken a step further yesterday.

However, no date has yet been set for the meeting.

After a day-long meeting in an hotel here, delegates from the two groups agreed to set up four ad hoc committees to "expedite and accelerate the convening of the meeting between the two leaders".

The committees, due to meet on January 15, would prepare proposals on a climate for free political activity, the militarisation of politics in South Africa, the implementation of various accords such as the ANC/IFP accord signed on January 29 last year and the structures of the National Peace Accord.

ANC delegation leader Mr Jacob Zuma and Dr Frank Mdlalose, leader of the IFP delegation, said the meeting was conducted in a "frank and cordial atmosphere".

"Our discussions continued to demonstrate that it is possible and necessary to resolve the various matters which have led to conflict between the two organisations," they said.

Promise of New

STAR 30/12/92. 304

The sour joke of 1992 had it that there was at least one growth industry in South Africa: politics. The year in politics has been conducted at breakneck speed, with major developments following one another so closely that June's sensation was forgotten by July. The Star's Political Staff provides a month-by-month run-down of 1992, the year of sound and fury — and not all that much evident movement towards the "New South Africa".

JANUARY: Working groups, two "Parliaments", and the arrival of Apla

Bombs go off at Transvaal platteland schools that are about to admit blacks.

The PAC refuses to condemn the murder of policemen by Apla.

Codesa's five working groups start negotiating transitional arrangements.

President de Klerk opens the



January . . . De Klerk opens Parliament.

1992 session of Parliament, repeating his commitment to a transitional government; the ANC holds a protest "People's Parliament" outside.

De Klerk and Nelson Mandela are awared the Houphouet-Boigny Peace Prize.

FEBRUARY: Wooing the world, the fall of Potch, and progress in talks

De Klerk, Mandela and Chief Buthelezi present an image of unity to the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

Mandela promises foreign investors they need not fear nationalisation.

The ANC accepts the Government's idea of a constituent assembly which also acts as an interim legislature.

The Conservative Party wins a landslide by-election victory in Potchefstroom. De Klerk announces the "reform referendum".

MARCH: Codesa progresses, whites vote yes, the VAT debate boils

Codesa proposes a "transitional executive council".

De Klerk gets a landslide referendum victory.

Barend du Plessis presents Parliament with a R100 billion Budget. Petrol goes up, and VAT is to be extended to basic foodstuffs. Mandela threatens mass action if VAT on foods is

pue du

The Department of Development Aid is scrapped.

APRIL: CP splits, Nelson leaves Winnie, and Barend leaves politics

Wonderboom MP Koos Botha is expelled from the CP for advocating negotiations for a smaller volkstaat. He later admits he bombed a school.

Twenty-three people are killed in an attack on an IFP stronghold in Crossroads squatter camp near Katlehong.

The SADF's 32 Battalion rampages through Phola Park squatter camp.

PAC leaders meet the Government outside SA.

Mandela and his wife Winnie separate. Winnie resigns as



April . . . Winnie and Nelson Mandela split.

head of ANC social welfare but stays on the NEC.

Five DP MPs join the ANC.

Police captain Brian Mitchell is sentenced to death for ordering the Trust Feed killings.

De Klerk announces that the NIS, the SAP and the SADF have terminated all special secret projects, and that effective Cabinet control of other secret projects has been established.

Du Plessis resigns from politics, citing fatigue.

Overvaal MP Koos van der Merwe is expelled from the CP.

MAY: Cabinet shuffle, toilets in the veld, and the collapse of Codesa

Roelf Meyer becomes Minister of Constitutional Development; Gerrit Viljoen Minister of State

ver

New Nation publishes the alleged "Goniwe death signal".

De Klerk orders the re-opening of the Goniwe inquest.

Codesa 2 deadlocks, despite agreement on a wide range of issues.

Government widens the scope of conscientious objection.

Mr Justice Goldstone tables his second interim report pointing at ANC/IFP rivalry and security force complicity as causes of violence. He recommends that hostels be fenced and patrolled, and the carrying of dangerous weapons should be outlawed.

The ANC's national policy conference resolves to embark on mass action if the Government does not give in to demands for interim government and a constituent assembly.

JUNE: Boipatong, talks called off, and the entry of the UN

The Johannesburg City Council agrees to take over the administration of Soweto.

The ANC alliance announces details of its mass action campaign.

The hospital strike affects 17 hospitals, involving 12 000 strikers.

At least 39 people die in the Boipatong massacre.

De Klerk announces a special session of Parliament for October.

The Melamet Commission reports gross irregularity in the Multilateral Motor Vehicles Insurance Fund.

De Klerk visits Boipatong but is hounded out by protesters.

The ANC breaks off all constitutional negotiations with the Government and presents a list of 14 demands.

Mr Justice Goldstone ap-



points international assessors.

UN Secretry-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali accepts the Government's invitation to try to resolve the negotiations impasse.

The ANC says it will allow already-arranged sport events to go ahead under certain conditions.

The Government sends a memo to the ANC softening some of its Codesa 2 negotiating positions.

JULY: Cyrus Vance, Jonathan Gluckman, and the Saccola talks

De Klerk announces impending action on hostels and weapons, and the disbanding of Koevoet, 31 and 32 Battalions.

The UN security council passes Resolution 765 calling for special envoy Cyrus Vance to visit South Africa.

Cosatu and Saccola express optimism about reaching an accord and averting a general strike; talks break down.

Neil van Heerden steps down as Director-General of Foreign Affairs.

A report by a British police expert finds the SAP's handling of the Boipatong massacre "woefully inadequate".

Private pathologist Jonathan Gluckman says "out of control" policemen are killing people in custody. Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel orders an internal inquiry.

AUGUST: General strike, the Hammer unit, and au revoir SAP generals

The two-day general strike begins. Millions stay away.

Five CP MPs resign to form the Afrikaner Volksunie.

Andre de Villiers is murdered on his farm in Addo after giving newspapers information about the activities of an alleged SADF unit called Hammer.

The Government says 13 police generals are to be retired early and black generals are to be promoted.

Finance Minister Derek Keys announces that 30 000 civil service jobs are to be cut to reduce government spending.

SA evaporates

planned legislation for the special session of Parliament.

The Government and ANC reach a wide-ranging Record of Understanding which includes agreement on an elected constituent assembly, and action on prisoners, weapons and hostels.

Buthelezi fiercely rejects the Record of Understanding and withdraws the IFP from negotiations.

The Bophuthatswana and Ciskei Governments and the CP join the IFP in forming the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag).

Barend Strydom, Robert McBride and others are released on parole; many other prisoners are freed.

The ANC announces it will rejoin negotiations.

OCTOBER: Lucky, Gerrit, the Indemnity Bill, and more massacres

Lucky Malaza, released in error, declines an "invitation" to return to jail.

De Klerk gives a qualified apology for apartheid; then delivers a tough speech at the start of the special parliamentary session.

Six Labour Party MPs defect to the DP.

The Constitution Amendment Bill to allow blacks and other non-MPs to be Cabinet Ministers is passed at the second attempt.

The controversial Further Indemnity Bill is defeated in Parliament.

The ANC accepts responsibility for abuse of detainees, and undertakes to appoint another commission to identify the guilty individuals.

Gunmen shoot dead 20 IFP supporters and injure 27 at Mpuchini, Natal. Police speculate it is a revenge killing for the murder of six ANC supporters in nearby Folweni.

ANC Natal Midlands deputy leader Reggie Hadebe is assassinated.

Gerrit Viljoen retires from politics. De Klerk shuffles his Cabinet again.

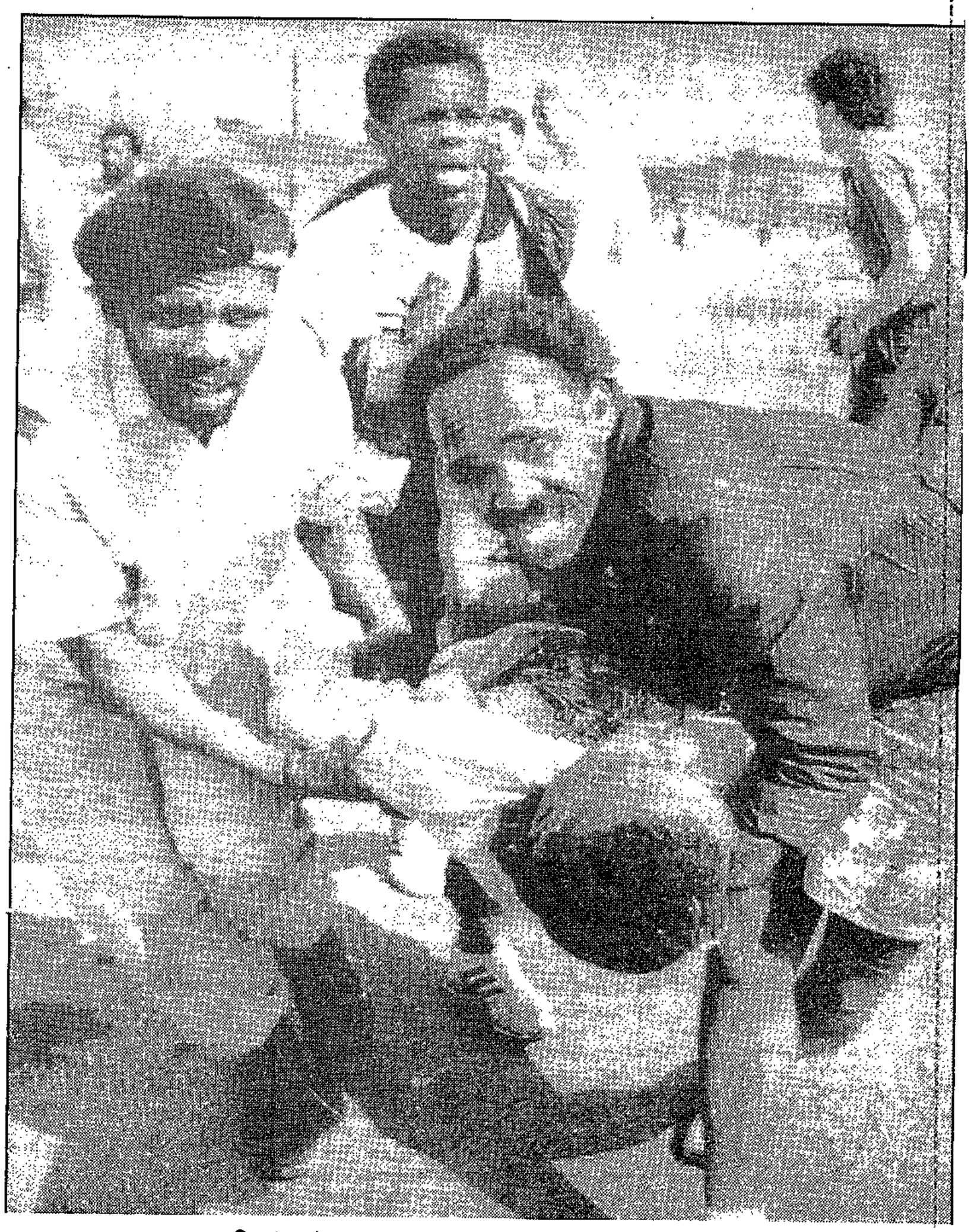
De Klerk doubles troops in Natal, and accuses the ANC of infiltrating weapons.

More than 200 policemen have been killed this year.

Government, labour and business agree to launch a National Economic Forum.

The President's Council approves the Further Indemnity Bill.

NOVEMBER: More corruption, the Goldstone raid



September . . . at least 29 people die at Bisho.



September . . . Chief Buthelezi breaks off talks.

or April 1994.

In an alleged Apla attack, four whites die and 17 others are wounded at King William's Town golf club.

DECEMBER: KwaNatal, bosberaads, the SADF purge, and farmers' fury

The KwaZulu legislature adopts a draft constitution for a KwaZulu/Natal region in a future South African federation.

ANC and Government negotiators meet for a "bosberaad" at a secret northern Transvaal venue.

Government calls off bilateral talks with the PAC.

The SADF unveils a short-service Permanent Force system paving the way for the phasing out of national service.

The SADF cuts its staff by 6 000 members.

The CP "calls up" its supporters to help counter Apla's campaign.

Kriel critisises Gluckman's allegations; Gluckman calls the police report "inadequate".

Lucky Malaza is arrested on theft charges and then freed on bail.

Eugene TerreBlanche says the AWB is preparing for a full-

hopes for ...

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe retires from politics.

The De Meyer Commission report exposes gross corruption in Lebowa.

Witnesses allege at the Webster inquest that former CCB agent Ferdi Barnard had admitted to taking part in the academic's murder.

Mr Justices M T Steyn, M H Moll and R A Solomon are appointed to the National Council on Indemnity.

The Parsons Commission Report on KwaNdebele discloses serious irregularities.

The SADF's "Project Echoes" is exposed; a plan allegedly launched this year with the approval of army chief General Georg Meiring to discredit the ANC.

The fourth Report of the Van den Heever Commission reveals corruption in the Department of Education and Training.

Government releases 42 political prisoners under the Record of Understanding, bringing the total to 153.

Mr Justice Goldstone announces that his commission raided an SADF MI unit and seized files showing MI last year launched a campaign to discredit the ANC.

The existence of the Directorate for Covert Collection (DCC) is revealed.

Mr Justice Goldstone asks for support in investigating all armed forces, official and private, in and outside SA.

De Klerk appoints SADF Chief of Staff Lieutenant-General Pierre Steyn to take charge of all SADF intelligence functions including MI, and to probe them for irregularities.

The ANC alliance endorses Joe Slovo's proposal that the ANC share power with the Government even after the period of interim government.

Mandela and Buthelezi agree in principle on a meeting.

De Klerk announces a proposed timetable for transition with a resumption of multiparty negotiations by the end of March 1993 and elections for an interim government in March

De Klerk rejects Buthelezi's plan for a KwaZulu/Natal region.

A bomb, allegedly placed by Apla, kills one and injures several at a Queenstown steakhouse.

Mandela says the Apla attacks will not derail the negotiation process.

De Klerk meets Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo for the first time since the signing of the Record of Understanding.



September . . . Robert McBride is released.

PAC second deputy president Dikgang Moseneke resigns.



December . . . Dikgang Moseneke quits the PAC.

De Klerk announces the compulsory retirement and suspension of 23 SADF intelligence officers.

Kriel declares 23 unrest areas in the eastern Cape and Free State.

He and two other Ministers are heckled by irate Free State farmers. □

Kobie Coetsee announces an extension of the moratorium on hanging.

Du Plessis backs down on VAT zero-rating.

Affairs. Derek Keys takes c Finance, Gene Louw Defence.

The Pickard report on Development Aid reveals massive fraud.



June . . . Boutros Boutros-Ghali steps in.



June . . . at least 39 people die in the Boipatong massacre.

SEPTEMBER: Bisho, Mandela's olive branch, and the Record of Understanding

Ciskei Defence Force soldiers open fire with live ammunition on ANC alliance marchers at Bisho, killing at least 24 and injuring 198.

Mandela says in an interview with The Star that a resumption of negotiations is urgent.

De Klerk announces his



August . . . Derek Keys slashes civil service.

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Stop-start build-up to the year of reckoning

STAR 30/12/92 (304A)

In determining South Africa's future, negotiations are the only political game in town. The process had a rough ride in 1992, says ESTHER WAUGH, but there are hopes that 1993 will be different.

WHEN Codesa 1 closed in December 1991 there was widespread optimism that 1992 would see South Africa keep its date with destiny: interim government was to be implemented, and the country's political structure was to change forever.

Well, it didn't turn out quite like that. An extraordinary blur of events (detailed on this page) saw to it that in terms of progress in negotiations for a new system, the year was one of political water-treading. Disappointed observers remarked as December 1992 drew to a close that talks were not much further advanced than they had been a year before.

Now there is consensus that 1993 *has* to be the year of reckoning. The two central players, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, have said so openly. If there is not some form of interim government in 1993, they will have failed to deliver on their promises to the nation.

But in order to prepare ourselves for this decisive year, it is an instructive exercise to look back at what went right — and wrong — in 1992.

It was Codesa 1 in December 1991 which provided the breakthrough for official multiparty negotiations. At Codesa 1 — after a series of bilateral Accords and Minutes — 17 political groups committed themselves to an undivided South Africa by signing the historic Declaration of Intent.

Although the Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana government did not sign the document then, the IFP did sign an addendum to the declaration at Codesa 2 in May.

The negotiation forum was boycotted by the Pan Africanist Congress, Azapo, and right-wing groups. In spite of several meetings between the Government and some of these groups, there is still no indication if and when they will join multiparty talks.

Out of Codesa 1, attended by almost 400 delegates, emerged a labyrinthine structure with a secretariat, administration and five working groups.

They got down to work on February 6 and in the last four months several of the working groups appointed sub-committees to handle specific difficult issues as they arose.

As the weeks dragged on 380 delegates — some of whom sit in Parliament and have to fly back and forth — met regularly at the World Trade Centre. It was a saga of optimism, breakthroughs, setbacks, disagreements, deadlocks and dogged determination.

Every week the parties tabled and debated documents dealing with wide-ranging subjects.

After the failure of Codesa 2 in May — primarily because the ANC and Government could not agree on the rules surrounding the writing of the new constitution — the negotiation process hit a new low since talks-about-talks began in May 1990.

The ANC and Government agreed relatively easily on the first phase of the transition — who would govern the country until elections were held for a constitution-making body (CMB).

But, in spite of the fact that both sides agreed on the need for an elected CMB, the main stumbling block at Codesa 2 was that they could not reach agreement on who would write the new constitution.

The negotiation process sputtered and finally stalled when the ANC broke off bilateral and Codesa talks as a result of the Boipatong massacre. This move once again threw into sharp relief the fact that the ANC and Government were the key players in the process.

The ANC then issued 14 demands — focusing on transition arrangements and violence — which the Government would have to meet before the ANC would return to formal negotiations.

A flurry of letters was the only communication between the two sides during July and August.

The first break in the stalemate came with the arrival of United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance, who tried to broker a deal on the release of remaining political prisoners between the Government and ANC.

His report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali led to the first meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

After a three-day NEC meeting at the beginning of September, the ANC leadership decided that the discussions were "incomplete" and the Government had not yet implemented "practical steps" to deal with the violence and political prisoners.

The process only really began to climb out of the doldrums after the Bisho massacre in September following intervention by ANC leader Nelson Mandela in a conciliatory interview with The Star.

Ironically, it was the violence which brought the Government and ANC together again at the violence summit on September 26 where they signed the Record of Understanding.

The summit re-established fully fledged bilateral negotations and the two sides agreed on the banning of dangerous weapons, security measures at hostels and the release of political prisoners.

But, the IFP angrily broke off talks with the Government as a result of the ANC/Government agreement.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi teamed up with Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie and has demanded a conference of review of the Record of Understanding.

However, the Government and ANC agreed at a "bosberaad" earlier this month that agreements reached at Codesa would not be reviewed.

Thus the process had, in a sense, come full circle in the 12-month period. The progress made within Codesa was "on hold" — and it was still unclear whether agreements reached then could simply be dusted off when multiparty talks got under way again.

Certainly, the opposition from the IFP and other groups strengthened — but so did the commitment of the Government and ANC to forge ahead at all costs.

The stage was set for the resumption of talks — if De Klerk and Mandela could sustain their new-found unity on the urgency of restarting the stalled transition. □

Elections top priority for new year, says Mandela

STAR 31/12/92

By Bronwyn Wilkinson (304A)

The core challenge set by the events this year was the holding of free and fair democratic elections for a constituent assembly, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his New Year message last night.

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

The ANC's demand for a democratic election was based on the urgency with which South Africa needed to address its economic crisis.

The world stood ready to support SA with aid, investment and sporting and cultural exchanges, but would only do so with a "democratically elected, legitimate government representative of all South Africans".

The extent of the disregard for black life had been underscored by the almost hysterical response to the recent killing of whites in King William's Town, Queenstown and Ficksburg when almost 15 000 blacks had lost their lives in violence.

He said violence was the greatest disaster South Africa had faced in 1992.

"The acknowledgement by President de Klerk of the involvement in the violence by senior SADF officers confirms the efforts to destabilise the negotiation process and the ANC."

The other problem South Africans had grappled with in 1992 was negotiations.

A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission had to be set up in the new year.

October election — PAC

(30/1)
CT 31/12/92

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

A REVAMPED negotiations forum could be set up by February and elections for a constituent assembly held by October next year, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday in his New Year's message.

Mr Makwetu said his organisation remained committed to the decisions taken by the Patriotic Front in 1991 and remained ready to discuss with other parties ways to set up an elected constituent assembly.

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

Mr Makwetu said 1992 had been a year of contrasts between:

● Promises of peace and the grim realisation of violence.

● Promises of democracy and continued minority rule.

● Promises of economic recovery while in reality the economy continued its downward slide.

If the government had frozen the R6 billion earmarked for covert military activities in the South African budget it would have gone a long way to ending political violence and curbing government overspending, he said.

"Savings through these measures could have been directed towards African entrepreneural growth in the manufacturing trade in order to bring interim relief to millions through job creation ventures."

The PAC was worried about possible tax hikes next year which would only increase state revenue and would not be protected against "ill-disciplined government overspending", Mr Makwetu said.

● The past year had been one of betrayal for black South Africans, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said in his New Year's message yesterday.

"There can be no happiness and prosperity where there is wholesale betrayal of of the fundamental aspirations of the black majority," he said.

He accused President F W de Klerk of trying to get blacks to sign their own death warrants through bi-lateral talks and the "infamous" Codesa negotiating forum.

● Reconciliation should displace violence as the order of the day in 1993, acting chairman of the Solidarity Party and Ministers' Council in the House of Delgates, Mr Baldeo Dookie, said in his New Year's message.

Testing year ahead for local politicians

STAR 31/12/92 · (304A)

Behind the scenes in 1992, often without any fanfare, progress was being made in negotiations at municipal level, reports Local Government Reporter LOUISE MARSLAND.

THE mammoth task of preparing for elections for new local political and administrative structures in 1994 awaits Government and local government authorities and civic organisations in the new year.

Last March, the then Minister of Local Government and National Housing, Leon Wessels, announced an end to all racially based municipal elections and postponed all local government elections until an interim solution could be found.

Government and the SA National Civic Organisation agreed in November to establish a national forum on local government in the new year to deal with the long-term restructuring of municipal authorities on a nonracial basis.

Next year has been described by new Local Government and Local Affairs Minister Dr Tertius Delport as a "make-or-break" period for local government in South Africa.

Problems high on the Government's local agenda include: the large debts facing black local authorities and the many rent and service tariff boycotts; the swift establishment of joint administrations, as the country can no longer afford duplicate structures; and the need to strike a balance between the needs of developed areas and undeveloped areas in cities and towns.

Government will also investigate the feasability of local government structures and administration in the Transvaal platteland in the coming months.

Next June is the Government's deadline for all white local authorities to have entered into agreements to form joint administrations with black neighbours, or at least to have set up negotiating forums. Government is expected to get tough with those who cling to separate councils.



Tertius Delport . . . "1993 a make-or-break year"

The African National Congress and aligned civic associations continue to oppose such unilateral restructuring and will insist that new local government bodies be finalised at national level.

If Government persists, labour unrest at municipal level and mass action can be logically expected.

The Government's proposal of an extra vote for property owners in municipal elections will also be a major stumbling block next year in local government negotiations, as this is seen by some as effectively entrenching minority rights.

The Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber ended the year on a high note with the release of a blueprint for an interim democratic, nonracial, elected local government for Greater Johannesburg and Soweto.

The chamber proposed a 100-seat interim metropolitan authority to take over the functions, finances and jurisdiction of the existing Central Witwatersrand Regional Services Council and the chamber.

The chamber's recommendations meant that the civic associations were also back in constitutional negotiations.

An electoral commission will be set up by the chamber in the new year to draw up guidelines for interim local government elections.

Another of the Metropolitan Chamber's successes was the formulation of guidelines to deal with short-term crises in urbanisation and manage the transition process in the post-apartheid city.

An intensive investigation into the availability of vacant and undeveloped land on the outskirts of urban areas on the Reef for low-cost housing is continuing after the release of a chamber land audit in October.

The financial and administrative crisis facing the Soweto councils will also be finalised shortly, with a decision from the Administrator of the Transvaal expected before the end of the month.

The Johannesburg City Council is ready to provide services, on an agency basis and paid for by the CWRSC, to Diepmeadow and Soweto. An administrator for the two areas is likely to be appointed. □

Alliance 'could squeeze out NP'

B|DAY 31|12|92

304A

BILLY PADDOCK

THE Labour Party's congress decision to seek a closer alliance with the ANC and its alliance partners, the SACP and Cosatu, could see the NP squeezed out of the western Cape as a major contender in the first non-racial elections scheduled tentatively for the end of next year, politicians said.

At the same time, the decision places the DP and Labour at loggerheads as opponents competing for the "so-called coloured votes in the Cape", a Labour Party source said.

The decision, taken with another that forbade dual membership, would also pave the way for Labour MPs uncomfortable with an alliance with the ANC to cross the floor to the DP. There was strong support among some in the caucus favouring an alliance with the DP.

Raids

The source said the party had been squeezed badly as it was constituted as an ethnic party in terms of SA's constitution. It was also being subjected to "midnight raids for scalps from rival white parties, the DP and NP, to dominate parliamentary debates".

DP MP (Johannesburg North) Peter Soal confirmed his party would head-hunt Labour Party members to "ensure that we remain the official opposition in Parliament".

He said there was concern that the CP might gain a few new MPs.

The ANC welcomed the Labour Party's decision to seek a closer alliance, but said a decision about the kind of alliance would be up to the national working committee and negotiations between the tripartite alliance and the Labour Party.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus yesterday said the organisation had a great deal of sympathy for the Labour Party's congress decision which it saw in a "positive light"

However, the ANC would have to wait for a formal approach from the Labour Party to see what kind of alliance it wanted.

This would be discussed by the national working committee. Depending on that decision, negotiations between the tri-partite alliance and the Labour Party would follow.

He said the tripartite alliance was a close and formal alliance and there was a looser alliance through the patriotic front. The main criteria for a close alliance would be the extent of the party's commitment to the ANC's aims and objectives.

Figures released by the DP indicate that it is rapidly recruiting coloured members in the western Cape with branches growing from four at the beginning of the year to over 40.

There are indications that the ANC is not faring well in recruiting coloureds. A Labour Party alliance with the ANC would boost the alliance's chances greatly and might also stem the flow of members leaving the Labour Party to join the DP, a DP organiser said.

He said that the DP viewed the Cape, its strongest area, as the area it could dominate in regional elections.

Should the alliance plans bear fruit, there would be a strong battle and the NP would fade into third place, he said.

...Florence Cherry, was also shot ... investigation." — Sapa.

SA saturated with foreign observers — Idasa

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE profusion of international observers in SA had reached the point where observers attending a march or rally nearly outnumbered the participants, Idasa said in its Democracy in Action publication.

By the end of November this year, the UN had 50 full-time observers in SA, the Commonwealth Secretariat had 22 and the EC had 15, the Idasa report said.

UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said this week the UN would be sending a further 10 observers to SA, bringing its total to 60.

Boutros-Ghali said he had decided to send additional observers because "continued uncertainty over SA's future can only lead to further violence, instability and economic decline" B|DAY 31|12|92

The Idasa report said the OAU had also sent a task force, while the SA Council of Churches and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference were hosting up to five international church observers in SA.

"The obvious question is whether their presence will have any affect at all on the violence. From some recent experiences it seems that their role will be limited," the report said.

"While it is clear that there is a role to play in observing rallies and voting polls, local non-government organisations which are dealing with the violence believe that the monitors will have to do more than send reports back home."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha reacted strongly this week to a report on SA submitted by two UN envoys to the UN Security Council.

The envoys, Virendra Dayal and Tom Vraalsen, were critical of government on a number of counts including the existence of covert operations, lack of security at hostels and deficiencies in the police's ability to investigate serious crimes.

Botha said Boutros-Ghali was "not yet fully aware of all the relative aspects which make these problems difficult to resolve overnight".

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People's courts 'still widespread'

ADRIAN HADLAND

PEOPLE's courts and traditional forms of justice continue to operate widely in SA, says Idasa in its recent issue of Democracy in Action. B|DAY 31|12|92

Ronel Scheffer said "popular justice mechanisms in SA" included traditional courts, alternative dispute resolution centres and "the plethora of structures known as people's or community courts".

There was considerable pressure for some of these to become a permanent feature of SA's judicial system, Scheffer said.

"This revolves not so much around the ideal of bringing justice and dispute resolution closer to the people but rather how this could, and should, be realised practically."

Nicro's Lucas Malekane said people's courts were functioning daily in Cape Town's Khayelitsha township with the knowledge of the police and strong community support.

Malekane said matters before the courts ranged from petty theft and family disputes to murder cases.

Traditional leaders' organisation Contralesa president Patekile Holomisa reported widespread use of traditional courts in SA.

Scheffer said Idasa would be holding a national conference on people's courts and traditional forms of justice next year.

Race relations

■ Non-racial elections are among developments predicted for 1993

Sowetan 31/12/92

AFTER a glance into its crystal ball, the South African Institute of Race Relations has listed possible developments in South Africa for 1993 - including non-racial elections and the retrenchment of up to 40 000 public servants.

(304 A)

In a Press release, the SAIRR said other developments could include the long-awaited equalisation of old age pensions between the races and the introduction of legislation eliminating discrimination against women at work.

It said some developments worth watching included:

Whether South Africa's central government took over some of the functions of the administrations of the non-independent homelands.

Whether displaced communities, dissatisfied with the Advisory Commission on Land Allocation, reoccupied their land.

Whether non-racial elections were held before the end of 1993.

Whether between 30 000 and 40 000 public servants were retrenched in line with the general rationalisation of the public service.

On the economic front, the SAIRR suggested 1993 might see a return to tighter regulations in the issuing of taxi licences in an effort to reduce violence in the industry and that there might be deregulation in the liquor industry.

The Kassier Commission could recommend that the marketing boards' statutory agricultural powers should be removed and there could be more centralised bargaining over retrenchments.

The new year could possibly also see the commercialisation of State airports and air traffic. - *Sapa.*

Politics

There is great optimism among South Africans after their hopes in 1992 were washed away in blood, sweat and tears:

Sowetan 31/12/92

SOUTH Africans enter 1993 with no more than guarded optimism after their hopes were washed away in so much blood, sweat and tears in 1992.

While 1992 started off as the year during which everything would fall into place, things came apart and the country found itself in political and social chaos.

The optimism with which 1993 is greeted stems, perhaps, from vague promises that multi-party negotiations will resume by the end of February at a restructured Codesa.

Government is expected to complete a series of bi-lateral meetings with, among others, the Concerned South Africans Group and the ANC by the end of January when Parliament opens.

These talks are expected to lead to multi-party negotiations.

The restructured Codesa is expected to be a lot leaner and should shrink from a cumbersome 500 delegates, advisers and support staff to around 150.

Parliament and Codesa will again run simultaneously but with a greater amount of symbiosis - the one complementing the other.

Government still bears the responsibility to table a Budget and this will be done at the end of March.

Besides the mooted increase in petrol early in the year, next year's Budget will, as usual, contain good and bad news.

The bad news is that an increase in VAT is expected to be announced, while the good news is that greater, if not total, parity in the pensions between black and white people will be effected.

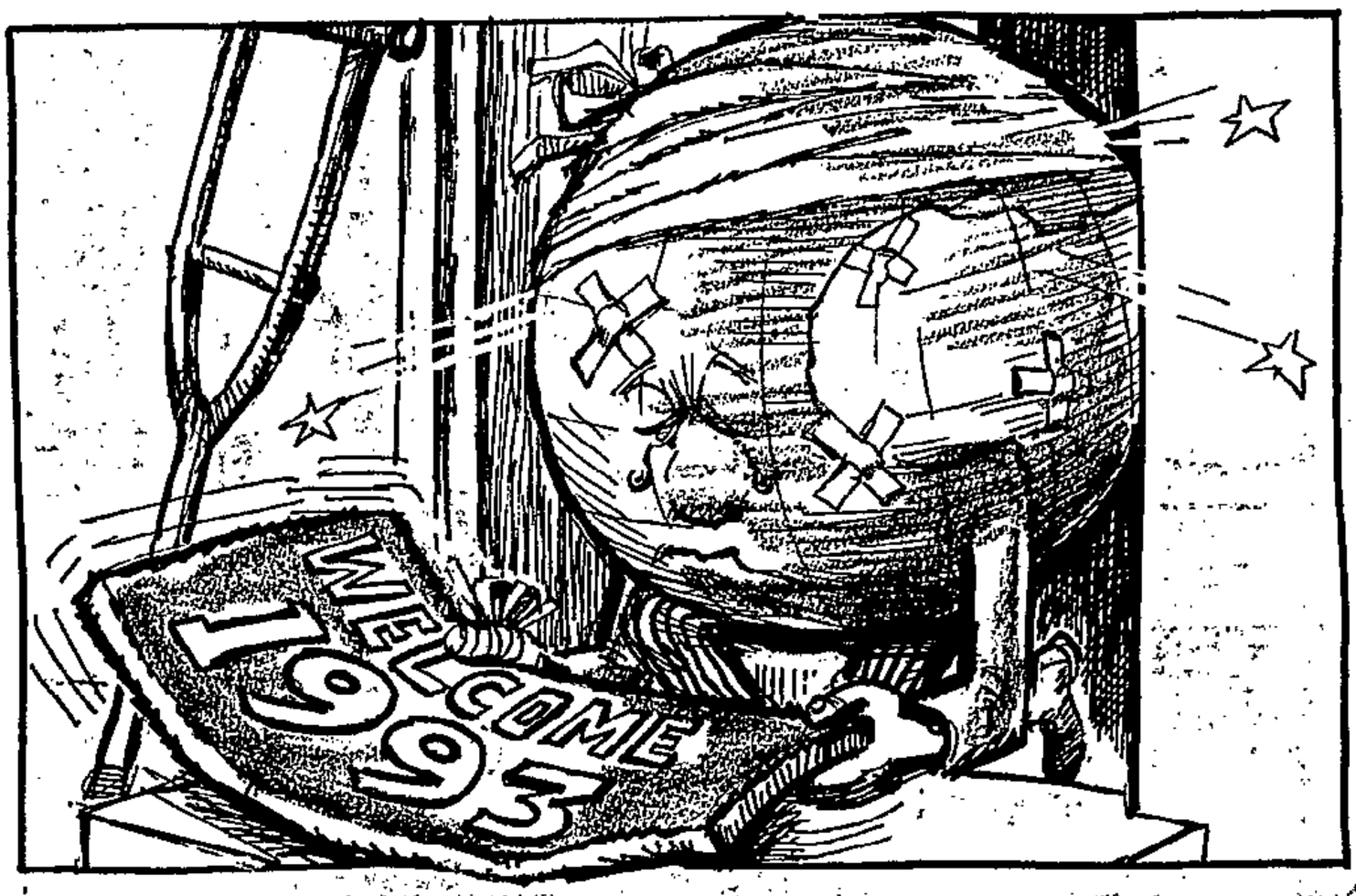
Parliament will next year also consider legislation to speed up the process of transition.

The ANC has prepared what it has called "The Transition to Democracy Act" which should establish the framework for legislation that Parliament will consider.

All of this amounts to relative agreement by the middle of next year and possibly the announcement of a date for elections to a constitution-making body or constituent assembly by the end of the year.

It has been reliably learnt that the Government has already made tentative enquiries to at least one European government about uniform identity documentation for all South Africans and which are aimed at the elections.

FOCUS *SA does not feature in top 20 news events of the world*



focus on news events

Sowetan 31/12/92

Most American have lost interest in South Africa as it slides into ruin and dismiss it as just another inept African country, writes Hugh Roberton:

WASHINGTON - South Africans have been preoccupied, understandably, by 1992's dispiriting harvest of massacres, terrorism, political crisis and corruption.

But much of the rest of the world appears to have lost interest in the country's turbulent journey towards change.

This week, for instance, the *Associated Press* released the results of its annual survey of what editors of America's 160 largest newspapers regarded as the year's top 10 news events.

Not a single event in South Africa made the list, and neither did the country feature in the 10 next most important news events.

A further 105 editors of the largest newspapers in 37 countries outside the US were asked for their opinion, and what was described somewhat generally as "South Africa's rocky road to ending apartheid" was scored eighth on the list of 10, getting one vote more than the riots in Los Angeles.

There has been other evidence that what we regarded as events of huge import in 1992 passed unnoticed outside the country. When the UN Security Council debated the Boipatong massacre, the event - including the speech of ANC president Nelson Mandela - was not even covered by New York's usually wide ranging newspapers.

The ANC's much vaunted investment conference in New York was ignored, the revelations of military involvement in political violence and President de Klerk's dismissal of senior officers was reported, though modestly and without comment.

The Ciskei massacre disappeared from newspapers within 48 hours, and Americans have yet to learn about revelations of financial corruption and mismanagement in the Government.

A fortnight ago, I was invited to participate in a widely viewed phone-in television programme on world events and was billed, repeatedly, as a South African correspondent.

But to my amazement, and that of the producers, not a single question on South Africa was put to me during the full 90 minutes I was on the box with national exposure.

The deluge of letters and phone calls that came my way from every corner of the US privately in the days following the show produced only two on South Africa, both from compatriots.

Have we become an obsessively inward looking nation, preoccupied by our own problems to the extent that our perspective is warped?

Hardly, since massacres, terrorism, political crises and corruption in high places are issues of the highest importance in any country.

More likely, however, is the disturbing conclusion that the world has grown weary of the seemingly endless ramifications of South Africa's political catharsis. Instead of being the one country that stands out from Africa's confusion and bloodshed, we risk being seen to fade into the general background of disaster; just another African casualty in the making on a continent whose corruption, repression, failed social engineering and propensity for violence, famine and disorder have thoroughly disillusioned the world.



Two people lie dead after being mowed down by unknown assassins in one of the violent attacks that make South one of the bloodiest countries in the world today. But this, according to world observers, does not warrant even a single line in the history books.

That may be an overwrought interpretation of the world's disinterest. Our problem may be that the new world order has produced a plethora of more pressing challenges.

For Americans, little is as important as the evolution of economic freedom and democracy in the former Soviet empire, including the prospect of US military involvement in what was Yugoslavia.

Beyond that, they are embroiled in seething disagreement over the implications of the North America Free Trade Agreement, a signed but yet to be ratified agreement with Canada and Mexico that would be the first step towards a huge new trading bloc.

And beyond that is the touchy relationship with Japan and China, and other countries of the Pacific rim and, of course, the provocative antics of Saddam Hussein.

Africa, which has absorbed so much financial aid and material assistance, with so little to show for it, emerges as a tiny blip on the screen of American attention.

Certainly the blip can be enlarged, as has been the case with Somalia (although even that is now drifting off the front pages), but if South Africa is to regain its distinction of being the only country in sub-Saharan Africa with a real prospect of succeeding as a political and economic entity, 1993 will have to produce consistent and persuasive evidence of the fact.

It will have to be a time when the political tantrums, the irrational outbursts, the obsolete views and the violent rhetoric of 1992 are abandoned in favour of a nobler and more altruistic concern for South Africa's long-term prospects in the new world order; a time to recognise that whatever the reasons for the world's declining interest in the country might be, only South Africans themselves have the antidote.

This country risks being seen as just another African casualty in the making, writes **Hugh Roberton**

Disillusioned world losing interest in South Africa

STAR 31/12/92.

SOUTH Africans have been preoccupied, understandably, by 1992's dispiriting harvest of massacres, terrorism, political crisis, and corruption. But much of the rest of the world appears to have lost interest in the country's turbulent journey towards change.

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